**APPENDIX III**

Clan and Lineage Distribution by Barrios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan Name</th>
<th>Alantic only</th>
<th>Alantic-Jamaltic</th>
<th>Jamaltic only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GÓMEZ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Calbal</td>
<td>Hua'ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huacax</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contzal</td>
<td>Cories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le'ax</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tzima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chíchlat</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chavín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **LÓPEZ** |              |                  |               |
| Xambil    |              | Chico'           |               |
| Puyte     |              | Tiib             |               |
|           |              | Munux            |               |

| **SANTIS** |              |                  |               |
| Boc        |              | Yemuc            | Morino        |
| Soten (Hernández) | | Te'es           | Muxan         |
|             |              | Tzitam           |               |
|             |              | Aquino           |               |

All Méndez, Entzin, Rodríguez, and Núñez live in Alantic only.

*This list appears on page 47 of Gumbiner's field notes.*
APPENDIX IV
CHARTS OF THE CHANAL CENSUS

The information presented in the following series of charts is derived from forty census questionnaires, which were obtained from linguistic informants by Andrés Medina. Muriel E. Verbitsky analyzed these materials and prepared this appendix. Sample sizes of the materials vary according to their relevance under each category, and are stated for each diagram or heading.

Contents

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Buildings per sitio</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Building Construction Materials</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Specialised Buildings</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Household Sitio Crops</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Population</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Barrio Endogamy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Composition of Households</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Classification of Residence</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Household Land-holding Practice</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Crop size (approximate)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Work Groups (Composition)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Posada-granting Practice</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Compadrazgo Relations outside of Chanal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Kinship Relations outside Chanal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Barrio Affiliation of the Named Paraje Settlements</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Marriage Custom of Groom Service</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Labor Export</td>
<td>8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Bilingualism</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Civil-Religious Hierarchy: Number of cargos in each age group</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Spanish Surname Combinations</td>
<td>10-13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1. Buildings per sitio (43 household sitios)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of sitios with:</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 building</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 buildings</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more buildings</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average number of buildings per sitio .... 3.3
Mode of buildings per sitio ............. 2

### 2. Building Construction Materials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Walls (92 buildings)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planks or rough boards (tablas)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wattle-daub (barreque)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roofs (96 buildings)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shingles (tejamanil)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bark</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatch (straw, grass or palm)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planks (tablas)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Specialised Buildings

| Porches (corredores) (81 buildings) | 5 | 6.2% |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sitios with: (40 sitios)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen separate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temascal (sweat bath)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granary (troje)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig pen</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken coop</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store-house (bodega)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trago distillery (alambique)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store-house for pottery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep corral (corral de chivos)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood shed (techo de lana)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Main buildings, includes stores (tiendas), work rooms (talleres), kitchens and sleeping houses. 61
Total number of buildings 154
4. **Household Sitio Crops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of sitios with: (40 sitios)</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fruit trees</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>92.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flower gardens</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable gardens</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Population**

Total number of persons of 40 households: 249, 123 males and 116 females. (10 persons not identified by age or sex).

**Distribution by Age and Sex**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 and older</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of persons per household: Range - 2 to 12

Mode - 6

Average - 6

6. **Barrio Endogamy** (39 marriages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife from the same barrio</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife from other barrio or other town</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Composition of Households (40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear households (17) with:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married couple and one child</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married couple and two or more children</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound households (23) with:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two or more couples</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One couple plus remnants of other nuclear families</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male with two spouses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further breakdown of the compound aggregates (23):

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents with 3 married sons and their spouses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents with 2 married sons and their spouses</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two married brothers, their spouses and children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents with 1 married son and his spouse</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother with 2 married sons and their spouses</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother with 1 married son and his spouse</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother with 1 married son and his 2 spouses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father with 1 married son and his spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married couple and the husband's sister (widow)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married couple and their own children, plus a &quot;cousin&quot; of the husband's</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man with two spouses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In all cases of this sample, residence of the wife is in the husband's compound (virilocality).
8. Classification of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married individuals (60 couples)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virilocal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrilocal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filiolocal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (undetermined cousin)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparently neolocal</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex-married individuals (widows, widowers, divorcees) (3 males, 11 females)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filiolocal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterolocal (sister's son)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unmarried individuals (113 individuals)</th>
<th>Number of individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patri-parentilocal</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (undetermined uncle)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1See Sec. 27, p. 8
for the definitions of the forms of residence used.
9. 

**Household Land-holding Practice (36 households)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Household</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Households that work one plot</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households that work two plots</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households that work three plots</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Land-tenure, and length of time of tenure (37 households)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Household</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Households which have held the communal lands its members now work for only one generation</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households which have held the communal lands its members now work for two generations or longer</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households which own private lands</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The significance here of the number of plots is not a measure of relative sizes or yields (information which we do not have), but to point out the relative frequency of individual household diversity of holdings. While the different plots are all temporal lands, their different ecological locations and soil qualities will mean that if a household has diversified holdings, greater insurance against total crop loss (due to a variety of natural causes) is attained.

10. **Approximate crop size, as reflected by plantings**

The most common amount seed planted (siembra) 3 liters

The smallest amount of seed planted ...... 1 liter

The largest amount of seed planted ...... 2 cuartillas

11. **Composition of Work Groups (28 groups)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Group</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man works milpa alone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more brothers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and son</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and more than one son</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two fathers, their sons, and other patrilineal related men</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chart illustrates the overwhelming incidence of the patrilineal composition of work groups.
12. **Posada-granting Practice.** Among the sample of forty households, the incidence of granting posada to travellers is low when compared to other transect communities. Fourteen of the forty households granted posada (we do not know how often) to travellers from the following communities:

- San Cristóbal: 9 cases
- San Pedro del Rosario: 1
- Tenejapa: 2
- Other (not identified): 2

Informants from twenty-six households said that they do not give posada.

13. **Compadrazgo Relations Outside of Chanal.** Among the sample of forty households, ten have established compadrazgo relationships with persons outside of Chanal in the following communities (each representing a single case):

- Colonia Vergel: San Cristóbal
- Los Llanos (near Chilil): Oxchuc
- Villa las Rosas: Hacienda el Chavín
- Dos Lagunas: Finca Fortuna
- Chivera (a colonia west and below Teopisca): La Siberia (colonía of Chanal)

14. **Kinship Relations Outside Chanal.** Among the forty households, five have kinsmen living elsewhere in the following communities:

- San Cristóbal: Dos Lagunas
- Santa Rosalia: La Palizada
- Oxchuc
15. **Barrio Affiliation of the Named Paraje Settlements**

* Mentioned in the Census materials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barrio Alantic</th>
<th>Barrio Ja²maltec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saccheibante</td>
<td>Tzajanich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chacuston</td>
<td>Esultic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrizales</td>
<td>Laultic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzacultic</td>
<td>Nabil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio de los Montes</td>
<td>Asuljá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matilon</td>
<td>Boyhoychen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loxaxip</td>
<td>San Vicente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzimail</td>
<td>Betul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative sizes of these parajes are unknown. Compare this list with that in Sec. 15, p. 1, note 3.

16. **Marriage Custom of Groom Service.** After marriage, a young couple lives with the wife's parents normally for one year, during which time the young husband works for his in-laws (Güiteras, 1959:33). Of thirty-seven couples in the sample, thirty-one men performed groom service (*desquitar la novia*). One man made a thirty peso payment in lieu of groom service. Five men did no service nor made any payment.

17. **Labor Export.** Among the forty households, fifty-one adult men have worked for wages outside Chanal:

- On fincas (those named were La Esperanza, Justipoc, Tapachula, Frusia, San Cristobalito): 27
- On highway construction crews: 11
- In San Cristóbal: 7
- In Fujultis: 5
- In Cruz Quemada: 1

The time a man may be away from Chanal ranges from six weeks to two months. This is a longer period than men of Aguacatenango, for example, spend away from their community. Perhaps the greater distance
17. **Labor Export (contd)**

of labor recruitment centers from Chanal is a factor accounting for the longer working periods.

Among the forty households, only two women are reported as having worked outside Chanal—one as a servant in San Cristóbal, the other as a servant in Comitán.

18. **Bilingualism.** Among the forty households, thirty-five adult men are reported to be bilingual:

- Spanish and one dialect of Tzeltal-Tzotzil • 33
- One dialect of Tzeltal-Tzotzil and Tojolapal • 2
- Nine men are reported to be monolingual in a dialect of Tzeltal-Tzotzil.

**Sources where Spanish was learned (33 cases)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th><strong>Cases</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boarding schools for Indians (Internados) (Length of training ranges from six months to six years)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Cristóbal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitán</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local grammar school</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INI training school in San Cristóbal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-taught</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On fincas, while doing wage-work</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. **Civil-Religious Hierarchy.** Number of cargos held or passed by men of the sample of forty households according to age group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>No cargo</th>
<th>1 cargo</th>
<th>2 cargos</th>
<th>3 cargos</th>
<th>4 cargos</th>
<th>5 cargos</th>
<th>6 cargos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 and older</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. **Spanish Surname Combinations.** According to the Mexican surname usage an individual has two surnames. His first surname is inherited from his father (the father's patrilineal surname) and his second is inherited from his mother (the mother's patrilineal surname). For example, a person whose name is Juan López Gómez is a man named Juan who has a father whose first (patrilineal) surname is López, and a mother whose first (patrilineal) surname is Gómez. If Juan López Gómez marries a woman named María Rodríguez Alcalá and they have a son whom they have named Pedro, the child's complete name would be Pedro López Rodríguez.
In a society which follows this surname usage, there will be, logically, as many combinations of two surnames as is statistically possible, given the society's inventory of surnames.

In Chanal a modification of this system of surnames is present. In addition to a certain number of Spanish surnames, Indian surnames are also used. One, or several of these Indian surnames may be linked with a certain Spanish surname (See Appendices II and III, above). Thus, an individual normally uses the doble apellido of father's patrilineal Spanish and Indian surnames, for example:

Juan López Shunton.

Chanaleños, however, are conversant with the Mexican surname system, and will give their "complete" name when pressed, for example:

Juan López Shunton Gómez Chavín.

1. López Father's patrilineal Spanish surname; Shunton Father's patrilineal Indian surname.

2. López Father's patrilineal Spanish surname

Shunton Father's " Indian "
Gómez Mother's " Spanish "
Chavín Mother's " Indian "
Individuals with the same Indian surname ("lineage") form an exogamous group. Exogamous rules extend further, however than the Indian lineage; the Spanish surname group, which may contain several Indian lineages is also exogamous. And, further, Guiteras (1959:13-15) has learned of two larger Spanish surname groupings which are exogamous ("Santis" which includes all those whose Spanish surnames are: Santis, Hernández, Díaz, Moreno, and Velasco; "Gómez", which includes all those whose Spanish surnames are: Gómez, Pérez and Jiménez). Given this additional exogamous restriction to unqualified intermarriage of persons with different Spanish surnames, we may then expect to find Spanish surname combinations occurring somewhat less frequently than is statistically possible.

From the census materials among twenty genealogies (none of them complete, but all covering three generations) we find that the exogamous rule mentioned by Guiteras is borne out; there are no cases of intermarriage within either the "Gómez" or the "Santis" groups (for example, no cases occur of persons named: Santis Hernández, Santis Velasco, Díaz Moreno; or Pérez Gómez, Gómez Jiménez).

But in addition to the expectations that certain Spanish surname combinations are precluded, there emerges a possible pattern of preferential marriage between certain Spanish surname groups. Of 151 marriages recorded in the twenty genealogies, fourteen Spanish names occur in forty-three combinations. Ninety-seven marriages are found in thirteen combinations, and three of these thirteen combinations include sixty-five of the total number of marriages, according to the following table:
20. **Spanish Surname Combinations.** (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marriages between:</th>
<th>Men named:</th>
<th>Women named:</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>José</td>
<td>López</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Gómez</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>López</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Hernández</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Gómez</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Santis</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Santis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Gómez</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The limitations of the sample permit us only on the basis of this evidence to suggest the possibility of a form of preferential Spanish name group marriage, conditioned by exogamic rules already mentioned. We have no further information on the nature and social functions, if any, of the Spanish name group other than the exogamic one.

Further research is necessary before proof of this form of preferential marriage, with possible correlated aspects of Chanal social organization, can be made. Eggan has suggested the possibility of preferential cross-cousin marriage for Mayan groups from an analysis of Mayan kinship terminologies. It may be that the suggested Spanish name group preferential marriage bears some relationship to (i.e. is a historical development of) cross-cousin preferential marriage, but again, further research is required.

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Section 13

TEOPISCA
TEOPISCA
A Preliminary Working Paper

John Hotchkiss

April, 1959
(revised, June, 1959)

Preface

This report is a "working paper"—a preliminary ordering and summary, where summarizing is possible, prepared for the Highland Mayan Seminar. It is a working paper to be viewed as a task in pointing out, at this early stage of research in Teopisca, where the obvious lacunae lie in the work done so far, and in the focussing upon problems for my own future field work interests.

While some of the materials in this report touch upon subjects covered in my "Check List Report"* (March, 1959), subjects not duplicated here which are found in this earlier report are the discussions of trade and market, and dietary and consumption information.

Teopisca is the name of a village which is the governmental seat of a municipio which bears the same name. In this report, information pertaining to areas of the whole municipio are found under some headings and so specified. Most of the report, however, deals with the village and its barrios—referred to variously as "the town", "the village", "settlement (of the valley of Teopisca)", "Centro", or "Centro-barrio area", in contexts which should be clear.

Superscript numbers in text refer to Notes, found on page 49.

*In the files of the University of Chicago "Man-in-Nature" Project.*
CONTENTS

1.0. Geographical setting, settlement, population
  1.1. Valley of Teopisca, Centro
    1.1.1. Geography, town plan
    1.1.2. Population
    1.1.3. Siteo settlement
    1.1.4. House types, materials in construction
  1.2. The barrios of Teopisca
  1.3. The upland colonias
  1.4. Tierra caliente

2.0. Historical note
  2.1. Introduction
  2.2. History of the population composition of Teopisca
  2.3. Suggested reconstruction of Indian immigration

3.0. Political Organization
  3.1. Introduction
  3.2. Municipio government
  3.3. Other administrative offices
  3.4. The Ejido Committee
  3.5. Informal governmental organizations--Club de Leones and PRI

4.0. Religious organization
  4.1. Introduction
  4.2. The religious professionals--priest and nuns
  4.3. Ladino religious organization
  4.4. Barrio religious organization
  4.5. Note on Ladino-Indian differences in religious participation
  4.6. Ceremonial calendar

5.0. Economic life
  5.1. Agriculture
    5.1.1. Introduction
    5.1.2. Land tenure
    5.1.3. Agricultural practices
      5.1.3.1. Cycle of activity
      5.1.3.2. Crops
      5.1.3.3. Work groups
      5.1.3.4. Technology
    5.1.4. Animal husbandry
    5.1.5. Other sources of income for agriculturists
  5.2. Village non-agricultural occupations
    5.2.1. Introduction
    5.2.2. Non-agricultural occupations for men
    5.2.3. Occupations of women of non-agricultural households

6.0. Family organization--residence, kinship, marriage
  6.1. Introduction
  6.2. Family organization among the barrio Indians
    6.2.1. Introduction
    6.2.2. Kinship terminology and terms of address
    6.2.3. Marriage
    6.2.4. Residence, household composition, inheritance
    6.2.5. Compadrazgo
  6.3. Family organization among Ladinos
    6.3.1. Kinship terminology and terms of address
6.3.2. Marriage
6.3.3. Residence, inheritance
6.3.4. Compadrazgo
6.4. Family life and kinship behaviors—Ladino-Indian differences.

7.0. Ladino-Indian relations; cultural differences and similarities
7.1. Introduction
7.2. Ethnic relations
7.3. Some comments on cultural differences and similarities
1.0. GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING, SETTLEMENT, POPULATION

1.1. Valley of Teopisca, Centro

1.1.1. The village of Teopisca is located 25 kilometers south of San Cristobal on the Pan-American highway, in the Chiapas highlands. The elevation of the valley is just under 6,000' above sea level. The valley is a shelf, forming a step between a sharp rise on the northeast which eventually reaches the highest elevations found in this region, 7,500' - 8,000', and a sharp drop on the west into tierra caliente to elevations of 3,000'. There are low lying hills on the western edge of the valley, and there are several places where low hills intrude into the valley.

The town center is laid out in a grid-block arrangement, but a distinctive feature is its elongation into a "string town" pattern. The town is even narrower than the block plan indicates, because the outer north-south streets that parallel the two inner main streets are foot paths, and for many blocks, form the boundaries to the fields, and hence are not fully populated streets.

The two main streets, running north-south, form the backbone of Teopisca, and run along the top of a slight hog-back which intrudes into the valley, dividing the valley into two wings of low, flat and irrigable land on each side of the town. There are outcroppings of bedrock at the southern end of this hog back, which may have made the area unsuitable for agriculture, hence its utilization for settlement. However, these outcrops may be due to recent erosion.

The early history of the settlement of Teopisca is not known by the writer, but there is a large ruined church and an open plaza at the north end of town, and this part of town is often called "pueblo viejo". This northern "center" could have been a center for a more populous barrio, if at one time Teopisca had a greater population.
than it does now. One might suggest that the string town pattern is a response to the highway, comparing it with the "main drag" settlement of many U. S. highway towns. However this would be drawing a false analogy, because the highway is a recent development and there are still very little of the accompanying aspects of "highway culture" (Roberts and others, 1957) found in this region of Mexico today. The present Centro settlement pattern is probably at least 200 years old.

1.1.2. The Centro area is populated by about 4,000 persons,1 who are predominantly Ladinos. Of this number, at least 200 are Indians who also live in Centro.2 It is important to stress that Teopisca is a "Mexican rural village", to point out that it is an open community in contrast to the "closed corporate" Indian communities of the area. While there is a core of long-standing families in the town, there is a considerable amount of movement in and out of the community. Anyone can come and live in Teopisca, but there are indeed variant attitudes influencing the behavior in respect to newcomers by the "natives", but these are apparently dictated by the established framework of the class structure, and the situation is one where any one can become a Teopisqueno and is fitted into the community by his class identification.

1.1.3. Along the main streets, the houses are generally built right on the street, with adobe brick walls bounding the town lot. An inner patio is inclosed by the house and kitchen or utility buildings.

* In this report, I use a working definition of "Indian", which refers to persons who have themselves migrated to Teopisca, or those who are descendants of migrants, from Indian communities. The bulk of the Indians in Teopisca are the 2nd and 3rd generation of the original migrants. Any hard and fast criteria for distinguishing Indian from Ladino has yet to be devised; however a distinction is made by people themselves. The Ladinos refer to Indians as "Inditos" or address them as "muchacho", while the Indians call themselves "naturales" to distinguish themselves from those that they refer to as "Ladinos". The usual cultural indices, dress and language, found in most anthropological writings, are only partially applicable to Teopisca.
and the side walls. A back utility yard is behind the cocina (kitchen).

1.1.4. Richer ladinos have houses made of adobe brick walls, tile roofs, and board or brick floors. As one goes down the wealth scale, walls become wattle-daub and roofs of mingle. Porch supports, rafter timbers, are hewed logs and poles. The only extensive use of cut-lumber is for flooring and fencing.

1.2. The barrios of Teopisca

1.2.1. The eight barrios are located in the valley, encircling Centro. Only two barrios, El Ramajal and San Sebastián, actually border directly on Centro, and are part of the grid plan at each end of town. These two barrios extend out into the marginal (to the town) agricultural lands. The other barrios are separated from Centro by the valley lands and are built up along roads and footpaths, which lie between the flat and irrigable lands and hills.

1.2.2. The eight barrios contain a population of between 1,000 and 1,200 Indians. Most of them are descendants of Tzotzil-speaking peoples originally from Huitzán and Chumuela areas. This permanently settled barrio population forms an established population which draws a slow trickle of Indians from other places—such as the lowland fincas and Indian communities where persons are refugees of witchcraft

1.2.3. The "house-milpa" and "open sitio" types of house settlement are found in the barrios. In the barrios which are squeezed onto the hillsides, there is just room for a house and yard. While in parts of El Ramajal and San Sebastián which are in the Centro grid
plan, they do not usually have the centro street-sitio, but rather the "open sitio" type, with the houses located back off the street.

**The "open sitio" type**

1.2.4. Most barrio houses are of wattle-daub wall construction and have shingle roofs. There are a few thatch roofs. Walls are made of boards, slats, stones-in-pole weaving also. Fences are made of sticks, rails, boards, espina or left to the natural shrub cover. Floors are of hardened dirt. Houses and cocinas are generally two separate structures, but occasionally the cocina is in the main house. (See p. 48, below, for Tables of Household Sitio Characteristics among Indians.)

1.3. The Upland Colonias

1.3.1. In the municipio there are four colonias which are each located in small valleys of the mountains north and east of Teopisca at elevations of 7,500 - 8,000'. The bottoms of the small valleys are devoted to pasture lands, and water holes are found there. Out away from the center are located the milpas, and these are bounded by pathways, to give a modified grid plan. Houses are located in the milpa, in the "house-milpa" settlement type, so that there is no close concentration of houses. At the extreme peripheries of the valleys, pasture lands are found and these extend into the heavily forested areas and mountains around the valley settlements. The
climate is considerably colder and damper in these locations, and
the growing season is thus longer than in the Teopisca valley.

1.3.2. Three of the colonias, Flores Wágón, Balhuitz, and Tzajalá,
are inhabited by Indians who are descendants of Chamula colonists.
They no longer are a part of Chamula and apparently have only minimal
connections with Chamula today. Estimated sizes are: Flores Wágón,
70-75 families; Balhuitz, 25-30 families; Tzajalá, 25-30 families.

Dos Lagunas (San Isidro is the pre-revolutionary name) is a colonia
of 40-45 families who are descendants of Huistan colonists.³ The women
of all four colonias wear Indian costume; and the men of the three
Chamula colonias wear the Chamula blanket with trousers and suirts
dyed a light blue color. The men of Dos Lagunas wear Ladino trousers
and suirts, but sometimes a Chamula blanket.

1.3.3. The settlement pattern of these colonias is that of the
"open house-milpa" plan, with each house located on the corner of
a milpa plot, thus scattering them out so that they are some distance
from each other. The milpas range in size from ½ - 2 hectares.

1.3.4. Houses are made of board walls, and shingle roofs. Thatch
roofs and wattle-daub walls are extremely rare in this lumber area.
The houses are placed in a fenced-off corner of the milpa with separate
structures for the house and cocina. Floors are of dirt, and fences
are of boards, slats, sticks, rails and espina. (See diagram above
for "house-milpa" sitio).

1.4. Tierra caliente

West of the village of Teopisca in the series of descending
broken valleys and steps are located some small colonias and some
ranchos and fincas, and two small pueblos. The colonias are of
mixed Ladino-Indian populations. On the fincas usually live Ladino
owners and/or administradores and a few Indian wage-workers and their
families. The pueblos of Nuevo León and Los llanitos are probably
of mixed Indian-Ladino composition. The populated regions lie between
elevations of 3,000 - 5,000', and the climate is considerably warmer than it is in Teopisca proper. Most of the area west of Teopisca is broken, steeply descending country, and not until one travels about 20 kilometers does he find the broad valleys and lowlands of tierra caliente proper, and very little of this richer agricultural area is within the municipio of Teopisca. (The boundary between the municipios of Teopisca and Carranza runs between the pueblos of Matamoros and Nuevo Leon, which are only 1-2 kilometers apart, and both are located on hills surrounded by somewhat broken-up valley lands.) Numerous trails criss-cross the area and are the only avenues of commerce, roads being absent. (See my "Check-list Report" for further information on this region.)

2.0. HISTORICAL NOTE

2.1. The following section should be considered a supplement or an extended footnote, because it is an attempt to put together scattered information gained by hearsay for the purpose of having an organized statement on record to form the basis for historical work.

2.2. Sometime not long after the conquest, during the times of repartimiento the Indians who had once lived in the valley of Teopisca were reputedly removed to the present lowland pueblo of Nicolás Ruiz (located at the base of the mountain, La Lanza, in the municipio of Carranza). Subsequently, during the colonial and independence periods, Teopisca was populated only by Ladinos. During these times, there was a textile weaving industry in Teopisca which had regional significance, and Teopisca may have been larger than it is now.

There were in the colonial and independence periods undoubtedly a few Indians living in the valley, as well as in both the upland and lowland areas as laborers on ranchos and fincas. This population was probably of a fluid kind, which kept close ties to homeland Indian communities, or those who had broken their ties and formed a small rural proletariat.
During the revolution and post-revolutionary times, 1910 and after, the municipio was opened up to Indians by means of the land reforms and ejido programs, which made possible a larger, stable and permanent Indian population. In the valley of Teopisca, Indians were given house sites in the barrios and ejido wilpa lands nearby, but outside the valley. Communal lands and confiscated private lands provided this home and land base for the immigrant Indians.

The upland colonias (Flores wagón, Salauitz, Tzujala and Dos lagunas) were probably settled before the revolution by colonists of Chamula and Huitzán, and then, later given their present status as ejido communities "after the fact". The Indian agricultural laborers found today in the lowlands who work on fincas part of the year, and return to their homes in Zinacantan or Chamula, are probably conforming to a pattern which was present before the revolution. The more permanently settled lowland communities of the present day probably were formed at the time of the revolution and now provide an ejido base for a steady, but small, trickle of Indians who cut their ties with homeland communities.

2.3. From the above, the following reconstruction is offered for the pattern of immigration and establishment of Teopisca's Indian barrio population.

The peoples of the highland areas of Chamula and Huitzán, have been faced with population pressures on diminishingly productive lands, throughout the colonial, independence times, and these problems still exist today. They have reached out and settled in parajes and colonias farther and farther away from their centers. Colonists probably entered the uplands of Teopisca before the revolution, and extended even farther south in the uplands behind Amatenango and along the highway towards Comitán (e.g., Cruz quemada). At the time of the revolution and after, these settlements were given the status of ejido communities and probably attained additional colonists.
Before the revolution there were probably a number of Indians who had given up the colonia areas and had taken jobs as wage-laborers in and around Teopisca. At the time of the revolution, these and additional peoples overflowing from the upland areas, formed the bulk of the immigration into the Teopisca barrios where they were given house sitios and milpa lands, and formed the permanent Indian population which continues to this day. There is a continuing process of peoples filtering into this well-established barrio population, so that today, variation is present in respect to the connections and ties with the communities of origin for these peoples.

3.0. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

3.1. Introduction. The formal governmental apparatus of Teopisca is a very simple one, and is described in 3.2. below. The upland colonias and the pueblo of Nuevo Léon have local government organizations, with "Presidentes" and ejido committees, but the nature of these and their relationships with the municipio organizations are not known by me.

The barrios of Teopisca have no formal governmental organization. A few barrios with schools have education committees, which handle school problems, and through these organizations, political action can be effected.

While the formal governmental structure is thus relatively simple, the processes of political life which are effected in government, or policy, are not. In this summary, I can only give hints at some of the problems posed for an adequate description of the multifunctional municipio government organization and the complex processes of political action through the informally organized interest groups.
3.2. **municipio government.** The cabecera of the municipio is housed in a large, colonnaded building on the central plaza of Teopisca. This government establishment has only three full time personnel—the Presidente, the Secretario, and the Comandante (chief-of-police). The secretary keeps records, files and does the paper work—correspondence, petitions, records. While the office of the Secretario is one which contains the possibility for considerable exercise of initiative and authority by virtue of the role of "receptionist", the present incumbent is a young and ineffectual man who only takes on minor administrative matters, and will reserve important matters for the Presidente to handle. The Comandante is always on hand, and does a variety of jobs—collects the small tax from puestos in the regular Sunday market, runs errands and messages, and occasionally has the position of authority when on a mission to apprehend real or suspected offenders of the law. The incumbent Presidente appoints the men for these two jobs.

The real business of government falls on one man, the Presidente, who is elected, and he carries out a wide variety of tasks in contexts where legislative, judicial and administrative functions are effected. The Presidente works within a legal framework established by State and national laws, which has a great degree of built-in flexibility which is reinforced by the community's conception of government. While nearly everyone in the community is aware of higher group ordered governmental structures, which influence the operations at the municipio level, the bulk of the people do not have precise knowledge of them, nor do they have financial resources to utilize them.

The municipio government is financed largely by funds granted by the State. However, the municipio levies directly: a small tax from traveling merchants for puesto space at the weekly market; taxes from the proprietors of the temporary cantinas, amusements and
stalls during the commercial fair for San Agustín, the patron saint; and a $10 tax, annually, from the larger permanent stores. These stores pay a permit tax also to the State. There are no property or income taxes (perhaps the richer persons pay an income tax) for the bulk of the population. Slaughtering taxes go to the State.

The Presidente, then, administers funds, plans civic events (the secular aspects of fiestas), executes civil marriages, maintains the civil register, adjudicates in minor disputes, and acts as agent and executor for directives which come from higher group ordered organizations both within and outside the municipio.

3.3. Other administrative offices. Two State of Chiapas offices, Comisariado de Hacienda and the tax collector, and the Federal Post Office and telegraph office are other administrative posts found in Teopisca. The mail and telegraph offices have strictly service functions. The tax and hacienda offices are maintained to handle and administer laws and directives from the state government. Little is known about the functions of hacienda (like our Department of the Treasury), but the tax collectors are involved only with collecting taxes on slaughtered livestock, primarily cattle, and their jurisdiction goes far beyond the municipio boundaries—south towards Comitán and west into tierra caliente. Retail permits, a form of tax on stores and cantinas of a certain size, are obtained by Teopisquenos from state government offices in San Cristóbal or Tuxtla.

In Teopisca there is an office of a Federal school inspector who administers a district which includes about 30 schools, both

*He will sometimes adjudicate cases of contraband liquor-makers caught in Matamango, upon the initiative of the "revenuers" from San Cristóbal (June Nash, Field Notes, 1958, p. 62)
in and outside the municipio, and takes in Pimilco, San Esteban

and San Mateo. There are state schools in the area also, and the

jurisdiction of state and federal governments in educational

matters remain unclear to me. The state schools are administered

from San Cristóbal.

3.4. The Ejido Committee. An important organization of federal

origin is the local committee of ejidatarios. This committee is

composed of officers who are Indians, elected by holders of

ejido grants, all of whom are Indian. This committee works

within the framework of the federal ejido program in the administra-

tion, distribution and use of ejido lands. However, this group

is by no means autonomous, and has what is in effect a subordinate

relationship with the municipio government. The general Ladino-

Indian relationship, where the Indian is subordinate, is manifested

even at the apex of local political organization. (The origins of

this situation may lie partly in the fact that much of the ejido

lands were made available to the immigrating Indians through

confiscation of Ladino land holdings, and today, the Ladinos are

not letting the Indians forget it!) The municipio Presidente is

often present at the weekly ejidatario meetings to present requests

of "communal" labor (to clear trails) and contributions of cash to

help defray municipio expenses (e.g., a "tax" was levied of $5 per

ejidatario to pay for the new floor of the cabildo porch.) While

these requests are aired at the meetings, often with heated discus-

sion, they are most often accepted by the ejidatarios and then

become enforceable by sanctions of fines or loss of ejido lands.

There was no similar levy made upon Ladinos to help defray the

cost of the new cabildo porch floor, so we see that the function

of the organization of ejidatarios is not limited solely to ejido

land problems; it can also be viewed as an efficient way to have

the Indian population organized and accessible for serving Ladino ends.
3.5. Informal governmental organizations—Club de Leones and PRI.

A description of the political organization of Teopisca would be incomplete if only the formally constituted authorities were taken into account. The arena for Ladino participation in significant community politics is the Club de Leones. This club has about 20 members, who are the wealthiest Ladinos of town. Principally through the efforts of one man, the club was organized several years ago. In its early years, the service functions for which the Lions International is well-known, were apparent—the construction of a new federal school and the church edifice improvements were aided by this club. However, at present it appears that the service function is less important than the arena it provides for Ladino community politics. It is probably no coincidence that the head men of the local PRI organization are all Lions Club members. A building on the plaza, owned and donated by the founder, provides a meeting hall for the club. This building served as PRI campaign headquarters for last year's national presidential elections, and more recently, as the campaign headquarters for the municipio presidential elections.

It is this PRI-Lions Club group that determines much of municipio government policy. It nominates the PRI candidate for municipio president, who is assured of election in the single party system. (See my field notes, pp. 296-7; 476-9, for the events of nomination and election of the new Presidente). I am not aware of any municipio council or an enlarged ayuntamiento (which includes the Presidente, council and judges) which is common for the Mexican municipio (Whetton, 1958:530-535). Only a municipio president was on the ballot in the November municipio elections, but
If such councils exist, even as Presidential appointees, it is certain that they, or a majority of their members, would come from the Lions Club-PRI group.

While the Lions-PRI group can be considered the primary locus of community Ladino politics, there is not necessarily a singleness of aim or point of view represented by this group. On the contrary, internal factions and disagreements are present, based upon personal rivalries and interests. While the membership of this group represents what we might call the "propertied and landed Ladino interests", it is not necessarily politically irresponsible and concerned only with policy dictated by its own ends. Others may initiate political action, but they realize the group's power position and important role in community affairs, and bring their problems to it for discussion and action. Interests of Indians and poor Ladinos may be translated into political action and presented to the Lions-PRI group with considerable force through the barrio (school district) education committees combined with the Ejido Committee so that these other local interests backed with power from higher ordered governmental structures (State and nation) can be indeed vocal and effective in obtaining favorable municipio action.4

The varied interests found in Teopisca (it is a "plural" society) are able to achieve results through the complex interaction and alignments of various informal groupings.

In this brief treatment of political organization, the formal structures and some informal organizations/described to give hints of how political life and governmental process is carried on in the context of the actual interplay of these institutions.
4.0. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

4.1. Introduction. The entire municipio is Catholic, or nominally so. Some of the more "Indian" areas—the upland colonias—probably have more pronounced features of "folk-catholicism" (as middle-American students have applied this term to the syncretism of Indian religion and Catholicism in Indian towns and rural communities.).

There are hints of an existence of a religious hierarchy in the upland colonias—chapels exist there, and an informant at Dos Lagunas mentioned the offices of "alférez" and "mayordomo", but the details of such organization were not obtained. There is a small church at Nuevo León.

Because of the relative inaccessibility of these upland and lowland areas, and because the people of these places make trips to Teopisca or to other religious centers quite often, I doubt if a priest ever visits them. Therefore, these communities must have religious organizations which maintain their chapels and plan and organize local fiestas, and there are undoubtedly religious personages who lead prayer services of some kind.

For the village of Teopisca, the functions of the regularly visiting religious professionals, the Ladino religious organization, the barrio religious organization, a note on Ladino-Indian differences in religious participation, and a ceremonial calendar are described in the following sections.

4.2. The religious professionals—Priest and nun. There are no resident professionals in Teopisca, and the recruitment of local Teopisquenos into religious professionalism is probably rare—these come from outside.

Teopisca is part of a priest's regular weekly southern circuit from San Cristóbal which includes mapetenango and less often, aguacatenango. Fiesta demands in these communities, and in Chamula
where the same priest serves, sometimes causes his absence from
the Sunday mass in Teopisca. A substitute priest sometimes fills
in for him, or a pair of nuns occasionally lead a prayer service
in his absence. Teopisca's church is this particular
priest's church, and he is the highest local religious (human)
authority. He gives masses (sometimes 2 on a single Sunday),
OFFiciates at Ladino marriages, and sometimes is present for a
ladino funeral. He is always accompanied by one or two nuns and
when in Teopisca he, or his nuns, make household visits to families
where there is sickness. The nuns occasionally visit the barrios
where they engage in proselytizing, trying to encourage more
regular church attendance and make attempts to get couples living
"juntados" or with only civil marriages to be also married by the
priest. The priest holds audiences in the Parish house next to
the church with laymen who represent the Parochial Committee and
discuss administrative matters and fiesta plans. Individuals
visit him to arrange weddings and baptisms.

The priest enjoys near autonomy in religious matters and
"runs his own mass and says what he wants to in sermons", altho
he is "above politics and does not get involved in political
controversy".*

During fiestas, the priest holds masses, but does not
participate in the more secular activity of the processions,
dances, and fireworks displays. In only the main procession
prior to the high mass on the day of San Agustin, the patron
saint of Teopisca, did I see him participate.

*Duane Wetzger, personal communication. He elicited these comments
from the priest.
4.3. **Ladino religious organization.** The influence of community leadership of the Club de Leones is not limited to political or governmental affairs, (3.5.) but extends into the religious life of Tecopisca as well. The officers of a central Parochial committee are appointed by the Lions Club. The Presidente of this committee is a member of the club, but the other officers may not be. This committee runs the secular arm of the church on the local scene, working with the priest in matters of maintenance of the church plant, administering funds from regular church collections as well as special fiesta collections, and planning fiestas. The most active time of this committee is during the planning of the fiesta for San Agustin. The many varied tasks required are delegated out by the central committee to sub-committees. For smaller fiestas, the central committee appoints an **encargado** who takes the responsibility in getting personnel for processions, musicians, rocketeers, and raising or contributing the moneys to cover the expenses. Sometimes an individual will volunteer for the post of encargado for a saint's fiesta to "serve his saint". The encargado for the "Announcement day", held on August 15th, for San Agustin, is usually a volunteer, and this act has obviously a prestige-building function.

Tecopisca has a chapter of the women's group, **Acción Católica**, which is composed mostly of young girls of 15-20 from the wealthier families. This group is led and advised by older women. These older women serve as prayer-makers and leaders of afternoon rosarias and evening novena services when the priest or nuns are not present. The girls are active in some fiestas, and some do not require their organized participation. This group also obviously fulfills the social function of providing a prestigious adolescent "social set" for these ladino girls.
The church provides a semi-professional role for older women, usually widowed or spinsters, who are religious zealots, and their voices are noticeable during singing and recitations. Some of these are in the Acción Católica group, but membership in this organization is limited to the wealthier women, so that poorer ladinas individually take on this role. They take on the responsibility of decorating the church sometimes, and are reputed to encourage the priest and nuns to "get after" wayward catholics, by being the last link in the chain of gossip between the community and the professionals. They are criticised by both ladinos and indians for being over-enthusiastic and "meddlers", but are humorously tolerated by being the brunt of jokes.

4.4. **Barrio religious organization.** The barrios have chapels, either in separate buildings or a private family oratorio serves to house the barrio saints. The only "officials" which I could discover that maintain these chapels are persons who have inherited the custodianship from their ancestors, through affinal or consanguineal links. These persons serve as encargados during fiestas for these saints by providing meals. The fiesta of Santa Cruz-San Isidro (May 3-5) is the most important barrio religious event, for the barrios of Zaragoza and Ojo de agua. These barrios each have fiesta committees which are chosen by the last year's committee and they plan and make collections to pay for fireworks, musicians and liquor for this annual event. There is no religious organization other than these temporary committees.

There are apparently no religious organizations, or even vestiges of them, in the Indian barrios, which bear resemblances to those found in the Indian communities of the region. The saints that are celebrated by barrio Indians are not significant in the ladino religious calendar, and are probably carry-overs from the original Indian religious inventory. We can rather
tentatively conclude that in the process of the move into the
fringes of Ladino society, and the attendant loss of organizational
features of the civil-religious systems of the home communities,
these immigrant Indians retained some of the original saints but
adapted or borrowed the requisite organizational framework of the
"comite" from the Ladinos to celebrate them.

4.5. **Note on Ladino-Indian differences in religious participation.**

The patron saint, San Agustín, is celebrated by both Ladinos and
local Indians. A procession bearing the image of this saint from the
church in Nuevo León journeys to Teopisca. Some barrios have proces-
sions, and the religious officials from Amatlan and Aguacatenango
join together for a single procession. Barrio Indians and other
Indians bring candles and place them at the large image of San
Agustín in the church and pray there. Ladinos do not do this.
(Ladinos regularly pay brief homage to their saint when entering
and leaving the church service by kissing its robes and crossing
themselves.)

For the regular Sunday mass, the per centage of barrio Indians
in attendance is much lower than for Ladinos. Indians and poorer
Ladinos are called upon to help in the secular activity of a
community fiesta, by the appointed Ladino encargado, as rocketeers,
costumed dancers, and horsemen. For Todos Santos, Ladino activity
is centered in the church with services and mass, but generally
only Indians make the all-night vigil and fiesta at the graveyard.

While both Ladinos and Indians journey to Amatlan and
Aguacatenango and attend the religious services during the larger
fiestas in these communities, I received the impression from talking
with barrio Indians, who seldom go to the Teopisca church, that the
saints emphasized in these communities "meant more" to them than they do to Ladinos. I think that the Ladinos who do attend the masses at these fiestas do so more because their priest is giving a mass, and not for any special significance for the "Indian saints" being celebrated.

A list of the celebrated saints and fiestas differs between Indians and Ladinos. The barrio Indians include some of the saints' fiestas in "matenango and "guacatenango which they attend, and omit some of the local Teopisca saints when asked to list them. The Ladino omits the saints celebrated by Indians, both of the local barrios and of the neighboring communities. An exception to this, however, is the fiesta of Guadalupe, which is celebrated in "matenango and attended by peoples from a wide area. On the priest's way home from this event, he holds a small ill-attended mass for Guadalupe in Teopisca.

Barrio Indians say their Santa Cruz-San Isidro fiesta of May 5 is only attended by Indians, and not by Ladinos.

4.6. Ceremonial Calendar. Some aspects of the public fiestas which I observed are summarized in the following pages. Statements on fiestas which are marked by the * are based upon informant's accounts. I have included the "non-religious" Independence Day activities, but not the small, private family fiestas for birthdays and baptisms. Page references to my Field Notes are in parentheses.

An incomplete annual cycle for which I have some information is as follows:

4.6.1. August 15-30  San Agustín and commercial fair
4.6.2. Sept. 6-9   Virgen de Natividad, in "guacatenango
4.6.3. Sept. 13-24 Virgen de Mercedes
4.6.4. Sept. 13-16 Mexican National Independence holiday, (also celebrated in "matenango)
4.6.5. Sept. 28   San Miguel
4.6.6. October 1-3
4.6.7. October 3-4
4.6.8. Oct. 31-Nov. 1
4.6.9. December 11-14
4.6.10. December 18-25
4.6.11. May 3-6
4.6.12. May (total)


This fiesta, combined with a commercial fair, begins with the announcement Day procession on Friday, Aug. 15th, and continues a few days beyond Thurs., Aug. 28, the Day of San Agustín, taking in the weekend which follows the 28th.

4.6.1.1. Organizations. The municipio government distributes space in the plaza for the many temporary cantinas, stores, and amusements. Fees are paid to the government as a "rent" or "permit" to do business by the concessionaires.

The central Parochial Committee works closely with the priest and helps plan events. To aid in this, sub-committees are chosen by the central committee: "Junta de Mayores" who clean streets and urge families to paint their houses; "Junta encargada de las festividades", who are women and who carry out religious functions, such as helping the priest in decorating the church, and act as custodians of the sacred banner of San Agustín and plan with the various processioners when they should use it. The "Junta Encargada" are a group of men who handle administrative tasks, collect money from families, help plan events and carry out directives from both the central committee and the municipio government.

The announcement Day procession is run by an encargado who volunteers "to serve his saint" and then is "appointed by" the priest. He is responsible for financing and organizing this procession. (147)
The active participants of the barrio and neighboring community processes coordinate their activity with the priest and the "Junta encargada de las festividades". I do not know how the barrios themselves get this organized.

The Acción Católica girls decorate the church for some of the masses and rosaries. They may do other tasks, directed by either the priest or the "Junta encargada de las festividades". (383-5)

4.6.1.2. Finances, expenditures. While the municipio government obtains money through granting concessions, I do not know how much of this is allocated to other aspects of the fiesta. A committee of men do make several visits to each family taking collections, which probably go to paying the religious professionals, the priest and the bishop who was called in to give a mass. Money collected by them, plus funds from the government, go to pay for the fireworks and musicians.

Various personal cargos are taken on by individuals—sponsoring masses and rosaries (by providing church decorations) and the sponsor of the announcement day procession, either raises money from friends, or stands a good bit of the expense himself, which involves fireworks, musicians, trucks for floats.

Collections are made at every church service which goes to help pay for the professionals.

4.6.1.3. Activities, participation, brief chronological account.

Friday, Aug. 15: mass early am, accompanied by rocket barrage. Priest officiates—moderate attendance.

11:15, beginning of procession, with constant toll of church bells, barrage of rockets. Procession started in north end of town, came south on Avenida Central, went to the south of of town, and came back north on Calle Real. Order: rocketeers, Indian band of flute and drums, Ladinos carrying red banner of San Agustín, truck (float) with queen (traditionally the encargado's daughter) and her attendants, truck with girls of Acción Católica,
truck with marimba band (hired, from SCLC), random followers, mostly kids. Following a good distance behind were two costumed horsemen riding up to doorways distributing leaflets which "announce" the fiesta, and urge people to dress up their houses and make the village look nice for the visitors.

In front of church, the procession stopped, and the banner was carried inside the church, with more rockets, bombs. Indian band remained outside, in plaza, and played for a while.

Week of Sat., Aug., 16 to Sat., Aug., 23: There were early church services, accompanied by rocket barrages, and officiated by the priest who settled in the parish house all week. Church services in afternoons and evenings also. The concessionaires began arriving and setting up temporary stores, cantinas, amusements. All this week families had fires out in front of their houses to "light the streets", and they would sit out around them and socialize with passersby. By Friday, many of the cantinas operating with many customers, both Ladinos and Indians.

Sat., Aug., 23: Early mass, rockets. Mid-morning, a procession carrying red banner, with rocketeers. Men carry banner, women follow. From Barrio Amarillo(?). Procession did not make complete town circuit, but came from the north and went directly to the church on Ave. Central.

Sun., Aug., 24: A well-attended mass, priest officiated, rockets. Procession of religious officials from Amatenango and Guacatenganango came from the south, up Calle Real, with red banner, and palma fronds. They entered church during a mid-morning mass. Large market, many puestos and many visitors, both Ladino and Indian.

Dance sponsored by Lions Club in evening.

Mon., Aug., 25: School vacation begins today, remaining out of session until Sept. 1. Early mass, w/priest and rockets. Large influx of Indians from areas around SCLC--Chamilula, Tenejapa, Zinacantan and Huitzilan. In afternoon, Barrio Ojo de Agua procession, with red banner. Late afternoon, procession welcoming the brass band hired from Chiapa de Corzo. Evening mass, "star" and "whistle" rockets used.

Tues., Aug., 26: Early mass. Throngs of northern Indians (Tzotziles), merry-go-rounds and ferris wheels installed and operating. Plaza teeming with visitors, many Ladinos from SCLC. At noon, procession with image of San Agustin from church of Nuevo Leon up Ave. Central and into church. Dance in Lions Club in evening, with two marimba bands, (from Pinola and Ocosingo).

Wed., Aug., 27: Early mass, street in front of church jammed, roped off, full of puestos. Influx of Amatenangos and Guacatenganangos today. Amusements operating to full capacity, many Indians riding them. 10:15 am, a procession of well-dressed Ladinos carry red banner into church. There is lots of drinking, many drunks. Evening fireworks display, with fancy rockets, castillos, balloons and torritas.

Thurs., Aug., 28: Day of San Agustin. Early mass. Packed market. Procession, led by rocketeers, well-dressed Ladinos carrying banner. Priest, float with image of San Agustin, and Indians following at noon. After taking the town circuit, entered church. In mid-morning, a high mass conducted by the bishop from SCLC. Market and amusement activity in plaza all afternoon and evening. Evening fireworks display like last night. During the day, many of the Tzotzil Indians began leaving, with
loads of purchases, many Natanengo pots.

Sun. Aug 31: Early mass. Plaza very quiet, with only moderate market activity. Evening and late afternoon many local people in plaza relaxing, sitting on benches in whole family groups, men groups in cantinas. The amusements not doing any business.

Mon. Sept 1: Early mass, but first one without rockets since beginning. Dismantling of temporary stalls begins. Rosario in afternoon, poorly attended.
Tues. Sept 2: Early mass, dismantling continues.
Wed. Sept 3: No early mass. The last of the temporary stalls leave.
Thurs. Sept 4: Priest in town, holds services, early, mid-morning, and afternoon rosario, but back to normal otherwise. The Comandante with helpers is starting to clean up the debris around the plaza.

4.6.2. Virgen de Natividad—In Aguacatenango Sept. 6-8.

This is a large fiesta held in Aguacatenango, but which many Ladinos and Indians of Teopisca attend. Only a few Ladinos come for commercial purposes to set up stalls. Transportation is provided by a few trucks for Ladinos and Indians alike. There is heavy market activity in the plaza, with Teopisqueños buying not-country foods. The priest is present, and services held, and Ladinos attend. There is a lot of drinking, which Teopisqueños engage in also. Most come for a single day, returning the same evening, only a few taking posada with Indian friends or persons known through commercial relationships.


This fiesta began on the announcement Day of Sat., Sept 13, and continued until the 24th. The Independence Day celebrations also occurred during this period.

The central Parochial committee appointed two Ladino encargados, brothers, who took the responsibility of carrying off the procession with musicians, costumed dancers, "moors", and devils. These two men drew upon their relatives and
friends, plus many Indians from barrio El Kamajal, to participate
and help defray the costs of the musicians and fireworks (398-99).

4.6.3. Activities

Sat. Sept. 13: Announcement Day. At 10 am, a marimba band
with many masked dancers (all males), costumed "moors", devils, 
"viejitos", and two costumed horsemen, began their circuit
from the church thru the town. The musician-dancing group stopped
at houses every two blocks and played and performed. The horse-
men followed and distributed leaflets announcing the fiesta to
people in doorways. This tour took two hours. There was no
church service after this performance. The active performers
were poorer Ladinos and Indians, mostly from El Kamajal (224-5; 
398-99).

During the evenings after this, weather permitting, families
had fires out in front of their houses, and children gathered
around some of them and played, danced and were "frightened" by
costumed devils who plied the streets. (253, 261)

There were no church services up until Tues. Sept. 23, at
which time there was an early mass.

Wed. Sept. 24: An early mass, with priest. Several children
baptised at this service (266). At mid-day, the marimba and
dancers walked thru Calle Real and performed. (269) In evening
another performance, walking through streets, stopping at
house fires, with a large following of poorer Ladinos and Indians
for an audience. (273-4)

This was a day of rest, no school, and many families have private
cumpleanos parties for persons named mercedes. The plaza was
thronging with marketers in morning.


Sat. Sept 13: A school program, directed by teachers, with
students performing--recitations. Adults present were Pres.
of municipio, the head of the lay educational committee.
(225-6)

Sun. Sept 14: A procession of richer Ladinos, on horseback
carrying the flag from the cabildo thru town. PRI officials
organized this. (230-31)

Monday, Sept 15: During the day, a stage was erected on
porch of cabildo, directed by two school teachers. Chairs
and benches placed on porch for spectators. In evening, 8 pm,
the school program took place, with children reciting, and dancing.
The highlight of the program was a drama, depicting events of
independence, in which the school children performed.

After the play, occurred a solemn procession of carrying the
mexican flag around the plaza, which was lit up by torches at
places along the walk. This act was done by the presidente of
the municipio, accompanied by PRI officials. All evening,
there were periodic firework displays. The audience throughout
was mixed Ladino-Indian. (239-41)

On Sept. 15-16, a fiesta in Matenango drew many Teopisqueño
visitors, both Indian and Ladino, travelling by foot or truck on
both days. Bull riding there was the main attraction.

Tues. Sept. 16: In afternoon, in Teopisca, a festive air in plaza, with bicycle races and trick performances on bicycles, a lot of drinking, and many family groups relaxing in plaza in evening.

(244)

4.6.5. San Miguel, September 28-29.

This fiesta was held on Sunday, Sept. 28, and lasted thru the night and into the next day, by the Indians of Centro who live along 1st and 2nd avenues West, and Barrio Miradero. The encargado was an Indian, (C-24) who paid for a marimba, rockets, and food for a fiesta at his house which lasted all night of the 28th. Only Indians participated. The significance of San Miguel may be that he is the patron saint of Huitzán.

4.6.6. Santa Teresa, October 1-3.

There were early masses on each of these days (and ideally, at noon and rosarios at 4 pm) in which the priest officiated. On the second morning, a record player played music from the steps of the church, and on the third morning, rockets accompanied the mass.

The third and final mass was fully attended, only a few going to the first two. A substitute priest officiated at the main mass, and a group of Acción Católica girls participated in a procession inside the church and sang during this service. (327-8)

After the service, an Indian band of flute and drums played on the church steps all morning, to no real audience. (323-9)

The organizational aspects of this fiesta are unclear—who paid for rockets, record player, or who asked the Indians to play.

4.6.7. San Francisco, October 3-4, in Amatengo.

On Sat., Oct. 4 there was an early mass in Teopisca. But, the fiesta is primarily celebrated in Amatengo, where many Ladinos and local Indians journeyed to watch bull-riding and attend the church services. (333)
4.6.8. Todos Santos, October 31, November 1.

On the 31st of October, there is a mass for Los Angeles, and in the evening, people go to the panteón for a symbolic meal of fruits and refrescos—told by a Ladino (385).

On either of the two days, people went out to the panteón and fixed up the graves by turning the sod and painting the crosses and tombs. Families have a large festive meal on Nov. 1. There was a lot of drinking in the night, and in barrio Zaragoza a semi-public fiesta for Indians was held in an individual's house.* (440)—told by an Indian.


This fiesta is celebrated primarily in Amatencango, where many Teopisques go. On the morning of Dec. 12 (Friday), a mass was held in Teopisca.* When I returned on Sunday, Dec. 14, from spending two days in Amatencango, he gave an afternoon mass, accompanied by rockets. This mass was poorly attended. An encargado appointed by the central Parochial committee was in charge of the rocket-firing. (606).

There were some barrio celebrations in Teopisca for this event. In Zaragoza there was an all-night fiesta in a private home on the night of the 11th.* All day Saturday, Dec. 13, rockets were fired periodically from the vicinity of barrio Miradero. (596) But, I know nothing about the details of these two events.


The novena began Thurs., Dec. 18, with an evening service conducted by two women prayer-makers (leaders of Acción Católica), in which young girls of Acción Católica carried images of santos José and María through the church and sang. Young school boys blew whistles throughout the service. The best attended of these services, which continued every night up to and including Christmas...
Eve, was on Saturday, Dec. 20th, which had as many in attendance, both Indians and Ladinos, as on a regular Sunday mass. (613-4; 628)

The mass on Christmas eve was also a well attended and large mass. On Christmas day, a household chapel in Barrio San Sebastián was decorated, but I do not know the details. A Ladino girl complained that Christmas was "muy triste" in Teopisca compared with Tuxtla, and that no midnight supper was given or practiced here. (392).

4.6.11. Santa Cruz-San Isidro, May 3-6.

The services at the houses for Santa Cruz on tops of the hills of barrios Ojo de Agua and Zaragoza were held and organized by Indians mainly for Indians. A barrio organization, appointed by the last year's committee, plans and finances (by collections from families) this affair which includes rockets, musicians and liquor. A modest meal for some guests is given by an encargado in a private house.* (537-8; 318-19)

4.6.12. Santa María--entire month of May; Concepción, May 31.

Rosarios are held each day during May at 4 pm, and the Acción Católica girls bring flowers to decorate the church. On the 31st, a large mass is held, and the Acción Católica girls provide refreshments to children, and they help pay for fireworks by a $5 contribution from each member* (384-5)
5.0. ECONOMIC LIFE

5.1. Agriculture

5.1.1. Introduction. A brief identification of the kinds of agricultural occupations is given here to provide a sociological context for the more general features of agriculture outlined in the following sections. The native terms of identification are convenient and accurate workers.

Probably the greatest number among those whose occupations are primarily in agriculture, Ladino or Indian, are the barrio Indians who work small ejido milpa plots. These enterprises are independent household, barely self-sufficient units. These ejidatarios call themselves **agriculteros**.

Ladinos engaged in agriculture are of several kinds. The ones who identify themselves as **agriculteros** have small land holdings of 1-5 hectares where they cultivate both field crops (maiz, wheat) and garden crops. These enterprises are slightly above subsistence level. A **agricultor** is also one who is landless and works for wages on a steady basis for a large Ladino finca.

Ladino **rancheros** are proprietors of medium-sized holdings, 10-30 hectares, which are devoted to the field crops of maiz and wheat. These enterprises produce a substantial surplus for the market. The **ranchero** hires daily wage-workers at busy times, directing as he works along with the workers doing his fair share.

The **administrador** found on the larger fincas can be closely compared with the **ranchero** in that he is also found on the work scene and also has directive responsibilities. The main difference between him and the **ranchero** is that he is salaried and does not have proprietary interest in the land he works.
The *finquero* conforms best to our notion of the "absentee-landlord". The local Teopisca *finquero* is not absent in the strict sense, yet he does not actually engage in the field tasks. Rather, the increased amount of marketing activity necessitated by the greater production of his holding, and additional business interests arrest his attention.

5.1.2. **Land Tenure.** There are three categories of land tenure—private, communal and ejido. Private lands are bought and sold, inherited, and held by title according to the Mexican land laws. Widows can inherit in their own name, or hold lands in trust for minor children. The flat irrigable lands in the valley of Teopisca are privately held, mostly by Ladinos, but a few Indians own these good valley lands also.

    The communal lands are lands which are forested, mountainous. Meadows are found in the forested regions, and can be used by anyone to graze their animals. These forested areas are utilized for firewood and lumber, and if conservation laws exist, they seem to be generally ignored. There are two communal pasture areas near the village; one in the mountains on a flat shelf east of town, and the other is the broad valley where the cemetery is located west of town.

    Ejido lands are lands which historically came from either private or communal sources during the period after the revolution. These lands are now administered by a local Ejido Committee under the auspices of the federal ejido program. Members of the ejido are nearly, if not all, Indians. The mechanisms of redistribution, and inheritance of ejido lands are unclear to me. Today there is a shortage of land, and the ejido plot which produces even sufficient
maize, or a surplus, for a family's annual needs is rare. Ejido lands, because of their mountainous locations, are low in productivity, and are up to three leagues distance from town. (See my "Check List Report", pp. 8-9 for locations of land types in the valley of Teopisca).

5.1.3. Agricultural practices

5.1.3.1. Cycle of activity. For the valley of Teopisca, the lands for the field crops of maize and wheat are cleaned (limpiar) in November, plowed in December, planted in January. Wheat is harvested in June or July. Maize is "doblado" in July and August, and harvested in September and October. Wheat is allowed to dry, and then threshed in September and October, so that both valley maize and wheat are marketed at about the same time. In the valley, truck garden crops are planted in November and December, and harvested in the months of June to August.

The cycle for tierra caliente, where Ladinos own ranchos, and Indians have ejidos is slightly "retarded" from the valley sequences—maize is planted in March and April, doblado in September and October, and harvested in December and January. In the upland colonias (tierra fría), maize is planted in January and February, doblado in October and November, and harvested in January.

5.1.3.2. Crops. The main field crops are maize and wheat. Some alfalfa is grown on one large finca in the valley for cattle feed. Frijoles are grown with maize in ejido plots, and are cultivated separately on some valley holdings.

Garden crops, which are commonly found in house-sitos of Indians, or in small private holdings by Ladino agricultores are squashes—calabaza, chayote; cabbage; potatoes; radishes; onions; leafy greens; fruits—peaches, apples, limes and oranges.

From tierra caliente a variety of tropical fruits, coffee, sugar, citrus fruits, bananas, maize, wheat, frijoles are the
principle crops.

In the upland areas, maize, frijoles and potatoes are grown. Surplus frijoles are marketed, and potatoes are grown primarily for export.

5.1.3.3. Work groups. All but the largest rancho and fincas are basically individually, or household (may be a compound household of more than one nuclear family) owned and worked enterprises. However, technological limitations and very little mechanization means that there is a lot of wage-work. The larger enterprises have permanent wage-workers and administradores who live on the holding, either in the valley or in tierra caliente. Land-owners of valley lands hire workers at peak activity periods—for cleaning and clearing, plowing, and harvesting. Indian families who own valley lands also hire a small number of men to help during the peak activity. Wages for laborers range from $3-5 per day. Indian ejidatarios will travel to their milpas in groups for companionship, but work their lands independently.

There are various contractual arrangements: between landless Indians on a share-crop basis with land-owning ladinos; partnerships, where land is provided by one party and capital expenditures provided by the other, and the yield then proportionately divided. There are a number of family groups who work an ejido, where Fa-So, Bro-Bro, or other combinations work together. There are also Ladino agricultural businesses, but the pattern for independent enterprises is dominant.

5.1.3.4. Technology. The Indian ejidatario uses the machete for cutting, clearing and weeding. A hooked stick is used in weeding. Hoes are used by Ladino garden cultivators. Knives, axes, accessories for animal husbandry, cargo bags, measuring boxes, are all standard equipment for the small scale agricultur
and ejidatario. A few also have rifles and shotguns for hunting.

Only a few large fincas have mechanized equipment—tractors, corn shelling machines, and trucks.

Landholders of valley irrigable lands either own, or know how to use and then rent, the ox-drawn plow. This is the simple single iron or steel-tipped plow drawn by two oxen. It is driven by one man, but sometimes a second man leads the animals.

5.1.4. Animal husbandry

Horses are kept by richer Ladinos for transportation to their distant ranchos and fincas. Horses and mules are used for cargo carrying, threshing, and are common among both Ladinos and Indians, although only the wealthier Indians can afford them.

Almost every Indian family keeps chickens, turkeys; fewer have pigs. These household animals are tended by women and children. The sale of eggs, fowl for meat, and pigs are important additions to the family income.

Many non-agricultural Ladino families keep the same household animals, and in addition ducks, which are much less common among Indians. The non-agricultural Ladino cattle merchants have horses which they use for transportation.

People of the upland colonias of Flores Magón, Balhuitz and Tzajalá have sheep herds, a common Chamula practice. They also have horses, cattle (oxen) for transport (lumber) and the household animals of fowl and pigs. The uplanders of Dos Lagunas have the same inventory, except they do not raise sheep.

Some Ladino fincas breed hybrid pigs, and one has a large sheep herd, which are raised for meat only, and not for the hides. Cattle, raised primarily for meat, are the most important livestock of the larger ranchos and fincas. There are two dairies in the
municipio; one in the valley which markets all its milk in San Cristóbal, and the other is in tierra caliente, "Cheneoultlo" which is too distant to market fresh milk, so cheese and butter are made. Barrio Indians, as a rule, do not own cattle; only a few have oxen for plow purposes.

5.1.5. Other sources of income for agriculturists

The upland colonias engage in lumbering, and market their lumber products (shingles, heavy timbers, cut boards) in Teopisca. The technology involved are axes, hand-saws, sawing platforms, and animals for transport.

Charcoal-making and firewood-gathering are economic specialities of the women of the barrios. Indian girls and women may work as servants for Teopisca Ladinos. If they go to San Cristóbal, Comitán, or Tuxtla, it often means a permanent move from the community. A few Indians derive added income from the curing art. A few, old, family-less Indian women are reduced to begging to gain their livelihood. Some Indian households manufacture candles.

In addition to wage-work in agriculture, some barrio Indians utilize their animals and hire out as cargueros. Those Indians who own threshing floors (eras) and plow teams, derive additional income by renting them to others. A number of Indians who live in Centro, but who are still primarily agriculturists, implement their income by working in some of the village skills--masons, eslaughterriors, tile-makers; and local Indians find temporary wage labor in non-agricultural activity when there is an opportunity--construction crews on the telephone line, highway, new water system, and the lumber mill near Amatenango.
5.2. **Village non-agricultural occupations--crafts, specialities**

5.2.1. **Introduction.** Non-agricultural occupations are predominantly held by Ladinos. Only a few acculturating Indians have given up agricultural work as their primary source of income (even though they may still have milpas) and work in non-agricultural jobs for the greater proportion of their income.

The categories of "full time" or "part time" are difficult terms to apply in the culture of Teopisca, because these are based upon our own rather compulsive notions of what work commitment should be. In Teopisca we do not find time clocks, 40-hour weeks or annual 2-week vacations. A more accurate way to describe a person's commitment to a particular occupation would be in terms of the proportion of his annual income which is derived from it. I do not have complete enough data to make this kind of description with assurance, but the general characteristics of job commitment can be stated. People engage in certain occupations and identify themselves and are identified by others as "carpenters", "tailors", "store-keepers" and the like. However, practically everyone is constantly seeking a way to supplement his income by other negocios, and a substantial part of any family's total annual income comes from additional pursuits. Housewives engage in activities by which much of their food and household expenses are defrayed (See 5.2.3.). Additional work opportunities are facilitated through friendships, acquaintances and the compadrizgo relationships for such things as painting, masonry and maintenance of dwellings and household equipment. These tasks a man may be able to take on during a lull in his regular job.
The term "lull" needs qualification, because the concept of urgency from the regular, implying that a lull is something precious and squeezed from a routine, is non-existent in Teopisca. This is not to mean, however, that there are not certain tasks which once started cannot be interrupted at any time; on the contrary, once some tasks are begun, they require sustained and uninterrupted effort, but there is flexibility in the timing of these tasks.

Some jobs, such as store-keeper, have built-in free time which can be devoted to extra opportunities. Ladinos engaged in broker businesses may sometimes earn the greatest part of their income in just 3-4 months "full-time" work away from town, and thus are observed in comparative idleness in Teopisca the rest of the year, during which time they may choose to look around for local opportunities. The scale and type of extra work depends upon one's capital resources and skills. A couple of school teachers have managed to build up a small capital reserve and buy and sell quantities of maiz or frijoles for profits. A young Indian man for a $7 outlay for a can of paint netted $15 by painting grave markers during Todos Santos.

For summary purposes, I forego a more detailed contextual presentation of case materials which would be required adequately to illustrate these introductory remarks on job commitment, but give, listed by familiar categories in a male-female breakdown, a fairly complete roster of village occupations.

5.2.2. Non-agricultural occupations for men.

Clothing: tailors
  shoe makers and repairers
  weaver of Indian skirt cloth (only 1 in Teopisca)

Amusements: cantineros, pool-room operators
  musicians
Construction: roof tile manufacturers
adobe brick manufacturers
carpenters
metal workers
masons, in both concrete and brick
painters
plasterers
electricians
loggers--makers of cut lumber and lumber products (restricted to upland colonias)
wage-workers, on highway, and other constructions

Foods: butchers
slaughtergers
millers, of maize (four machine-driven mills in Teopisca)

Commerce: brokers in coffee, cattle, pigs, maiz, frijoles & wheat.
truckers, both owners and choferes, ayudantes cargueros
tienda (storekeepers)

Income from properties: rent of houses, buildings for businesses
rent of plow teams
rent of threshing floors
rent of pasture and cultivated lands
rent of loading corrals

Other services: civil service--Presidente, Secretario, policemans
school teachers
tax collectors
Comisaria de Hacienda
barbers
drill master (military reserve)
men servants
"nurse" (penicillin shot dispenser)
doctor (temporary one present doing his 6 month's servicio social)

5.2.3. Occupations of women of non-agricultural households

Household crafts: sewing, crocheting
       candle-making
       making paper decorations for oratorios
       florists

Selling food items which are grown in house sitios or home made:
cakes, bread
       flowers
       honey
dulces
       fruits
pork products--chicharrones
       eggs
chorizos, manteca
       fowl
beef products--dried beef
       puppies
pigs
Proprietary incomes: renting--houses, buildings for businesses
pasture and cultivated lands

Commerce: brokers for--pigs, maiz, frijoles, wheat
 tiendas, some special stores are:
"farmacia"--patent medicines, and some even not
 so patent!
  pottery
  ice-cream parlor
 vendedoras--regular traveling circuits to Amatenango,
 aguacatenango, El Puerto and points on
 highway towards Comitan.

Other, services: servants
 telegrapher
 post-mistress
 laundresses
 "nurses"--dispensers of penicillin
 prostitutes
 mid-wives
 fondernas (only 1)
 school teachers

6.0. FAMILY ORGANIZATION--RESIDENCE, KINSHIP, MARRIAGE

6.1. Introduction. This section is a tentative statement admittedly
top-heavy with interpretation, made for the summary purposes of the
NSF project report. Completer discussion and treatment of special
problems are forthcoming when I have completed the analysis of my
census materials. The obvious differences between Ladinos and
Indians dictates separate treatment below.

6.2. Family organization among the barrio Indians

6.2.1. Introduction, general characteristics of the Indian population.

The Indians have settled-in on the fringes of Ladino society
into small neighborhood enclaves, or barrios. These barrios, either
taken singly, or as a whole, do not have the characteristics of a
"complete" society with an attendant moral order. The manner in
which the barrio family organization is articulated in the Teopisca
predominantly Ladino community is in contrast with that found in the
communities of Amatenango or Aguacatenango which can be termed to
have a tighter or smoother integration of family institutions of the
domestic sphere with those institutions which are community-wide.

Some reasons for this situation are clear enough—the Indians, while having a core population with a 2-3 generation time-depth, still do not form a stable population because of the continued trickle of "displaced" Indians immigrating and the continuous small out-migration to Centro or other Ladino communities; and the Ladino influences, while difficult to assess, have been important in providing acculturation models.

6.2.2. Kinship terminology and terms of address. Spanish kinship terms are used for reference. The reference terminology system is nearly identical with English in the kinds of affinals and consanguineals discriminated. As with us, extent of recognition of relatives depends upon factors of physical proximity. A person usually knows who his grandparents are, rarely does anyone have knowledge of persons in the great-grandparental generation. Cousins (degrees of collaterality are not usually specified) and nephews-nieces are recognized out to the 2nd degree of collaterality and rarely further.

Only the kinship terms of "mama" and "papa" are used for address. The compadrazgo terms are used for address and reference (taking precedence over a kinship term) between relatives and non-relatives who are in these relationships.

Departing from "family" sphere, Indians do not use the "Don", "Doña" terms for each other, but do use them for address and reference to some Ladinos.

The use of the regional Indian custom of the head-touch respect gesture and use of the Indian address terms in this act is extremely rare. During certain festive or ceremonial occasions, when the Indian language is used, it is most probable that such native terms are used.
6.2.3. **Marriage.** First marriages occur for men between the ages of 18-22, for women, 15-20. Free choice is the mode of selection. Preference is expressed for marriage within barrios, and for Barrio Ojo de Agua, out of 31 marriages (includes 2nd marriages and some couples now deceased or moved away), 13 were between barrio residents, 15 were made between a resident and non-resident, and three couples were married elsewhere before taking up residence in the barrio. Spouses are sought and found in other barrios, from the Indian home communities (from where emigration took place) where ties are still maintained, or from lowland areas among "displaced" Indians. Marriage with Ladinos is extremely rare, not because of any Indian taboos, but because of attitudes held by Ladinos. It is possible for Indians who go away permanently and "pass" as Ladinos to make Ladino marriages, but within the community, one's known background mitigates against Ladino-Indian marriage. The marriage taboos held by Ladinos however does not preclude promiscuity, and many men of even the "best" Ladino families are the known fathers and lovers of barrio residents. Under certain circumstances, the offspring of these unions may become recognized as Ladinos. A girl whose genealogy had been "fixed" by "adoption" (she has close relatives, unrecognized now by her, in Ojo de Agua) married a boy from a long-standing, but of medium status, Ladino family. Marriage between 1st cousins is criticized by the church, so that Indians say it is not possible, but a few do occur.

There are no firmly practiced rules of pedida exchange or bride price, but I suspect that some Indians practice some form of these. The "proper" marriage is contracted by the groom obtaining
permission from the bride's family. A common type of marriage, however (and which leads one to suspect that a bride price is involved in the "proper" marriage) is the "robbing" of the girl by the man, after which they live at the man's house and after a time make up to the girl's family and then the union is firmly recognized. Indians are rarely married by catholic ceremonies. First marriages are carried out according to law by a civil ceremony performed by the Presidente of the municipio, sometime shortly after the actual union, so that little importance is attached to this event. Only older couples are usually found living "juntados", and these are often second marriages. Periodically, attempts are made by the church to get unions sanctioned by the priest, and occasionally these efforts are successful by "mass marriages", long after the fact. The most important ceremony heralding marriage are the private family fiestas, at either parent's house, with relatives, friends and padrinos invited.

6.2.4. Residence, household composition, inheritance.

Neo-local residence is the preferred and actualized pattern, but immediately after marriage, the couple usually lives in the household of one of the partner's parents until they can afford a house of their own. Of the 25 households of Barrio Ojo de Agua, we find the following breakdown:

- Nuclear family -- hus, wife, with or without children: 13
- Nuclear family, "": plus adopted children: 2
- Widow with children: 2
- Widower with children: 1
- Women with children, second wives of men who live apart, but in same sitio: 2
- Two brothers, both with wives and children: 1
- Two sisters, one a spinster, other with husband and children: 1
- Three siblings, brother, brother with wife and children, sister with husband: 1
Husband and wife with married son *  1
Husband and wife with married daughter *  1

* While the number of young married couples living with parents is actually small, the past history of the other residents of this barrio, now living neo-locally or in the various compound combinations, indicates that this pattern is prevalent.

Houses are passed on to the children, but elicited "rules" of inheritance conflict. The actual number of cases of inheritance are small as yet for Barrio Ojo de Agua, due to the fact that settlement is recent, and the properties of the original settlers have been bought and sold. The known cases of house origins are as follows:

Houses inherited from husband's family:
To youngest son  1
To oldest son  4
sitio space for new house on old sitio  1

Houses inherited from wife's family:  2

Independent purchases of existing houses, or the purchase of sitio land for building own house, or grant of free sitio:  18

Inheritance of ejido lands, which probably must be approved or settled by the Ejido Committee, is unclear to me.

6.2 .5. Compadrazgo. A person has god-parents for baptism, confirmation, and marriage (rarely). These relations, and the resultant compadre relations established between the parent and padrino are extensive, but only these relationships which are found with close relatives and friends seem to carry much significance, and this is mainly one of "friendship".

Indians often choose Ladinos for padrinos, but these Ladinos rarely become "friends", or have any obligations towards their god-children. Yet, the Indian has an obligation to invite them to certain family fiestas and the Ladinio generally comes, but does not always reciprocate the obligation of bringing a gift, if it is a birthday fiesta.
6.3. **Family organization among Ladinos**

6.3.1. **Kinship terminology and terms of address.** Use of kinship terminology is not appreciably different from Indian usage. There is greater elaboration, however, of address terms, with more discrimination in the use of the "usted-Tu" forms. Also, Ladinos use "muchacho" to address and refer to an adult Indian man, and this is not for "endearment"!

Ladinos have a more extensive range of kinsmen recognition, both generationally and collateral.

6.3.2. **Marriage.** As among Indians, first marriages occur at an early age. There appears to be a greater amount of marriage away from the community by the wealthier Ladinos, where/spouses more fitting to their station is greater than in Teopisca. Class affiliation is important in the choice of spouses, which probably limits the freedom of choice in selection. Close relative taboos are probably more closely observed; no first cousin marriages were noted.

Among the poor Ladinos, some patterns are not much different from Indian ones. "Robbing" a wife without parental approval is common, and church weddings rare with only the civil ceremony practiced.

Church weddings, for the medium to wealthy Ladinos, are elaborate and expensive, involving two grand fiestas; one given by the wife's family the day before, and one given by the husband's family on the day of the wedding. Medium-wealthy families put on about as much display as the wealthier ones, in a spirit of "keeping up with the Jones'."

6.3.3. **Similar with Indians.** Ladinos prefer neo-local residence, but post-wedding residence with either spouse's families often takes place, so that similar patterns of compound family households are found.
There is variation in inheritance, and as with the Indians, I heard conflicting statements on what the rules are.

6.3.4. **Compadrazgo.** Ladinos never seek padrino relationships with Indians, and enter into them only at the Indian's initiation. Ladinos, at least the wealthier ones, take the gift-giving obligations more seriously. As with Indians, the compadrazgo relationships serve to cement friendships.

6.4. **Family life and kinship behaviors—Ladino-Indian comparisons.**

In both the large Ladino and Indian groupings, there exists similar cultural definitions of the male-female roles— in the "double standard" applied to pre-marital, and post-marital sexual relations, respect for the father, female display of vergüenza, partiality towards boys in disciplining the young. However, among the Ladinos, there are striking differences of elaboration of all these traits, which correspond to class differences.

Chaperoning young girls is less controlled among Indians than among Ladinos. Courtship among young Indian couples is secret in two senses—the girl is out without her family's permission, and the couple meet on back streets. The Ladino courtship is "open"—the girl chaperoned, and they meet in the plaza or at each other's homes.

The importance of the family as socializing agent is present for both groups, but for Ladinos, whose children have longer periods of school attendance, the school plays a greater role and provides much more of a "Mexican" identification than is observable among Indians and hence is a partial source for many subtle cultural differences between these two groups. (Some Indian boys, who participate in the Army reserve program, display pride in this service, and a consciousness of being "Mexican").
Among both groups there is similarity in the selection among close kinsmen for enduring friendship, work or business relationships. These choices are based upon personal choice and compatibility, but which are undoubtedly conditioned by a variety of subtle factors. While there are not prescribed kinship behaviors that automatically lead to such relationships for certain classes of kinsmen, the role of kinship, and specifically, bilateral kinship, is extremely important for both Ladinos and indios in providing a pool, or reserve, of possible persons from which selection can be made for the strong primary group relationships which may begin at adolescence, or even earlier, and last throughout one's lifetime.

7.0. LADINO-INDIAN RELATIONS, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

7.1. Introduction. Under several headings of this report, some comparisons and differences between indios and ladinos have been drawn. This report is concluded with a short summary of ethnic relations and some comments on cultural differences and similarities.

7.2. Ethnic relations. The Ladino-Indian difference is probably the deepest division between groups found in Teopisca. The class differences between the ladinos themselves are also very sharp, and may be equally divisive in certain contexts. Like all cultures, members of each group tend to hold stereotypic views concerning the opposite group. I learned when I moved from Centro to barrio Ojo de Agua that some of the richer ladinos had not even been considering the barrios as parts of the community when I had previously interviewed them on aspects of the whole pueblo. I was strongly urged by them not to move out to the barrio, because "you will be murdered; they drink and fight all the time; the food is bad; the climate and houses are cold; you will be robbed." Then, when I made
references to some particular Indian, I was met with, "Oh yes, he is muy buen muchacho." Similarly, the Indians make the following statements about Ladinos: "They always buy things from us cheaply, and then we have to pay dearly when we buy from them; they steal our animals; Ladinos are always trying to cheat us; the cabildo (municipio government) never helps us, but serves to fill their own pockets; they never keep their horses penned up, so that they break into our milpas." Yet, Indians speak fondly of certain Ladino individuals, usually in terms that they "do favors" for us--thus still making a "they-us" distinction.

Economic relations form the main area of contact and relations between the two groups. In this sphere, individuals from each group seek each other out for mutual benefits. Relations may range from the extremely impersonal, and often hostile, interchanges between a Ladina and an Indian woman selling carbon or leña, to the free and easy socializing, with the help of liquor, between and Indian and his patron in a local cantina. However, such public socializing is rare, and limited to the really less public meetings in cantinas late at night. Close contacts are established between a Ladino child and an Indian maid. However, after such relations are terminated, the Indian will move back into her setting and the closeness is abruptly cut off. Women telling about their past experiences as servants tend to mention only the disagreeable and hateful aspects.

Indians are suspicious of Ladinos, which undoubtedly stems from long and continuous subordinate status. I was identified as a Ladino and was suspected at times of being involved in something political against the Indians. Indian women are "shy", and approach a face-to-face contact with Ladinos hesitantly, and often
remain outside a sitio when conducting business, seldom being invited in by the Ladino.

Visiting is rare between members of these groups, and public "fraternizing" is rare. Each group sticks to themselves when loitering and relaxing about in the plaza.

7.3. Some comments on cultural differences and similarities.

Specific differences in settlement and residence, political and religious life, occupations and family organization have already been discussed. Here, I add further some traits which at times "mark" the Ladino or Indian, but it should be emphasized that these are central tendencies, and that exceptions exist.

The literacy of Indians is low. There are only three men of Ojo de Agua who are literate, and self-taught. School attendance is less for Indians, with only four barrios served by schools, and in which attendance is erratic. Even a Ladino school teacher declared, "She doesn't want to go to school" when I pointed out that his Indian servant was of school age.

Some linguistic usages are distinctive, as in the street greeting of "despues" used only by Indians. The Indian male gait, with arms swinging in front of the body, is distinctive. While the use of diminutive Spanish forms is almost universally practiced by both groups, Ladinos use them when referring to things Indian (San Miguelito for San Miguel, an Indian saint). Often, when an Indian initiates a conversation with a Ladino, he removes his sombrero (an act of deference?). The richer Ladinos do not wear a sombrero when dressed up and idling in the plaza. Sandle are a mark of a poor Ladino or Indian, and Indian women are almost always barefoot. Only Ladinos engage in gambling games—dominoes, cards and coin-toss.
The use of curanderoa is more often practiced by Indians, although they tend to deny this, and they do use modern medicine when they can afford it. This difference however, needs qualification. I heard of a case where even a wealthy ladino went to a local Teopiscanera of Barrio Miradero for divining and a cure, and she was successful so that this man praised her abilities to an Indian acquaintance of Aguacatenango who subsequently journeyed to Teopisca for her services.

I mention these various markers, but include the stricture that such "out-of-context" statements are not too valuable. Many of the differences cited here may be due to the fact that Indians are simply poorer, and would otherwise practice ladino traits if they had the resources. Thus, in many respects, they display no more differences from the poorer ladinos, and share the situation of poverty. Such trait-listing breaks down when we note the many acculturative forces operating upon the Indians—women who wear shoes and dresses, and not the "Modified Indian" costume of long skirt and blouse; and the change of surname from the Indian "Ton" or "Santis" to ladino "Torres" and "Valdes". I hope to treat some problems of acculturation more adequately in a forthcoming report.

References cited


My own Field Notes, and "Check List Report", copies on file in the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago—"NSF Chiapas Project" files.
### Tables of Household Sitio Characteristics among Indians

1. **Number of Buildings per Sitio**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total number of buildings</th>
<th>Number of sitios with 1 building</th>
<th>Number of sitios with 2 buildings</th>
<th>Number of sitios with 3 or more buildings</th>
<th>Average number of buildings per sitio</th>
<th>Modal number of buildings per sitio</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent. of sample of 49 household sitios</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Building Specialization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of household sitios</th>
<th>per cent. of sample of these houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitchen apart</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>granary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storehouse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitchens or sleeping houses with corredor</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privy</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweat bath (temascal)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **House construction materials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of buildings with walls made of</th>
<th>per cent. of sample of 99 buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wattle-daub</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boards, slats, or shingles</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open, or with stones-in-pole-webbing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of buildings with roofs made of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiles</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shingles</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thatch</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>64.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

4. **Sitio crops and animals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of household sitios with:</th>
<th>per cent. of sample of 26 households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pigs</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens, or turkeys</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>92.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flowers*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables (includes: squash, chayote, small milpa with corn and beans)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit trees* (includes: anona, apples, and peaches)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*aFrom census materials on two barrios—Zaragoza (23 households) and Ojo de Agua (26 households).*

*bSample size: 99 buildings of barrios Zaragoza and Ojo de Agua.*

*cSample: Barrio Ojo de Agua only—26 households.*

*Data incomplete for these items.*
The Mexican census of 1950 gives the total Centro-barrio area population as 3,151. At the present day, estimates by both informants and my colleagues place the figure nearer 4,000. I am indebted to Phillip Wagner for providing me with this official census information (from: Dirección General de Estadística, 1952. Integración territorial de los Estados Unidos de México. Séptimo censo General de población. 1950.)

Richer Ladinos hire construction specialists for the building of their houses. Poorer Ladinos and Indians build their own houses and often get help from friends and relatives on a reciprocal basis.

The population of Dos Lagunas may be also made up of former Oxchqueros. Huistecos of Yalcuc have expressed to Frank Miller that the people of Dos Lagunas are Oxchqueros, and are famous for their curing art. (Frank Miller, personal communication.)

A case which had not been finally decided by the time I left the field (December, 1958) is illustrative. A Ladino school teacher (for the state) of barrio Zaragoza was helping the Indians of that barrio, plus the Indians of Barrios Cerro Felon and San Sebastián, who were working through their respective barrio education committees and the central Ejido committee, in an attempt to get a larger and better school to serve these three barrios. Their case was being argued before several Ladino authorities - the local municipio government, and, in San Cristóbal, before the state and federal school administrations. (I am indebted to Duane Metzger who helped me obtain this information from the Ladino teacher involved.)

Two important Teopisca barrio saints, San Miguel and San Isidro, are also important in the religious calendar of Huistán. San Miguel is the patron saint of Huistán. (Frank Miller, personal communication)

During peak activity periods, both Ladinos and Indians who have holdings in tierra caliente, spend several days at a time in their fields, which are located too far away for the men to return to Teopisca every day.
Section 14

VENUSTIANO CARRANZA
Venustiano Carranza (San Bartolomé de los Llanos):

A Summary

Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-Labor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Industries</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade With Other Towns</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians and Ladios: Pobres and Ricos</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrios</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milpa Groupitos</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Family</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government and Religion</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Civil-Religious Organization</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present-day Organization</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rites of Passage</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This community summary was prepared as a working paper for the Highland Maya Seminar, Spring Quarter, 1959. Sources used were the available field notes (in the "Man and Nature Project" Files, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago) of three workers who have spent varying periods of field work in the community: Arthur Rubel (3 months, 1957); John Baroco (27 months, 1957); and Michael Salovesh, (9 months, 1958-59, but only notes covering the first three months of Salovesh's stay were available at time of writing).

"Venustiano Carranza" is the post-Revolutionary name of the community under review; "San Bartolomé de los Llanos" is the pre-Revolutionary name. Indians of this community are sometimes referred to, in this summary, as "Bartoleños."
INTRODUCTION

Venustiano Carranza, the cabecera of the large municipio of the same name, is located in the southwest corner of the transect studied by the University of Chicago Chiaons project. The municipio, and the land used by Bartoleños, lies between 2,000 and 2,500 feet and is watered by two large rivers, the Río Grijalva and the Río Blanco and their tributaries. The cabecera is situated on the ridge of a volcanic core, about 600 feet above the plain of the Río San Vicente, and is about 2,500 feet above sea level.

The population of the town of Venustiano Carranza includes approximately 3,000 Tzotzil-speaking Indians and 3,000 Ladinos. The center of the town is laid out grid-fashion. Around the plaza are found the municipal and federal buildings, the main church, stores, and the homes of non-agriculturalist Ladinos. Surrounding the grid-patterned town center, in somewhat more crowded areas of less regular street or path patterning, are found the homes of campesino Ladinos and the Indian population. The former tend to live closer to the town center. The Indian residential area is divided into five barrios, each with a church dedicated to its patron saint. The names of these barrios are: Convento, Señor del Pozo, San Pedro Mártir, Señor del Calvario, and San Sebastián. Many Indian household sitios do not front directly on the winding streets or paths, but can only be entered by walking through another sitio which does. These sitios are smaller, by and large, than house sitios of other Indian communities, because of the constant dividing up of sitios made necessary by spatial limitations on this volcanic ridge.

Field work in the town has been almost exclusively among the Indians, and they are the main subject of this report.
Four sources of livelihood can be found among Indians of Venustiano Carranza. The most important is agriculture, mostly on a subsistence basis, but also for sale. A second is the sale of services, food, and craft-goods by women and children to Ladinos in the town and, secondarily, to other Indians. The third is trade in agricultural and craft products with people of other towns during fiestas both in Venustiano Carranza and in nearby towns. A fourth is wage labor for other Bartoleños or on fincas. The degree to which Bartoleños depend on the latter three categories for food, goods, and money has not been determined. Few Indians living in town keep animals because of lack of space and high incidence of pests and disease.

Agriculture

Agricultural land is classified as either tierra baja or pedregal. Tierra baja is the better land because of its location near streams supplying water during part or all of the year. This land is held almost exclusively by Ladino cattle ranchers and government-sponsored ejido organizations. Many Indians work ejido land and live in permanent settlements (colonias) near it. Because of non-residence in Venustiano Carranza itself and competition for land between Bartoleños and ejidatarios, such Indians are considered outside the town's Indian community and "traitors" to it. Some Bartoleños have both ejido milpa in the ejidos and pedregal milpa; these may live either in a colonia or in the town.

Indians and Ladino campesinos have milpas in a region known as El Pedregal, higher than the tierra baja, dotted with outcroppings of volcanic rock, and watered only by rain and ground-water. This land is held communally by the
whole town, but is administered by a political body named Bienes Comunales made up of Indian and ladino farmers.

El Pedregal is not close to the town; some parts are 24 kilometers away. Farmers go with their unmarried sons to the milpa on Monday morning with water, masa (moist corn mash prepared for cooking or eating), and beans, returning only on weekends and fiestas. Their wives and children remain in town.

Agricultural technique is the slash-and-burn type common in the transect, with local differences stemming from differences in altitude and type of land. All farmers with milpa in the communal lands, Indians and Ladinos alike, use the same techniques. After felling the heavier cover on a previously fallow piece of land, it is burned over. It is then planted for as many years as it will produce a good crop and allowed to go fallow again. Corn is planted in holes made with the barreta (an iron-tipped digging stick or short iron bar), about 32 inches apart; several kernels are dropped into each hole and covered over. Usually the corn is mixed in the milpa with four or five classes of beans, two or three of chilli, jicame, and gourds. Usually planted separately are peanuts, yucca, aguacate, achiote, mango, two or three varieties of camote, and tomatoes. Rice is also an important crop where there is sufficient water. In parts of El Pedregal where crops must be planted close to numerous volcanic outcroppings, the luá is used as a cutting tool; otherwise the single- or double-edged machete is employed. For weeding (limpiar) the hacha and oca are also used.

Cattle-raising has become an important enterprise among Ladinos in Venustiano Carranza due to the recent completion of roads connecting the town with the national market. Open-range grazing is the technique used and, with growing herds, these Ladinos need more and more land. The milpa system of
agriculture being possible only with large areas lying fallow, competition for land between cattle-raisers and campesinos has become extremely great. Cattle-owners accuse campesinos, by which they mean the Indian majority of them, of laziness and poor utilization of their land. Campesinos, on the other hand, constantly complain that cattle over-run their fields, making agriculture impossible in some areas without a large outlay for barbed-wire fencing. They say there is no use bringing complaints to the local Ladino-run courts, where they will receive only bad treatment. The campesino organization Bienes Comunales controls the communal lands of Venustiano Carranza. Armed with ties to powerful regional and national agrarian organizations, it prevents, when possible, cattle-raisers from establishing rights over communal lands. Bienes Comunales and land rivalry are important in the social organization and will be discussed again under that heading.

Most agricultural products are used within the family whose head produced them, but all campesinos try to produce enough to sell. Prices paid for agricultural products are high and (say informants) living standards are better than before the new road connecting Venustiano Carranza to regional and national markets was finished. The yearly price cycle reaches a peak just before harvest. Surpluses are stored at home for resale at this time or whenever cash is needed. If a family runs out of staples before harvest it must buy them from campesino families who have a surplus or from Ladino merchants. When there is a surplus at harvest, or if money is needed at that time, there are several outlets for corn and other products: truckers, who buy for good prices directly from Indians; Indians living at higher altitudes who need corn and whose own croos are not yet mature (Chamula Indians, who pass through Venustiano Carranza on their way home from fincas, are mentioned
as paying good prices for newly-harvested corn); or local ladino merchants 
and middlemen. In case money is needed at any time before harvest, unharvested 
crops can be sold, as a last resort, to non-farmer Ladinos for low prices. 
I have found conflicting statements on the frequency of this, but one ladino 
is said to have bought 1,000 fanegas of the February corn crop by early 
November.

Wage-labor

Another source of income, both cash and food, is working for other 
Bartoleños or on fincas. Pay for both is by the tarea, a unit of piece-work, 
and meals are sometimes included. Work for others is always recompensed even 
if the employee is a relative. Finca work is done only by those having in-
sufficient land or no land at all, or if money is badly needed.

Household Industries

A partial list of household industries in Venustiano Carranza includes 
the making of palm sombreros, cloth, clothes made from this cloth or from 
that purchased at stores, some pottery, and prepared food. All but the first 
are made by women and children. These products are sold to local Indians 
and Ladinos or to people of other towns. Conveniently classed with the 
manufacture and sale of products made in the home is the "sale" of services. 
Many Indian women and girls are maids for non-farmer Ladinos, caring for 
children, cooking, and cleaning. The relative importance of these to each 
other and to production of agricultural products is not known, but both are 
mentioned as good sources of income, especially when there is no man in the 
household. Sale of these products is done at the maker's household, by door-
to-door peddling, or on any day in the plaza. There is no regular market day in 
Venustiano Carranza.
Trade with Other Towns

Trade with other towns is carried on mostly during fiestas, either in Venustiano Carranza or in other towns. Both household and agricultural products are traded in return for other products and for cash. Information on trade and/or pilgrimage patterns with other towns is not complete. Towns mentioned several times in the notes are Comitán, Bahuitz, Soconotenango, Aguacatenango, and Chamula. Pilgrims from other towns are mentioned as present in Venustiano Carranza in large numbers during the fiestas and at the time a ceremony (Santa Cruz) asking for water which takes place at a hill near the town, called Ch'ulhuitz. The latter draws many people from as far away as Laguna de Janajachel (sic; Panajachel?) in Guatemala. However, several informants denied, and none affirmed, the presence of trade during this celebration. Contradictory statements about trading during some other fiestas were obtained and there seems to be a desire among the Indians to minimize its importance.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Indians and Ladinos: Pobres and Ricos

Bartálezos have two frameworks for broadly categorizing people: a man is either an Indian or a Ladino, and he is either a pobre (poor person) or a rico (rich person). All Indians are pobres, while a Ladino can be either a rico or a pobre. The most important social division seems to be that of pobres and ricos. Pobres include Indians and poor Ladinos.

A number of cultural differences distinguish Indian and Ladinos. Indians speak Tzotzil (idioma), although many speak Spanish as a second language; few Ladinos speak idioma. Indians, and never Ladinos, are usually seen in the Indian garb distinctive of Venustiano Carranza. Only Indians have two
surnames, one Spanish and the other Tzotzil. Tzotzil kinship terms can be extended to any member of the Indian community but never to ladinos. Perhaps the most important social distinction is active participation in certain fiestas, which ladinos watch and sometimes help prepare for, but never take an active part in. Only during these fiestas do the few remaining vestiges of the former system of civil and religious offices approach their former structure and function. The fiesta of San Bartolomé, the patron saint, is the most important of these. (One of the field workers remarks that he can think of no ladinos with the given name of Bartolomé. It is by far the most common Indian name.)

Indians are distinguished from ladinos by these cultural differences, many of which are consciously-maintained symbols of Indianness recognized by all. These act to set Indians off as a social group, but apparently have little other functional connection among themselves or significance in the society. The social unity of pobres (which includes poor ladinos) has come about only in the last few decades through factors which will be discussed later. The means by which Indians and poor ladinos are distinguishable one from another are becoming progressively less and less marked.

The symbols of identification with the Indian group are well-defined and are steadfastly preserved by Indians who wish to be known as such. Manufactured clothing is cheaper than the home-made Indian costume, yet none but the poorest wear it. Families whose members are fluent in Spanish use it only when dealing with ladinos, who they consider rather stupid because they can speak only one language. Most fiestas have observances which are uniquely Indian or which are carried on by Indians separately from ladinos and the fact that some of these are coming to look more and more like ladino observances does not alter their importance as symbols of distinctiveness.
A rico is a Ladino whose means of livelihood includes cattle-raising, a store, an administrative post, or buying goods for resale, and whose house in El Centro, close to the plaza. Most pobres are campesinos, but some are wage-laborers. The few people raised as Indians who have taken on rico occupations, however, are still considered Indians.

It is only within the last quarter century that the rico-pobre distinction has become the most important social division. In the early 1930's a Ladino schoolteacher who was an adherent of the agrarian reform movement then current, set about to unite the campesinos against their oppressors. Three things which he is reported to have done are important here. First, he broke down inter-barrio rivalry, making it possible for Indians to co-operate among themselves. Second, by padlocking the Indian ayuntamiento, he greatly weakened the civil functions of the hierarchy, then the most important source of Indian social independence. Third, he opened the communal lands in El Pedregal to Ladino farmers, making possible what is now the most important source of social contact and co-operation between Indian and Ladino campesinos—farming the same land and defending it from the encroachments of cattle-raisers.

Bienes Comunales, with its campesino membership, is a reaction to this threat. It has taken over the land-administrating functions of the former civil hierarchy. Unless a cattle-owner is in a position to get communal land by force or through the courts, he must ask Bienes Comunales for permission to use it. This permission is usually not granted.

The organization is clearly dominated by Indians, both in numbers and influence. Its officers are elected by its members, making a combination of knowledge of Ladino culture (especially of Spanish) and prestige among Indians
necessary for the attainment of a cost. The field notes hint that in impor-
tant matters, old Indians who have high traditionally defined prestige and
authority (principales) who went through the former hierarchy, are consulted
before reaching a decision.

A number of other factors strengthen the new pobres group and at the same
time contribute both Indian and Ladino-derived elements to its culture. Its
men work together as neighbors in the milpa and its women visit with each
other in the neighborhoods where they live more or less intermixed. Marriage
between Indians and pobres ladinos is not uncommon. The children of such
couples are usually raised as Ladinos, but by no means always. Indians
and poor ladinos both contribute money, food, and work for fiestas, including
those mentioned above as strictly Indian. Finally, the group's most effective
leaders have authority and prestige as defined by the Indian tradition, combined
with familiarity with Ladino culture.

Some aspects of mobility between the groups are difficult for me to
assess. The field notes have only a small amount of information about Ladinos,
and none about mobility between the rico and pobres divisions. Identification
by Bartoleños as Indian or Ladino is fixed by the time a person reaches
adulthood. A man known as an Indian can withdraw from the Indian community,
but not from identification by ladinos with it. Some Indians change their
clothes, do not use the Indian surname, use only Spanish, engage in rico
occupations and show Ladino-like scorn for Indians and their ways; yet every-
body knows they are Indians and their Ladino friends will speak of them patron-
izingly as Inditos. Although an Indian cannot become Ladino, he can, as
many do, attach himself to a colonia and ejido-group where the domination of
the ricos does not extend. He can also, with a good knowledge of Ladino ways,
present himself as Ladino.
Status as ladino or Indian is not hereditary. An Indian couple with a
good knowledge of ladino culture may rear their children in it. Offspring
of mixed marriages can be reared as members of either group, depending only
on the desire of the parents.

Barrios

In Venustiano Carranza, there are five official barrios and nine unofficial
"districts", some of which coincide with barrios and some of which are geo-
graphically sub-divisions of barrios. District names are often given in reply
to questions about residence. I do not know which unit is functionally more
important and will use the term "barrio" throughout.

Barrios were once much more important than now. Each barrio had its
independent set of principales, while now principales function in the context
of the whole Indian (and sometimes pobre) community. Formerly, their approval
was necessary to change barrio residence or to farm another barrio's section
of the communal land. Any attempts at inter-barrio courtship or marriage were
forcibly discouraged by the young men of the girl's barrio. A person did not
enter another barrio without a good reason. Young men would sometimes cross
barrio lines in a group, looking for trouble; the young men of the invaded
barrio usually saw that they found it. (These frequently mentioned "young men
of the barrio" may correspond to the escuadrillas of Aguacatenango. See
Sec. 11, pp. 17. They are mentioned only in connection with the past.)
The strong rivalry between barrios was broken down when the campesinos were
united. A favorite phrase when talking about that reformer is "Now we are
united, now we are one town."
Barrios now serve two principal functions, one in connection with agriculture and the other at fiestas. Each barrio traditionally used separate sections of the communal land, but because of loss of land to cattle-raisers and ejido groups, two of the smaller barrios now share sections with two of the larger. As in the past, permission of the principales is necessary to farm in another barrio's land, but such requests are now channeled through Bienes Comunales.

Barrios function as a unit in some fiestas. In the important Indian ceremony on the hill of Ch'ulhuitz in May each barrio goes separately on different days to ask for water and success in the milpa. Until 1948 the Indian community went as a whole. In some fiestas, especially that of San Bartolomé and those of the barrio patrons, the people of the barrio (Indians and Ladinos, unless it is an Indian fiesta) hold a procession from the barrio's church to the main church. In the 1957 Indian fiesta of San Bartolomé, the first bullfight in Venustiano Carranza was held in the plaza in a corral, each side of which was built by one of the barrios. These innovations indicate that part of identifying oneself as an Indian is to participate in barrio membership in ways that poor Ladinos cannot.

Milpa Grupitos

The grupito is a group of about 20 men, pobres, but not necessarily Indians, who have neighboring milpas on their barrio's land and who cooperate with each other in tasks important to the group such as fence-building. The grupito has as its core a group of brothers and their grown sons of the same barrio, one of whom is the leader of the grupito. Other members are usually related to this core by marriage or compadrazgo. The grupito is not a permanent unit, but stays together only as long as fallow land is available in the area.
Then new land must be sought, it breaks up, probably into patrilineally related groups who join another grupito or move to land not being used by others.

The grupito (judging from complete lack of mention of it in the field notes until anthropologists accompanied Indians to their milpas) functions only on weekdays in the context of the milpa. Its members cooperate in fence-building, usually cook and sleep together in the evening, and share the same drinking water.

The Family

I have not analyzed the census material. The statements below are either taken from Rubel's papers or inferred from informant's statements, which are often contradictory. They are, at best, guesses.

The nuclear family, consisting of a man, his wife, and their children, is the basic economic, residence, and child-rearing unit. When the family is begun by marriage, it may take up residence under the same roof as one of the couple's parents or live in the same compound, but in a separate household. The latter is preferred, but the cost of building houses, if there is not one empty on the compound, must be borne by the boy and is usually prohibitive. At marriage a man is given milpa by his own or his wife's father and probably joins the grupito of the donor. The couple is then an independent economic unit, growing, cooking, and eating its own food even when sharing a household with parents. Choice of residence with the parents of the boy or the girl seems to be determined mainly by which family furnishes milpa. If both sets of parents offer some, it will be accepted from the boy's family and the couple will live with them. Of 91 households (not compounds) in two barrios, 55
are composed only of the nuclear family, 22 include a married son and his family, and 14 include a married daughter and her family.

Kinship terminology, according to the little available information, sometimes contradictory, differentiates kinsmen according to generation, sex, and relative age within ego's generation. The terminology is extended to members of the Indian community at large. Terms used for different generations within the family are used outside of it to further differentiate people with regard to their age relative to ego and the respect due them by him.

Nuclear families related by marriage or blood do not combine into larger social groups except in the grupitos. Relatives are used for baby-sitting, visit one another frequently, and attend rites of passage involving one of their members. However, informants consistently say that relatives are not asked more frequently than others to help in the milpa, in housebuilding, or when money and food are needed for emergencies or to pay for a family or public fiesta. If relatives are asked, wages are given and loans repaid with interest, as with anyone else.

GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

Former Civil-Religious Organization

The political and religious structure of the Indian community was once dominated by a hierarchical set of offices, the lowest of which all men entered in their early teens. Taking on one office after another in their proper order, one might eventually become a leader of the community, respected and obeyed by all. This structure is now all but defunct and it is difficult to elicit consistent accounts of it. A reasonably complete reconstruction follows.

The lowest office was that of mayorcito, undertaken at about the age of 12. These were messengers and errand-boys at the service of higher officers.
in the ayuntamiento and were about 25 in number. Above these was the office of mayor, filled by one man at a time. Next were six regidores, who served the priest and the presidente, each a leader of a formal aspect of the Ladino community. Directing the regidores was an alcalde, the top position in the civil side of the hierarchy. Parallel to these offices, but functioning in a religious context, were several sets of offices, each dedicated to the care of a particular santo for a one-year period. Each set was headed by a prioste, equal in rank to a regidor. Under him, in descending rank, were a bankilal, a maltomar primero, and a maltomar segundo.

After serving as alcalde and prioste, a man passed out of the hierarchy and became a principal of his barrio. These old men were the undisputed leaders of their barrios and, when they acted in concert, of the whole Indian community. They functioned in both religious and civil contexts, one of their most important duties being to ensure that all the offices of the hierarchy and the specialized offices (see next paragraph) were filled. Their permission was necessary to change barrio residence or to farm another barrio's land. They organized and collected money for fiestas, as well as having an important part in the ritual of each. One informant states that the principales could say mass.

Several other offices existed which were not part of the hierarchy, but which a person could not fill until he had reached a certain rank in it. These had more specialized functions and, while increasing a man's general status, did not increase his formal authority. The office of alférez, held only by principales, entailed contributing the major share of the money, food, and drink necessary for a fiesta and having an important ritual position in it. The office lasted only during one fiesta, but could be held several times.
Another such office, lower in rank, was that of carrerante, one of the group of young men who participated in ritual horse races during a few major fiestas. The group was led by the alférez of the fiesta. Another office mentioned is that of sacristán, caretaker of a church, held for a year at a time. Another is as a member of the group of cantores, who played music at fiestas.

Present-day Organization

The system described above is now all but gone. The hierarchy, with its offices of mayorcito, alcalde, and prioste, has completely disappeared. There are still principales, but their functions and method of selection are now quite different. Positions of authority are no longer limited to the few respected men who have passed through the hierarchy after many years of competent service to the community. Qualities of leadership and dedication to the good of the community are still important, but ability to speak Spanish and face Ladinons on their own terms is equally so.

The civil functions of the former hierarchy are now split between Bienes Comunales, which operates in matters concerning the communal lands, and the Ladino civil government. The present ayuntamiento has four regidores, including three Ladinons and one Indian appointed by the Ladino presidente. The Indian regidor apparently does not have much of a voice in the context of the Ladino government, and is nominated only as "a left-handed recognition of the fact that there are Indians in the town".* Each barrio has one or two Indian representantes who probably serve as a channel of communication from the ayuntamiento to the Indian community, mainly when communal work needs doing and when Indians must be in evidence during visits of important political figures.

* Michael Salovesh (personal communication).
The number of representantes from the barrios is fluid. On some occasions, all principales are liable to be called to the ladino ayuntamiento for consultation, and in this context are called representantes. In one barrio, three men are regularly referred to as representantes. Of these three men, one is regularly referred to as principal; one is occasionally called a principal; and one is never called a principal.*

Principales still function in important ways that are not entirely clear. Their religious functions (and those of the specialized officials) are practically the same as described above, op. 13-15. Informants, both Indian and Ladino but especially the latter, explicitly deny that they function in any but a religious context, but there is evidence to the contrary: 1) principales are probably still consulted, through Bienes Comunales, in matters involving the communal lands. 2) One informant out of several who talked about the office of representantes said they relayed the desires of the ladino presidente to the principales—not to the people, as stated in the previous paragraph. 3) The field workers were told they should have permission from the principales before conducting a census. They met strong resistance until they were accompanied by a principal or a young man appointed by the principal.

The position of the principales is further obscured by the fact that they are of two kinds. The "old" principales seem to be very highly respected old men who passed through at least part of the hierarchy when it was in existence. Their effectiveness is greatly impaired by their monolingualism and consequent inability to deal directly with Ladinos. "Young" principales are probably the active leaders of the Indian community—at least they themselves

* Michael Salovesh (personal communication).
say so. They have not, of course, participated in the hierarchy, but have at various times filled temporary positions in fiestas, e.g. that of carrerante. However, many Indian men have held such positions and it seems likely that the "young" principales have attained their title and status simply through their effectiveness in leading the community, both in affairs internal to it and in relations with Ladinos. The ranks of the "young" principales and representantes overlap. One informant who holds both offices says he is a principal by virtue of the fact that he is a representante, but another says there are representantes who are not principales.

There are also religious offices of woman principales, several from each barrio. These offices are said to have originated in recent times, since the 1930's. Fairly old, partially acculturated women serve as these principales and link the Indian community to the priest and the Ladino Catholic Church in much the same way as the representantes link the community to the Ladino civil government. They inform the Indians of the wishes of the priest, collect money for non-Indian fiestas, and maintain a token participation in Ladino church groups, such as in parties for the priest. They are appointed by the priest.

RITES OF PASSAGE

The following information is sketchy, except for marriage, but is presented for possible comparative usefulness.

Birth

At baptism a child's parents become compadre with two other adults. There is a hint that the child's grandparents are also compadre with the sponsor. "B U, the padrino of the child, is compadre of the grandmother of the child because he carried the child to its baptism."
Padrinos de Evangelio are also mentioned for young children. Children are breast-fed until the age of two and a half or three. One Indian woman says that a woman should not have intercourse after the third or fourth month of pregnancy, or for two months after childbirth; for 40 days after the birth, the mother eats nothing but chicken broth and meat and eggs. Other informants denied any food restrictions.

Confirmation

Indian children are confirmed and acquire another set of godparents.

Marriage

Boys are usually married soon after the age of sixteen and girls soon after fourteen. The priest will not allow earlier marriages or those between people with the same Indian surname. In general, the younger the person, the more parents control selection of a spouse. The woman keeps her own name after marriage; children take their father's name.

Courtship begins with a couple talking in the streets without parents being consulted. When the boy proposes and the girl accepts, he tells his parents of his wishes. The father and mother visit the parents of the girl, usually without the boy, bringing two and one-half pesos worth of chocolate, two and one-half pesos worth of pan dulce, and some liquor, which is drunk during the visit. The bride price is not discussed at this time. In one or two weeks the boy's parents return with the same gifts as before and are told the decision of the girl's parents. If it is yes, the girl's family is given 100-200 pesos in money and goods as a bride price. If the payment is considered too low, they may refuse to give her up. The girl's family sets a date for the wedding, allowing 15-90 days for preparation. Sometime during these preparations, the parents become compadres to each other.
Before the church wedding, a party including the couple, their parents, two padrinos de casamiento, and four important Indians who know Spanish (probably usually younger principales) go to the priest to arrange for the banns and wedding. Immediately afterwards the same party attends a civil ceremony at the Registro Civil, for which the boy or his parents pay 50 pesos. A fiesta is then held at the home of the boy's parents, his family furnishing the marimbas and food. The girl's family supplies trago.

The couple now begins to live together, taking up residence with whichever family can provide the boy with milpa. Preferred residence is with the boy's parents. The church wedding is often postponed because of its cost and that of the fiesta which must follow it.

Death

On the day of a death, the family informs relatives and invites them to their household, where the body remains until burial the next day. The relatives and a few others come to the house that night bringing food, trago, candles, flowers, and about fifty centavos to help pay expenses (a coffin costs 50-100 pesos). The gathering should be a happy one and if the family of the deceased is sad, it is the duty of the guests to cheer them up. The group says the rosary and prays for the dead person. Then at dawn they take the body to the cemetery and it is buried. The dead person is dressed in his best clothes and only a rosary and scapular are put into the coffin. A mass is said for at the end of the month in which the death took place.

Christopher C. Day
Section 15

CHANAL, TEOPISCA, AND VENUSTIANO CARRANZA
Chanal, Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza

A Summary

April, 1959 (revised June, 1959)

Sources used for this summary are:

Duane Metzger's "Preliminary Descriptions" of Chanal and Venustiano Carranza (1957, in Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, NSF Project Files);

Section 12 of NSF Report (Chanal, prepared by E. Calnek);
Section 14 (Venustiano Carranza, prepared by C. Day);
Section 13 (Teopisca,) and "Check List Report" (for Teopisca, NSF Project Files) prepared by John C. Hotchkiss; and
Calixta Guiteras' field report on Chanal (1959, NSF Project Files).

Other sections of the NSF Report are noted for particular references, and Secs. 12, 13, and 14 contain further elaborations of the materials summarized here.
The three communities considered in this report are located in contrasting ecological zones of the Chicago Anthropology Department's transect study area in highland Chiapas.¹

These three communities are the most populous of those of the NSF project which have had preliminary social anthropological field coverage. (They have not been as intensively studied as Amatenango or Aguacatenango; none are as large as Villa las Rosas.) Chanal is a Tzeltal-speaking Indian community of a little over 3,000.² Teopisca has about 3,000 Ladinos and 1,200 Indians of Tzotzil-speaking ancestry. Venustiano Carranza has about 3,000 Ladinos and 3,000 Tzotzil-speaking Indians. All three are villages laid out in a grid-block pattern, but each is distinctive—Chanal on a long broken slope with a grid pattern of large house-garden sitios of about 1⁄4 hectare in size; Teopisca in an elongated "string town" fashion with Indian barrios circling the Ladino-occupied Centro where the edges of the fields meet the hills; Venustiano Carranza perched on the side of a volcanic core, with Indian barrios circling the Ladino Centro around the steep sides of this peak.

For all three villages, the distance of the Indians' fields from the town centers necessitates the adult males being absent from the town during periods of agricultural activity on week days. In Chanal, people may live permanently in the outlying parajes near their fields, and come to the town center only for trading, fiestas, or for residence during civil-religious service.* Around both Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza there are also many outlying colonias, but these are separate communities of permanent residents who partake minimally in the affairs of the central towns.

Historical Note. The contrasting features of economic and social organization, which are discussed under specific headings in this report, have historical roots.

* See footnote 3 for relative sizes of the outlying parajes.
Chanal is an off-shoot of colonists from Ochuc, probably settled in the early 19th century who share-cropped lands of a Ladino hacienda. The hacienda was sold to the Indians in the mid-19th century, and later, in the 1930's, due to the persuasive efforts of an influential Presidente of the Comité de Educación, the people left the parajes and settled into a newly created central grid-patterned town. A few far distant parajes and one colonia remain permanently settled, but their inhabitants also have town sitios and they remain members of the community, serving civic and religious obligations (perhaps the people of Siberia, the one colonia, do not maintain such ties). In 1938 Chanal was granted the status of a free municipio. The few Ladino resident merchants and farmers, who settled in Chanal in the early 20th century, were forced out in the 1940's, so that today, in contrast to Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza, the only Labinos in Chanal are the school teachers and the secretary.

The majority of the Indians of Teopisca are the descendants of Chamulas and Huistecos who settled the barrios in a major wave during the land reforms of the post revolutionary period, 1914 and after. They came in under the auspices of the federal ejido program. The development of this ejido program has undergone unique adaptations to the local Ladino-dominant setting and remains the primary land-base of the Indians of Teopisca today.

The Indian settlement of Venustiano Carranza has greater antiquity than Chanal or Teopisca, probably reaching back to early colonial times. However, the dominant Ladino settlement has brought important and sometimes dramatic changes in the Indian social organization and land-holding systems.

**Economy**

**Agriculture.** The primary economic pursuit of the Indians in all three communities is slash-and-burn subsistence agriculture. Only a part of the Ladino
populations of Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza is directly engaged in agriculture--poorer Ladino farmers who share some of the interests and practices of the Indians; and richer Ladino rancheros and finc rios who have larger holdings and produce surpluses of maize, wheat and beans, coffee, sugar, and raise cattle. Other Ladinos, found in all classes, are engaged in commerce, non-agricultural wage-work, and services.

While the basic crops, corn and beans, and the technology for raising them, are essentially the same for the Indians of the three ecologically contrasting communities, there are some special crops and practices due to their differences, and to non-ecological factors of the social environment, which contribute to contrasting economic organization and trade practices.

**Special crops, animals.** In Chanal, crops grown which are exported and provide additional income are: potatoes, surplus corn, the botol bean, peaches, and apples from the jamaltic (upper) area; citrus fruits, coffee, sugar cane, and bananas from the nautic (lower) area.

House garden sitio crops cultivated by men include maize and ground (runner) beans. Women cultivate chayote, calabaza blanca, cabbage and potatoes. Sitio trees include avocado, peach and apple. Chickens, sheep, a few goats, and pigs are raised for the market. Horses, mules and cattle are raised for transportation. A few oxen are used for plowing.

In Teopisca, almost every Indian family keeps, as household animals, chickens and turkeys; fewer have pigs or ducks. Some have horses and mules for transportation, and only a few have cattle or oxen. The sitio crops of chayote, anona, and calabaza are grown for family consumption and very little is sold. A few Indians plant their milpa plots in wheat, and a few who own valley irrigable land also may devote it to wheat, a crop for the market. House garden sitio crops cultivated
by men include maize and ground (runner) beans. Women cultivate chayote, calabaza blanca, cabbage and potatoes. Sitio trees include avocado, peach, and apple.

The Indians of Venustiano Carranza raise several varieties of bean, and various tropical fruits and vegetables—chilli, jícama, gourds, yucca, aguacate, achiote, mango, camote and tomatoes, which can be marketed for extra cash. Rice is grown for export on lands where there is sufficient water. Only a few Indians keep household animals because of the lack of space and the high incidence of pests and diseases.

Agricultural cycle. Ecological differences, both climatic and soil qualities, dictate different activity periods found both within and between the three communities. Altitudinal variations of 2,500' - 3,000' are found among the lands of Chanal (jamaltic v.s. alantic) and Teopisca (valley v.s. lowland milaps). Soil quality in all three communities varies so that lands have different production-fallowing periods—in Chanal, for example, some of the poorest lands can be worked only one year in ten; some Teopisca valley lands are planted every other year; some Venustiano Carranza lands can be worked for five to six years and fallowed for ten to twelve.

Land tenure, agricultural organization. In all three communities, the independent household, which may consist of the nuclear family, or various combinations of the extended family, is the basic agricultural production and consumption unit. And, in all three, extra labor is recruited from friends and relatives (and payments are made in cash or kind), or exchanged on a reciprocal basis. The household agricultural enterprise is articulated in higher group-ordered structures which determine land-holding and distribution of lands, and these vary among the three communities.

We have the least information about Chanal, but apparently the lands are communal, under the jurisdiction of the ayuntamiento. Mechanisms of inheritance and distribution then probably come under the auspices of the village and lineage, or "name-group."
divisions. There are twelve territorial divisions, cabiltos, which have ritual
functions with jefes in charge of carrying out ceremonials for rain (and planting?).\footnote{4}

Teopisca Indians hold ejido lands, located in mountainous and marginal regions.
The ejido lands are "communal" in the sense of being administered by a local Ejido
Committee whose Indian officers are elected by the ejidatarios themselves. Grants,
however, are made to individual households. The mechanisms of inheritance and distribution
of these lands are unclear. A few wealthier Indians also own valley irrigable
lands. The municipio contains some communal pasture areas for use by Indians and
Ladinos alike. It is doubtful if there are any agricultural rituals performed by
Teopisca Indians.

Some Venustiano Carranza Indians cultivate ejido plots in the choice tierra
baja lands, and this usually necessitates colonia residence away from the town.
Because of this ejido affiliation, they are considered "outsiders" by the rest of the
Indians who are grouped in defense of the communal land system. This latter form of
land tenure applies to the poorer, and far distant, pedregal lands, and the administration
of these is in the hands of an organization called Bienes Comunales. This
organization was founded in the early 1930's by a Ladino school teacher to help the
campesino agriculturists, poor Ladinos and Indians alike, defend their communal
lands from the enroaching richer Ladino cattle ranchers. The growing strength
of Bienes Comunales has been a source of social contact and cooperation between
Indians and poor Ladinos and aligned them against the Ladino cattle raisers. The
organization is led by Indians, and has taken over land administration functions
which were formerly held by the Indian civil governmental organization.

Milpa grupitos are smaller group-ordered organizations of about twenty members
which are based on kinship cores. Members may be related to the core by affinal
and compradazgo ties. The territorial aspect of the grupito is important, in that
the members are persons who work milpas that neighbor on each other and they share
common tasks such as fence building. When the holdings of a particular grupito grow infertile and require fallowing, the grupito breaks up and its members seek new lands elsewhere, and new grupitos are formed.\footnote{5}

The barrio is also important in land tenure—lands administered by Bienes Comunales are ear-marked according to the traditional barrio holdings, with members of the grupito coming, by and large, from particular barrios. With the participation of Ladinos in this program, it appears that strict barrio affiliation as a requisite feature for land holding is breaking down.

There are special agricultural rituals—seeds blessed by the priest prior to planting, and ceremonies on the mountain behind the town to ensure good crops and rain—but the organizational aspects of these are unclear.

Other occupations of Indians. While the Indians of all three communities are primarily agriculturists, they derive additional income from wage work on fincas and construction crews. In Chanal, women weave woolen blankets and the men’s chamary\-\a from the wool of locally-bred sheep. Men make trago (the regional liquor). There are about 15 part-time carpenters, 2 part-time tailors, and several musicians. Several families have small stores in their homes and sell “town items”, competing with the INT store. In Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza, Indian women have greater opportunity to work as servants for Ladinos. Charaleños and Bartoleños participate more than Teopisqueños in small scale marketing, selling the special crops and animals mentioned above. Teopisca Indian women have the important specialities of selling firewood and charcoal to the local Ladinos.

Ladino Occupations. The Ladinos of all classes of Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza engage in a wide variety of service and commercial occupations.\footnote{6} It should be noted that there is a significant difference between the poorer Ladinos of Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza. In Venustiano Carranza they are more closely identified with the Indians under the rubric of the rico-pobre distinction. They are allied with the Indian campesinos and participate in the Bienes Comunales program. In
Teopisca, the poor Ladino agricultor does not participate in the ejido program, but rather works small private plots and raises truck garden sitio crops, or holds permanent wage-work on ranchos and fincas.

The medium-rich to wealthy brokers of field crops (corn, wheat and beans) and livestock (cattle and pigs) in Teopisca, and the cattle ranchers of Venustiano Carranza are the occupations of the Ladino segments which are the most significant in the political organization of these Ladino-dominant communities.

Trade and market. Of the three communities considered here, only Teopisca has a regular (on Sundays) puesto market. The principal sellers in this market include: Indians from the upland colonias of Teopisca (and occasionally Chanaleños and Huistecos); Indians from nearby Amatenango and Aguacatenango; Indians and/or Ladinos from settlements along the highway towards Comitán; Indians and/or Ladinos from Villa las Rosas; and Indians from the western lowland settlements of the municipio of Teopisca. Very few local Teopisquenos, either Ladino or Indian, are sellers at this market (local Indians are too poor to have surpluses to sell). Rather, Teopisquenos are principally buyers; and, of course, the roving sellers mentioned above buy or exchange their products among themselves. While the local Teopisquenos do not comprise the sellers in the puestos, the regular Sunday commercial situation must include the permanent Ladino-owned tiendas, because the tienderos sell manufactured articles (cloth, clothing, medicines, processed foods, and tools) which are bought by the traveling traders during their visits.

Puesto markets sporadically occur in the plazas of all the other communities and principally during their local fiestas. Information on these for Venustiano Carranza and Chanal are lacking, but during the fiesta and commercial fair for the patron saint of Teopisca, San Agustín, people come from a much wider area than for the usual Sunday market. In both the regular market and the larger fiesta markets, Teopisca is a pivotal point, whether products are channeled through Ladino middle-
men or by direct purchase and exchange, for the distribution of local hot and cold
country products, as well as being the principal supplier of manufactured goods for
the immediate area. 7

Chanal looks primarily to areas outside the transect — Huitstán, Tenejapa,
Chamula and Zinacantan, for marketing goods and for the supply of manufactured items.
The road from Chanal to the Pan-American highway links Chanal in trade with the
Huistecan and other northern Tzotzil communities which are also served by this
thoroughfare. Panela for making trago comes from Altamirano. Tenejapanecos bring
peanuts for major fiestas and stores stock up on them on these occasions. Women from
San Fernando, San José, San Pedro, Santa Rosa, Yolá and Colonia Nis come to the
village to make purchases in the stores. They bring maize to barter for the store-
purchased products. Yolá is a source of fiber for string and rope, citrus fruits,
pumpkins and sweet potatoes. Pottery is brought in from San Pedro and San Fernando.
Chillies come from Santa Rosa and San Pedro, onions from San José and San Pedro.

Wool, eggs, chickens, pigs, horses, and potatoes are marketed in San Cristóbal
for the purchase of salt, panela, sugar, clothing, medicines and rockets.

A secondary trade circuit, however, links Chanal by trail with the Teopisca-
Amatenango region. Oranges and potatoes are marketed in the Teopisca-Amatenango region
(and even beyond, with direct trade reported with Comitan, Aguacatenango, and Villa las Rosas), and Amatenango pottery, manufactured goods and tropical foods are brought
back from this secondary trade area.

Chanal's distant and relatively inaccessible location probably means that a
family makes only two or three trading trips a year (there are no specialists in
trade reported). Also, as a possible function of the community's isolation, barter
may be more prevalent. (This may be due also to the Indian's habitual shortage of
cash, since more conveniently located Amatenango and Aguacatenango also have barter).
For intracommunity trade, most food items have equivalents in other foods; eggs are
a medium of exchange, with the INI store accepting them for payment.
The past position of Venustiano Carranza as a great trading center, lying on the old main trade artery of the Grijalva valley, between Tuxtla Gutierrez-Chiapas de Corzo and Comitán, and Tapachula, has been eclipsed by the shift of this route to the highlands with the construction of the Pan-American highway. A dry-weather road links Venustiano Carranza with the new upland route, and a dry-weather road along the historical valley route leads to Tuxtla Gutierrez and Chiapa de Corzo. Both roads are reported in use for the transport of the considerable corn surpluses and cattle to the northern centers. At present, while the upland areas do not look to Venustiano Carranza as a commercial center, there exists a complex network of trade relations between highlands and lowlands, and Venustiano Carranza serves as a center supplying manufactured goods to the surrounding lowland area.

Intracommunity trade in Venustiano Carranza is vigorous—with Indians engaged in selling food items and products of household industries (sombreros, cloth, clothing, pottery, prepared foods) by door-to-door peddling, and plaza puestos (although, as mentioned above, there is no regular "big market day" in the plaza). The agricultural products of chilli, tomatoes, and other tropical fruits and vegetables are taken further afield, by some Indians who turn itinerant merchants during periods of slack agricultural activity, to the important fiestas in Socoltenango, Villa las Rosas, Aguacatenango, Amatenango, Teopisca, and even as far as Chamula. They return to their homes with cold country foods (especially potatoes) and Amatenango pottery. Data on the volume and periodicity of these visits are lacking, but as in Chanal, families probably make only a few such long trips in a year, and carry what they can by foot travel. Thus, Bartoleños are not necessarily directly involved in all the hot-cold country exchange, but a series of intermediaries, merchants of Teopisca and Villa las Rosas serve as the links.

Venustiano Carranza, due to more favorable climate and soils available in its lowland location, contrasts with Teopisca and Chanal in that a greater corn surplus is grown, and Indians contribute substantially to this. Adaptive marketing mechanisms
contrast with the economic organization of the other two communities. Ideally, Indians attempt to sell their surpluses to Ladino truckers and merchants when the price cycle reaches a peak. The differences in high and low country supply, with the longer growing season in the higher regions, often places Bartoleños in an advantageous position of being able to get good prices by selling to cash-solvent highlanders who are returning from finca work to homes where their own corn is not yet mature. This picture of "wealth" for the Bartoleño needs to be balanced, however, by noting that many are very poor, and, to meet necessary immediate expenditures, must often sell to Ladino brokers "on futures" for a very low, disadvantageous price.

Social Organization. In all three communities, the household, composed of either the nuclear family, or varieties of the extended family, is the basic social unit. The internal workings and external articulation of this unit with community-wide institutions varies. In Chanal patrilineal emphasis links family structure through residence and land tenure to a single, unified, traditional Indian community structure (albeit, undergoing change). Less pervasive social structural mechanisms and the strength of Indian culture standing in opposition to Ladino culture combine to provide the Venustiano Carranza Indian family structure with linkages into a complex community which can be characterized in this context as having a dual Indian-Ladino structure. Teopisca differs from both in that the Indians conform more closely to Ladino bilateral family structure, have lost much of the strength of their cultural tradition, and are integrated into a single Ladino-dominant community structure by occupying the lowest rung of the social ladder.

First, we will attempt to clarify these characterizations by turning to a brief discussion of the internal workings of the household unit, and then we will discuss the articulation of this unit with the community structures in political, economic and religious contexts.
Household. The gross patterns of marriage and residence are the same for Venustiano Carranza and Chanal, and include: preference for barrio endogamy (with Indian name-group exogamy in Chanal), spouse choice family arranged, (free choice in Chanal, but with family sponsorship, ) pedida exchange, bride service, and eventual residence near or with the husband's family and affiliation with the patrilineal work group (or the group of territorially clustered patrilineally related males). There are exceptions and alternative practices for all these patterns, perhaps for both communities, and some are statistically no longer the most common. Bartolensos apparently tend to exercise greater choice than Chanalesos in the final stages of residence and affiliation in being less patrilineal kin-oriented and more locality-oriented, with a family having increased options of choice in affiliating with persons through a wider bilateral kin network, or non-relative friendship ties. In this respect Bartolensos are more similar to Teopisqueños. Indians of Teopisca share the preference for barrio endogamy, but this seems to be for reasons of local proximity and not for any barrio institutional ones. Courtship is by free choice and "robbing" a girl a common pattern. There is no pedida exchange or bride service, and a high incidence of neolocal residence occurs, but often only after a period of residence with either spouse's family, which serves merely to get the young couple "on their feet" economically, and not as an affiliation to any larger kinship grouping. There are no formally instituted kin groupings; rather a family chooses, from the pool of bilateral kinsmen, its friends and work mates. These tend to be found within the same barrio, but many cases occur across barrio lines.

The patrilineal emphasis governs inheritance in Chanal (from a man to his brothers, then to his sons) and in Venustiano Carranza (father to sons), and the lineage or name-group in Chanal holds the land legacy in trust for minor sons. Inheritance in Teopisca is bilaterally governed, with daughters and widows having the same rights to
a legacy as sons.

**Political organization; authority structures.** In this section, we will trace the articulation of family or household into the various and often multifunctional higher group-ordered structures found in the three communities.

**Venustiano Carranza.** Household heads are members of an informal non-permanent *milpa grupito* which is often composed of a patrilineal kinship core, but may not be, and includes bilateral kinsmen and non-relatives. The lands of a *grupito* are under the jurisdiction of *Bienes Comunales*, which usually allocates lands according to traditional barrio communal land divisions. Thereby the *grupito* gets land by virtue of the barrio residence of at least most of its members. The *milpa grupito* may be a functional survival of former kin groupings which are postulated by the apparently non-functional *doble apellido* name-groups still found.

Barrio and Indian community-wide leadership is no longer exercised through the traditional civil-religious system. Leaders may be the elder *principales* who once served in the former civil-religious system, or the younger *representantes* and *principales* who apparently have achieved their statuses by self-selection and by having been effective in the present more limited arenas of Indian political life, in *Bienes Comunales* and as representatives to the Ladino municipio government (*representantes* and *regidores*).

While there is a cultural gulf between the Indian and Ladino in Venustiano Carranza, which continues to affect in subtle ways the articulation of the Indian family into the Indian community, the most important structural division in Venustiano Carranza society is the *rico-pobre* distinction. *Ricos* are exclusively Ladinos, but *pobres* include poorer Ladino *campesinos* who have joined the Indian-led and dominated *Bienes Comunales* in defense of the communal land system. While the Indian cultural distinction is still made, there is considerable cultural merging of the poorer Ladino segment with the Indians through this close alliance.
We do not know much about the Ladino government, except that it is the ultimate local authority over both Indian and Ladino. But because of the strength of the Indians manifested through their successes attained through the institution of Bienes Comunales, the preservation of their "Indianness" as evidenced in their religious organization (see below), and other cultural features less easy to specify in structural terms, we can characterize Venustiano Carranza society as a "dual" Ladino-Indian oppositional one. Such a characterization makes sense, at least heuristically, when we compare Venustiano Carranza with Teopisca.

Teopisca. While the Teopisca Indians do participate in two higher group-ordered formal organizations—the Ejido Committee and local barrio educational committees, the articulation of families into these and the role of these two organizations in community affairs are in sharp contrast with the organizational features of Venustiano Carranza. Barrio distinctions are not made in the Ejido Committee, and each family is represented as an independent, individual unit. Only the four barrios with schools have education committees, and recruitment into them is not known. While there are possibilities for significant political action being effected through either of these institutions, it is probably of greater significance that they provide a convenient way to have the Indians organized and readily accessible to serve Ladino ends. The interests most active in Ladino government are the wealthy finqueros, rancheros and cattle brokers, and the organizations through which they exert their influence are the Linns Club and the PRI* party organization.

Chanal. Patrilineally related households are grouped into Indian name-groups (lineages), Spanish name-groups ("clans"), which have land-holding functions, and these fall into one or the other of the two barrio divisions (jamaltic, alantic). Empirically, there is considerable marriage, residence and landholding across barrio lines. The lineage, clan and barrio structural strands are knit together in the civil-religious system. Male heads of households take on community responsibilities by serving in various civil and religious offices which are arranged hierarchically.

*Partido Revolucionario Instituciones.
The ayuntamiento and church organization are composed of individuals from each barrio to give approximately equal barrio representation. When a person has passed through the hierarchy, he becomes a principal (this position may also correspond to a lineage or name-group head). The elder group of principales have advisory (but accompanied with considerable power) functions. Up until recently, the barrios maintained a structural opposition by being represented by "governors" in the ayuntamiento, but apparently now the principales, setting their barrio identity aside, effect important decisions in the name of the whole pueblo.

Religious Organization. Chanal's religious organization is most similar to that found in Amatenango or in Aguacatenango. There are religious cargos which are hierarchically ordered in the civil-religious system. Outside this hierarchy are the alfereces who underwrite certain major fiestas. Richer and more respected men apparently take on these prestigeful jobs in a manner similar to that in which alfereces are recruited in Amatenango. The ayuntamiento is important in fiestas in being the secular arm by which are collected moneys from each family to meet some of the fiesta expenses. Agricultural rituals are performed apparently by families, patrilineal work groups, ritual cabilto groups (work groups who share caves and sacred places near their holdings), and the whole community at the time of Santa Cruz (May 5).

Religious organization in the changing situation in Venustiano Carranza is far from clear, but there are apparently some surviving religious cargos, the posts of alfereces, and other offices which function to maintain barrio chapels and carry on fiestas. However, the barrio distinctions and the recruitment of persons into these jobs are unclear. Indians are at least partially linked to Ladino religious activity by a group of Indian women principales who are appointed by the resident priest. There are specific "Indian" fiestas and celebrations with some of the poorer Ladino campesinos taking an active part, but more commonly, Ladinos play a passive role in these. Ladino religious organization and activity, and the amount of Indian participation
Among the Indians of Teopisca we find barrio chapels maintained by encargados who are either self-selected or have inherited their custodial and fiesta-making jobs from their ancestors who immigrated and established the chapels to celebrate the important saints of their home communities. Barrio committees are chosen by the previous year's committees to carry off the annual Santa Cruz celebration. Indians participate in some of the larger Ladino-organized community fiestas, both in secular events and in church services. It is only during these large fiestas that the Indians attend mass—they rarely attend the regular Sunday mass at which the visiting priest officiates.

Teopisca's churches are regularly served by religious professionals—priest and nuns. The secular sphere of religious activity is organized under the auspices of a Central Parochial Committee, which is appointed by the Lions Club, and in turn appoints encargados for special fiestas. Ladino women are active through the organization known as Acción Católica, and perhaps there are other women's organizations. There are self-selected women who lead prayers and songs during services when the priest is not present.

John C. Hotchkiss
1. Figs. 1, 2, 6, appended to Part I ("The Findings") of this report; Sec. 5, passim.

2. Fig. 31, appended to Part I.

3. Chanal has a total population of 2,881 according to the official census figures. The local Chanal ayuntamiento records of heads of families for the town and a different set of parajes (from the official census) is as follows, with the barrio breakdowns showing their sizes and the affiliation of the outlying parajes to them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village barrio</th>
<th>Jamaltic (upper)</th>
<th>Alantic (lower)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Sachilbate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natilon</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Natilon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onilha</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzajaniichtik</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we multiply the total number of heads of families by 5 (a common average of persons per family in the region) we reach a figure of 3,125, which is not far off the official census figure.

4. Agricultural work groups, which probably do not have the relative permanence of the Venustiano Carranza milpa grupito, are found in Chanal.

"In the planting and weeding seasons groups of men get together to work one day on the land of one of them. Since this work is reciprocated, therefore it is not paid for. The owner of the milpa feeds this party of relatives and friends. This reciprocated work is called "cambio de mano" in Spanish and kiltawalik in Tzeltal. In one case a man invited his wife's paternal uncle, a compadre, other members of his wife's lineage, and a few friends whose lands were not far from his; his brother didn't go because he was drinking. In another case three brothers invited a brother-in-law, a compadre, one of father's brothers and his two sons, and a number of friends. There were 16 men in the group. The friends belonged to the opposite barrio. In the third case a young married man worked with his father, his sister's husband who lives in the same house while paying for his young wife, two compadres, some relatives of the same clan but not of the same lineage, and friends. There were 15 men in all, and not from the same barrio. Those asked to help in their majority have lands that are not too far away."

(Guiteras, 1959:6)

This extended quotation is included here to show:

1. Land tenure is evidently not necessarily a barrio function, i.e., neighboring milpas can belong to persons not in the same barrio.
2. Relationships among bilateral kinsmen, friends and compadres, and not only patrilineal principles, may govern work-group formation. This pattern is similar to the milpa grupito of Venustiano Carranza.
3. Puzzles remain in respect to the land-holding functions of kin groupings, as well as the barrio.

In addition to these reciprocal, cooperative work groups,
"Many Chanaleros work for their compañeros and are paid in maíz. This is said to be done when one is poor or his corn has given out or he wasn't able to plant as much as usual. Women will also work for maíz. Forty ears of maíz are the wages for a day's work with meals that are provided by the owner of the land. Others work for $3.00 a day without meals (meals brought to them from home)."

(Guiteras, 1959:6)

This pattern of working for others is similar to that among the Indians of Teopisca.

5. See Sec. 26, passim.

6. See Sec. 13, pp. 28-29, 34-37; for the agricultural and non-agricultural occupations of Teopisca Ladinos. Information on Venustiano Carranza Ladinos is lacking, but there are probably many similarities with the Teopisca Ladino occupations.

7. See my "Check-list Report" in the Chicago NSF Project files, for much more extensive discussion of trade and market for Teopisca, (pp. 22-32.) In these pages I discuss:

- Sources of outside goods—which include an inventory of categories of manufactured items, and specific local regional trade goods, with sources.
- Markets, with a discussion of the Teopisca puesto market, in addition to the outside markets visited by Teopisquenos. I comment on some important trade occupations, including Ladino brokers and vendedoras, and commercial work groups which include the Indian cargueros.
- The report is concluded with mention of consumption, and purchasing habits for both Ladinos and Indians, and prices of selected items. I do not have secure information on frequencies of visits, or the volume of trade, for traders who visit Teopisca.

8. The generalizations here are admittedly oversimplified. The data from both Chanal and Venustiano Carranza are still too incomplete to do a thorough analysis of this level of social organization. See Sec. 14, pp. 12-13, for further details on Venustiano Carranza, and Sec. 12, Appendix IV and Sec. 16, passim, for further details on Chanal.
Section 16

Comparative Social Organization of the Transect Communities
COMPARATIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF THE TRANSECT COMMUNITIES

This report is based primarily upon materials from five communities of the transect where social anthropological field work has been done. Materials of other transect communities which were surveyed, and studies of communities outside the transect are utilized for additional comparative perspective.

The social units described range from the smallest to the largest—the household, the kinship and descent groups, the community territorial divisions (barrios) and the whole community. These units are described and contrasted where they display variation among the transect communities in terms of:

1) their formal structure,

2) the significant social behavior of their members in the context of this structure,

3) the functional dimension, showing their interrelationships with other social units,

4) ethnological perspective, indicating variations from a reconstructed past.

The Household.

Households are economically independent domestic units, the primary units of social activity, the places where new members of the community are socialized, and the sources for recruitment of personnel for the more inclusive social units. There are two basic types of households: the nuclear, which is composed of one married couple and their unmarried children; and the compound, which is made up of two or more married couples and/or one married couple and the remnants of other nuclear families. Occasionally a compound household may contain two, three, or even four

1. All outside sources used are found in the bibliography for this section. Project community summaries, charts, diagrams, which are cited by numbers as listed in the table of contents of the NSF Report.

2. The historical materials are treated in an appendix to this paper, prepared for this purpose by Muriel E. Verbitsky and John C. Hotchkiss. (Appendix I, below)
family units in one bounded sitio, all housed in separate living quarters and each having separate cook-houses. These separate families may correspond to the nuclear household, as in Amatenango, or they may correspond to the compound household as here defined, as in Chanal. While both types are found within each of the transect communities, they occur with differential frequencies. These differences reflect the choices under alternative post-marital residence rules, the developmental cycle of the domestic group, and the relative stability of the two types.

The physical setting of a household is the sitio, usually bounded by a fence with access through a gate, from the street or from a path. When a single household is divided into two new ones, a fence is built between them—a social act symbolizing the independence of each domestic unit.

The physical aspects of the sitio—in size, kinds of buildings and their construction materials, vary from community to community. The largest sitios occur in Chanal and in the upland colonias of Teopisca where they are on the average, 14 hectare in size. In the more compact towns of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, seven or eight sitios are found in a block of one hectare in size. In Villa las Rosas and Venustiano Carranza, where residential areas are even more compact, the average

3. Report Sec. 10, p. 23, where the term "compound sitio" is used to make this distinction.
4. "Stability" here means statistical stability—the higher the frequency of one type in any one community, the more stable that type for that community.
5. Report Sec. 11, p. 28; Sec 10, p. 14.
6. "The Findings", Fig. 35, appended to Part I of this Report.
7. Ibid., Fig. 34. For the variations found in use of building construction materials, see "The Findings", Sec. 1, "Habitat and Human Activity", passim, where ecological factors are correlated with these usages.
8. Sec. 12, p. 2; Sec. 13, pp 4-5.
9. Fig. 35, appended to Part I of this Report.
Among Ladinos in the towns where they represent a large part of the population, that is, in Teopisca, in Villa las Rosas and in Venustiano Carranza, the distinctive "street sitio" occurs. Such a sitio is characterized by a house situated on the street, with walls of adobe brick or wattle-and-dauber providing privacy for the patio and inner activity areas.  

In the Indian households several kinds of activity are recognizable in the following physical aspects: gardens where women cultivate supplementary foods and ornamentals, the living buildings (sleeping houses and cook houses), and the special buildings such as sweat baths, granaries, and pig-pens. The distribution of traits reflecting various activities indicates building specialization such as the corredor for pottery making in Amatenango and the talleres for weaving in Chanal.  

The number of buildings per sitio is not a reliable index of the number of persons per sitio. In Chanal, however, where the larger compound households which contain relatively more people are the dominant pattern, the number of buildings per sitio is greater than in any other community.  

In the Indian communities, construction activity is, for the most part, carried out by the utilization of the reciprocal prestar la mano (lend a hand) relationships. Ladinos, on the whole, hire construction specialists on a cash payment basis.  

One aspect of the acculturative trend among Indians, termed "ladinoization", is visible in the use of particular materials for construction (such as tiles for roofs) and by the modification of the standard one-room house into a house divided

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10. Sec. 14, p. 1; Sec. 18, p. 3.
11. Sec. 13, pp. 2-3; Sec. 18, p. 3.
12. Fig. 35, appended to this report and, Sec. 12, Appendix IV, § 683.
13. Fig. 35. The Chanal average is 3.3 buildings per sitio. Throughout the transect the mode of buildings per sitio is 2.
14. Sec. 11, p. 31; Sec. 13, p. 3 (Note 2).
into several rooms or compartments. The frequencies of occurrence of these features are very low, suggesting little time depth.\textsuperscript{15} This is corroborated by historical information: the use of tiles, for example, is a recent introduction made within the last ten years by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (the agency handling an action anthropology program, hereinafter referred to as INI).

Membership in the household domestic group is acquired by birth, marriage, or kinship tie. The dynamics of the formation and composition of this group may be discussed in the traditional and familiar context of the family.\textsuperscript{16} The family organization of communities throughout the truncate shares, in varying degrees, certain features of a patrilineal kinship system.

In residence patterns, Chanal has the greatest number of patrilocal features.\textsuperscript{17} Patrilineally related males live close together, sharing living space, their agricultural activity, and are economically dependent upon one another. The most common type of household is the patrilocal compound. Compounds in Chanal are usually joint families where a father and his married sons live together with spouses and children.\textsuperscript{18}

Aguacatenango follows next after Chanal in the strength of its patrilocal features. The tendency toward patrilocal proximity is strong, but the domestic cycle involves a counter-tendency for residence groups to split into independent domestic units. After a couple procreates one or more children, it moves out of the patrilocal compound and establishes a nuclear household, located close to the husband's parent's household, from which it came. Joint families of male siblings are not as frequent as they are in Chanal, and sibling groups have a bond less strong

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Fig. 35, appended to Part I of this Report.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Fortes, M., (1958: 2-4).
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Fig. 43.a, appended to Part I of this Report.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Sec. 12, Appendix IV, \textsuperscript{77} 7 and 8.
\end{itemize}
then that between marriage partners.19

In Amatenango, patrilocality and matrilocality are alternate forms of residence, with equal incidences of both. Joint families are common but they represent both patrilineal and matrilineal groups. It has been suggested that the presence of equal incidence of the two residence patterns is a function of the following factors,20 which involve patterning at all levels of community structure:

1) the close nucleation of the town, which increases spatial proximity with the relatives of both spouses, thus making for increased bilateralism;
2) the cash income provided by women's productive labor in pottery, and the resulting emphasis on the cooperative relationship between mother and daughter for pottery making which may bring about matrilocality to preserve this relationship after a girl is married;
3) the fact that this cooperative relationship between women competes equally with the cooperative relationship between men in their agricultural work, the result being a split in the approximately equal occurrence of patri- and matrilocal residence.

Among the Indians of Teopisca, a community which is predominately Ladino, patrilocality is very weak. Indians conform more closely with the Ladino neolocal residence pattern by purchasing new household sitios.21 The absence of strong patrilocality is probably a function of the ladinoization process whereby Indians are integrated into the Ladino social system. This social system contrasts sharply with that found in the Indian communities. While we have very little understanding of this integrative process, some important factors of the local Teopisca social setting include:22

1) a highly stratified social system, with Indians occupying the lowest rung;
2) Ladino-dominated political and religious life, in which the Indians play only a minor role;

19. Sec. 11, pp. 10-16; Sec. 27, Chapters 3-5, passim.
20. Sec. 10, pp. 30-41.
22. Sec. 13, pp. 8-19, 28-33, 37-41, 44-47; Sec. 15, pp. 10-15.
3) an Indian land-base which is not completely under their own control; while Indians are leaders in the local organization of the federal land program, they must accommodate to the local Ladino-dominated political scene;

4) the fact that the present-day land needs of the Indians are not satisfied by this land program, and that many have given up the Indian economic life-way and entered Ladino occupations.

Data on the family organization in Venustiano Carranza, another community of mixed Indian-Ladino population, are too incomplete to make comparisons possible at this time. 23

The essential functions of the household, as outlined on page one above, are similar throughout the transect in spite of the variation in residence rules. In all communities, the household is the economically independent group, with similar division of labor between the sexes. Women have important roles in household economics, and in some communities engage in specialized activity: In Chanal—basketry, pottery and weaving; 24 in Amatenango—pottery; 25 in Venustiano Carranza—a little pottery, making food items, and weaving; 26 in Teopisca—firewood gathering and charcoal making. 27 In Aguacatenango, women have less importance as household-income producers. However, when the community was specialized in hat-making a few years ago, this was not the case. In Chanal and in its satellite settlements, and in the Chanal-derived community of La Palizada, women participate in agricultural activity by helping men harvest and plant maize. 28

24. Sec. 12, p. 5 (Note 4)
25. Sec. 10, pp. 45-46.
26. Sec. 14, p. 5.
27. Sec. 13, p. 33.
28. Sec. 12, p. 4; Sec. 11, p. 47.
Sleeping and eating arrangements are similar throughout the transect. Men eat in the corn fields during the day, and eat the biggest meal at home in the evening when they return from their work in the fields. Adolescent girls and boys sleep separate from adults. Infants sleep with their parents until another child is born. The early toilet training, starting at age of eight months in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, apparently is a result of these sleeping arrangements. Couples have separate sleeping rooms when available, or separate corners in a single sleeping room. At the peak of agricultural activity, men are absent from their homes for several days, if their corn fields are located far away, and they sleep in their fields in small huts which are also used for granaries.  

The age and sex distinctions which characterize the systems of kinship terminology are reflected in the behavior in the household. Patterns of deference to older married males are reflected in the eating arrangements. The ultimate authority in household affairs is vested in the male head. In Amatenango, in cases where the former male head is deceased, his widow by the principle of age, becomes the ultimate household authority. The male head's wife, or the oldest married woman of the household is the ultimate authority in respect to the activities of the female members. Men of the household, including boys of working age, around twelve and over, work together under the leadership of the male head in agricultural work.

Inheritance patterns do not completely correspond to residence rules. In all the communities, transference of certain household properties is bilateral, with children of both sexes receiving equal shares. Transfer of other items, however, may reflect a patrilocal bias. In Chanal and Aguacatenango, the two most patrilocal communities, the sitio is transmitted patrilineally.  

29. Sec. 11, p. 46; Sec. 15, p. 1.  
30. See Sec. 10, pp. 19-20, for the sometimes exceptional role of women in Amatenango as compared with other communities.  
31. Sec. 11, p. 9; Sec. 15, p. 11-12.
principle for the transmission of agricultural plots, but the data are too incomplete to stipulate this with assurance. Administration of certain lands of some of the communities rests with the local authorities, which may override the domain of the level of household inheritance.32

In the more patrilocal communities of Chanal and Aguacatenango, women hold in trust for their children certain properties.33 In the bilocal community of Amatenango and among the Indians of Teopisca, women can hold property in their own right on an equal basis with men.34 Generally, where a higher index of patrilocality is found, there is a higher incidence of patrilineal inheritance.

Daily face-to-face social interaction has its principal locus in the household. However, men have greater access to other important areas outside this unit as well—with other men in their fields, and in other towns where they journey for trading purposes, or in enterprises where they go for temporary wage-work.

Groups Based on Kinship and Descent.35

In some communities, functioning descent groups are found, and their occurrence is correlated with the presence of strong patrilocality. The highest occurrence of patrilocality is in Chanal, and it has patrilineal name-groups with important functions. They serve to regulate marriage (lineage exogamy and preferential marriage within larger Spanish name-groups).36 Also present in Chanal, are other features associated with and reinforcing the lineage system—patrilineal features of kinship terminology.

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32. Sec. 12, p. 8; Sec 15, pp. 4-5; Sec. 12, pp. 6, 8; and Appendix IV § §9; see Appendix II, below, on comparative land-tenure systems, prepared by John C. Hotchkiss.
33. Sec. 11, p. 36; Sec. 15, p. 11-12.
34. Sec. 10, pp. 39-41; Sec. 13, pp. 40-41.
35. See Appendix I for the historical reconstruction of kinship systems and postulated kinship groups.
36. Sec. 12, pp. 7-10, 14; Appendix IV, § §20.
cross-relative terms, and marriage customs (bride price, groom service). With lineage exogamy, marriage with a close relative on the father's side is precluded; there is ample evidence for a preference to marry relatives of mother's lineage.

Aguacatenango stands closer to Chanal than does Amatenango in the patrilineal complex (correlating with its higher degree of patrilocality in comparison with Amatenango). In Aguacatenango patrilineal name-groups are recognized with a suggestion of lineage solidarity for certain functions (vengeance, inheritance, work groups). However, this unit does not regulate marriage, it is not localized, and is only three generations in depth (perhaps four if a recently deceased linking relative is still remembered). This unit also functions as the recruitment source of personnel in the group of elders (principales), with an attempt by the community to get equal representation among these lineages in this important body.

Only the use of the double Spanish-Indian surname (an indicator of the descent groups of Chanal and Aguacatenango) is found in Amatenango, and persons with the same name are not grouped into any social unit which functions as do the descent groups found elsewhere; nor do they feel any solidarity with all others of the same name.

The marriage customs of the transect communities show variation, with Chanal,

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37. From the limited census materials, it is found that most men choose a spouse from the same Spanish surname group as their mothers. (See also Sec. 12, Appendix IV, § § 20). Out of 30 male informants interviewed by Calixta Guiteras, 17 had married women belonging to their mothers' Spanish surname group. (Guiteras, 1959: 35).

38. Fig. 43.b, appended to Part I of this Report.

39. Figs. 43.a.-e, ibid.

40. Sec. 11, pp. 8-10.

41. Sec. 10, p. 21.
Aguacatenango and Amatenango showing greatest similarity, and Teopisca standing apart. Since Amatenango and Chanal show such striking similarity in marriage customs, except that polygyny is lacking in Amatenango, we see that the other features, those of bride price and groom service, may not in themselves be diagnostic of social systems, but may be found in sharply contrasting contexts.

Ritual kinship (compadrazgo) is present throughout the transect. The elaboration of the system varies. Marriage and baptism are the two rites de passage most commonly found in the Indian communities associated with compadrazgo relationships. Among Ladinos, confirmation is also equally important. Ritual kinship provides for the enlargement of one’s sphere of inter-personal relationships, or to strengthen one’s kinship relationships. Compadre relationships with Ladinos are sought by the Indians of Teopisca as a way of establishing certain economic and social privileges. This contrasts with the compadre relations between Indians of Amatenango and the Ladinos of Teopisca, in which no special economic advantages accrue, but into which Teopisca Ladinos enter on the Indian’s initiative. The Indian is thus able to fulfill community requirements without having to suffer the disadvantageous expense of a fiesta which is ritually necessary when compadres are chosen within the community.

The importance of compadre relations is seen in the replacement of kinship by compadre terms in situations either of address or of reference, or in the extension of such terms in address behavior to non-kinsmen. There are apparently no marriage restrictions among Indians that would affect first marriages

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42. Fig. 43.d appended to Part I of this Report.
43. Sec. 10, pp. 28-29; Sec. 11, pp. 7-8; Sec. 12, pp. 11-13; Sec. 13, p. 41; Sec. 14, pp. 17-19.
44. Sec. 13, p. 41.
45. Sec. 10, p. 28-29
46. Sec 10, p. 24; Sec. 11, p. 7; Sec 13, p. 38.
established through the compadre relationships, \textsuperscript{47} which is in contrast with Ladino practice, where incest rules extend both to one's compadres and to their ahijados (god-children).

Groups consisting of consanguineal and affinal relatives, of ritual kinsmen, and of neighbors form temporary social units. Such groups are small. They may include from four or five to around fifteen members. The functions of such groups lie in the performance of particular tasks--housewarming parties, curing ceremonies, milpa work groups, weddings, house saint's fiestas, birthdays, baptisms, cooperative purchasing groups under a fiador (creditor). These social groupings hold together as long as the task requires: thus, milpa work groups last a minimum of one agricultural cycle; weddings last for two or three days, and others may last for only a few hours.

In the patrilineal communities, participation in such groups tends to be more often on a patrilineal kinship basis. Butchering groups tend to be composed of about fifteen men, among which we find small clusters of patrilineal kinsmen. The milpa groups of Venustiano Carranza usually are composed of a core of patrilineally related kinsmen plus others, who can be non-relatives, \textsuperscript{48} whereas in Chanal, the milpa work-groups are more often exclusively composed of patrilineally related men. \textsuperscript{49} These temporary social groupings do not conflict or compete with groupings on a territorial or on a kinship basis. Such temporary groupings form, rather, networks of social relations that to some extent cut across kinship lines and may reinforce or extend them.

The social units described and compared in this section and in the previous one--households, kinship and descent groups and other associations, form the infrastructure of the transect communities. The macro-structures of these communities

\textsuperscript{47} At least for Aguacatenango, see Sec. 11, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{48} Sec. 26, pp. 15-17, and Appendix A; Sec. 14, pp. 11-12.
\textsuperscript{49} Sec. 15, p. 4; Sec. 12, Appendix IV, \textsuperscript{5}511.
involve the larger social and territorial units—the barrios and the whole community, to which we now turn.

The Barrio.

Barrios are territorial divisions within a community. There are found in the transect communities two kinds of barrio systems: a dual barrio system and a multiple-barrio system. The dual system is the pattern in the Indian communities, and the multiple system is present in the mixed Ladino-Indian communities. The boundary lines of barrios are imaginary ones, but nevertheless represent limits for certain kinds of activities for barrio members. The distribution of some of the barrio functions for the communities in the transect is summarized in Chart 43.f (appended to Part I).

In the dual systems, barrios are endogamous units. Marriage across barrio boundaries occurs only rarely, since it is in conflict with social norms. Chanal informants say that barrio endogamy as an inviolate rule is breaking down and only a custom of former times. While they thus verbalize that it is possible to marry across barrio lines, their practice, as reflected in the limited census materials, reveals that they retain this rule to a stronger degree than either Aguacatenango or Amatenango. While there is no barrio endogamy rule in the communities with multiple systems, there is there, too, a strong tendency for marriages to be contracted within barrios.

Barrios in the dual systems function as a basis for the recruitment of individuals into the offices of the local civil-religious hierarchy. Ideally, each barrio is represented equally, and in the annual change of offices, there is always an attempt to have each barrio contribute the same number of office-holders.

50. Sec. 10, p. 54; Sec. 11, pp. 14, 25; Sec. 12, pp. 6-7.
In the multiple-barrio systems, since government is under Ladino control, and since Indians have only a limited political voice, the barrios do not carry out this recruitment function.  

Barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense. In Chanal, in Aguacatenango and in Venustiano Carranza, the community-controlled lands are earmarked as "barrio lands". Portions of them are allocated by the central administrative apparatus to individual households by virtue of their barrio affiliation. Such earmarking of lands for exclusive use by members of specific barrios is absent in Amatenango and in Teopisca.  

Barrio affiliation is a criterion for participation in some voluntary organizations and in informal associations in some communities. Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' 'gangs') and adolescent girls' church-groups in Aguacatenango are formed among barrio-mates. Some friendship sodalities and work-groups of all communities are often composed exclusively of individuals from the same barrio.  

Total Community Structure.  

Some characteristics found in the transect community structures, when these are holistically described, allow us to group the communities into contrasting types. We describe as corporate communities those which share certain social and cultural features. Elaborating on the definitions of "corporateness" made in general terms using Max Weber's classic formulation by Fortes (1953), and for Latin American peasantries by Wolf (1955) we offer the following characteristics for the corporate community applicable to the transect communities:

53. Sec. 13, pp. 9-16, (Note 4); Sec. 14, pp. 13-17; Sec. 18, p. 6; Sec 26, pp. 29-30.  
54. See Appendix II, below, on land-tenure for further elaboration and documentation of this generalization.  
56. Credit is here given to Manning Nash, who is responsible for this formulation.
1) The corporate community lays claim to a territory; it has a land-base which it controls.

2) Membership is gained by being born in it, or by marrying into it under certain rules. Contractual membership may occur, but only through consensual acceptance by the whole community.

3) Membership requires residing in it.

4) Membership permits a person to have access to lands of the community.

5) Members share a localized version of the regional culture, which is marked by speech, costume, and a particular roster of saints and religious ceremonies.

6) Members share a symbolic definition of themselves as a people, distinct from other neighboring Indian communities and from the Ladinos.

7) Members fulfill obligations of service in the communal offices, and are obligated to devote some free labor to communal projects.

8) The communal offices are the chief recourse for the settlement of disputes and the ultimate authority in social control.

The corporate community rests on certain devices or mechanisms which make effective the above characteristics and which insure cultural homogeneity as described under items 5) and 6). These are the wealth-levelling mechanisms and the sanctioning systems.

Wealth is but a partial attribute of prestige in the corporate community; rather, prestige is acquired on the basis of particularistic criteria of sex, age, marital status, number of children, amount of service in the communal offices, and the moral estimation of fellow community members. The wealth-levelling mechanisms operative in the transect communities are: an inheritance system which fragments land holdings; a low-level technology which limits absolute production; and the forced assumption of fiesta obligations which inhibits capital accumulation, and distributes it back into the community in the symbolically valuable form of liquor, a completely consumable good.

The sanction system, which may be operative at all levels throughout the social structure, but which receives the ultimate stamp of legitimacy in the communal offices, rests on native sickness and witchcraft beliefs.

The communal offices are those in the civil and religious hierarchies which form the two arms of the administrative apparatus of each community. The distinction between "civil" and "religious" is not a sharp one drawn by community members themselves. It
is an analytical device to label the different functions which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents. The ayuntamiento is concerned with problems of social control and administration of social, political and economic affairs. The mayordomías are the custodians of sacred objects (cohetes, church keys, church bells) and the authorities for carrying out the tasks required by man's relationship with the supernatural. Neither of the two bodies exercises a monopoly on either of these two functions. Both social control and religious activity are exercised at the level of the barrio, and at the infra-structural levels; and religious activity can be carried on by individuals. The communal offices form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory sequence of cargos (offices) which ends in the cargo of principal, who is a member of the community council of "elders". Women do not serve in these offices, but they have certain duties (by reason of their being officer's wives) in connection with certain official events. Women may be found in certain community roles, such as that of the rezadora (prayer-maker), but such special roles are outside of the hierarchical system. Old women are highly respected but they never hold the civil office of principal. In Venustiano Carranza, there are religious offices of principales, held by older women who serve as mediators between the Indian community and the Ladino-directed Catholic Church. A comparison of the transect communities reveals that Chanal, Amatenango, and Aguacatenango are clearly corporate. Venustiano Carranza has some of the corporate features. It has less strict membership requirements, and it lacks the integrating structure of the civil-religious system. Ultimate control and sanctioning power rests in the local Ladino government. The Indians of Teopisca form an open sub-community which displays none of the characteristics of corporateness, not even that of a local ethnic identity.

57. Sec. 14, p. 17.
58. Figs. 43.e, and h, appended to Part I of this Report.
There are significant variations among the communities in respect to specific
details of the features of corporateness. The rosters of communal offices differ,\textsuperscript{59} as do the inventories of saints.\textsuperscript{60} Many other details of the variations in the infra-
structure and in the social and cultural aspects of the territorial sub-divisions
which underly corporateness have already been discussed and compared in previous
sections of this Report. Several individual aspects of social and cultural contrast
at the holistic level, as well as on lower levels, are discussed in Sections 1 and 2
of this Report in contexts where data from ecology, ethnohistory and linguistics have
permitted correlational descriptive statements. Here, however, the concern is
with holistic social and cultural contrasts.

The presence of corporate characteristics is correlated with several possible
dimensions of cultural homogeneity. In a community like Amatenango, where all elements
of corporateness are in coincident operation, expectation lead to a relatively smooth
distribution of assets within the community. Few are rich, few are poor; most have
about the same wealth. The distribution of land in the community does in fact exhibit
this homogeneity.\textsuperscript{61}

In the non-corporate communities, Venustiano Carranza and Teopisca, wider
wealth differences exist among Indian households. The differences reflect the
re-orientation of the sanctioning systems, and the ineffectiveness of economic
levelling mechanisms characteristic of the corporate communities. In their place, are
present other culturally defined criteria of prestige, mediated and effected through
the superimposition of a social stratification system introduced in part by Ladinos.
Thus, in Chapal, Aguacatenango, and Amatenango, witchcraft is the pervasive system
of action against deviants, while the incidence of witchcraft is considerably less

\textsuperscript{59} Appendix III, below.

\textsuperscript{60} Sec. 10, pp. 52-56; Sec. 11, pp. 21-22; Sec. 12, p. 7, (Note 9); Sec. 13, pp. 19-20,
and (Note 5); Sec 26, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{61} Sec. 10, p. 42-44.
in Venustiano Carranza and in Teopisca, nearly nil.

The amount of land per cultivator and the variety of economic pursuits found in a community vary between the corporate and non-corporate communities. Aguacatenango, Chanal and Amatenango have more land for subsistence cropping at their disposal than does Venustiano Carranza or Teopisca, where the presence of Ladinos, who have control over the better land, increases land scarcity.62

There are differences among the corporate communities with respect to their economic specialties. Amatenango is an entrepreneurial community, raising wheat for sale and making pottery for an impersonal market. Aguacatenango has lost its former specialty (hat-making) and today may be said to be a pig-raising and male-labor-exporting community only by way of contrast, since neither of these two activities provides any large part of the villager's income. Chanal is a subsistence-cropping community, with only minor male-labor-export and a minimal amount of specialization in basketry and weaving, mainly for internal consumption.

The economic life of the non-corporate communities contrasts with that of the corporate communities, and with that of each other. The Indians of Venustiano Carranza, in spite of their access only to relatively poor lands, are able to practice double cropping because of the more favorable climate, and produce surpluses of corn and beans which are significant in terms of the regional market. The inadequacy of the Ejido land program for the Indians of Teopisca has led many of them to give up the traditional economic way-of-life, and induced them to earn their living from agricultural wage-work. A few are beginning to enter certain non-agricultural Ladino occupations.

Even by a cursory comparison of the transect communities, we see that the differences among them along an axis of acculturation appears to be inversely related to

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62. See Appendix II, for elaboration of land-tenure systems.
their degree of corporateness. If the characteristics of corporateness, as we have outlined them, are all operative, an extremely strong, autonomous social and cultural entity is the result, one which is able successfully to co-exist with Ladino society, as the cases of Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and even that of the recently-formed community of Chanal, all exhibit. Of the non-corporate communities, Teopisca’s population of Indians is furthest along a scale of ladinoization. The Indians of Venustiano Carranza, while having only about half of the characteristics of corporateness, still should be classified as a “traditional Indian” community. They are conservative in many social and cultural traits and display great resistance to ladinoization. Our data on Venustiano Carranza, however, are too incomplete to allow us to pursue a closer examination of our formulation of corporateness in order to see if there are any priorities of importance among the characteristic features. With the absence of certain characteristics, what, if any, compensating mechanisms are present in the case of Venustiano Carranza?

Departing from holistic contrasts, we find other factors which probably are correlated with variations indicative of acculturation among the transect communities. Bilingualism is one such indicative factor. In the communities where Ladinos are marginal and do not form a substantial part of the population, as in Chanal, Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the occurrence of bilingualism is highest among the Indian men, a reflection of their greater social contact outside the household and the community. In Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza, both with substantial Ladino populations, the household has closer contacts with Ladinos in certain areas of social life, and in these communities, a higher incidence of bilingualism occurs among Indian women in comparison to women of the other three communities. The relative proportions of bilingualism among men and women are also modified by other factors, such as the presence of schools and the influence of INI and other government agencies.

63. Sec. 33
64. “Traditional Indian” is the label for the most conservative category in a classification on a scale of ladinoization, recently formulated by Richard N. Adams (1957: 270-273)
by the use of Indians in their programs. INI is successful, for instance, in attracting more men than women into the role of promotor. This is directly attributable to the definition of male and female roles in the Indian communities. Unmarried girls are carefully guarded during adolescence and training for participation in the INI program at the distant center in San Cristóbal is not approved of for girls at this age. School attendance shows slight male-female differences. In Aguacatenango, girls start participating in household tasks earlier than boys (girls at age 8, boys at 12), and thus tend to leave school earlier. However, in Amatenango, this differential school attendance is apparently less marked. Until quite recently there were no girls in attendance at the INI school in Chanal.

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65. Sec. 11, pp. 39.
66. Sec. 10, p. 7.
67. Sec. 12, pp. 3-4.
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Appendix I  Historical problems

Because of lacunae in and limitations of the historical materials relevant to social organization, we have chosen to limit the body of the comparative social organization summary to a discussion of present-day characteristics and contrasts. There is only a small corpus of historical materials prepared by project personnel (Metzger, B., Sec. 25; Naroco, Secs. 29, 30, 31), and the existing literature directed to historical reconstruction for the highland Maya area, of which our transect study is a part, is small. However, it is recognized that perspective would be gained if the variation in social organizational features found among the transect communities could be described in a developmental frame. In this appendix, addressing ourselves to this need, we suggest a dual frame to guide future historical work. Our dual frame deals with two sets of organizational phenomena: the infra-structure and the macro-structure.

For the features of the infra-structure, all we can state with assurance about "proto" social systems for the highland Mayan groups is that they were of a patrilineal "bent". The reconstructed Omaha kinship terminological system for Aguacatenango (B. Metzger, Sec. 25) correlates with historical evidence of the presence in pre-Conquest times of patrilineal descent groups (Guiteras, 1947, 1948, 1952; Villa Rojas, 1947).

Given this patrilineal bent, further expected associations, following Murdock (1949: 239-41), would include:

1) Patrilocal residence patterns,

2) A set of marriage rules which include:
   a) patrilineal extension of incest taboos,
b) possibly some form of preferential marriage rules to link descent groups.

c) certain marriage customs, such as bride-price or groom service, which serve to reinforce the linkages between descent groups.

d) non-sororal polygyny.

3) Patrilineal inheritance rules.

In some communities of the highland Maya, these theoretically expected features are indeed found in association (Cancuc, Oxchuc; June C. Nash, Sec. 24 and Villa Rojas, 1947). We assume, for purposes of this appendix, that a patrilineal infra-structure like that found now in Oxchuc approximates a "proto system" for the transect communities.\(^1\) The variations in social organizational features, which are discussed more fully in the body of this summary, may conveniently be viewed as different departures from this system which have occurred over time. Sets of clusterings of these features may be looked upon as continua of change.

\(^1\) The dangers inherent in such an assumption are freely admitted. The highland Mayan groups have had a long history, extending far back into the pre-Conquest period, of sedentary local community settlement. Thus, the many groups extant today have undoubtedly developed differentially—through differing internal adjustments, and differing reactions to inter-community contacts. For example, as Guiteras has pointed out (1952:99), some Tzotzil-speaking groups are found with Omaha-like linear kin systems (Oxchuc, Cancuc). The present-day situation in respect to community-wide organization is likewise variegated: differently elaborated civil-religious hierarchies, different intracommunity territorial divisions (five in some places, two in others), and different settlement patterns (nuclear vs. vacant). We do not know the history of the development of these various forms, but, it can be seen that such developments, in addition to the accompanying development of the articulation of features of the infra-structure, raise the question of how complex the differentiation of the many highland Mayan groups may in reality be.
On a kinship terminology continuum, from a lineal Omaha system to a generational system, the communities are ranked as follows: Chanal, Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Teopisca.

(Teopisca really falls outside the continuum, since the Indians of this community no longer use the Indian kinship terminology—Spanish is the living language of these Indians.)

On a residence continuum, taking into account the clustering of features, the marriage rules, and the inheritance rules that are associated with and reinforce the particular patterns, we find that Chanal is at the extreme patrilocal end, followed by Aguacatenango; Amatenango and Teopisca fall into the bilaterally principled neolocal end of the continuum.

A continuum of kinship groups reveals that Chanal is at one end, with strong functioning patrilineal descent groups, then Aguacatenango with a bare trace of the "limited patrilineage", Amatenango and Teopisca are at the extreme "absent" end of this continuum.

In treating the development of higher group-ordered structures, we must abandon the reference to the patrilineal proto-system that has been the frame for treating infra-structure. We know nothing definite about the details of pre-Conquest community-wide organization.

The basis for the present-day territorial divisions—the barrios—is unclear. There is archeological evidence at one pre-Conquest site in the

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2Fig. 43b; Metzger, B., Sec. 25.
3Fig. 43.a.
4Figs. 43.d. and e.
5Sec. 11, pp. 8-9, and Sec. 12, Appendix 4, especially sub-section 11.
6Sec. 7—passim.
transect that might suggest a dual division. The functions of the barrio as a basis for service in the local civil-religious hierarchies and as an endogamous unit parallel the function of the \textit{calpul} in other highland Mayan communities (Chalchihuitán, Oxchuo). The \textit{calpul} may possibly be a kinship-derived unit, i.e., an endogamous grouping of descent groups (clans or lineages) and hence a moiety division. However, evidence for such an extension of kinship articulation to this higher organizational level is not conclusive.

The model we use here for reference for the community-wide organizations is the "corporate community". What today defines the degree of social and cultural strength of Indian communities in the Ladino world is the degree of corporateness they manifest. The features of corporateness, as we define them, as found in present-day Amatenango, Aguacatenango, and Venustiano Carranza, are partly the result of the Spanish colonial policy of reducción, and partly due to these Indian communities' ongoing internal adaptations since the conquest to this community form. The corporate model has been utilized by some more recently-formed \textit{ejido} communities, such as Chanal, and to a lesser extent, the upland \textit{colonias} in the municipio of Tecozinca--Balhuitz, Tzajalá, and Dos Lagunas.

Certain aspects of the history of changing community structures may be viewed as the interaction between the Indian corporate enclaves and the surrounding, dominant Ladino culture. Ladino culture has also changed--from the early "Conquistador Culture" to the present-day "Mexican National Culture".

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7Sec. 7, p. 9.
8Guiteras, 1952:105; Sec. 24, p. 20.
9Sec. 16 (above), p. 15; Fig. 43.g. and 43.h.
10Wolf, 1955.
11Sec. 13, pp. 4-8.
While we do not have complete control over the historical materials for the four centuries since the conquest, a general outline of some more recent developments in Ladino and Indian relations, at the community-wide, or broad social and cultural level, can be drawn.  

In the early 19th century there was much greater Ladino rural settlement in the upper reaches of the highlands (Zone III, see Fig. 6.b. appended to Part I of this Report) of Chiapas than there is at present. There has been a trend of Ladino abandonment and expulsion from their agricultural holdings in the higher regions probably beginning about mid-19th century, but definitely stepped-up since the Revolutionary times of the early 20th century. This phenomenon can not be fully documented at this time, but the following factors are probably in part responsible:

1) The development of better communication channels into other regions, of both the highlands, and the lowlands, which were less accessible, have lessened the monopolistic control that the upland Ladino enterprises formerly enjoyed.

2) The increased productivity coupled with better outlets developed in the lowland and intermediate areas (Zones I and II) have complemented the decreasing importance of the highland areas (Zone III) in the regional economy so that bases of the highland enterprises have been eclipsed.

3) With land-reform programs, beginning first rather slowly in the mid-19th century, but stepped up during the Revolutionary Period of the 20th century, pressures upon Ladino holdings in the highlands have been exerted by land-poor Indians, so that today, only small Ladino ranchos are found in a few ecologically favorable locations in Zone III. The gaps left by retreating Ladinos have been filled by Indians, either as paraje settlements extended from Indian centers (as in the Chamula and Zinacantan areas north of our transect), or as newly created, independent ejido communities, composed of offshoots from former Indian centers (as Chanal, within the transect).

12 The following brief historical overview incorporates some of the points of a Highland Mayan Seminar Working Paper entitled, "Culture and environment in the Chiapas transect" prepared by Duane Metzger and John Hotchkiss, April, 1959. On file in the "Man and Nature Project Files", Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
In certain areas of the lowlands and intermediate areas (Zones I and II) which are more favorable for agriculture, large Ladino holdings have been present for a long time. The land-reform confiscations since 1920 have made some of these lands available for Indians, but by no means all Ladino holdings of these zones have been so distributed. Varying defensive strategies have been employed by Ladinos to maintain their lands. With the development of better communications, some of these are even increasing their domain, as, for example, the Pujultic sugar production enterprise, which is being developed by both private and public capital, and the more recent upsurge in the development of large cattle ranches in the Venustiano Carranza area. Thus, in contrast to the upland areas, there have been fewer gaps in the lower regions opened for Indian settlement. But, for some of the smaller and more "marginal" Ladino holdings in the lowlands, legal battles for their preservation have proven harder to win, and this is reflected in the present-day distribution of lands under the jurisdiction of the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango. At one time in the past, both of these communities had access only to the lands in the immediate proximity of the village sites, but now they have expanded through a series of successful land disputes under the land reform program and have added lands obtained from fincas in the lowlands so that now their landholdings are skewed to the lowland side.

This brief overview of Ladino settlement since about the mid-19th century provides a context of at least one dimension for reviewing the variations found

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13 Sec. 14, no. 3-4.
14 Fig. 33.
among the settlements of the transect in respect to community-wide organization. 

The Indian communities of Aguacatenango, Amatenango, Villa las Rosas, and Venustiano Carranza are long-standing ones; all four were probably established during colonial reducción. However, through the course of time, only Amatenango and Aguacatenango have retained their autonomy and maintained their distinctive Indian life-way through the mechanisms of the corporate community.

The long period of close contact between ladinos and Indians sharing the same lowland locale in Venustiano Carranza has resulted in the waning away of some of the Indians' corporate features, which we have evidence were present at a former time. The more recent trends of Ladino settlement have brought them into Villa las Rosas, and this Indian community's corporateness has been almost completely eclipsed, resulting in rapid acculturation of the Indian population there.

Other Indian settlements of the transect are the products of recent migration and subsequent changes in community status and must be viewed in relation to the Ladino settlement development as outlined above.

While we do not know precisely the age of these movements, and while there has probably always been a trickle of Indians moving into the transect from centers farther to the north (Chamula, Huistán, Tenejapa, Zinacantan and Oxchuc), these movements involved greater numbers of people and intensified with the 20th century reforms. Two basic kinds of Indian settlement have been the result, as viewed at the present time. One is that of individual families, or individuals, who leave places of origin and take up residence on Ladino

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15Sec. 14, pp. 13-14.

16Sec. 18, pp. 4 and 7.
agricultural enterprises as peones, or in Ladino towns where they shift occupations and lose the traditional economic life-way of the milpero. The other involves the joining together of migrating individuals and families into communities, which gain some jural control over lands through the ejido program, thus maintaining the primary occupational pursuit of milpero. In cases resulting from movements of the first type, much of Indian social and cultural features are lost. Rather, these Indians acculturate into Ladino society and occupy the lower rungs of the Ladino stratified social world. The Indians of Teopisca are an example of this. In cases resulting from the second type of movement, a local community is established, no matter how small, in settings conducive to the preservation of traditional social and cultural features. In the adaptation to a new setting, a community organization is established utilizing, in varying degrees, features of the corporate model which "protects" the group from the Ladino social and cultural world.

The present distribution of some of these new communities and knowledge of their ethnic origins shows that this pattern of movement is correlated with the history of land availability in relation to Ladino settlement. Thus, we see a spreading out within the highest zone (III) and often a high-to-lowland direction in this movement.\textsuperscript{17}

Chanal is a community composed, for the most part, of descendants of Oxchuqueros who moved into their present locale to work as peones and sharecroppers on a large Ladino finca in the mid-19th century. In the 1930's, the Ladinos withdrew, and these lands were granted to the Indians. Subsequently

\textsuperscript{17}Fig. 44, appended to Part I of this Report.
they chose the corporate model for community organisation. Today, this community displays as strongly entrenched corporate social and cultural features as do the longer established communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

Other highland (Zone III) communities--some of those along and near the new road to Chanal, and the small upland colonias of the municipio of Teopisca, Balhuitz, Flores Magón, Tzajalá, and Dos Lagunas—are the result of Indian migrations from the northern areas outside the transect (Chamula, Huistán and probably Oxchuc). Through the ejido program these communities possess a land base, and while formally under the jurisdiction of Ladino municipio governments, they possess modified corporate features which have enabled them to preserve much of their Indian distinctiveness.

While the Indians of Venustiano Carranza are integrated in a number of ways with Ladino society, they preserve a great number of social and cultural features (about half of the corporate features) which clearly set them apart. In Teopisca, on the other hand, the Indian population of the present-day is, for the most part, made up of recent migrants from upland and northern areas. With their close social, political, and economic integration with Ladino culture in the past two or three generations, the corporate model has not developed: the Indians of Teopisca have become "ladinoized Indians".

We do not have information to cover adequately other communities and settlements, nor the space to go into further developmental details about the communities briefly covered here. But, by conceptually distinguishing two

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18 Sec. 12, Appendix I.
19 Fig. 43.g., appended to Part I of this Report.
20 Sec. 13, pp. 3-4, note 3; Fig. 44, appended to Part I of this Report.
21 Sec. 13, pp. 3-4.
22 Sec. 33.
areas of social organization—the infra-structure, and the larger, community-wide structure in the context of the relationship between Indians and Latinos at these levels—we have indicated where obvious change and development have occurred in the systems of social organization which are found in the transect today. We have, unfortunately, been unable to spell these out in detail. When future detailed historical research involving systematic comparison and reconstruction is carried out, this dual frame may possibly be altered because it may be inadequate to the task of analyzing the complex articulation of infra-structural features with macro-structural ones. We have here used it, however, as a convenient frame within which to single out some unsolved problems in the historical reconstruction of the systems of social organization.

Muriel E. Verbitsky and
John C. Hotchkiss
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Appendix II  Comparative Land Tenure Systems

In this appendix, the social organization of land use for the main agricultural pursuits of members of the five communities is compared. First, some analytical categories are presented. These distinctions are based upon those that people make themselves (either verbally, or in their patterned non-verbal behavior). These categories fall under three heads:

1) Physiographic land-types,
2) Land-holding social units,
3) Mechanisms of land transfer.

The physiographic land-types which are utilized for agricultural purposes (thus ruling out other exploitations of land, such as lumbering and house gardens) are:

1) pasture,
2) temporal,
3) plowable (and often irrigable) lands. ¹

The social units found in the communities which have some land-holding functions (i.e., have involvement in obtaining, controlling, using, or disposing of land) are:

1) The total community. In the corporate communities, a legally constituted authority—the civil arm of the civil-religious hierarchy—acts in the name of the community. In the mixed Ladino-Indian, non-corporate communities, the municipio governmental apparatus acts for the total community for some land-holding functions.

¹See Wagner, "Habitat", (Sec. 5, pp. 8-9) for elaboration of these types.
2) The local *ejido* commission. All of the communities participate in the Mexican *ejido* land program. Under the terms of this program, a local commission administers the lands made available under its auspices. In the three corporate communities of Chanal, Amatenango and Aguacatenango, these *ejido* commissions are thoroughly integrated into the total community's land administration apparatus. In these communities, there is no distinction between the traditional communal lands and the recently acquired *ejido* communal lands. However, in the non-corporate communities of Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza, the *ejido* lands are not equated with the municipio common lands, and the *ejido* commissions have an important and distinct land-holding role when compared with their roles in the corporate communities.  \(^2\)

3) Within a community, there may be some internal territorial division which has some land-holding function. This may be the barrio, or the *paraje*.

4) Kinship or descent groups, such as the lineage or the large compound household, may have land-holding functions. However, the only community where we have information that these may be operative is Chanal, and our information is too scanty for a definitive statement.

5) The unit which actually "works" the land is the household\(^3\) in all the communities.

Land transfer involves the acquisition and disposition of lands by the various land-holding units defined above, and may be effected in four ways:

1) Through buying and selling according to the rules of the market: Such rules differ depending on what level of social unit is involved. For

\(^2\)Sec. 13, pp. 11, 29-30; Sec. 15, pp. 2 and 5.

\(^3\)Sec. 16, above, pp.1-2, for the definition and characteristics of the "household".
example, a community may buy land from the outside according to the open, Mexican land market; or, households within a community may be restricted to buying and selling lands only among each other.

2) Through the rights of usufruct:

3) Through various kinds of legal, authorized proceedings, depending on the social units involved: a community can petition the national ejido authorities for lands; or, a household may seek permission from the local ayuntamiento to use some portion of community-controlled irrigation land.

4) Through household transfer (i.e., inheritance).

At the total-community level of land-holding, all the communities "own" or control some types of lands. These are administered by some legally instituted community body. In Chanal, Amatenango and Aguacatenango, it is the ayuntamiento plus the local ejido commissions which oversee the community's communal lands. These communities may buy lands from outside to increase their communal territory, but this is rare. More often legal proceedings are used to obtain ejido lands to add to their communal domains.

In the mixed Ladino-Indian communities of Venustiano Carranza and Tecoiscan, most of the lands have come under private Ladino control, but these communities also have municipio common lands. In Tecoiscan, there are several communal pasture areas, on which anyone, Ladino or Indian, may graze his animals. In Venustiano Carranza, most lands which the Indians and a few poor Ladinos work, are the historic municipio communal lands. At the present time, mostly temporal lands are found under this heading, because Ladinos have encroached, by buying and by other means, on the better irrigated lands and on the extensive pasture areas for growing Ladino livestock enterprises. The communal lands in Venustiano Carranza are administered by an organization called
Blanea Co, which is under the auspices of the local municipio government. However, it often acts independently of the municipio government, when it turns to state and national governments for defense of "traditional" communal rights to meet the threats from local Ladino encroachment which are often effected through the local municipio government. The ejido program in Venustiano Carranza includes Ladinos as well as a few Indians. Indians dependent upon these ejido lands are somewhat marginal—physically because the ejido areas are far from town, and necessitate permanent colonia residence; and socially, because a "good member" of Carranza's Indian community is one who espouses the ideology of the Bienes Comunales.

The land-base of the Indians of Teopisca is the ejido. The ejido program is exclusively for Indians, and only Indians are members of the commission which administers these lands. However, the Indian sub-community of Teopisca does not have land-holding autonomy. The ejido commission is clearly subordinate to the dominant local Ladino municipio government.

The communal lands of all communities are distributed to households by usufruct rights. These lands may be "earmarked" for use by members of barrios or of large kinship divisions whereby a household thus gains access to particular lands by virtue of its affiliation with these divisions. In Teopisca and in Amatenango, the communal lands are not earmarked for use by members of any particular barrio or kinship division. Only in this informal sense do barrios ordinarily have a land-holding function. An exception to this, however, is found in Aguacatenango, where, recently, one barrio bought an

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4Sec. 16, pp. 2, 8-9.
5Sec. 13, p. 11.
area of temporal lands for the exclusive use of barrio members, an area will in the future be reserved for households of that barrio through usufruct rights.

The physiographic land-types which come under some form of communal control which we have discussed so far are the temporal and the pasture lands. The more favorable types of land, suitable for plow and irrigation, are found in several communities with a different form of tenure. In Chanal, on relatively flat lands, the plow is used, but in no area of Chanal are conditions right for irrigation. These plow lands of Chanal are probably treated as are the communal temporal lands.

In Amatenango, the flat irrigable valley lands are treated as an individual household's private property and can be bought and sold. However, there are strong sanctions against selling these lands to outsiders, so that the communal ethic prevails with respect to such community lands.6

In Aguacatenango, although the communal temporal lands are not earmarked for exclusive barrio use, the irrigated lands are so earmarked; they are not bought or sold, however, but are transferred by household-transfer mechanisms and may be obtained on the basis of usufruct rights by petition to the ayuntamiento.7

The flat, irrigable lands of the non-corporate communities are under private control. They are now mostly in ladino hands (Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza). An Indian from a corporate community may go outside his own territory and, by the rules of open market, may buy private lands. In so doing, he acts as a private individual. This practice is rare, however. Individuals who hold private lands of this kind are not bound by community norms in the

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6 Sec. 10, pp. 42-43.

7 Personal communication, Duane Metzger.
transfer of these lands, and they can dispose of them as they wish, but usually, they do so within the framework of their community-defined household-transfer rules.

Household-transfer mechanisms vary among the communities. In Chanal, patrilineal inheritance rules are stronger, and depend upon household composition and possible lineage factors, but we do not know very much about their operation in Chanal. In Amatenango, Tequisca, Venustiano Carranza and Aguacatenango, lands currently in use by a household are passed on to other members of the household. The actual procedures vary according to local household composition and local inheritance rules.

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8 Sec. 12, p. 8; Sec. 16, p. 8.
9 Sec. 16, pp. 8-9.
Appendix III

Community Structures

The following set of diagrams are oversimplified "over-views" of the total community structures of the five communities most thoroughly covered — Chamal, Aguacatenango, Amatenango, Teopisca and Venustiano Carranza.*

For all diagrams, the following legend applies:

- **households**: 

- **barrios**: 

- **parajes, colonias**: 

- **religious organizations**: 

- **education committees**: 

- **lines and direction of recruitment of personnel**: 

- **solid connecting line denotes mutual connection**: 

- **solid arrow denotes direction of influence and authority**.

*For elaboration of details, see Secs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.*
Section 17

NOTES ON TZELTAL-TZOTZIL PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY
Physical Anthropology of the Tseltal and Tsotsil

Kent V. Glannery - May 4, 1959

What has been done.

The first investigator to work with the Tseltal and Tsotsil was Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago, whose results were published in Starr (1902), The Physical Characters of the Indians of Southern Mexico, University of Chicago Press. Starr took photographs, made an attempt to match skin color to a chart given at the start of his book, wrote down general observations and took standard somatic measurements (anthropometry, craniometry) of (1) 100 Tsotsil men and 25 Tsotsil women at Chamula, and (2) 100 Tseltal men and 25 Tseltal women at Tenejapa. His conclusions included the statement that "a greater variation in the Tsendals, in ten out of fourteen measurements, suggests that the Tsendals have mixed more with other tribes than the Tsotils have". The Tsotiles, in fact, have the smallest range of variation of cephalic index of any of the 23 tribes Starr measured.

Stella M. Leche of Tulane University studies 100 male Tsotsiles at Chamula in the 1930's. Her work, which includes standard somatic measurements and also the taking of fingerprints and hand-prints and a recording of right- and left-handedness, appears in Tulane University's Measures of Men, Middle American Research Series Publication #7, 1936, under the heading Dermatoglyphics and Funcational Lateral Dominance in Mexican Indians. Chamulan. Anthropometry of the Chamulas. There is some difference between her figures and Starr's; she claims that her 100 subjects were
rigorously selected by her and are "pure Indians", while Starr simply measured the population of the area. Leche's figures, for example, would make the Tzotziles of Chamula slightly shorter and less long-headed than Starr found them.

Both Leche's and Starr's anthropometric figures have been recorded in Juan Comas' bibliography (Comas, 1943, *La Antropología Física en México y Centro-América*, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Mexico D.F.), in which all statistics available at that time have been compiled into distribution maps of somatic characters.

What should be done in connection with the Chiapas Project?

(1) Samples (anthropometry, serology, etc.) should be taken from both sides of every boundary, whether physical, cultural, or linguistic, to see which, if any, of the factors have been instrumental in affecting gene frequencies.

(2) As a tie-in with archaeology, comparisons should be made between the quantifiable somatic characters as they appear now, as they were in 1936 and 1895, and as they appear in skeletal material found in all levels (if such can be found) during the archaeological excavation of the region. This should be undertaken to show not only what change has occurred during the last 1500 years, but also to show, if possible, during what periods the change moved faster and is most noticeable.

(3) As a tie-in with cultural anthropology, an effort should be made to note whether there are any significant somatic differences due to differences in diet, where diet may be a function of the ecological zone.

(4) An attempt should be made to determine whether, on the one hand, isola-
tion or the nuclear settlement pattern have produced homogeneity in some areas, and on the other hand, if migrations to other areas have tended to increase the range of variation.
Section 18

VILLA LAS ROSAS (PINOLA)
VILLA LAS ROSAS (PINOLA) COMMUNITY SUMMARY

Villa las Rosas is located on one of the geological shelves, which form the descending steps down from the "Plateau Summit" area, at an elevation of about 4200 feet. Falling below the 5000 foot vegetational break, and in ecological Zone I, Villa las Rosas is a "hot country" settlement.²

The village is laid out in a regular grid street plan, with the typical Mexican plaza complex of church, cabildo and market at the center. The grid becomes irregular at the edges of town, especially on the east, where settlement has grown up on a steep hillside.

The population of the municipio, according to the 1950 census, is 7,120.³ The town itself has about 6,000. The population is mixed Indian and Ladino. The exact proportions are unknown, but Ladinos are in a definite minority. A reasonable estimate would be that they comprise about one-fifth to one-fourth of the total. Apparently, Villa las Rosas is only recently settled by Ladinos on anything approaching a significant scale.⁴ Persons in the middle to upper wealth scales of this Ladino minority include storekeepers, middlemen, professionals, and large scale agricultural entrepreneurs. A few of these Ladinos are known to be related by kinship to some middle to upper wealth scales.

¹Villa las Rosas (pre-Revolutionary name—Pinola) has not been the object of extended social anthropological field work. Several project members, however, have gathered some material on this community. Robert Adams spent several days in Villa las Rosas at various times while working on the archeological survey (1958-59). He has engaged subsequently in historical research which has revealed some historical information pertaining to Villa las Rosas (see "The Findings", Sec. 2; pp. 6-7). John Hotchkiss spent three days in Villa las Rosas in October, 1958, expressly for a social anthropological survey. Roberto Escalante made several visits to Villa las Rosas in the 1958 field season, and then lived there for two months in 1959, gathering linguistic data and some social anthropological census materials on his linguistic informants. (Eva Verbitsky, in Chicago, has analyzed these census materials). Philip Wagner, in his 1957 field season, made a survey of house types and house construction materials. This summary, then, attempts to bring together the little information we have from these divergent sources.

²Figs. 1, 2, 5, and 6.b. Sec 5 passim.

³Fig. 31

⁴"The Findings", Sec. 2, pp. 6-7.
class families of Teopisca, and they probably came from Teopisca. They maintain business contacts and social relations by mutual visiting for weddings and fiestas, with their Teopisca relatives. The origins of other ladinos, which undoubtedly include ladinoized Indians who have "passed", are unknown.

The core of the Indian majority is probably descended from Tzeltal-speaking Indians who were settled in the present village site during the Spanish Colonial period under the policy of reducción. The present-day Indian population is probably more heterogeneous than that of the Indian corporate communities, due to in-migrating Indians from other areas. The birthplaces of the seventeen linguistic informants living in a single barrio (San José, or Bolonhuitzs), are as follows:6

Natives
Barrio Bolonhuitzs ........................................ 7
Other barrios of Villa las Rosas ............................ 3
An outlying colonia of Villa las Rosas ................. 1 11

Outsiders
Chamal .......................................................... 1
San Cristóbal de Las Casas (barrio Custital) ......... 1
Rancho El Paraíso .............................................. 1
Rancho El Palmita ............................................. 1
Aguacatenango .................................................. 1
Some settlement of Huistán ................................ 1 6

Total..........17

The community is divided into neighborhood division: El Centro and five barrios. The community patron saint is San Miguel, and sometimes El Centro is

6Since these informants were solicited with the help of a Ladino school teacher, an "outsider" (hence more acculturated?) bias may have entered the selection. Therefore, the proportion of the sample of "native" to "outsider" should not be extended to the whole community.
referred to as a barrio by this name. El Centro is predominantly populated by Ladinos, although a few Indians live there as well. The barrios are predominantly Indian. The names of the barrios are: San José (Bolonhuitz), San Pedro, Guadalupe, San Jacinto, and Jesús (or "Jesusito"). Barrio Guadalupe is reputedly a newly formed barrio. (See sketch map, p. 8, below, for locations of these barrios.)

In El Centro, Ladino buildings and houses are predominantly made of adobe brick or wattle-daub walls and tile roofs. Ladino sitios in El Centro are typically of the "street sitio" type.6

As one moves into the barrios, more marked variation in the use of house construction materials is noted, and within a single sitio, there may be several materials utilized. Reeds (guija de estacas) for walls are very common among Indian houses (86 o/o of the buildings of the 17 households of the linguistic sample). Palm thatch and shingles are more commonly used by Indians for roofs, with tiles less common (only 7 o/o of the linguistic sample).7

Barrio sitios are of the "open type", with houses built off the street. Reed or stick fences bound them, and the average sitio size is considerably smaller than those found either in Amatenango or Aguacatenango. The sitio of one of Hotchkiss' informants is 75 feet deep and 40 feet fronting the street. This informant said that he paid 4000 pesos for this town lot, which had several coffee and citrus trees on it, but no buildings. He said that materials for his house, which he built himself, cost 1000 pesos.

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6 For definitions of house sitio types, see Sec. 13, pp. 3-4.

7 See Fig. 34 for a summary of Philip Wagner's house construction survey.
Barrio sitio garden crops include coffee, banana and lime trees; chile plants, chayote vines, and various squashes. Chickens and pigs seem universally distributed among Indian sitios.

Indians display a variety of costume. Many men, both young and old, are easily marked as Indians by their traditional costume of white calzones, home-sewn shirts, and sashes. Sashes are in several colors—red, black, and in a variegated pattern of red-yellow-blue. The possible significance of these different colored sashes for status or ethnic origin is not known. Many Indian men wear Ladino-styled clothes. The dominant pattern for women costume seems to be the "Modified Indian" costume—long, cotton skirt and a simply-embroidered blouse. Very few women wearing the Traditional Indian women's costume were observed. There are also undoubtedly many Indian women wearing Ladino-styled dresses. We have no information on the relative proportions of Indians wearing Ladino or Indian costume, for either men or women.

Most Indians are small scale agriculturists (milperos). The exact nature of their land base is unclear. There are ejido lands, but evidently the ejido program does not provide the major source of lands for the Indians. One informant said that most milperos own their own land, and that their holdings range is size from two to four hectares. Two hectares was said to be the minimum size holding necessary to sustain a family. There are municipio communal pasture lands for the grazing of animals. It is not known how many Indians have livestock.

The area of the relatively flat agricultural lands around Villa las Rosas is probably a little larger than the area of the valley of Teopisca, and this area appears to be mostly in small milpa holdings. Several small streams tumble down from the hills to the east of the Villa las Rosas shelf, but
because of the minor unevenness of the terrain, only a small portion of it is irrigated by these waters. A large scale national government irrigation project is found on Ladino controlled lands below Villa las Rosas (on the way to Soyatitán). Sugar is an important field crop, and most of the lands below Villa las Rosas are devoted to this crop. Three of the 17 Indians of the linguistic sample stated that they grew sugar as well as corn on their holdings.

There are several additional income opportunities for the Indians of Villa las Rosas. They work during parts of the year on fincas and nearby Ladino-owned ranchos. Wages for this work are about five pesos a day. The sugar refinery at Pujiltik employs many for short periods of peak activity; at a wage reported as fifteen pesos a day.

The presence of non-agricultural ladinos creates many secondary job opportunities for the Indians—cargueros, suppliers of firewood, and other non-agricultural wage work. Women add to the household economy by selling sitio garden products, chickens, and home-made food items. A number of women probably work as servants and maids in Ladino homes.

There is no regular market day on the plaza. Everyday there seems to be a few puestos in front of the "market building", with perhaps more on weekend days. (The "market building" on the plaza, in front of the church, is not a "public market" as is found in San Cristobal, but is composed of several privately owned stores.)

House sitios are bought and sold, but, because of the high prices for town lots, many poorer Indians can take free communal land at the edge of town for a house sitio. A case is known of a man trading his milpa for a house sitio in town.
Interbarrio marriage occurs, and people can change barrio residence freely. One case of cross barrio, brother-sister marriage exchange is reported. Informants speak of having relatives in several barrios. Of the linguistic sample of seventeen households, fourteen of them are nuclear households and three are compounds. One is a two-couple, patrilocal joint family, the other two contain widows living with married sons. The mode of persons per household of this sample is six, and the average is 5.4. Therefore, these families are a little larger than those found in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, where the model number of persons per household is five.

Details of civil administration are not known. The Presidente of the municipio government is presently (1958) a Ladino school teacher. Hotchkiss' single informant said that barrios have civil officers, but their role is unclear, and it is not known if they represent the barrio in municipio affairs.

There is a resident priest in Villa las Rosas. The barrios each have separate chapels. The chapel of San José is a fair sized church, and the chapel of Guadalupe is located on a hill top above the town. Each barrio has some religious organization, for "cargos" were spoken of by both Ladino and Indian informants, but the nature of these is unclear. One informant, from barrio Guadalupe, said that there are thirty men (a mayordomía?) in his barrio's religious organization, and that they take turns, each man serving as "sacristán" for one day each month in the chapel. It is not known how these men are selected, or how many months they serve.

During the fiesta of the "Coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe" in October, 1958, there was a large number of ladinos participating in what appeared to be an Indian-directed phase of this fiesta, held in the small
chapel of Barrio Guadalupe. Similarly, at a Ladino-sponsored secular program and dance at the school, celebrating Columbus Day, both Ladinos and Indians actively participated.

In summary, some general observations on the cultural position of the Indians of Villa las Rosas may be made. While there is much "Indianness" preserved, manifested by the frequent use of native costume and the strength of the native language as a "living language", the overall impression is that the Indians are far along a road towards ladinoization. This situation, if true, is a remarkable one, considering the relatively recent presence of Ladinos. The contrast of Villa las Rosas with Venustiano Carranza is striking, for in the latter, the Indian population is culturally intact in spite of a long period of close contact with Ladinos. These apparent differences pose a challenge for future research, both synchronic and historical, in problems dealing with the ladinoization process.

John C. Hotchkiss

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8 See "The Findings", Sec. 2, pp. 6-7.
SKETCH MAP OF VILLA LAS ROSAS

Showing approximate boundaries of the barrios (in green)

- Plaza
- Cabildo
- Market building
- Hotel
- Central Church
- School

Barrio chapels

SAN JOSE (Solomnheit)
GUADALUPE

SAN PEDRO

to Soyatitan
REPORT
on the
University of Chicago
"MAN-IN-NATURE" Project
in
Chiapas, Mexico

Part III
Supplementary Studies

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Supplementary Studies
Section 19

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGING MEDICAL PRACTICES IN A MEXICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY
Social Structure and Changing Medical Practices in a Mexican Indian Community*

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Two major interests in the study of acculturation are the relationship between social structure and culture change, and the existence of sub-groups which reveal different degrees of acculturation. The social structure defines the situation in which innovations are presented and the procedures by which decisions about them are made. Sub-groups are usually treated as both a result of previous change and an influence on change in progress. I will present a case in which the two approaches can be synthesized. The sub-groups are a crucial aspect of social organization; and they explain in large measure the differential acceptance of innovations in health and medical practices. But the most interesting thing is this: the less-acculturated Indians are rapidly changing their curing practices, and the more acculturated ones are not. I shall attempt to explain this paradox later.

The municipio of Huistán in the Highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, is one of several inhabited by Tzotsil Indians. The settlement pattern is the modified vacant-town type; the town center contains some permanent Indian residents, but the bulk of the population lives in the colonias, districts composed of small villages scattered throughout the mountains. Each colonia is also an ejido, a collective agrarian community. In this paper I shall deal with the village

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of Yalcuc, the principal settlement of the colonia of the same name. In the early years after the colonia was founded in 1937, the major part of the population of the old village, still occupied nearby, moved to the new one, Yalcuc. They were joined by several other families, some from other communities in Huistán, some from other municipios. Under the continuing leadership of Don Alonso Vásquez, the man who originally organized the colonia and who has been president since its inception, this diverse group has become a highly integrated village.

The basic social and economic unit in Yalcuc is the household. In a population of 235 people there are 49 nuclear families combined into 39 households, which are scattered in an area of about one-half square mile. The ideal residence rule is patrilocal, with a period of alternating patrilocal-matrilocial residence during the first few months of marriage. In reality about one third of the families follow the ideal rule. Another third are irrelevant because of the newness of the village, and the remainder are almost evenly divided among matrilocal, fratrilocal, and neolocal.

Descent is patrilineal with strong bilateral tendencies. The lineal principle, which is stronger in other parts of the municipio, has been attenuated by population shifts and the diversity of the community. Patrilineages are minimal and function primarily in the arrangement and regulation of marriage. The lineages are exogamous; the village as a whole is almost entirely endogamous.

Ritual kinship furnishes an avenue by which additional relationships can be established, or existing ones strengthened, as when a man chooses a brother or brother-in-law as godfather for his child. Ritual kinship is no more than moderately important in the social structure. Few men have more than five compadres; and if the person is not already a relative, he is rarely invested with important privileges and obligations.
What I have summarized so far could be called formal social structure; the patterns are explicitly defined in the culture. There exists, in addition, an informal structure, an understanding of which is particularly essential in any consideration of current processes of change. It is not a cultural norm, but rather a result of the interaction of social and cultural factors. The units of the informal structure are community sub-groups, four of which can be defined, using four criteria with regard to which there is considerable variation in Yaluc. The criteria are municipio origin, type of costume, participation in community affairs and in municipio affairs. The members of the core group are Huistecos (natives of Huistán) who wear the native costume and participate a great deal in both village and municipio affairs. The fringe group is characterized by the opposite of each of these criteria: origin in a different municipio, ladino clothes, little participation in village and municipio affairs. There are two intermediate groups in which the criteria are combined in different ways. The native-oriented intermediate group is composed of Huistecos in native dress whose participation in municipio affairs is high, in village affairs low, since all of them also maintain houses in the old village. The acculturated intermediate group is composed of Huistecos in ladino clothes whose participation in municipio affairs is low, in village affairs high.

These groups have a certain internal unity; they are not merely categories of people who happen to share the same sociocultural characteristics. Membership is not based on kinship, although it is relevant in that each lineage, with only two exceptions is entirely within a single group. Ritual kin relationships, with very few exceptions, are established between members of the same group. Perhaps the most important feature is the manner in which the groups channel social interaction. In all cases, interaction within group boundaries is higher than interaction across. The groups are not differentiated to the extent that they have an internal structure with leadership, etc.; nor can they be considered
as factions. Yet they have separate identities as distinct entities, and membership can be defined unambiguously in the sense that each family can be placed in one and only one group. Using family heads as a basis of placement, the group sizes are: the core group, 18 families; native-oriented, 11; acculturated, 10; and the fringe group, also 10.

That the level of social integration in Yalcuc is high, in spite of the existence of sub-groups, can be partly explained by the position and influence of the president. He is the most influential man in the municipio, a persuasive orator, and a master at manipulating relationships with ladinos. His colonia is the only one in Huistán where the entire male population can be mobilized for community activities such as the working of the school plot and visiting important fiestas in nearby villages.

The process by which current changes are being realized is related to three facets of the social organization: the sub-group structure, the role of the president, and the decision-making process. The most important stimulus for change is the National Indian Institute, which is conducting a comprehensive development program in the Highland region, working in the fields of education, health, agriculture, and transportation. The native curing system was in a state of deterioration throughout Huistán, and especially in Yalcuc, before the Institute entered the scene. In Yalcuc many people no longer used the native practitioners, combination diagnostician-curers who practice within the context of an elaborate belief system about the causation of disease and have a repertory of cures fitted to the requirements of different types of illness. Most such people visited female curers among the ladinos in the town center, or acculturated Indians of other municipios. Don Alonso had been using the doctors in the closest urban center for 15 years, in cases of serious illness, although no one else followed his example. Beliefs about causation of disease, especially the complex associated with witchcraft, had not changed much; but there was increasing recognition that the medicine man's repertory was becoming impoverished...
ished and his techniques less effective. The health program of the Institute was introduced in Huistán with the establishment of a clinic in a village near Yalcuc in 1951. In Yalcuc itself a medical post was opened in September, 1957, and staffed by a young man, a member of the core group, who was trained at the clinic.

In considering factors which influence the acceptance of innovations in the realm of health, it is instructive to compare the installation of latrines with the use of medical facilities. Representatives of the Institute proposed the installation to a meeting of heads of families. Such meetings are the standard method of making decisions about matters of community concern. The pattern is that proposals be presented by or through the president, be more or less thoroughly discussed, and be accepted or rejected unanimously, usually in accord with the inclinations of the president. Such was the case with the decision about latrines. The influence of the president and the pressure of public opinion helped produce near unanimity — only three men failed to sign up. Although they were accepted on an individual basis, the essence of the decision was that it was a decision on a course of collective action and a single decision which did not need to be repeated. The decision to approve the construction of the medical post and to furnish labor for it followed the same pattern. In these two matters the solidarity of the community was expressed.

Decisions about the use of the available medical facilities take place in a different situation. They are concerned with individual action, and they must be made repeatedly. In this matter sub-group membership overrides community solidarity as the crucial factor. Here are some figures based on attendance during the first eight months of the medical post's operation:

In the core group, 89% of the families used the facilities.
In the native-oriented group, 64%.
In the acculturated group, 50%.
In the fringe group, 20%.
Although records of the nearby clinic do not begin until 1955, interviews indicate that in the early years the situation was the same as that revealed in the available records: only members of the core group attended from Yalcuc, and some of them with surprising frequency.

Let me summarize before proceeding. When the decision about an innovation is a collective, single decision, the influence of the president and the solidarity of the community produce unanimous acceptance (or rejection, in other cases not discussed here). When the decision is individual and repeated, the reaction to the innovation is varied, and the variation is related to membership in sub-groups of the community. These groups are an aspect of the social organization, not merely categories of people which the investigator is able to distinguish.

One more problem requires some attention. Why is it that in general the less acculturated people are eager to use modern medicine, while the more acculturated are reluctant? First it should be pointed out that the difference in acculturation is not great: it is basically one of identity. The members of the less acculturated groups seek to maintain their identity as Indians; they dress like Indians, they act like Indians, they hold municipio offices and participate in municipio fiestas. The identity of the more acculturated groups is not so clear. They consider themselves to be Indians, yet they do not dress like Indians, in some ways they do not act like Indians (for example, they shake hands among themselves, which Huistescos never do), they do not hold municipio offices, and they seldom go to fiestas. I suggest the paradox that the core group, in particular, is progressive because it is conservative. It seeks to conserve a basically Indian way of life; therefore, it is willing to accept certain innovations, such as modern medicine and improved agricultural practices, which make life easier and strengthen its position in the attempt to maintain its traditions. This attempt is now, as it has been for over 400
years, a struggle against the encroachments of local ladino culture. The ladino advance in Huistán involved extensive acquisition of land; before 1936, most of the municipio was ladino-owned, and the Indians worked as serfs for the large ranches. Today there are no large ranches or serfs, but small ladino ranches still occupy all the best land in Huistán. And the cultural threat of the ladino is still a major fact of life for Huistecos; local leaders in education in particular express their goal as "breaking the ancient tradition" of the Indians.

The National Indian Institute is a major new influence in the Highlands of Chiapas with the goal of integrating the Indian into the national life. Many Huistecos consider it no less a threat to their way of life than local ladinos. Even in Yalcuc, which has cooperated more than any other village in the Highland area, there is no understanding of the final goal of the Institute; and if there were, there would be no interest. The members of the core and native-oriented groups are strong in their conviction that they are Indians and should remain so. They view the improvements offered by the Institute as bulwarks for their own culture in the struggle against local ladinos. This is the reason why basically conservative Indians are eagerly accepting innovations.
Section 20

A FRAME FOR CULTURE-IN-ENVIRONMENT STUDIES
There follows some attempt to grapple with the formulation of propositions that display relations between several communities and their biotic settings. These propositions order a few details in the transect and may or may not be more universally applicable. They are believed to be researchable.

The following terms need to be defined at the outset:

biome

"the natural environment", habitat, ecological niche; includes climate, topography, soil, flora and fauna

biotic pressure

the effect of the biome or its parts on human activity; such effects may be direct or mediated by other parts of the biome

manipulative techniques

the tools and skills used to modify the biome for human ends

domains of value

enduring preferences which condition behavior with reference to the biome but which condition many other kinds of behavior as well; such values are, for example, "subsistence-but-not-surplus" and "participation in political decision-making"

Individuals in communities perceive the biome as a partitioned set of space-time events. A major criterion for such partitions is the differen-
tial suitability of the biome for the domains of value that men in the communities would have it serve.

1.1 In general, biometric partitions are representations which reflect perceived differences (contrasts) of success-over-failure ratios in that domain of value which happens to be focussed upon.

1.2 The boundaries of biometric partitions are divisions in space-time events which are conceived as points at which biometric pressures in interaction with manipulative techniques differentially reinforce contrastive success-over-failure ratios.

1.3 The set of all biometric partitions of a human community may be called the biometric structure.

2. The biometric structure will probably be partitioned in most detail in that area which is highly repetitive and which provides alternative (contrastive) choices. We shall refer to this area as the "core" of the biometric structure. The selection of a piece of land for planting, for example, is highly repetitive; in Aguacatenango, where men tend to plant many scattered plots at several altitude levels, this is done many times each year. Alternative choices are present, and the choice of one plot over another makes a difference in the yield. Partitioning in this area is detailed: plots vary in terms of 1) length of fallow; 2) amount of "cultivo" (fertilizer, plant and animal) worked into the soil; 3) richness of the soil as apparent in the wild vegetation; 4) degree of slope, with implications for ease of workability and for drainage; 5) distance from the community.

2.1 In contrast, on the "periphery" of the biometric structure repetitiveness is low and/or choices are few, and partitioning is not so detailed. Erosion, for example, is relatively non-repetitive, and partitioning does
not take it into account. Rainfall, though repetitive, presents few choices; one can either plant before it rains or after, and once planting is finished there is nothing one can do to bring rain or to ward it off. (Ritual control of rainfall in the transect seems to be relatively weak.) Hence partitioning in this area is fairly simple; one plants 1) before the rain, on the basis of long-term regularities as expressed in the calendar; if the rain comes within about forty days after planting, the seeds get the best possible start and grow well; or 2) after the first rains, when moisture is assured but when ground is difficult to work, seeds get a late start, and seed or young plants may rot in wet soil.

Where repetitiveness is low, directional change in pressure will not be distinguished from non-directional variation. The change in secondary growth from bush to sod happens in isolated areas and infrequently, and it does not seem to be perceived as a trend.

Where alternate choices are few, the structure will be continuous with one or more other cognitive structures. (see 3)

3. The relationship between the partitions of the biometric structure and their relevant values is correlational (necessary) rather than causal (sufficient); there is a positive association between the partitions and the goods sought after, and the boundaries of the partition express limits beyond which such positive association does not hold. A piece of land is good if it produces a substantial corn harvest, bad if it does not; soil is good not because it contains certain minerals or because it is limestone rather than volcanic, but because it "works" to produce food.

3.1 The partitions in the core of the structure probably express necessary
relations; the partitions on the periphery of the structure probably express less than necessary relations.

3.2 Informants' explanations of the structure probably attribute both necessary and sufficient character to the set of all partitions.

3.3 The sufficient aspect of the explanations may be general to more than one cognitive structure.

3.4 The sufficient aspect of the explanation may be more heavily emphasized where the necessary aspect is less clearly understood.

3.5 The sufficient aspect of the explanation may be more heavily emphasized on the peripheries of the structure, the necessary aspect more so in the core.

Such events as drought, earthquake, flood, and epidemic are explained as castigos de Dios; this type of explanation is common to the area of interpersonal relations, where a murderer's untimely or unusual death may be considered as a divine punishment for his misdeeds. All of these events are non-repetitive or relatively so (hence on the peripheries of the structure) and little understood in associational terms, and they are attributed a sufficient cause.

4. An inventory of terms in which the biometric structure is partitioned includes at least the following:

1. Items which "occur in nature", some a) neither domesticated nor cultivated, others b) domesticated but not cultivated, and others c) domesticated and cultivated. These items may be edibles, medicinals, construction materials, decorative substances, combustibles, materials for the manufacture of clothing, tools, household utensils and ritual objects.

2. The settings for the cultivation of domesticated plant and animal.
3. The settings for living sites, cemeteries, recreation facilities, factories, defenses, markets.

4. Natural forms for spirit-beings and the setting for spiritual habitation.

5. Boundaries for settings (rivers, ridges, escarp-plain junctures, valley edges) and links between settings (paths).

5. Biometric structures change through time. Such change is a reflex of a) the relative independence and instability of some biometric pressures with regard to communities' attempts to manipulate them; b) the effects which communities exert on the biome; and c) the changing domains of value of the communities.

5.1 In general, informants will be unable to report the relationship between biometric structures at different points in time if they have changed, and they will be unable to identify processes of change in the present structure. Such relationships and processes will be "a-cognitive".

5.2 Biometric structures in their entirety will probably not clearly distinguish "socio-cultural-linguistic" boundaries. However, some partitions or sets of partitions may be fairly good indicators of such boundaries; see especially 4.5 above.

6. Some of the partitions in the biometric structure are susceptible to rapid change in a direction congruent with some value domain if a) biometric pressures change significantly; b) the manipulative potential of the community changes; and/or c) the domain of values changes. Such partitions might be called "productive". Examples of each are the following: a) change in biometric pressure—increasing scarcity of land
due to population growth and/or encroachment of ladino finqueros caused people to move from Oxchuc to Chanal; a minimum change in the biometric structure must have been the amount of land from which choices could be made. b) change in manipulative potential—The controlled use of water has increased productivity on the valley land of Aguacatenango and has made possible the commercial exploitation of the sugar cane operation at Pujiltik. c) change in the domain of values—The political decision to improve the means of transport and communication between Chiapas and the rest of Mexico and to redistribute land to landless farmers is associated with the disappearance of many local trade items (e.g., palm hats) the raw materials for which were neither cultivated nor domesticated. At the same time, people became increasingly aware of the possibilities of subsistence agriculture, and different biometric pressures than before became salient.

7. While the change of a biometric pressure, a manipulative potential, or a domain of values may make some partitions productive, the biometric structure as a whole will remain fairly stable through time. The success-failure ratio for some partitions will change the frequencies of choices among alternatives, but all alternatives will probably persist side by side. In Teopisca, for example, some farmers use tractors, but techniques for preparing the ground for planting in the community as a whole still include the digging stick and the ox-drawn plow.

7.1 The structure will be maintained because the newly productive partitions are marginal. The tractor is used in Teopisca only by a few, largely because of its cost. Irrigation agriculture receives heavy investment in Aguacatenango, but the water supply varies from sufficient for all to adequate for none in a short cycle of years (four or five).
7.2 It may be that there is a single biometric structure, at one level, for all the highlands of Chiapas—or, to put the matter another way, that all the biometric structures of the several communities share the same basic partitions at one level. Possibly the range of alternatives overlaps and the ones chosen are in complementary distribution with regard to one or two variables such as wealth or political power. A man in Aguacatenango works community land but also owns a small “finca” in tierra caliente; the owner of the finca Tulancá raises cattle commercially but also plants milpas using slash-and-burn techniques.

8. The variation in the biometric structures of the subsistence agriculture communities in the transect (the Indian towns) is largely a variation in pressures; manipulative techniques and domains of value are quite similar.

8.1 We have documented a few cases, at least, where isolated individuals, families, and larger primary groups have maintained manipulative techniques and values but moved in space to improve pressure characteristics (the down-slope movers).

8.2 If we take a long historical perspective, however, movement of peoples will best be understood in terms of one or more of the three variables discussed in 6 and following.

8.3 Movement of people in general is associated with many features that fall beyond this weak description of one structure.

9. In the subsistence agricultural communities in the transect, some decisions are made on the basis of the defining characteristics of the biometric structure. More decisions are made on the basis of the defining characteristics of other structures but include entailing characteristics of the
biometric structure. Some decisions are made that take no account of this structure at all.

9.1. The description of the socio-cultural reality of the transect will be complete when we can systematically display a large sample of such decision-making.
Section 21

MEASURES OF DIALECT DISTANCE

IN

TZELTAL-TZOTZIL
Measures of Dialect-Distance in Tzeltal-Tzotzil

The data for the present brief study were gathered during the spring and summer months of 1997 by members of the field team of the National Science Foundation sponsored project of the University of Chicago's Department of Anthropology. This project aims to study the relations between man and nature among the Maya-language speaking indigenous peoples of the highlands of the state of Chiapas in Mexico. The transect cut out by the Chiapas project for intensive study from a variety of points of view is relatively small (only 100 by 20 kilometers), but extremely varied both as to natural environment (the altitude varies from about 2500 to about 8500 feet) and as to human habitation (peoples who have previously been labeled Tzotzil and those previously labeled Tzeltal occupy various parts of the transect). Among staff members of the project team are a geographer, a botanist, an archeologist, two social anthropologists and a linguist. The project serves as a training ground for a number of student assistants.

As a part of the data-gathering operations of the project, an intensive dialect distributional survey is planned for the summer of 1958. The survey will cover not merely the geographical dimension in the transect but also the social differentiation dimension. Informants will be so chosen as to represent both horizontal and vertical distributions. As spadework toward the preparation of a suitable questionnaire for such an intensive survey, a preliminary survey was carried out last year. The preliminary survey made use of Swadesh's 100 and 200-word "basic" vocabulary lists coupled with a list of an additional 400 "cultural words". To these 600 words were added (in a few instances) more specialized vocabularies covering the geography and the flora and fauna.
Map 1 (Illustration No. 1) will show you the geographic placing of the principal occupied spots in and adjacent to the transect. The black dots represent localities from which vocabularies for the preliminary survey were obtained. The encircled numbers represent separate informants. List 1 (Illustration No. 2) presents a full listing of the vocabularies gathered in the preliminary survey. You will observe that not all the vocabularies were taken by the same person. Those which I took are marked with my initials. The others, marked by their initials, were taken by students with only a brief orientation session on Tzotzil-Tzeltal phonemics. Some were also recorded on tape and were subsequently phonetically transcribed by a different recorder. The totality of this data will be used to work out a minimal questionnaire of maximally contrastive items for a saturation study of the dialect variation in the project transect.

The present brief study will illustrate a number of questions which have arisen in connection with the (A) gathering and (B) interpretation of such dialect data:

(A) (1) In what way is the effect of differential previous training of recorders reflected in the materials?

2) In what way are special psychological or sociocultural peculiarities of informants reflected in the materials?

(3) Is the effect of different degrees of informant or recorder bilingualism noteworthy?

(B) (1) Do the lines of greatest differentiation as indicated by percentages of shared retentions coincide or differ with those indicated by maximal bundling of isoglosses?

2) Do isoglosses of phonetic features behave differently from those marking phonemic features or individual lexical items?

3) How adequate are features of these various kinds as distinguishers of individuals within dialect areas?
The answers to some of these questions are obvious enough to be phrased as hypotheses for checking even against the present scanty data:

(A) (1) Where phonetic virtuosity is at a premium, relatively untrained recorders will produce underdifferentiated materials. Where such virtuosity is not important, the results of using such materials will not differ in any important respect from those deriving from materials produced by better trained recorders.

(2) Psychological or sociocultural peculiarities of informants should be so pervasive as to be reflected on all levels in all kinds of materials and in all uses to which they are put.

(3) Different degrees of informant or recorder bilingualism should affect all basic vocabulary in the same way, and should not, therefore, make unelicitable any special portion of it.

(B) (1) Lines of greatest differentiation, both those resulting from counts of shared retentions in basic vocabulary and those resulting from bundling of isoglosses should coincide.

(2) Isoglosses of phonetic features should subdivide areas marked off by isoglosses of phonemic features. Isoglosses of individual lexical features should show less coincidence with lines of greatest differentiation in basic vocabulary as a whole than do those of phonemic features.

(3) Phonetic features and individual lexical features should be most useful in singling out individuals within dialect areas.

I should like, at this point, to express my gratitude to Yvonne Hajda and to Marvin Mayers, without whose assistance (both in transcriptions from the tapes, and in distance counts on the vocabularies) I should not be here.

Since vocabularies for all informants were available only for the first 100 items, I limited myself to these, both for the basic vocabulary and for the selected features for isogloss mapping.
Each of the 19 100-word vocabularies was compared with each of the others and distances in centuries were calculated. The results are presented, both in percentages of shared retentions and in distances to the nearest 100 years, in Chart 1 (Illustration No. 3). On this chart the towns (and the informants within them) are arranged in an arbitrary geographical ordering from NW to SE.

This arbitrary ordering reveals discontinuities in the relative ordering of towns (and informants) which have been remedied in Chart 2 (Illustration No. 4) by rearranging the nineteen informants in order of amounts of divergence. The rearrangement raises a number of questions and observations.

Following the rearrangement of the figures in Chart 2, an attempt was next made to rearrange the informants on the map in order to put them all in relative order of distance one from another. Map 2 (Illustration No. 5) was prepared as a base map onto which to enter the isoglosses representing the principal differences among the informants as revealed by other features (phonemic, phonetic, and individual lexical). Minor variations in individual items were normalized out and the features were plotted as indicated on maps 3, 4, 5, and 6 (Illustrations No. 6, 7, 8, and 9 respectively).

Reviewing the charts seriatim, we may see what each suggests, before attempting to summarize and to answer the questions or to confirm or reject the hypotheses.

On Chart 1 (Illustration No. 3), we see that the minimum distance is 100 years and the maximum 1500. The first is between two barrios in San Bartolo (14 and 17) and the second between one of the hamaltik barrio Chanal informants (4) and the informant from the barrio of San Sebastian (19) in San Bartolo. The 100 year spread is from two vocabularies recorded by me, the 1500 year spread between one vocabulary recorded by me (4) and one recorded by another field-worker (19). Neither time distance is geographically surprising, with Chanal at the north of the transect and San Bartolo at the extreme south. The other two hamaltik informants, however, are only
8 centuries away from (19), and (4) is thus singled out as a special problem. There may have been an unusual number of wrongly answered items from this informant, since he seemed to either (1) know little Spanish or (2) be so eager and anxious to please as to give the first item that occurred to him. This informant was physically crippled; he seemed mentally withdrawn, as evidenced by the fact that he was so soft-spoken as to make transcribing his tape extremely difficult.

Likewise aberrant because of unusual amounts of separation are (8) (Amatenango) recorded by mn, (10) (Aguacatenango) recorded by bm, and (16) and (18) recorded by jvb and ar respectively.

On Chart 2 (Illustration No. 4) we see that (4) again stands out, as do (16) and, to a lesser extent, (18). The biggest break comes between (4) and (1), setting off (1, 3, 14-15-16-17-18-19) (San Andrés, Yalcue, and San Bartolo) against all others, and within these San Andrés and Yalcue against San Bartolo as a whole. There is a smooth progression among the others on either side, but neither the Tseltal dialects nor the Tzotzil dialects internally keep strict geographic order. Whether the differences are large enough to be indicative of geographic movement is an open question.

On Map 2 (Illustration No. 5) (4, 8, 16, 18, and 19) are widely divergent. (1 and 3), (14-15-17), and (16-18-19) are all linked together, as are (5, 6, 7) and (9, 10, 11, 12, 13). These approximations bring together informants who are widely separated geographically and their relative linguistic ordering is not that of their geographical placement.

On Map 3 (Illustration No. 6) plotting the normalized phonemic isoglosses for /i/ /a/ /o/ /u/, 4 out of the 5 vowels, shows that
a bundle of isoglosses coincides with the lines of greatest differentiation between Tzotzil and Tzeltal as indicated on Map 2. On a strict phonemic count, nine out of the twelve must count as a single isogloss, but, on a functional load basis, each of the nine certainly bears its weight.

On Map 4 (Illustration No. 7) we see that three isoglosses isolate (3) (Yalcuc), and that two of these three are structurally linked, opposing both semivowels /w/ in Yalcuc to fricative /h/ elsewhere.

On Map 5 (Illustration No. 8) we see that a major split again separates (1, 3, 14-19) from (2, and 4-13), but that each of these halves is again sub-divided by a series of phonetic differences. We see, moreover, that three individual informants are singled out as unusual for their phonetics (11, 18) or phonemics (14). The phonetic differences on the right (Tzeltal) are between voiceless and voiced, voiced and fricative, on the left between (glottalized) nasals and (glottalized) stops and nasals, and between these and plain nasals (or otherwise simplified forms).

Finally, on Map 6 (Illustration No. 9) the individual lexical items show the same bunching of isoglosses between (1, 3, 14-19) and (2, 4-13), except that here the picture is much more complicated, with fanning out of isoglosses on both ends. Some Tzeltal items go with Tzotzil (N), some Tzotzil items with Tzeltal (S), some items are found on both sides of the major split, but do not exhaust the inventory on either side, and some items are found only in (1) and (3) as over against all the rest.

Now, attempting to answer the questions:

(A) (1) Differential previous training of recorders seems to be reflected in the distance counts and in the phonetic isoglosses but not in the isoglosses of phonemic contrasts nor in those of individual lexical items.

(2) Informant (4) is perhaps isolable as a special psychological case in the distance counts, and (10) as an informant with sociocultural peculiarities on phonetic (and phonemic?) grounds.
(3) No effect of differential bilingualism is observable (unless it be in number 4).

(B) (1) Lines of greatest differentiation on distance counts match most closely those of phonemic isoglosses (but also coincide with the principal individual lexical breaks).

(2) Isoglosses of phonetic features split up the whole area more finely than do those of phonemic features, but less haphazardly than do those of individual lexical features.

(3) Both distance figures and individual phonetic features distinguish particular informants as individuals.

And the hypotheses:

(A) (1) The fact that vocabularies 5, 6, 3, 10, 16, 18, and 19 were recorded by relatively untrained individuals is reflected in the phonetic transcriptions in Illustration No. 8 for these informants. They are not, however, aberrant in unpredictable fashions, and their aberrance does not interfere seriously with their classification. Lack of phonetic training shows no effect on the distribution of the phonemic isoglosses and relatively little on the distance counts. Surprising to me, however, was that it was possible to identify, even with such small effects, the relatively untrained recorders. The glottochronological tool is a more sensitive one than we might have suspected.

(2) The aberrances which are notable in the distance counts seem to be due at least as much to psychological and socio-cultural peculiarities of particular informants (4, 10) as to inadequate training on the part of the recorders (5, 6, 3, 10, 16, 18, 19) (as compared with 4, and 11, prepared by a trained recorder, but equally aberrant). The special qualities of particular informants show up again in Illustration No. 3 in the isolated blocks (11, 14, 18) within the phonetic subdivisions. The first and last of these records a pronunciation heard nowhere else in the transect. Number (1) is attributable to a role assumed by JP for communicating with ladinos (non-Indian outsiders). Number (18) may conceivably
be a bona-fide Tzotzil phonetic and phonemic variant (or it may be phonetic only and in part attributable to the recorder).

(3) Different degrees of bilingualism seem to have had no effect on the overall results with any of the instruments.

(B) (1) Lines of greatest differentiation, both those resulting from counts of shared retentions and those resulting from phonemic isoglosses, do coincide in their entirety. Some of the phonetic isoglosses and some of the isoglosses for individual lexical items follow the same lines, but a great many of these diverge in various ways. Basic vocabulary and phonemics are thus neatly opposed to selected vocabulary and phonetics, the former more conservative, the latter less so.

(2) Isoglosses of phonetic features do sub-divide areas marked off by isoglosses of phonemic features. Some few phonetic isoglosses happen to coincide with phonemic isoglosses. Phonetic isoglosses sometimes subdivide very finely or isolate individual informants. Isoglosses of individual lexical features do show less coincidence with lines of greatest differentiation in basic vocabulary than do those of phonemic features.

(3) Phonetic features are useful in singling out individuals within dialect areas, but individual lexical features much less so, since these latter tend to criss-cross in a bewildering variety of ways. The distance counts serve not only as useful rough estimates of dialect distance, but also as surprisingly sensitive instruments for the singling out of individuals (informants or recorders) peculiar in some striking way.

Each of the instruments has its own special advantages: lexicostatistics for general distance counts and relative distributional statements, isogloss plotting for finer sub-divisions and specification of individual peculiarities indicated by the lexicostatistical figures. Dialect geography will certainly benefit by the addition
of lexicostatistical techniques, and cultural anthropology will benefit by the application of both to a specification of socio-cultural groups and of individuals within such groups. It may eventually be possible to construct sensitive linguistic indices to socio-cultural differentiation which will come to be indispensable tools to the cultural anthropologist.

Norman A. McQuown
University of Chicago
Map 1:
NSF-University of Chicago Transect in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil Dialect Area
### List 1: Tzeltal - Tzotzil Vocabularies

**Basic Vocabularies**

(100 = Basic Minimal 200 = Basic Full 201 - Cultural)

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<th>Barrio</th>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Recorder</th>
<th>Tapes</th>
<th>Items</th>
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**Others**

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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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**Chart 2: Relative Distance by Time Depth**

Illustration No. 4
Illustration No. 5

Map 2: Relative Distance by Time Depth

Scale: 1/4 inch = 100 years
Normalized Phonemic Isoglosses

- 31b / 3eb
- sat / sit
- joh, etc. / jah, etc.
- joy / jay, etc.
- jok, etc. / jak, etc.
- jok, etc. / jah, etc.
- kon, etc. / kan
- *ok, etc. / *ak
- *on, etc. / *otan
- yoš / yañ, etc.
- ho*, etc. / ha*
- mušu, etc. / maša, etc.
Map 4: Normalized Phonemic Isoglosses
Map 5: Normalized Phonetic Isoglosses
Illustration No. 9
Map 6: Normalized Lexical Isoglosses
Section 22

THE SMALL-SCALE ECONOMY:

THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC CHOICE
In the anthropological study of the economies of peasant and primitive societies three kinds of general problems are recurrent. The first and most pressing task is that of estimating magnitudes of economic activities. Most of the small scale economies in which field work is done are only partially monetized, and it is a considerable task to describe empirically the level of economic activity and to quantify it. Providing the field study generates the basic data on the level and flow of goods and services, the other analytical problem remain. What is the mechanism or social organization which accounts for the given level and changes in that level? As a rule the market is not the predominant allocating and coordinating organization it is in larger, complex, monetized economies. The stipulation of the framework of economic activity leads to questions concerning the relationship of the economic sub-system to the total social system. This area of the relationship of economy and society is most properly the core of anthropological concern. For after all, social anthropologists are committed to descriptions, analyses, and perhaps explanations of cultures and societies as natural systems, not to economic, political, technological, artistic, or religious phenomena per se. These substantive fields of human activity are avenues to the understanding of whole social and cultural systems.

By an examination of the economy of peasant Indians in the state of Chiapas, Mexico,¹ I hope to show, in part, how the structure and function of a small scale non-Western economy is described in the course of field work, and to indicate how the more general questions of social and economic organization are raised in the process.
In southeastern Chiapas, Tzeltal and Tzotzil speaking Indians are the predominant population. One Tzeltal community is that of Amatenango de Valle. Amatenango is a municipio situated just off the Pan-American highway some 44 kilometers south of the region's largest Mexican city. Amatenango has a reputation as a wealthy and independent community. Its people call themselves Tzontajel; they wear a distinct costume; their mode of speech is dialectically distinct from neighboring Tzeltal speaking communities; they are nearly endogamous; they have economic specialities; a local civil administration, and a particular calendar of sacred and secular festivals. They are a corporate community, united by blood and custom, living on their own territory, with an ethnic distinctiveness which sets them apart in their minds, and in fact, from their Indian neighbors and the superordinate communities of Mexicans which surround them.

Amatenango makes its living by cultivating the soil, cattle raising and by producing pottery. Agriculture is carried on by men with a relatively low level technology. The ox-drawn plow, the machete, the digging stick, the sickle, and a net bag make up the tool kit. A simple irrigation system of ditching serves some of the land, and some land is rotated between milpa crops (corn, beans, squash) and wheat. Fertilizer is not used, but some nutrient is returned to the soil when cattle are turned loose in the fields after harvest, and when the fields are burned to clear them the ash is left. Seed selection is not rigorous. The agricultural complex also includes garden plots near house sites, as distinct from field lands. The garden plots are used for milpa also, but their chief economic significance lies in the growing of chayote, a squash-like cucurbit, and its root which are sold to other communities. The maguey plants, lima and avocado trees supply domestically used produce.
The agricultural basis of the community does not, by itself, maintain Amatenango at its expected level of living. Pottery making is an important component in meeting the customary standard. Of the 278 households in the town center of Amatenango, only two or three are not engaged in the production of pottery for sale. Pottery making is a community specialization, not an individual skill. All women who are born in, and grow up in Amatenango know how to make pots. At least this holds true for the four basic kinds of pottery, water containers, carrying jugs, small and large bowls, and jars. Although women are the makers of pottery, the pottery is not considered, and is not, strictly a women's product. Men bring the firewood necessary for the firing of the pottery, and men take the pottery to points of sale. Pottery requires male and female cooperation, and women feel that pottery is a joint product dependent upon male aid. Some of the more specialized kinds of pottery (pitchers, comales, incense burners, perforated pots) are made by many, but not all, households, and some items sold almost exclusively to Ladinos (as non-Indians are called in the region), like flower pots, or charcoal burning braziers are restricted to a very few families.

The technology of pottery making is simple and inexpensive. As the skills come to the women potters in the process of being socialized into Amatenango and so provide every household with the art, so the technology is priced within the reach of even the poorest household in the community. In making pottery, no wheel, or mold, or oven, or purchased materials are required. Pottery is a hand industry. The clay, the temper, the pigment, the scraping stone and the wood used in firing, all come from communal resources and are open to every member of Amatenango equally. No payment and no special permission is needed to use these resources. Community membership gives free
(except for the labor involved) access to the materials of pottery making. The purchased part of technology (a steel blade for scraping, a smooth board for resting pot bases, a burlap bag or skirt under the potter's knees, net bags, pots to hold water and pigment) cost under three dollars.

There exist wide variations in the output of different pottery making households. Estimating the range of variation in output and finding the reasons for output differences became the first field task. In a preliterate culture devices for recording quantitative information need to be invented by the investigator.² A chart, with drawings of the various kinds of pots together with a calendar was placed in four households. In one household a daily record covering the entire year was obtained, and in the other three households lesser periods, ranging from several to one month were recorded. This information is supplemented by observations on pottery making in several dozen households, and is checked against the complete census of the community, so that the typicality of the sample can be judged. At any rate, the problem of getting the gross community output of pottery was not the major research interest (though a reasoned and plausible estimate could be constructed from the data in hand). The problem was to approximate the limits of output variability and to pin these down to a set of factors which could be called the determinants of production. The determinants of production, when known, would then indicate the "controlling mechanism" regulating the pottery industry, and by extension, the economic life of the community.

Figure I is a composite picture of the production of one of the most intensive producers of pottery in the community. The solid line represents common household pottery made all year around, the dash line is household pottery made by many, but not all households; and the line of dots is pottery made only on special
order or occasion. An inspection of Figure I shows that pottery making tends to reach its peaks just prior to the major festal occasions in the community and in surrounding communities. This follows the expected pattern. Since pottery making is a cash raising activity, sold in an impersonal market, the festal occasions are the times when Amatenangero need money, and they are the times when the largest demand from visitors to a local fiesta may be expected. This is not the time of maximum price of pottery. The first determinant of output then is the rhythm of sacred and secular celebration which require cash outlay.

Within the pattern of orienting effort to the festal calendar, there is a climatic and seasonal rhythm reflected in output figures. In the rainy months less pottery is made generally than in the dry sunny times of the year. However in January and February, dry sunny months, there is high wind which complicates the drying of pottery (because the pottery must be kept under leaves to keep moisture in it until it is ready for firing) and hence reduces output in those months. This general pattern of seasonal flux is common to all households, and so is the peak and trough pattern of production along with fiestas.

Figure I establishes the general rhythm of pottery production, and Figure II compares differences in the level of production among three households (the weeks of the year can be compared for the households). Household #6 outproduces Household #14, and Household #13 outproduces both #6 and #14 (the numbers refer to a map and census of the community which is not here included). Each of the households is differently constituted in numbers of potters in it. Household #13 has four potters (two young women, one middle aged, and one old). Household #6 has two potters (one young and one middle aged women), and #14 has two potters (one young and one middle aged). There-
fore the sheer number of hands which can be mustered in #13 is greater and helps explain its greater output. Furthermore #14 and #6 have small children, under three years of age, in the household, and #13 does not. Child care and household maintenance compete with pottery making for a woman's time, so the small child is a further brake on production in these other two households.

Inspection of Figure II shows that four women produce more than twice as much as two women (even adjusting for children). Part of this is an "economy of scale." Pottery production has some assembly line aspects. Women work on a part of a pot, making bases, then they turn to making bodies, then to making necks, and finally to putting handles on the pot. Between these operations the pots are partially dried. If there are four women, the division of labor is better, and relative efficiency of the producing unit rises. Beyond four, not much increase occurs. But the differences in output between #6 and #14 are such that sheer numbers of hands will not serve as an explanation. The factor of relative efficiency, or of skill, is so nearly matched in these households, that it does not really enter as a factor in the account of production differences.

If the households are ranked in terms of landholding, or land at the disposable of the household, it becomes apparent that there is a connection between the wealth of the household and its level of pottery output. Wealthier households produce less per woman, than do poorer households. The motivation to work at the top of the bent is stronger in poorer households, because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family's subsistence must come from pottery making. Land, of course, needs men to work it, and household #13 has but one old man, and he can not work much land, or lay claim to government grant lands (ejido) of any considerable size.
In richer households (in terms of land and cattle owned) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This also has a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery. Conversely poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer living children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production.

The rate of output is determined on two levels:
1. that common to the whole society (technology, resources, seasons, and social cycle)
2. the organization and wealth differences among producing units (number of women, number of children under three, number of men and amount of land and cattle owned)

These second level determinants of production continue to be operative because of the whole social and economic organization of Amatenango. The units of production are households, and the households are kinship units. As a kinship unit, membership comes only by being born or marrying into the unit. The household unit, with its kinship mechanisms of recruitment sets the size of the "labor force" available for pottery making. No one hires out to do pottery for wages, since pottery making is only part of a woman's job as a member of a household (and even if a wage were paid it could not cover all activities and still yield anything to an employer). Amatenango's kinship system is one of nearly perfectly balanced bilateralism. What attracts a man or woman to live either with his or her parents in the same household (after marriage) is a combination of personal tastes and wealth of the household. So wealthier households can attract either sons-in-law or daughters-in-law to live with them, and have a slightly larger labor force potential. But the absence of wage labor in a household production system limits any given unit's ability to expand in pottery activities.
Furthermore, since pottery production is household organized, there are activities competing with pottery making. The chief task of a household is that of maintaining itself and supporting its members. Economic activities are but one field in which maintenance needs are met. Internal family social relations, the socialization of members, sickness and curing, religious activity, social status, and dispute settlement are tasks partly centered in the family and household organization. Economic activity, be it pottery production or agriculture, is a means to implement some of the other aspects of family and household goals. It is not an instance of conflicting standards when a woman with small children stops pottery making, but rather a case of clear priorities.

Some anthropologists have compared a household to a firm, and tried to see how, given its resources, it moves to maximize production. I think the analogy badly grounded in most instances and certainly erroneous in Amatenango. The context of economic choice in Amatenango places calculation in the framework of a multi-purposed social organization, which unlike a firm cannot liquidate, if it makes poor calculations. Households, or more precisely the members of them, in Amatenango, are as acutely aware as we are of relative costs and are keenly sensitized to economic gain. When marketing their pottery they flow to San Cristobal Las Casas, or Comitan, or Villa Las Rosas, or other points of sale in accord with price differentials. They closely question men returning from the various places as to prevailing prices and act accordingly. Price is on every tongue and is a topic of unending interest. Amatenangueros are "rational economic actors: in the sense of bringing means and ends together, only their ends are values other than (or in addition to) maximization of a given single magnitude. In Max Weber's terms, they exhibit Wertrationalität, where firms in a competitive market economy can be expected to exhibit Zweckrationalität."
The households, of course, form a social system. And the social system operates so that households orient to the prevailing value system, on the one hand, and remain fairly equivalent in wealth, on the other. Social or economic classes are kept from polarizing. Figure III gives a land distribution chart based upon self reported wealth. This suffers from underestimation and deliberate concealment of assets, but serves to approximate the shape of the real distribution of land. Land is the best index to wealth. Inspection of Figure III shows a clustering of the fortunes of the people: there are few rich and there are few poor. And the rich do not expect to found dynasties, nor do the poor expect to carry poverty over generations.

The features of social life which account for the relative economic homogeneity of the community can be conceptualized in the notion of a levelling mechanism. Levelling mechanisms are ubiquitous devices in peasant economies of the scale of Amatenango. Not only do they insure a "democracy of poverty" but they serve to inhibit economic expansion of any given unit within the society under the threat of expulsion or sacral retribution. The levelling mechanism rests first on the absolute level of wealth in the community. Amatenango's low level technology and its restricted land base impose severe limits on the wealth of the society as a whole, and for households and individuals a correspondingly low level of wealth. No household is so rich that the spectre of poverty is not a real possibility in the wake of long illness or a sustained run of bad luck. Given a relatively low level of absolute wealth, the inheritance mechanism tends to fragment such estates as are accumulated. In Amatenango inheritance is bilateral, which equal inheritance for all of the off-spring (although there are special prerogatives of women in inheriting houses and house sites, and of men in receiving horses and cattle). Land tends to be evenly distributed.
The process of inheritance scrambles land holdings among sons and daughters even before death of the head of a household. Reinforcing the technical and economic levelling factors are other social means inhibiting accumulation of wealth or capital. There are a series of offices a man (as a representative of a family) must serve in. This hierarchy of civil and religious offices is a drain on work time, and uses up some of the resources of the household. Its offices are unpaid, and since a man must serve in 12 such offices before he is relieved of communal service, they are a continuing cost all through his adult, productive life.

Another social mechanism reducing accumulation is the institution of the alférez. The alférez office, of which there are four to be filled every year, is a ritual and sacred office filled by a younger man. The cost of this office is, in terms of Amatenango's wealth, exorbitant. The alféreces expend more than the annual income of even the richest Amatenango in feasting a group of neighbors, relatives, and officers of the hierarchy, in the great consumption of liquor and the renting of the special costumes. Before the alférez feasts weeks of preparation for it occupy the household. Women are making pottery to use for the cooking the larger amounts of special food, and can not make pottery for sale. Men of the household spend their time making liquor in the hills near Amatenango. And members of the bilateral kindred come in to aid in the pottery making and liquor distilling. Undertaking the post of alférez leave the family in reduced straits and with depleted assets.

Alféreces are selected by the officials of the civil and religious hierarchy, and the selection is almost strictly on ability to pay. So the richer households have this levy against them in consequence of their prosperity. In a community like Amatenango it is nearly impossible to conceal one's wealth--the cows and horses one owns are visible, the land cultivated
are public knowledge, and the health of one's children is a reliable index to adequate diet. Strong negative sanctions—witchcraft gossip, envy would be consequent on a refusal to accept the post of Alférez when it was proffered.

These things together:
1. low level of technology and limited land
2. fragment of estate by inheritance
3. time and resources expenditure in communal office
4. forced expenditure in ritual by the wealthy

combine to keep the fortunes of various households nearly equivalent, and to maintain the shift of family fortunes throughout time. In addition, the business of marrying is expensive, and uses household resources. Nobody gains goods in exchanges like marriage payment, or alférez feasts, or payments for dispute settlement. The use of liquor as the medium of payment—the completely consumable good—precludes accumulation.

Not only are households in a situation where maximization of an output or income dimension is unfeasible because of their social structure, but should a given household decide on the course of maximization or be lucky or exceedingly skilled in its economic operations, the "levelling mechanism" come into play to minimize differences. In short Amatenango present a socioeconomic where wealth is not easily turned to technical and economic uses, but is drained by the social and religious constitution of the culture.

Behind, and sanctioning, the social and religious organization of Amatenango is a system of pervasive belief in witchcraft. Witchcraft befalls those who violate the norms of familial and household harmony, who do not get along with neighbors, who are rich but not generous, who refuse communal
obligations, who become outstanding in some dimension which violates
the corporate nature of the community or upset its tendency for economic
homogeneity.

Amatenango perhaps would not formulate the principles of witch-
craft in this manner, but they certainly behave as if their actions were
in fact governed by these premises. Witchcraft as a means of sanction is not
an easy thing to live with, and at least one Amatenango is killed every
two months for being a practitioner of witchcraft. But the tension between
economic expansion and social coercion is apparently not so strong that
the system appears in immediate or even remote danger of falling under its
own weight.

Amatenangos are on the whole a relatively cheerful, easy going
people, and apparently not given much to mental troubles or to psychoses.
They have, at least the men do, a high preference for leisure as against
work outside of the traditional agriculture. This fits well with the opera-
tion of the levelling mechanism and its inhibition on accumulation.
Amatenango men do not work much in the nearby lowland plantation economies of
the Mexican coffee and sugar cane growers. They prefer to spend their free
time hunting field rats, or rabbits, or just sitting in their patios and
drinking.

A few conclusions on the nature of the problem of raising the level
of wealth or the "economic development" of communities like Amatenango may
be hazarded in the light of the foregoing analysis of the structure and function
of the small scale economy.

In Amatenango, and in other peasant communities of which I have
knowledge, economic motivation, economic understanding, or calculation of a
course of action in rough terms of alternative costs are not lacking (what-
ever they may be in some communities in say Africa). Technology is simple,
and technological skills are not highly developed, and the educational and
literary basis for their development is not present in the community, or readily available to it. But the large obstacles to growth are in the areas of capital, credit and social organization. If my analysis of the factors underlying output is correct, then household units of production are relatively inefficient as a social basis for economic expansion, and a social and religious system which inhibits accumulation, or drains accumulated resources into non-productive channels is not a propitious context for economic growth. Witchcraft, and its associated belief pattern, is the largest, most formidable obstacle to economic growth in a community like Amatenango.

I have attempted to specify the social and cultural features of economic choice in a small scale, non-Western society. By starting with the quantitative, economic facts of daily life, it is possible to trace out the aspects of society and culture which set the framework in which individuals and social units seek their ends. The kind of analysis done in social anthropology, if it follows this procedure, converts the facts of economic choice into social choice. The conversion of economic choice into social choice stems from the extension of relevant context of choice making to the non-economic spheres. What appears as "capricious" or "traditional" from a strictly economic perspective, makes sense in the wider context of choice.

In small scale societies, the facts of interconnection of economy and society and their reciprocal interaction need not be bracketed away in the abstract language of formal economic analysis, nor do social units and cultural norms need to be divorced from their economic consequences. Economic anthropology is not so much the reformulation of the principles of economics as it is the small scale model for the empirical stipulation of the kinds of social contexts in which economic principles operate.
Footnotes

1 Field work was carried on from July to September, 1958, and from July to December, 1959. I am indebted to the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista of Mexico, the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, and the National Institute of Mental Health for their support of the field work.

2 I am deeply indebted to June Nash for devising the charts. She shares equally in the gathering of data here presented, and her advice and criticism of this manuscript has added substantially to whatever merit it possesses.


Figure III

Size of Landholdings, by households

No. of Households

--- Total land
--- Inherited land
Bought land
Bought and inherited land
Section 23

A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

OF

INSTITUTIONALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO CULTURAL PLURALISM

IN THE

HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS
A Preliminary Evaluation of Institutionalized Social Control and its Contribution to Cultural Pluralism in the Highlands of Chiapas.

In the present paper I will examine the institutionalized mechanisms of social control in a Tzeltal community with reference to the degree to which they have "encouraged" or "discouraged" the absorption of these Indians into ladino culture. A general point I hope to make serves as a necessary corrective to the point of view expressed by Freed (1957:55) who besides asserting that acculturation may be equated with cultural disintegration suggests that an ethnic group will be assimilated unless it makes a conscious, organized effort to preserve those aspects of its culture which it values most highly. (Ibid) In contrast my view is that a "perpetuative-rational nativistic movement" is a special case of resistance to acculturation. To set up ideal type cases for a general "theory" of acculturation with reference to the variation found in this type of nativistic movement prematurely closes off many fruitful avenues of inquiry. One such avenue is summed up by the following proposition: The traditional patterns of social interaction may be preserved, not for manifest considerations of an ideological nature, but for such functional considerations as power, status, and maintenance of group life in a threatening milieu.

The Indians we studied in Chiapas have no perpetuative rational nativistic movement yet they have maintained a style of life which remains distinctive from that of the ladinos. These Indians do not appear to me to be intent upon maintaining any set of central values. In fact there are some aspects of ladino culture which they value and would wish to make their own. I will examine one aspect of the social organization of the town which appears to contribute to its continuing autonomy, namely the institutionalized mechanisms of social control.

In the first section of the paper, I will briefly describe the relevant socio-cultural aspects of the town, after which the relation of the town to the larger political entities of municipio, state, and nation will be described. In the second section of the paper I will offer a description of the traditional
modes of social control and will review an attempt to change these modes. In the third section I will summarize the materials and suggest some hypotheses whose generality extends beyond the case under consideration.

A Brief Summary of Some of the Socio-Cultural Aspects of Aguacatenango.

Aguacatenango is a closed grid-iron community of Tzeltal speaking Indians lying on the southwestern scarp of the highlands in Chiapas. The town has a population of about 1,000 people. The only ladinos who stay for any length of time in the town are 3 school teachers. Around the central plaza of the town are grouped the public buildings; the church, the cabildo (town hall) and the store.

The church is the physical expression of the religious center of the town. Within it are housed a series of representations of saints, the principal one of which is the patron of the town (Virgin of the Nativity). The saints have the power to secure the well being of the town and its individual members. They do not rule wisely, however, unless they are celebrated with ritual and rejoicing. There is a formal organization of mayordomos invested with the responsibility to oversee the ceremonies of the saints. Individuals, too, may seek guidance and aid from the saints. They go to the saints with gifts of candles, incense and money in time of need.

Besides the cult of the saints housed in the church, there are particular aspects of the environment outside of the town which are thought capable of doing good or evil and thus are propitiated. The caves are said to have "owners" (chauk) who can steal peoples' spirits but who also can aid in growing crops and in hunting. In turn, animals can be personifications of naguals—spirits of men who can kill or disable their enemies. Specified plants have powerful curative effects when properly incorporated into the ritual of curing, the practitioners of which are the curanderos.

The community is the largest unit for which the members feel a sense of solidarity. This solidarity is founded in part on certain characteristics
which are unique to the community: persons within the community dress in a distinctive way from all of the neighboring Indian and ladino communities; their speech is sufficiently apart from the other dialects of Tzeltal to make them aware that theirs is a separate speech community. Community endogamy and a relatively large amount of operating autonomy in political and religious matters tend to enforce this also.

Community solidarity is also founded on the quality of the interaction that takes place between members of Aguacatenango and members of other communities—either ladino or Indian. While interaction within the community tends to be functionally diffuse, interaction outside of the community tends to be functionally specific, most characteristically economic. In the case of interaction with ladinos there is furthermore a strong status distinction in favor of the ladinos.

Formally recognized social classes are not present in Aguacatenango although there is some difference in the distribution of wealth. Any surplus tends to be redistributed among the members of the community at times of fiestas rather than being focused upon the purchase of new goods.

Localized groups of people tend to be related patrilineally. Sons live with or near their fathers. Daughters marry out of this group but generally live within a few blocks of their parents. Two types of household may be distinguished. The extended household has three generations of patrilineally related males living in it while the nuclear household has only two generations. For most of the day to day decisions the oldest male in the household has jural authority over all its members. It is he who directs the economic organization of the household and controls the allocation of scarce goods. He controls whatever property or other durable goods the household may own.

While the individual households have a certain amount of jural and economic independence, we must return to the local group and the neighborhood as the spatial units of associational interaction.
Generally the closest affective ties between individuals outside of the household are those between kinsmen who live in the local groups. These I will henceforth designate as lineages. Important affective ties are also formed between lineages which are spatially contiguous. Nor are these two classes of associates completely distinct since it is not uncommon that neighbors become affinal relatives.

The lineage is the primary reference group for anyone of the patrilineally related kinsmen. Advice may be sought from the oldest male member of the kin group. It will probably be he who is spokesmen for the lineage in the matters of interest or cooperation between some or all of the lineages in the town. However, his decision making powers are limited in that for each matter at hand his view must be that expressed by all the heads of households within the lineage.

Between the household and lineage and the community there stand territorial subdivisions which divide the town into two sides or barrios. While the full functioning of the barrios has not been wholly clarified, I can set forth the following minimal characteristics: they tend to be endogamous; the land in the town is divided roughly into two halves and the members of each barrio work only in the half that "belongs" to the barrio; four or five of the most respected principales (elders) in each of the barrios form a "board of governors" for the town. Among their duties as advisors, they rule on who is acceptable for the cargos (offices) in the municipal government.

The daily political decisions of the town are made by the ayuntamiento. It has sixteen members whose titles are as follows: Agente Municipal; Suplente; Juez Primero; Juez Suplente; Síndico Municipal; Jefe de Cuartel; Regidor 2/o; Regidor 3/o; Regidor 4/o; and seven Comisionados. The first nine members constitute the decision making body, the last seven are the "hands and feet" of the government, performing errands and services as required.
The daily political decisions may be conceived of as maintenance decisions. They fall in three areas in each area of which there exists an unwritten code of rules which is generally known to all adults in the town. In the area of law the ayuntamiento adjudicates in those cases of private or public delicts which are brought before them by either the plaintiff or defendant. Not all infractions are brought before the ayuntamiento; some are settled by the persons involved and others are taken directly to the ladino court in Venustiano Carranza.

The second area is that of public works and tax collection. The ayuntamiento is responsible for the upkeep of public buildings, trails and a piece of land which is farmed as a source of community income. They are furthermore responsible for the collection of the limosna, a tax which is levied on all households preceding saints' days fiestas. The major portion of the limosna is spent by the mayordomos of the church and is turned over to them once collected.

The third area is that which relates the town to the ladino world. The ayuntamiento is responsible to send vital statistics to the cabecera (county seat) of the municipio (county) each month. It is responsible to see that the taxes are paid on the ejido lands. It furthermore represents the town when special requests are made by ladinos; when engineers wish to resurvey the communal land, when politicians want the people of the town to vote in an election, etc.

The ayuntamiento cannot make political decisions which would change the unwritten code of rules nor can they make decisions which commit the people to action or expenditure of scarce goods outside of the maintenance areas. To understand how decisions are made outside of the maintenance areas is to understand the ultimate sources of power in the town.

Persons are recruited into the ayuntamiento for particular jobs in terms of the relative amount of experience they have had and in terms of the skill with which they have discharged their previous cargos. Experience in turn is defined in terms of which cargos one has held. In the past and to some extent in the present, skill has been defined in terms of how well one performed the
maintenance functions. This in turn depended upon how well one could judge "character", anticipate action and adjust differences between individuals. The new slate of officers is approved each year by the principales, men who have taken all of the cargos. These men also form a council of elders which mediates each extraordinary decision which must be made by the town as a unit.

Like the ayuntamiento, the organization of religious functionaries is an age-ordered hierarchy. Of the fourteen mayordomos (two for each saint's day), those of San Sebastian and Santa Cruz direct the activities of the others, and these are characteristically old men. Other saints' days for which there are mayordomos are Todos Santos, San Martin, San Antonio, Virgen de la Estividad, and Virgen del Rosario. The mayordomos as a group are responsible for the upkeep of the church, the maintenance of the priest, and the discharging of the various duties associated with the celebration of the saints' days (ringing of bells, firing of cohetes, public drunkenness, etc.). Contrasted with that of the ayuntamiento, the function of this group almost entirely involves the manipulation of objects rather than people, and the skill most highly enjoined is an operating knowledge of the procedure for the religious-festive celebrations. This contrast holds good even to the extent that the ayuntamiento recruits the new mayordomos and levies the limosnas. The civil and religious organizations are closely interrelated. For any particular individual, recruitment tends to be first into one and then into the other with three- to four-year rest periods in between cargos. As seen by ladino eyes, Aguacatenango is an insignificant political entity in the state of Chiapas. It is an agencia in a municipio the cabecera of which is Venustiano Carranza. Neither does it contribute in nor (until recently) has it been a recipient of the benefits that the state and nation can offer. The modification of the "until recently" clause means that since the time of the Revolution the continued existence of the town has been guaranteed by granting to these subsistence agriculturalists a portion of land. Also, certain kinds of exploitation of the Indians have been prohibited and in general the "external" peace has been maintained.
As seen by state and federal government officials, Aguacatenango is a peasant community of "inditos" whose internal and external affairs are governed by laws promulgated by ladinos. In turn violations of these laws are punished by agents of the government—policemen, public prosecutors, judges, and jailors. This view is, of course, false to fact as we will try to show. It is my view that Aguacatenango has maintained substantial political autonomy just as it has maintained considerable cultural autonomy.

The Mechanisms of Social Control Operative in Aguacatenango.

In the discussion which follows, we will organize our material in terms of a frame provided by Radcliffe-Brown (1952:212), the relevant conceptual distinctions being between "public delict" and "private delict" and between "penal sanction" and "restitutive sanction". The concepts of public and private delict are set forth to substitute for the concepts of civil and criminal law, which do not seem to Radcliffe-Brown to be perfectly applicable to preliterate societies. He uses the concepts as follows:

In any society a deed is a public delict if its occurrence normally leads to an organized and regular procedure by the whole community or by the constituted representatives of social authority, which results in the fixing of responsibility upon some person within the community and the infliction by the community or by its representatives of some hurt or punishment upon the responsible person. This procedure...may be called the penal sanction... (Ibid.)

In the procedure of a law of private delicts a person or body of persons that has suffered some injury, loss, or damage by infringement of recognized rights appeals to a constituted judicial authority, who declares some other person or body of persons within the community to be responsible and rules that the defendant shall give satisfaction to the plaintiff, such satisfaction frequently taking the form of the payment of an indemnity or damages. A private delict is thus an action which is subject to... a restitutive sanction. (Ibid. 213)

Aguacatenango is especially interesting when viewed in the above terms because there appear to be relatively autonomous means for handling public as opposed to private delicts. In contrast to what one might suppose, serious public delicts appear to be handled somewhat more "informally" than private delicts.

I shall describe two phases in the operation of the "law-ways" in Aguacatenango. The first, phase S, I consider as stable in comparison to the
second, Phase U. Phase S covers the years between the Carrancista revolution in Chiapas and 1954, while phase U includes the years of 1954 and the following ones.

Phase S: In the years which followed the revolution, Aguacatenango maintained a considerable amount of political autonomy from the state and the nation. This was in part a result of the fact that the town was in the municipio of San Bartolomé and the cabecera was a full day's walk or ride away. The town was little visited by ladino officialdom. In part, also, it was the result of the presence in the town of a literate Indian who could assume the responsibilities of town secretary, a job normally held by a ladino appointee. The town contained within itself the highest authority to which a member could appeal in cases of intracommunity private or public delicts. Cases between Aguacatenango and other communities were sometimes handled as were intracommunity matters (when the other party was Indian) and sometimes in the ladino courts (when the other party was ladino). An interesting exception is the case of conflict over land, in which ladino civil engineers employed by the federal government, rather than the courts, played determining roles.

Cases illustrative of the operation of social controls during this phase are as follows:

1. In the early part of phase S, persons who had originally migrated from Aguacatenango to a portion of the town's land in the hot country proclaimed their independence from the town and claimed as their own a considerable portion of the town's land. The migrants also claimed houses on this land which the people of the town still used when they went to tierra caliente to work. The men of Aguacatenango gathered and went to tierra caliente to fight the men of El Puerto (the offshoot community). A "stick war" ensued, the men fighting with machetes and clubs for a day, and the result of it was that the men of El Puerto were driven off the land they had claimed; however, the battle did not finally settle the matter.
In 1937-8, Cardenas made a trip through Chiapas and on his way to Comitán made a stop in Teopisca, a nearby market town. The Indian secretary of Aguacatenango asked permission to speak with him and then requested that he settle the land dispute. He suggested that each side be given half the land in question; the president agreed and the matter was closed.

2. A finquero, owner of La Palizada, a hilltop area near Aguacatenango, suddenly prohibited the people of the town from using the water from a spring on his land (a privilege they had formerly enjoyed). The Indian secretary pleaded that this order be rescinded to no avail. The finquero was ambushed and killed by “unknown” assailants shortly thereafter. As it worked out, this action was unnecessary as it was only a short time until the land was confiscated by the government in the course of land reform.

3. Two men went hunting with shotguns and crossed onto the land of a neighboring finca. Soldiers who happened to be at the finca that day detained the men and confiscated their guns. Under cross-examination, one of the men confessed to having stolen some cattle owned by the finquero. The soldiers released them and they returned home. Next day the soldiers came to Aguacatenango with the finquero to search for the meat of the stolen cow. None was found, but the soldiers insisted that the ayuntamiento be responsible for paying for the missing cow. The Indian secretary made a hurried trip to San Bartolome and there obtained a court order that the finquero present himself there in order to settle the matter. The finquero was afraid to go for fear he would be killed and so the matter was dropped.

These three cases show some of the ways of handling disputes between the community and outsiders. Direct action on the part of the community as a whole appears to have been common when many members of the community were threatened, and resort to outside authority was in general a secondary measure only. When outside authorities came in, the town seems to have united in protecting the local offender even when only a few individuals were involved.
While we do not have a full sampling of public and private delicts within the community, the cases presented below give some notion of the social organization of law.

4. A man became very sick, and his kinsmen, in consultation with the curandero, accused a particular individual of causing the sickness by means of witchcraft. The alleged witch, fearful for his life, sought the advice of the principales in the ayuntamiento. They suggested that he try to cure the sick man. He went to the man’s house and tried without success. He was beaten by the kinsmen of the disabled man, after which he fled from the community.

5. An epidemic of measles struck the town four years ago, and more than seventy children died within three months. When the disease was at its peak, the rumor spread that a black goat had been seen in the street and that it had disappeared into the house of a Lorenzo M. A group of men gathered, went to Lorenzo’s house with guns and killed him. They went on to burn down his house and drive his wife and children out of town. His brother, who rushed to his defense, was wounded in the arm. This brother tried to enlist the aid of the ayuntamiento in finding the men who had killed Lorenzo. The ayuntamiento did not help him, and the Indian secretary counselled him not to go to the ladino authorities. He proceeded to do the latter, however, and the authorities in San Bartolome agreed to investigate the case and punish those who had been party to the killing. They also advised him to leave Aguacatenango permanently, as they could not guarantee him protection. This he did. He is unhappy living in Teopisca, although his relatives come to visit him often, but he is afraid to return to Aguacatenango because a story has spread that he is a witch.

During the same epidemic, a second man was driven out of town as a witch. This man, Sisto, came from Chanal and had lived in the community for several years. His house was the place of worship of a certain saint which he had brought with him and which spoke in a mysterious way. When the disease came, the people said that he had a devil rather than a saint in his house and a group of men
went to kill him. He cut his way out of the back of the house and escaped to Amatenango where he has lived since that time. During our stay in the community, he came back to petition the ayuntamiento for the right to settle in the community again. He followed the customary procedure and presented several litres of aguardiente. They accepted the liquor and granted him permission to settle in the town. He chose to settle in the barrio opposite to the one from which he had been driven. He paid his limosna for the coming fiesta. He did not move in immediately, and there were public denunciations of him by the people of the barrio from which he had fled. People said that he was a witch and that he eats children, and they promised to kill him should he return.

6. A boy from barrio 2 proposed to a girl from barrio 1, and she accepted despite the fact that she already had a novio in her own barrio. During a fiesta, when people were drinking, boys from barrio 1 began to argue with the boy from barrio 2. The latter was joined by companions from his side and in a very short time men, women, and children had gathered from both sides. There was a lot of shouting and people pulled out the fence poles of the school to brandish in the air. The men threw their sombreros in the air and shouted insults. In time, the excitement died down and no one was hurt except one young man who had a swollen jaw from a blow with a pole.

7. In the year that Octaviano was presidente, a man came to borrow the community branding-iron to brand a horse. He wanted to take the iron to El Puerto, but Octaviano said that he should bring the horse to Aguacatenango. The man came back in a few days saying that his horse was now in the community; Octaviano gave him the iron. The next day word came from Pinola that a man had stolen a horse and had been caught in the act of branding it with the Aguacatenango brand. The man was fined 60 pesos in Pinola and released. Instead of returning to Aguacatenango, he fled. The ayuntamiento ordered that the man should pay another 60 pesos fine to them for having abused the privilege of using the community branding iron. When the man did not return, they put his brother in
In jail and confiscated his saddle and shotgun. His wife soon came to pay the fine, after which the brother was released and the confiscated goods returned.

The cases above are illustrations of one private delict (4) and three public ones; the private one was handled by the kinsmen of the individuals concerned, while the public ones were settled either by means of direct action by the community or by formal action by the ayuntamiento. More light on the operation of justice in Aguacatenango can be gained through an examination of the changes attempted and the degree of continuity maintained during phase U.

In 1954, the Indian secretary retired. He was replaced by a ladino schoolteacher, who performed his job in such a way as to be re-elected for the two succeeding years. In the third year, a man was elected presidente who was a compadre of the teacher and, more important, who respected the opinion of the teacher more than that of the elders in the village. Together he and the teacher decided to “improve” the town. In general, the reforms followed a pattern the sources of which can be traced to certain views of the teacher. These included
1) a legalistic interpretation of ladino law, which supposed that people who commit crimes are morally bad and must be punished by force or threats of force;  
2) a belief that Indians could be made “good citizens” only if they could be forced to go to school and pattern their lives on the ladino models; and 
3) an opinion that Aguacatenango should become more tightly integrated into the ladino political organization whose operating center was San Bartolomé.

The teacher had begun to operationalize these views some years earlier when he encouraged the younger men in the community to insist that they be given responsible cargos in the ayuntamiento. This reflected his opinion that the old men were too conservative and did no work for progress. The office of presidente began to be held by younger men in 1953, presumably under his influence. With a compadre as presidente, the reform began in earnest. People were forbidden to resell aguardiente in their homes, because this was against the law and also because it encouraged prolonged drunkenness after the fiesta had passed.
The ayuntamiento invited soldiers to come once a month from San Bartolomé to aid the government in enforcing the peace. For offenses which were committed, fines were raised and serious offenses were referred to the ladino authorities. The presidente openly made moral judgments of offenders and tended to support his more acculturated compatriots against those who were more conservative. He engaged in negotiations with ladinos concerning the purchase of land, and he paid a bribe to an engineer (with the community’s money) in one of these situations.

The people of the town appeared to accept the changes until the end of the year. It was at this time that the presidente’s life was threatened. In the October annual election, he was not re-elected, as the teacher had hoped, and the teacher was not reappointed secretary. Furthermore, one of the first acts of the new ayuntamiento was to advise the secretary of education in Tuxtla that the teacher should be transferred to another town. The old Indian secretary was supplicated to come out of retirement and resume the responsibilities of secretary, and he did so. The new ayuntamiento called a meeting early in the year and asked the people for a mandate, saying that they did not wish to make enemies of their neighbors, but to serve the town. In all of these acts we think we see a retrenching of the political organization and a reaffirmation of the traditional modes of justice.

The following cases seem to demonstrate both the radical elements in the administration and the conservative reaction of the townspeople to the judicial innovations.

1. A man found that his pig was missing, and after searching all day for it he found the carcass in a field nearby. It was apparent that the pig had been shot, and some of the flesh had been taken. The man reported the matter to the presidente and asked that the culprit be found. The presidente, knowing that only a few men in town had shotguns, set out with a few other members of the ayuntamiento to make a systematic search of the houses of these men. In the second house they visited, they found the remains of the pig. The owner
of the house admitted, after some discussion, that he had killed the pig, though he claimed that he did not know that the sow had an owner. He agreed to go to jail, and there he stayed overnight. The following morning he told the ayuntamiento that a friend had shared in the killing of the pig. The presidente sent comisionados to bring the accomplice to the cabildo. He refused to come, and only after the presidente and the senior members of the ayuntamiento went to request it did he agree. The two men were immediately fined in equal amounts for the cost of the sow, 200 pesos, and their shotguns were confiscated. Then they were released. Public opinion was that the fine was too high, and when the presidente's life was threatened it was rumored that the threat came from one of these men.

2. Early in the year, a man lost a colt. He hunted for it for several months and finally found it in the yard of another man. He brought the colt to the cabildo and asked the ayuntamiento to call the man in whose yard he had found it. Two comisionados went out and came back with the man, who claimed that he had bought the colt from a youth in La Palizada (a neighboring community). Comisionados were sent to get him and came back with his father, who denied that his son had stolen the horse. The father was put in jail until the son should arrive. The latter came the next day, confessed, and was put in jail, the father being released. The ayuntamiento expected to settle the matter the following day, charging a fine of the thief and then releasing him.

The situation developed somewhat differently, however. Three soldiers arrived from San Bartolomé that day, making an inspection tour of Indian towns in the area to see that no crimes had gone unpunished. Upon learning that a boy was in jail for stealing a horse, they insisted on taking him to the cabecera for a trial; he eventually received a five-year sentence. The man who bought the stolen horse was also threatened with a trial because he could produce no bill of sale; he finally paid a fine of 250 pesos and returned home.

Some months later, the boy who was in jail in San Bartolomé implicated three
other youths in the theft. The boy's lawyer wrote a letter to the ayuntamiento asking the presidente to put the other three boys in jail until they raised 800 pesos between them; 50 pesos of this was to go to the ayuntamiento for the service, and 750 was to be delivered to the lawyer to get the boy freed. This time the comisionados brought back one of the other boys and the father of another; neither had sufficient money, so they were put in jail overnight. The next day relatives arrived with 200 pesos for each of the youths. In the meantime, the father of the first boy took counsel with the former Indian secretary in Aguacatenango, who was experienced in getting townspeople out of jail. The latter advised the father not to take the money to the lawyer, as he would keep it without guaranteeing results. Instead, he was to deliver it to the public prosecutor, with the understanding that the boy would be freed in return.

The disposition of this case was viewed as unjust by people in the community, the length of the jail sentence seeming particularly disproportionate because "it was a very little horse".

3. A man brought his bull to the cabildo to show the ayuntamiento that its tendons had been cut. Some days before, the bull had gotten into a neighbor's milpa, and the owner suggested that this would be a likely person to have done the cutting. The presidente called in the owner of the milpa, who denied any knowledge of the affair. He said that he had not driven the bull out of the milpa and blamed a young boy for this. The boy was called and he also denied knowledge of the tendon-cutting. Since there were no witnesses, the ayuntamiento did nothing and the man took his bull home.

4. As a result of continual difficulties with cattle from Pinola breaking into the fields at the border between the two towns, the men of Aguacatenango decided to put up a barbed wire fence between them. Each family contributed 10 pesos toward the cost and a turn at the work of putting it up. Before the job was completed, six rolls of wire were stolen. The ayuntamiento investigated the matter and found at length that the thief was a ladino from Pinola. They
went to him and asked for compensation, and he denied any knowledge of the matter. When soldiers came on an inspection tour a few days later, they learned of the theft and agreed to look for the offender. They took with them to Pinola the presidente, who was to identify the man. They came upon the suspected thief during a marriage fiesta for his son, and again he denied having stolen the wire; however, this time he admitted that he knew who had done it. The thief was found and both he and the informer were taken to San Bartolomé, where they paid an 800 peso fine and were released. None of this money was returned to Aguacatenango in compensation for the loss of the wire; the presidente wrote to the governor in this regard (with the advice of the teacher) but received no response.

5. A man was shot to death while sleeping in his house. By the following evening, the ayuntamiento had decided who the guilty person was. Discovering that he was not in town, they decided to take his wife to jail. At ten o'clock that night the people of Barrio 1 (in which the suspected murderer lived) heard a woman begin to wail. Such people as Octaviano, who reported the case to us, as dared to leave their houses saw the ayuntamiento dragging a screaming woman through the streets to jail. Octaviano felt that this was unsanctioned and indeed reprehensible behavior on the part of the ayuntamiento, and he attributed it to the influence of the teacher.

6. A pig owned by an acculturated man in barrio 2 broke into the milpa of a man from barrio 1. The owner of the milpa advised the owner of the pig to keep it closed up in a pen. Soon afterward, the pig returned to the same milpa and the owner of the milpa shot it. The owner of the pig brought charges against the pig killer, saying that the fine should be large enough to cover the cost of the pig. The presidente agreed and required a substantial fine from the other party. An elder in barrio 1 told us that the judgement brought against the owner of the milpa was too severe; in terms of traditional law, the owner
of the pig should have paid half the cost inasmuch as the pig was trespassing. He asserted that the decision reflected the fact that the plaintiff and the presidente were friends.

7. The presidente received an anonymous letter toward the end of his term saying that on the day he relinquished his office he would be killed. The threat was real enough to him that he went to San Cristobal to seek the advice of the federal agent in charge of Indian affairs. The agent drafted a letter to the governor of the state and told the presidente to report the matter to the authorities in San Bartolomé. When the presidente returned to Aguacatenango, he became afraid to do as he had been advised; he felt that this action would probably bring soldiers to the town to try and find the threatener and that such an occurrence would alienate people even more. He believed that he was expected to settle the matter within the community. At length he decided to notify the authorities in San Bartolomé and sent a comisionado with the threatening note and a copy of the letter the Indian agent had sent to the governor. He also sent the names of two people he suspected of being party to the writing of the note.

An order came back from the cabecera that the two men named should report there the following day. These men, the defendants of case 1 above, went before the presidente in San Bartolomé and denied that they had written the note, pointing out that neither of them could write. They admitted that they felt they had been unjustly fined, but they expressed a complete lack of interest in getting even with the presidente on this account; they said that God would punish him. The presidente in San Bartolomé heard their case sympathetically, agreed with them about the fine, and suggested that in the future they should bring such cases to him and they would be treated more leniently.

A week passed with no more light on the matter, and then two shots were fired through the presidente's house one night. At this point the anthropologist
became sufficiently alarmed to go to San Cristobal to ask the aid of the state agent for Indian affairs. He came out to the town twice to talk to the people; he indicated that he could find out who wrote if he wished and could back up his investigation with the armed force of the state, but said that instead he would only remind the people of their responsibilities under the constitution. They were required to respect the presidente while he was in office, and if he misapplied his authority it was their right to come and seek outside help. On neither of these occasions was anyone from barrio 1, traditionally the less progressive of the two, present at the meeting.

The inauguration of the new officers passed and the old presidente was not killed. All seemed to be in peace. A few days before we left we encountered the old presidente in San Cristobal. Upon inquiring if he had received any further threats, we learned that he had not—but he had had to come to the city to seek the aid of a diviner, as someone had stolen his cow.

In case 3, a pattern of the administration of justice appears which is probably traditional; in all the other cases, traditional modes are transformed either through the direct influence of the reforming group or indirectly, through the intervention of ladino authorities invited in by the progressive presidente. In each of these cases the transformation has been so great as to be perceived as injustice by many people. The tacit acceptance of the abortive murder plot in case 7 is indicative of the character of public opinion of the presidente.

Summary and Analysis.

Traditional justice in Aguacatenango is handled by two social structures, one kin-based and the other territorial. These structures, the lineage and the community, operate in this area in precisely parallel ways. Each reserves the right to settle cases of serious injury or death of its members; for example, witches are punished by kinsmen of the deceased if there is only one victim and
by the community as a whole if members of the community are threatened. Each looks
to the ayuntamiento as an arbitrator in cases of private delict in which other
equivalent units (lineages or communities) are involved. Certain powers are
delegated to the ayuntamiento in public delicts which are not serious in nature.

The municipal government, or ayuntamiento, has two aspects—a domestic and
a foreign. In the domestic area, it prescribes restitutive sanctions, and
sometimes small penal sanctions as well, in private matters which are called
to its attention. In the foreign area, it considers cases brought in from
outside the community; these are defined as delicts, public or private, by the
plaintiff and not necessarily by the community. (Outside the community, horse
stealing is a public offense; within the community, it is a private offense, and
if it occurs between Indian and ladino (the Indian being the thief) it may not
be considered an offense at all.) In these cases, the sanctions it prescribes
are imposed upon it by ladino law or ladino power; they may be penal, where the
law is with the accuser, or restitutive, where his case is weak.

Between the traditional justice of the town and ladino justice as applied to
the Indians in the town, there appear to exist areas of conflict. Some of the
sources of this conflict include the following:

1. There is a conflict of jurisdiction. The community has institutionalized
ways of handling intra-town public and private delicts, some of which the state
claims to monopolize. (For example, murder and theft.)

2. Ladino authority does not recognize the category of private delict in
many cases in which the Indians do. (For example, it considers murder and theft
public and not private affairs.) Thus Indians may receive what appear to them
to be strong penal sanctions (prison terms) in offenses which in terms of
traditional justice demand only restitutive sanctions. Penal sanctions imply a
moral judgment of a more serious nature than restitutive ones.

3. Ladino justice does not recognize the right of the kin group or the
community to settle those private or public delicts which involve serious injury
or death by means of direct action with resort to violence. Nor is ladino justice neutral on this matter, it actively punishes such attempts.

4. This raises another important area of difference, namely that of the definition of what constitutes a public or private delict. Thus ladino justice does not recognize the "successful" practise of witchcraft as a delict.

Thus ladino justice does not recognize certain offenses which the Indian considers important, and it punishes other offenses in a way which the Indian sees as unjust and unpleasant.

Beyond the individual offender's concern for his own person, there is a general feeling among the law-abiding as well as to what is appropriate or right. Each incursion of ladino justice seems to be viewed as a threat. The community maintains a united front against outsiders who come with complaints; whatever the crime, there were no witnesses. Members of the community do not normally report each other to the ladino authorities. (The case of the presidente is noteworthy precisely for this reason.)

The extent to which this behavior is a conscious effort to preserve the cultural values is not clear. Part of the motivation is probably individual self-preservation; no-one wants to be responsible for a member of the community's prison term, as reprisals can be expected. An important part of it may be resistance to loss of autonomy as a community. Finally in contrast to ladino justice the traditional law-ways tend to "equalize the life chances and life risks of its (the community's) members. (Wolf 1957:12)

I have tried in this essay to illustrate how the mechanisms of social control "participate" in maintaining the social and cultural autonomy of a particular Indian town in Chiapas. It does not seem to me that it is economical to attempt to fit this case into the type case of a perpetuative rational nativistic movement. Instead, the conservative aspects of the ongoing process of social control tend to arise not out of a conscious attempt to preserve central values but rather pragmatic considerations of an individual and social nature. The distinction
between culture, as a system of beliefs and values, and society, as an ongoing interactive process between individuals, is commonly recognized. It is my belief that each may have a certain degree of autonomy and that the social system can remain stable while a large portion of the system of beliefs and values changes. Where the beliefs and values do not take the form of an ideology—in which case they are defended per se in a rational movement like the ones Freed describes—they may be eroded away as people choose the most congenial of the alternatives presented to them. At the same time, the traditional patterns of social interaction may be preserved, for such functional considerations as power, status, and maintenance of group life in a threatening milieu. I suggest that this is the case in Aguacatenango. It would seem that any consideration of the process of acculturation should include a recognition of this possibility.

Duane Hetzger
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Radcliffe Brown, A. R.


Wolf, E.

Section 24

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

IN OICHUC, CHIAPAS
SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

IN

OXCHUC, CHIAPAS

by

June Nash
Oxchuc is a highland Indian community of Tzeltal speakers in Chiapas. In the census of 1940, nearest to the time of study its population was 3034 Indians and 400 to 500 Ladinos. The municipio is a vacant town type described by Tax (1937) with a ceremonial center surrounded by several parajes or local settlements. Community endogamy reserves many customs which distinguish Oxchuc from neighboring Tzeltal and Tsotsil communities. My initial intent was to survey the group of Tzeltal communities including Oxchuc, Cancuc, Chenalho and Tenejapa to see if I could construct a regional type based on regularities in the social structure, or, alternatively, define the structural principles underlying these social structures. After reading the available literature, I decided to concentrate on Oxchuc. Data on this town has been collected by Villa Rojas in 1942-4 (1946 a, b) and by his students in 1944. Using this relatively complete data for a paraje with some material on the community-wide organization, I have attempted to analyze the community as a system of interdependent parts in order to characterize the structure and functioning of the kinship system within the larger socio-economic setting.

I. The Local Group

The primary local group of Oxchuc is the paraje. Yochib, the paraje in which Villa Rojas and his students worked primarily, contained 49 households with a population of 306. The houses are scattered in the cornfields farmed by the resident Indian owners. There is a tendency toward grouping of patrilineal Indian name groups (see Figure 1). This settlement pattern reflects the preferred patrilocal residence and patrilineal
Fig. 1. Yochib household settlement patterns, grouped by patrilineal Indian and Spanish name groups.

= Patrilineal Indian name groups

= Spanish name groups
Table 1
Population census of Yochib

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
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<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</table>

117 men 119 women

*Compiled from field notes of Ana Chapman, 1944.

inheritance of land. Table 2 shows the percentage of family composition of nuclear and extended types in Yochib.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Man, wife, no children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, 2 wives, no children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Man, 2 wives, children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Widow, children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, wife, children not own</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, wife, married son and wife</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, wife, married daughter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow, married son</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow, married daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, wife, married son and married grandson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compiled from household census of Ana Chapman, op. cit.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are sons living with parents. The three cases of married daughters living with parents, can probably be explained by the year's service to in-laws performed by recently married men. The ideal pattern of patrilocal residence is, then, still adhered to.
Through the mechanism of patrilineal inheritance by male offspring only, land is retained in contiguous holdings by brothers and their sons. If a man dies without leaving a male offspring his land reverts to his brother or, if he has none, to a child of his father's brothers. If his sons are small at the time of his death, they and his widow return to her patrilineal group, the land passes to the father's brother who farms it until the son comes of age and returns to claim it. The current practice of selling land is scrambling these patrilineal holdings. A distinction is made between land which is inherited from one's father and that acquired after one reaches maturity. The widow of a man who has acquired land during his marriage now often claims that land and her rights are currently being supported by titles granted by the municipal officials. (p. 500) We are not given any specific data on number of land sales which would enable us to state more exactly how far contiguous landholdings by patrilineal groups have been broken up.

The ritual focus of the paraje is found in the series of caves located in each. There the cabildos de milpa, men of age and respect in each paraje, carry out ceremonies and other devotions surrounding the planting and harvesting of crops. Villa Rojas points out (1947, b, p. 579) that "This mystic devotion to caves has its origin in the belief that it is from them that lightning comes to punish and disperse the natural elements (hail, winds, storms, etc.) which frequently injure and even destroy cornfields." The duty of the cabildos is to mollify these natural elements to benefit the crops. They collect money for the performance of ritual and mass at planting time from the heads of families within the parajes. The amount donated

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Reference to page number only indicates source is Microfilm Collection of Middle American Cultural Anthropology (Villa Rojas, 1947a).
varies according to the amount of lands owned, from 50¢ to $1.00. Ritual interests centered in the paraje are thus firmly rooted in the production interest of the landowning group.

II. The Kinship System

**Kinship Terminology.** The terminology of Oxchuc is classificatory, with lineal terms extended to collateral relatives. Parallel cousins are called siblings, father's brothers, father (plus an untranslated suffix) and mother's sisters, mother (plus same suffix). All of the grandparents and their spouses on both sides are called mam and yame. The Omaha feature of extending mother's brother terminology to mother's brother's children, a recurrent feature in the area (Guiteras, 1948) is present here.

I have ordered kinship terms in the lineage diagrams below to determine whether there is significant terminological difference for relatives indicating emphasis on one side.
Fig. 2.

**Father's Lineage**

![Diagram of Father's Lineage]

**Mother's Lineage**

![Diagram of Mother's Lineage]
A preliminary view of the two diagrams indicates a wider extension of the same term, kilan, in the mother's lineage than any term in the father's lineage. This lumping of relatives on the mother's side may indicate the less differentiated response to her relatives than to father's relatives due to less contact. The fact that in none of the 19 genealogies given by Villa Rojas were terms for mother's father's sister's children, or for mother's brother's children's wives elicited also suggest a lesser acquaintance with this group.

While these points suggest patrilineal emphasis, the following terms show bilateral tendencies. The same grandparental term is applied to both paternal and maternal relatives and this is true also of the grand-child term. In ego's generation, parallel cousins on both sides are called sister and brother and cross cousins are given the same term.

The historical explanation for the kinship terminologies of this area has been reviewed by Metzger (1957). I shall therefore review only briefly the explanations for similar systems found elsewhere and their relevance to the Oxohuc case. Omaha systems of terminology are found primarily in patrilineal kinship systems in which there is a clan structure, often found divided in moieties (Sol Tax, 1955, 279-82). Radcliff Brown sees in an Omaha type of system the extension of the principle of the unity of the sibling group to a much larger group. The current tendency for mother's brother's daughter to be called kilan rather than mejun, a term closely related to me (mother) may, as Guiteras points out (1947, 12) indicate that the increasing occurrence of cross cousin marriage necessitates avoidance of terms implying incest with substitution of a term which implies more distant relationship. Eggan has considered the possibility of cross cousin marriage in a letter to Villa Rojas (October 15, 1943):
"The fact that parallel (clan) cousins through females seem to marry more frequently than would be expected by chance, seems to me a hint that something besides cross-cousin marriage is involved. It suggests that the preference may be for marriage with somebody who is clan-related in any way. You mention this as a fact, too.

"Another pretty strong possibility is that the tendency may be to marry somebody of one's mother's clan. Five of your cases are marriages of a girl to a man of her mother's clan. The kinship system provides evidence to support this view, since the terms for cross-cousins can be interpreted to mean 'man of my mother's clan' or 'son or daughter of my clan' and 'woman of my mother's clan'."

Since there is no further statistical support from actual marriages, I shall not speculate more on the problem.

The kinship chart of an old female Indian has been included to show what may be an older pattern of terminology (Figure 3). The age distinction for siblings was even more discriminating than the current terms silel and ihin indicate. The eldest brother is silel, second oldest spatil silel, and the youngest of the group of brothers older than ego was called sutil. This same informant uses the term mel-wif which is not explained but may again indicate the exact seniority rank of sister. She applies the same term to father's sister, who is married to a man called baj tatic, probably a term implying more respect than bal.

Kinship behavior. I have attempted to abstract from Villa Hojas' field notes characterisations of relations between relatives. The account will probably stress conflict situations since the field worker did not attempt to get a complete account of dyadic relations but reported many conflict situations. Some relationships will not be described for lack of data.

Parent-child: This is one of the closest relationships enduring even after children attain adulthood and marriage. The importance of the bond is revealed in the fact that the child's sickness is often attributed to the sins of his parents or to fighting between his father and mother which is thought to upset the basic harmony and well-being of the household (p. 283). When the father dies,
the mother usually retains immature children until they are able to work in the milpa. Despite the emphasis on patri locality, a woman retains close ties with her parents, visiting them frequently throughout their life. This bond is retained both because marriage is usually contracted within a short radius making her family easily accessible, and if she were not allowed to visit, her husband would fear witchcraft exercised by her parents for inhibiting her visits.

Husband-wife: It is considered essential for a mature man to have a wife. Each of the 13 saints who figure in Ochuc prayers have a wife (U8U), and it is considered shameful for a man to have his wife leave for maltreatment. Polygyny is fairly common (22.2% of families in Yochib, Table 2). The second wife is usually obtained with less ceremony, but with the same, though fewer, gifts to her relatives binding the agreement. She is also called "kinam"—wife, but has less authority than the first wife (p. 156). Most cases of polygyny seem to be based on sexual attraction, but the wife is an economic asset if her husband has sufficient lands, because of the increasing emphasis on the household as the cooperating work groups (see work group discussion below). Wives may do all agricultural work when the husband is at work in the fincas.

Marriages are brittle and frequent separation is the rule. A woman expects abuse from her husband, particularly when he drinks, and it is said that a woman who has not received abuse from her husband in this life will surely get it in the after life (p. 100).

Wife-co-wife: There is frequent disagreement between the two wives. One man whose children by his first wife were sick, was told by a pulseador (deviner) that the sickness was caused by the second wife, and resulted from the ill-feeling between the two women.

Father's brother-Brother's son: This is the most important relative to a child after his parents. If his mother separates from his father to live with a man of a different name group, he will in most cases be adopted by this man (p. 213). Even if he stays with his mother immediately after the death of his father, a child will be reclaimed by his father's brother when he is mature enough to work in the fields. He will expect to inherit his father's share of patrilineal lands from his father's brother at this time.

Father's brother-Brother's daughter: Father's brother may claim his brother's daughter after his death when she has reached marriageable age, thus acquiring the year's bridal service and gifts of liquor and food exacted from the suitor. The father's brother may administer punishment to the girl for misbehavior before or after marriage.
Grandparent-Grandchild: This is apparently a close tie, especially between father's mother and son's children. She frequently cares for the child, and Villa Rojas has seen a grandmother offer a dry breast to quiet and divert the child.

Mother-in-law-Daughter-in-law: In the affinal relationships arise the most frequent cases of conflict. A mother-in-law is frequently jealous of a daughter-in-law having sexual relations with her husband (in two of the the cases recorded, everyone ridiculed the possibility, p. 115, 195). In an unusual case of a mother-in-law having good relations with her daughter, a sickness she acquired was blamed on the daughter-in-law by the pulseadores who usually expect this relationship to be the source of conflict (p. 126). A mother-in-law may expel her son's wife from the house for failure to have children or for other cause (p. 111).

Father-in-law-Son-in-law: A son-in-law fears a father-in-law, particularly if he has not fulfilled his marriage obligations of turning over the liquor which is expected in two installments (p. 278). A son-in-law may accuse a father-in-law of "eating" the souls of his children who die, for his failure to show expected respect and deference. His own family may chastise him if his father-in-law finds fault with him (p. 115).

The unresolved conflicts, particularly in the husband-wife relationships and between relatives related by marriage, but also found between brothers, parents and children, appear to be rampant in this witchcraft dominated society. Villa Rojas reports that during the dry season, many of the celebrations terminate in fights:

"In family relations it is frequently observed states of resentment, suspicion, rancor or frank antagonism between intimate relatives linked by fraternal, paternal, conjugal or other equally close bonds. This is much influenced by the existing ideas on witchcraft. The sin of adultery occurs with relative frequency, there being cases in which a man has carnal relations with the wife of his brother and even between a father-in-law and daughter-in-law." (p. 98)

Prayers are said over the liquor to be imbibed at any fiesta, asking that there be no fights and if there should be, that there be no severely wounded persons.

Relationships beyond the nuclear family. Compadre-go is not an important relationship in Oxchuc (p. 220). There is a casual request, usually to a
friend, when the baptism of the child is imminent. There may be a banquet for the compadre tendered by the parent of the child after the baptism, and this may be reciprocated later by the compadre. It is considered a lifelong relationship between the godparent and godchild, since the padrinos are expected to attend the child's wedding, wake and burial, and the child to reciprocate at the burial of the compadre (p. 223).

Ties outside of the family and affinal relatives are extended to people bearing the same Spanish and Indian surname, and to a wider group with just the Spanish surname in common. The sentiment of kinship between members of the same name group was reported by Bishop Landa in early post-conquest times:

"...the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly...Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy." (Quoted in Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, p. 113 fn.)

Roys points out that the Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan re-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptised (Redfield and Villa Rojas, op. cit., 113 fn.).

I have tried to determine from Villa Rojas' field notes (1) whether the sense of kinship with people of the same name group indicates solidarity of the lineage and is an important feature in the social structure and (2) whether the clan functions as a group in kinship and community affairs.

There is no term which applies to the lineage as a group. The kinship terminology for both father's and mother's lineage (Figure 2) indicates no more than a two generation depth for the term applying to men and women marrying into the lineage, with men marrying into grandparent's generation and into the first descending generation having a


Although Villa Rojas refers to all people of the same name group as an integral group, two of his informants considered some members of their Indian name group as separate (p. 502, 504). There is no indication of conceptualizing the perpetuity of the lineage as a corporate group through lineage genealogies as one finds in African groups with a highly developed lineage principle (Fortes, 1953, p. 26). When Villa Rojas describes the "lineage" functioning as a group, the participants include only brothers in addition to the members of the household group (p. 107).

Redfield, after reviewing the field data, arrives at the same conclusion. He states that there do not exist lineages in the sense of a lineage principle (Villa Rojas, 1947, a, p. 147). This does not imply that lineages may not have been part of Oxchuc social relations in the recent past.

Villa Rojas has elicited the term **chapomal** and **tijinabal** applied to the wider group linked by Spanish surname only (p. 147). Members of this group refer to their "chapomales" as significant relations although the exact genealogical link is not always known. The same term is found in the neighboring municipio of Cancuc, and there the term is also applied to brothers of grandparents (Guiteras, 1947, p. 11). Each Indian name group belongs to only one of the wider Spanish name groups, or clans.

Both the patrilineal name groups and the clans are exogamous. There is evidence of both the levirate and the sororate in the choice of second spouses (p. 177).

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*The clan of Oxchuc does not fulfill the conditions stated by Murdock: contiguous residence and known genealogical ties, but I prefer this term to that of sib because of its traditional understanding in the literature on American Indians (1950, p. 68).
The clan is not a corporate unilineal group. There are no clan heads. However, there are in every clan a series of men who, because of age, service in the civil-religious hierarchy, or ability in curing and divining, or a combination of the three characteristics, have acquired prestige. I prefer not to call them leaders of the clan as does Villa Rojas (1947 b, p. 581) since they do not lead the group but rather use their control over man and the supernatural only when called upon. The clan regulates marriage through exogamy. It is a reference group from which one selects men of prestige in divining, in cases of conflict when arbitration is necessary, or in marriage ceremonies.

III. The Organisation of Activities

The function of the family, patrilineally related households, and clan in structuring relations in the community will become clearer with a description of the activities in which they are involved. The areas in which significant social relationships are established and perpetuated range from economic production to formal festivities marking rites de passage of members of the kin group. I hope in this section to clarify not only who interacts with whom on what occasions, but to show how this interaction reinforces the solidarity of the group.

Work groups. The agricultural cycle of Oxchuc begins with the burning of the fields preparatory to planting. The majority of men work alone or with the domestic group: their wives and children over seven (p. 516). A few Indians exchange labor, helping in turn those who help them (p. 515). The exchange group is chosen from among brothers, fathers, or fathers-in-law, neighbors or friends, and compadres (p. 518). If the man must be at the
plantations at the time of cleaning or sowing, he may hire someone, often-
times from a neighboring town, for 25¢ a day. The pay is the same for
relatives as for non-relatives. The second clearing is primarily the work
of women since men go to the plantations in August.

Sowing is surrounded with greater ceremony. The Great Mass is
held prior to planting. Groups of four to ten men plant together the milpa
of each household head. Like the work groups in clearing the fields, one
chooses first brothers and brothers-in-law, and then from among neighbors
or compadres (p. 520). Villa Rojas observed that after the communal planting
almost everyone was planting alone a small piece of land in corn. He be-
lieves that there is an unstated but prevailing norm restricting the public
planting to a maximum of 50 or 60 mazorcas of corn, and those who wish to
surpass this plant alone another 15 to 20 mazorcas. In this way they avoid
incuring the envy of neighbors. The tendency to store corn apart from
prying eyes indicates again the fear of making public knowledge of one's
possessions (p. 530).

The women are excluded from the work of planting the milpa, but
may help in sowing chile. They also assist in the harvesting. Relatives
beyond the household group who assist in the harvesting may be paid 25¢ a
day. How frequently this is done we have no idea from the available data.
However, it appears that there is no exchange labor in harvesting, and that
the household, or consuming unit, is the group primarily involved.

Housebuilding is men's work exclusively. The cooperating group
is primarily made up of brothers and brothers-in-law. If clan brothers—
those with the same Spanish surname—are called in, they receive 25¢ a
day as with any hired labor (p. 544). A young man, building his house for
the first time, may receive help from his father. The same work group is
called upon when the thatch roof is changed (p. 559).

In the work group the primary cooperating group is that of the nuclear household with secondary cooperation between brothers and brothers-in-law. With brothers and brothers-in-law cooperative relations are reciprocated. Beyond this group, even though the relationship may be clan "brothers" wife's brothers, maternal uncles, etc. help is paid for by the customary rate of 25¢ a day. There is some evidence that the group of reciprocally cooperating men may be more narrowly delimited now then formerly: Ospina (p. 61) notes that one of his informants said his grandfather worked land with brothers, sons and nephews, not stating whether the nephews were father's brother's sons only. If this were the customary work group, the lineage principle appears to have structured cooperative relations in the recent past. There is no indication in the work groups that this is currently true. The fact that clan brothers are paid the normal wage rate when they work for a man indicates that the clan too fails to provide a basis for economic cooperation.

The narrowing scope of economic cooperation is reflected in the emphasis on individual ownership and rights over land. A document of 1871 indicates the former land holding custom:

"...and as formerly it was the custom in this pueblo to set aside land for the brothers of each family, ejide land should be parcelled out likewise so that in the future there should not be fights with the neighbors as customarily happens."
(Villa Rojas, p. 501.)

In contrast to the communal land ownership and work formerly prevailing, individual ownership and cooperation limited to the household group is not only practised but has become a recognized value. One of Villa Rojas' informants, commenting on the change to individual ownership, said: "Perhaps it is better thus, since when the land is divided among several, fights
arise frequently... Moreover, with each having his own lot, it is better since one can let the land rest from time to time..."

The transition to individual ownership and control has not been fully assimilated, and the fights arising between relatives reveals the disagreement between older customs and current practice. Sales of land are bound by these customary strictures: (1) preferably sold to patrilineally related relatives (for if sold to affinals breaks up family holding as though it were sold to outsider); (2) land which is inherited cannot be sold unless all offspring of common parents agree to it, but land acquired by oneself can be sold; (3) strong pressure against sale of land by anyone with male offspring, and a feeling that the purchaser should yield control over land if at a later time the son can buy it; (4) land which a man and wife bought during their marriage may be (a) sold (sometimes forcibly) to husband's brothers by widow or (b) retained by resorting to authorities in the cabacora or in Las Casas, the regional government center, for any official document of ownership.

I have discussed the ownership and control over land at length because it is a crucial index to the extent and strength of kinship bonds. Worsley has shown how, with fragmentation of lineage lands and greater economic independence among the Tallensi the traditional unity of the homestead is breaking down (1956, p. 43). In Oxchuc the same process of increasing emphasis on individual ownership and production units limited to the household reveals the waning importance of kinship structures beyond the nuclear family.

Ceremonial participation. The marriage contract initiates a series of obligations which involve not only the immediate families of the girl and boy, but are extended to the important figures of the girl's clan. The
father of the boy, or, if he is dead, the mother, older brother or older married sister, in that order, make the request to the girl's father (p. 156). If the girl's father is dead, even if the mother has returned to her natal home, a girl may be sent to the father's brother's home to arrange the marriage (p. 168).* In some cases the tatab of the clan assumes the role of her guardian. It is not clear what this man's genealogical relationship is, but in all cases cited by Villa Rojas he is an important witch (p. 117). The customary gift of liquor and food is turned over to her representatives both at the first petition and at the marriage ceremony. More important, the year's service required of the boy is given to her father or paternal uncle.

The wedding guests should include beside the immediate families of the boy and girl all of the clan men of the girl in the local paraje, and the important men in the distant parages. It is especially important to invite the important witches of her clan who out of pique may cause mischief. They are often invited at the first petition as well.

The obligations of a man to his wife's family do not end with the wedding ceremony. In his year of service he gives food to the family and to the important men of her clan who know how to pulse or cause illness (202) in three presentations. At the end of the year there is a fiesta usually larger than the marriage ceremony to which the boy brings trago, tortillas, eggs, etc. This second ceremony may be delayed because of lack of money, but if much time transpires it is feared that the girl's family will use witchcraft against the couple. Cases are cited of children's

*Disagreements may arise as to who should take advantage of the role of guardian if the father is dead. In one case, a brother was angered because his sister remained with her stepfather who, her mother claimed, had the right to bridal service because he was of the same clan (p. 106). In another case, the boy worked three weeks for the girl's paternal uncle and three weeks for her brother in the year's period alternately to avoid conflict (p. 168).
death resulting from witchcraft of the girl's family (202). The final ceremony takes place about 30 years later, a custom beginning to die out. In one case observed, all the woman's near relatives had died so the liquor was given to a surviving distant relative of her clan.

Wife capture is practiced to avoid the obligation of a year's service. This only happens when a girl does not have a father or older brother, and even in these cases, the clan of the girl must be taken into account and their compliance gained by gifts of liquor. In the capture, the boy may be supported by his father, by friends, and sometimes by men of the girl's clan. One old informant said that capture was only recently practiced, and had started after the President of Education became an important figure in the paraje (p. 165).

We have little information on ceremonies surrounding birth in Villa Rojas' report. The father selects the name of the child, usually that of a member of his patrilineal group who has died. It is considered a good practice to choose the name of a good diviner, or that of children of a good diviner, to ward off evil (pp. 207-8). In a case of difficulty at birth, the diviners of either the husband's or wife's clan are sought to find out who the culprit is and scold the witch who caused the mischief.

It is at the curing ritual that the structural obligations of the society are best revealed. As in difficulties, diviners from either the patient's or the spouse's clan, or if it is a child, of either parent's clan, are called in. It is felt that the more diviners present the more effective the cure will be. Each witch asks the following questions, revealing in the relatives they refer to and the situations they question what is expected of a person as a member of the society:

First ask patient about domestic matters: do you get on
well with husband or wife? Have you had any quarrels with your parents-in-law? Have you had any illicit sexual relations? Have you spread about in neighborhood any intimate facts about your home? Have you denied any services to relatives or friends? Have you fulfilled social obligations? Have you invited to celebrations all you should by custom? Have you abused any friends? (p. 257)

Sickness implies (1) personal guilt for violation of the moral code or (2) failure to meet expectations of the society, thus bringing about the exercise of witchcraft against one. The crucial areas of conflict, the husband-wife relationship and the in-law relationship, are inquired into first as the most likely source of the difficulty. Despite the general feeling that witchcraft can be exercised only within the clan (p. 261) conflict between neighbors is a recognized area of inquiry in the divining sessions. People amend the statement that witchcraft doesn't occur between clans to say that it is harder to cure if it occurs between clans (p. ).

At death Villa Rojas tells us the lineage takes precedence over the clan. However, even on the occasion of funerals, the structural principles ordering relations appears attenuated, although the closer affiliation between male relatives of the same Indian name group does appear stronger at this time.

Several funerals are reported, but only in one case was a mature man with many kinship and community ties involved. Since funerals of children and less important figures require less attendance and preparation, I shall describe only the funeral of this man and try to abstract the structural obligations involved.

The task of guiding the spirit of this man in the funeral procession was given to an old clan member, assisted by cabildos de misa of the clan and a member of the deceased's Indian name group.
Men of his name group remained in the house from the time of his death and contributed a bottle of liquor each. Women who had married into his patrilineal name group arrived early after the death and sat near the dead man wailing. Men who had married sisters of the dead man appeared on the following day and contributed 2 bottles of liquor. On the second day neighbors came for the height of the fiesta.

Following the fiesta, men of the Indian name group remained, along with some men of prestige and cabildos of the clan, the brother of the widow and the past alcalde of the wife's clan. These men opened the grave. Following the burial, a brother of the deceased and his sister's husband made a shelter over the grave (pp. 446-8).

Three groups emerge at the funeral of this important man: (1) brothers and sons of the dead man (2) women who have married this first group and (3) sister's husbands. Only special members of the clan attended. They did not act as a group but performed special roles assigned by virtue of their age or the office they held.

At other funerals reported, the participants do not appear to be defined by patrilineal kinship ties. Neighbors, compadres, and patrilineal relatives enact the roles of guiding the spirit, opening the grave, and assisting the lamenting closest of kin.

In the funeral described in detail the roles of the patrilineally descended relatives and the persons related by marriage, we see the first evidence of the lineage acting as a distinct group. The persistence of the custom of burial of all males and unmarried females of the patrilineal group on lands formerly owned in common suggests further that this group may have had a stronger corporate identity than is now apparent in other contexts. If a man dies away from his paraje, his body is brought from that place to be buried on his inherited land. Even with the current emphasis on individual rights over land, as spelled out above, the inherited lands still are considered in some respects group property of the patrilineage.
Ritual surrounding the dead in the celebration of Todos Los Santos reveals the limited extension of descent reckoning. The food brought to the graves is first dedicated to grandparents, then fathers, then children of the male head of the family. Following this, food is dedicated in the same order to the deceased relatives of the wife. Relatives beyond those known in a man's lifetime are not venerated as progenitors of a larger group feeling a common identity. It is significant that the husband and wife are the only participants in this offering, and that it is not a cooperative act of all living male offspring to common antecedents (p. 142).

The kinship structure revealed by the economic activities and ritual participation can now be summarized.

(1) The primary cooperating group is the household, composed of a man, his wife or wives, and children living with him. This is also the consumption unity, and all produce is individually stored and the quantity kept secret. Communal labor exchange is still practiced at planting with a basic core of brothers and sons, but with inclusion of friends, neighbors, or compadres.

(2) The increasing emphasis on individual rights over land underlines the economic independence of the nuclear family from the patrilineally extended group.

(3) The clan emerges as a group defining exogamy at marriage, as well as a reference group from which one calls upon the services of men of prestige and diviners.

(4) The closer identity of patrilineally related people is particularly marked at funerals. Burial customs also suggest that these relatives may have had a stronger corporate identity in the past. The concept of lineal descent is limited to the generations one knows in one's lifetime—three or four at most—and does not link collateral relatives to a past common ancestor.

IV. Community Social Organization

Although most of the data was collected from a single paraje, reference is made to the community civil and religious organization which
cuts across the local parajes and kinship groups.

In Oxchuc the two calpules are the primary division ordering responsibilities to the community. In Figure 4 I have tried to show visually how the traditional civil-religious hierarchies organized by the calpules are related to the ayuntamiento, the local representation of the national government, and to the Catholic church.

It is unclear exactly how membership in the calpul is determined. It is not a geographical unit, in that all inhabitants of the same locality do not belong to the same calpul, but there is a fictitious line in front of the church dividing the ceremonial and official center, or cabecera into the chin (small) and mukul (large) calpul. Civil and religious officials tend to locate themselves in that part of the town in which their calpul is located when they perform service to the community. It is not clear whether membership follows kinship identification: Villa Rojas cites one case (p. 18) in which an individual chose to change calpules to prove that membership is voluntary, but this is not sufficient evidence to deny that the majority tend to identify with the calpul of their father, or according to some other rule.

The cabildos de milpa are not part of the hierarchy, but carry out at the local level of the paraje the task of collecting funds and communicating decisions to the neighborhood group belonging to their calpul. The mayordomos, unmarried youths who clean the church and perform services at fiestas, receive orders from the capitanes of the fiestas and from the sacristan who is the community representative of the Catholic priest. The regidores, ranked in importance according to which fiesta they were in charge of in their previous role of capitán, receive orders primarily from the ladino regidor and sindico in the ayuntamiento. Above this level all
CIVIL RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY OF OXCHUC

Figure 4

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CATHOLIC CHURCH

INDIAN

POST NOT FILLED

LADINO

DIRECTION OF AUTHORITY
present and past officers are considered to be principales. The top level officials of each calpul initiate most community-wide action. Of these, the dzunubiles are considered to be in charge of the morals and good custom of the calpul. They are chosen for this office because of proven abilities as diviners, and as such they are charged with warding off sickness. The chuycales are specialists in church affairs, conducting mass, novenas and are responsible for the upkeep of the church. The catinab, the most important official in each calpul, is chosen from among principales and is a man of ability in divining and of a persuasive personality. The catinab is assisted by a man of similar abilities called okilcabil. This top level administering group, consisting of the catinab, the okilcabil, the dzunubiles and chuycales, is charged with praying to the Gods and saints to prevent famine and sickness; with punishing principales, witches and pulseadores who have violated their roles; with electing persons to fill roles in the lower levels of the hierarchy.

The office of president in the ayuntamiento is filled by an Indian, fulfilling an act passed by the Mexican government in the thirties to give greater independence to Indians over local ladino officials. He fulfills many of the functions properly given to the alcalde, whose activities are now limited primarily to prayers. His role is anomalous in relation to the age-graded traditional hierarchy. Chosen on the basis of his ability to speak Spanish, he is usually a young man. Despite the high office he holds, he is directly accountable to the catinab. He and other candidates for the ayuntamiento are suggested for the office by the catinab with the advice of the principales.

The ayuntamiento is linked to the calpules below the leadership level primarily through the regidores appointed by the calpul. They make
up the police force under the authority of the ladino police commissioner.

The separation of local traditional civil-religious hierarchies from representatives of the national government is typical in the region. Camara reports a "nearly perfect adjustment between the traditional political system and the modern Mexican government" (1952, 273). However, he reports that the traditional leader of the hierarchy has been replaced by the presidente municipal, and since he does not reach the post traditionally, the system is disintegrating (p. 275). In San Pedro Chenalho, Guiteras also shows how the role of the Presidente has interfered with the traditional age-ranked hierarchy (ms., p. 83). In Oxchuc the old office of alcalde has been retained as a ceremonial post, and the municipal president is directly dependent on the catinab. Despite this, Villa Rojas notes that the calpul organization is beginning to break down. The small calpul lacks a catinab, an office which has not been filled since the former incumbent was killed. Even the fear of witchcraft, used as a threat by principales to those who refuse to accept office, is not sufficient to overcome resistance to accepting other roles in the calpules.

In all the communities cited, the disintegration in the traditional hierarchy stems from the conflict of authority in the area of social control. The ayuntamiento depends upon the sanction of law backed by the force of regional and rational authority. The leaders of the calpul depend on the sanction of religion and morality based on respect accorded to age and the fear of witchcraft.

The present conflict noted by Villa Rojas in Oxchuc seems to me to be part of a more fundamental process in which social control functions are being invested in ever wider authority structures. The primary unit of social control is the patrilineally related group with common Indian and
Spanish surname. In principle, witchcraft can be used only by people within this group (p. 261), although accusations of witchcraft between neighbors are common. The secondary unit of social control is the clan. One appeals to elders and diviners from among this group in cases of illness, the outward sign of moral turpitude. The community-wide representatives of the calpul and the ayuntamiento are the third level of social control.

It is in the last level that Villa Rojas describes the most confusion in defining who should settle a dispute. However, I think that fuller analysis of conflict cases would reveal an order of preference in the choice of authorities determined by the nature of the case. I noticed a tendency for those who wished to go against traditional principles, particularly in land disputes, to turn to the ayuntamiento rather than the Indian authorities. Without a greater number of carefully analyzed cases, I cannot state more exactly the principles involved.

Conflicts in the area of social control raise the problem of the degree of social integration of the community. This will be examined from the aspect of internal adaptation "seen in the controlled relations of individuals within the social unity" (Eggan, 1955, p. 82, quoting Radcliffe-Brown).

In Oxchuc, as in most small societies, reciprocity is the basic principle ordering social relations (cf. Levi Strauss, 1949). Reciprocal relations are based on a notion of equivalence. The emphasis on not exceeding a customary standard of living may have strengthened the custom of fulfilling obligations with liquor, the completely consumed good, witchcraft is the sanction against those who try to live better than their neighbors. Land rent, bride price, curing services, when paid in liquor,
avoids upsetting the economic equivalence of members of the community.

Liquor, in addition to being the principle medium of exchange, is the principal medium of social intercourse in Oxchuc. A myth about the origin of liquor illustrates the function it serves in the community. It is said that formerly Jesus Christ was a harsh judge, imposing hard penalties for any misdeeds in the community. One day Saint Thomas, the patron of Oxchuc, caused liquor to flow from Christ's elbow, and gave it to man as a gift. From that day, punishments were less severe, and people learned the joy of conviviality. The institutionalized custom of *vaaj pas be yotan* (bring into accord) makes it possible to gain the favor of persons of high status—witches, diviners, cabildos and other political religious functionaries, by buying liquor for them (p. 137). Liquor serves to mend friendships broken by fights (pp. 388-90). Liquor, in other words, makes possible reciprocal relations between people of unequal power in relation to man or the supernatural.

Social integration, achieved through the medium of liquor, may have concealed an underlying dissatisfaction in Oxchuc. The relatively rapid conversion of over 50% of the population to Protestantism in the '40's (Slocum, p. 492) suggests that there were many unresolved conflicts in the community. Presented an alternative which undermined authority based on fear of witchcraft, they chose conversion. Other congruent factors had contributed to the collapse of the internal controls. Witchcraft was never considered effective beyond the limits of the community, and many young men who went to the finca were accused of trying to escape social responsibilities as well as earn money. Social control has now passed from the older diviners to young literate protestant leaders (Slocum, p. 492).
V. Summary and Conclusion

In Oxchuc the kinship system at the time of Villa Rojas' stay seemed to exhibit a shift from an emphasis on descent associated with the Omaha type of terminology to a kinship system characterized by greater flexibility in descent grouping (see Spoehr's analysis of polar types, 1950, p. 8). In the social control function, in the composition of the work group, in the participation in ceremonies, I have tried to show some of the identities of interest which go beyond the lineal groups, uniting neighborhood groups and wider networks of relationships on non-kin bases.

With the breakup of land holdings and the control of the kin passing to community authorities, Oxchuc was approaching the kind of community called a "deme" by Murdock (1950, p. 62): "Except for family ties, the strongest identification is with the community which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities as a set."

The kinds of ties maintaining authority and control in the kin-group, age and ability in witchcraft, were extended throughout the community. In the civil religious hierarchy, authority and prestige based on these characteristics reveal the manner in which social ties of a kinship nature united all persons of the community (see E. Pritchard, 1940, p. 255). With the expansion of social relationships to a community-wide network linked to a national government, social control based on age and witchcraft was beginning to weaken. The final blow to traditional authority came with the Protestant conversion.
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Section 25

The Social Structure of Three Tzeltal Communities:

Omaha Systems in Change
I. The Communities.

The three communities which are the subject of this study—Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Aguacatenango—are located in the highlands of the state of Chiapas, in southern Mexico. As will be seen on map 2, the towns are separated from each other in different degrees—the first two by only ten kilometers of footpath, the former and the latter by some forty-five kilometers as the crow flies and presumably by many more on trails and roads. Oxchuc is at a somewhat higher elevation than Cancuc, but between Oxchuc and Aguacatenango the highlands grade off in a series of broad shelves which end in a plain stretching southward from San Bartolomé de los Llanos to the coastal mountains. The stronghold of the state's Indian population is in the highland area; here are found most of the communities in which few, if any, people speak Spanish and in which other aspects of the indigenous way of life are well-preserved. Beyond Aguacatenango—which is, in a sense, on the edge of the highlands—to the south, all-Indian communities are scattered and few. Here Ladinos (Spaniards and Mexicans of Spanish speech) have settled in great numbers, for here the climate and the terrain are favorable for large-scale production and distribution of cattle, corn, and live products. Indians continue to live in this area as distinct sub-communities, but few are monolingual in the indigenous language and much of the old life-style is gone.

All three of the communities to be examined here are Indian towns; only one of them has a ladino population of even noticeable size. Populations have been estimated or enumerated by the field workers on whose notes and publications the present study is based. For Oxchuc, Villa gives 3000 in 1912, of which 100-500 were ladinos. (Villa 1916). For Cancuc, Juiceras estimates 600-1000
Map 1. Distribution of the Mayan Languages
and Location of Area of Study

Areas in which Mayan languages are spoken.

Area of study; see map 2 for detail.

Political boundaries, state of Chiapas and republic
of Guatemala

Gulf of Mexico

Caribbean Sea

Pacific Ocean

(after MoQuown, 1956.)
Map 2. The Area of Study

1:250,000

- highway (paved or improved)
- dirt road
- foot or horse trail
- altitude (in meters)

Towns in red are predominantly Zoque-speaking, in purple largely Tzotzil-speaking. Towns in blue are Spanish-speaking.

(from map of Chiapas by Frans Blom.)
in 1945 and reports that the number of ladinos is negligible. (Suiteras 1946)

In Aguacatenango, we counted 1034 in 1956; eleven of these, the three school-teachers and their families, were ladinos. (Hetzger 1956) Data on the number of monolinguals in the indigenous language is not available, but in all of the communities the proportion of such speakers is probably fairly high.

In all of the communities, the language spoken is a dialect of Tzeltal, one of the languages of the Maya family. The distribution of Tzeltal speakers with reference to the Maya area as a whole is indicated on map 1. Their position with regard to relative time-depth of separation from a proto-Maya stock has been suggested by Norman McQuown; he places Tzeltal with Tzotzil and Tojolabal in one of the family's ten sub-stocks and says that this group and the Cholan and Chuh sub-groups are the most innovating of the Mayan languages, with reference to the number of proto-contrasts retained. (McQuown 1956:194-5)

The physical appearance of the three communities shows certain variations on a basic pattern. Houses are built of mud and thatch, frequently in family groups surrounded by a common fence. In Aguacatenango, these house-compounds are aligned on streets which run in the compass directions and converge on the town square; except for several outlying settlements (all within ten minutes' walk from the center), the whole of the population lives in this cluster of houses.

In Oxchuc and Cancuc, on the other hand, the town proper consists of the church, the municipal building, the school, and a few stores. In this center live the ladinos and those Indians who are holding political office at the time. The bulk of the population is scattered over a wide area in house-clusters composed of the members of two or three related extended-families. The latter pattern of settlement is common all over the Chiapas highlands, the former being rare among Indian towns.
All of the communities are based on subsistence agriculture with simple tools. (The plow is used only in Aguacatenango and here to a limited extent.) Corn, beans, and squash are the major crops. Some part of these commodities is sold or, more often, traded for such staples as coffee, sugar, salt, and chiles as well as for clothing and tools. While commerce is present, however, the goal— and perhaps the only reasonable expectation, given the technology and the terrain— is not production for sale of surplus, but rather a comfortable, but not conspicuous, living. Attitudes toward accumulation of wealth are much like those which Wolf describes for the closed-corporate peasant society in Central America (Wolf 1957); it is frowned upon, feared as an indication of witchcraft, and avoided, and it is counteracted by the requirement of large expenditures in the maintenance of public office.

Economy and material culture point to common life-experiences, and language and social organization (the latter to be treated in detail below) bespeak a common origin. Further evidence for a common cultural base can be found in the area of belief. Caves are of great importance in folklore and in present-day religious observance; it is here that ceremonies at planting and harvest frequently take place, their object being to propitiate or give thanks to the owner of the cave (called chauk, lightning), who has control over the natural elements which affect the crops. Crosses, seemingly divorced from their usual Christian connotations, are important religious symbols. In the highlands, each small settlement has one, often in or near its particular cave; in Aguacatenango, there are crosses set at the compass points on the hillsides around the town, and they are thought of as protectors of the community. Outside the area of religion, there is a strong belief in witchcraft which constitutes a dominant theme in all of the communities. Witchcraft is accomplished by means of a nagual, a spirit under the control of the witch which walks abroad in the shape of a small animal or,
sometimes, a tiny human and eats the spirit of the victim. Without a spirit, one falls ill and eventually dies unless the curandero (a man skilled in the use of herbs and ritual for curing) can recover it in some way—usually involving a confession of the misdeed which invited the witchcraft and/or the naming of the witch. One makes himself vulnerable to witchcraft by having too much money, by insulting someone who has a nagual, or by breaking some other rule of good conduct. (In Oxchuc, to wear ladino clothing is enough to invite witchcraft.)

While the similarities in the cultures of the three communities are many and detailed, each maintains a distinctive style of dress and a feeling of separateness akin to that which Tax has found in Guatemala. (Villa 1946:5; tax 1937) The separation of Aguacatenango and the others is physical as well as psychological. In Aguacatenango, Cancuc is unknown, and Oxchuc is referred to in terms of a nearer community, Chanal, whose inhabitants came from Oxchuc one hundred years ago. (The latter is called "big Chanal"). No-one goes to Oxchuc, and since the two communities face in different directions for most of their commerce (only rarely converging on San Cristobal), meetings are few. This separation is reflected in the language. A count of the possible cognates in a 200-word list (one of Morris Swadesh's basic vocabularies) obtained in Oxchuc (Slocum 1953) and in Aguacatenango yields a number indicating 850 years of separation of the two dialects. (The count was done by Norman McQuown.)

Between Oxchuc and Cancuc, on the other hand, the separation is psychological only. The lands of the two communities are contiguous. Oxchuqueros rent land from people of Cancuc and work for them for pay at planting and harvest; many enterprises bring people of the two communities together almost daily. Still the small distinctive features (some of which we will note in the discussion of social organization) are maintained. The communities remain endogamous and apart.
Some of the permutations of the common culture link Oxchuc and Cancuc, on the one hand, in contrast to Aguacatenango on the other. The differences in social organization which are the subject of this paper are the most noticeable of these. In addition, there are such things as the use of aguardiente (a distilled sugar-cane product) instead of the traditional corn-beer, chicha; the use of the salzón (the long cotton trousers common among Indians all over Mexico) instead of the reportedly older knee-length garment for men; the increasing use of ladino dress, especially by the younger generation, in contrast to the strict proscription of such behavior in Oxchuc; the absence of polygyny, bride service, and child-marriage. All of these differences suggest a greater degree of acculturation in Aguacatenango. We should like to be able to assert firmly that this is the case, for the study which follows assumes and depends on a general direction of change. We cannot do so, however, for lack of comparable histories for the three communities. The only fairly clear indication of a difference in intensity of contact with the outside world is that a road now passes Aguacatenango and connects it with commercial and industrial centers (bringing jobs, money, new consumer goods and relationships), while no road has yet been built to Oxchuc or Cancuc. The presence of a good-sized resident ladino population in Oxchuc and of seasonal labor on the coffee fincas in Oxchuc and, to a lesser extent, in Cancuc complicates the situation and makes an evaluation difficult.

The case for acculturation is strengthened by an appeal to linguistic data. It has been the experience of linguists that words are borrowed, as are other cultural forms, in a situation of contact between two societies, and that more words are borrowed in an intense contact situation than in one which is less so. (Hroz 1941) The study of changes in the native languages of immigrant groups has suggested that as the proportion of bilinguals increases, the pronunciation of borrowed words will more closely approximate the pronunciation in the lending language. (Haugen 1950) Thus, if Aguacatenango has been in more intense contact...
with Mexican-Spanish culture than the other communities, we should expect to find more Spanish loanwords and a closer approach to Spanish pronunciation in its dialect than in the others. In order to see if this were the case, we compared 518-word "cultural vocabularies" obtained in Oxchuc and Aguacatenango. We found forty-eight loanwords in the Aguacatenango list and twenty-eight in the Oxchuc; of these, twenty-nine (60%) of the Aguacatenango borrowings were perfect or nearly perfect (i.e., mishandling only one phoneme) reproductions of the Spanish, while this was true of only seven (25%) of the loanwords in the Oxchuc list. (A complete list of the borrowings can be found in a paper in a recent student journal. (Netzger 1957.) These findings add support to the suggestion that many of the cultural differences between Aguacatenango and Oxchuc and Cancuc are due to a greater intensity of contact with Spanish culture in the former community.

II. The Problem.

We propose to examine and compare the social structures of these three communities, pointing out certain features of each as indications of movement away from a structural type which all three once shared. Because our study must be, for the present, almost entirely synchronic—the available historical material being too general and particularly limited with regard to social structure—we can by no means claim that our communities represent steps in a single process. When we have come to understand their differences, we can make certain suggestions about process which may be useful in future research. It is toward this kind of statement that we aim in this study.

We have already amply justified the assumption of common beginnings for these groups. The organizational type which we think they once shared is what Murdock
call a "Normal Omaha", the defining characteristics being patrilocal descent, or local residence, and a cousin-terminology which overrules generation and is a TG: with (BSiblings and VC: with SC: (or with Go and J, for a female ego). (Rock 1949:236, 239-40) The frequently associated features of lateral

terms for aunts and uncles, non-sororal hol, patrilocal extension of incest taboos, and patrilocal clans are part of the kins structure. Such a division is closely approached in Omaha and Schumacher, and field data makes it clear that the present direction of change in these and closely related groups is away from this type and not toward it. In aquanenango, remnants of the earlier structure are apparent in an adaptation which is quite different; although the term which still distinguishes the 13 and 30h from other kinsmen in aquanenango is not in use here, there are those in the community who remember having heard it in their youth.

The age of this antecedent structure is a problem which need not greatly concern us in the work at hand and which available materials are inadequate to solve. However, since knowledge and informed opinion in this area can supply a context within which to view the cases we shall present, we shall briefly set out the salient points. The only discovered materials earlier than 1942 that deal with the kinship terminology in these groups are a nineteenth-century nomenclature which lacks all of the critical terms and an inconclusive report on a Zozilil group done in 1888. Citing the latter, Koster (1956:6) reports that "the term jum for mother's brother, distinguishing him from father's brother (b), and its reciprocal kichok, distinguishing him from Ego's brother's son (junichon) indicate a former unilateral system. As she points out, this suggests the present Omaha pattern but is incomplete. Behind these terms, the literature has thus far yielded fairly good indications of unilateral kinship, but no light on the origins of the Omaha terminology. Eggan (1934) reports that a unilateral organization
such as that suggested by early Spanish sources is consistent and frequently associated with a cross-cousin-marriage terminology like the early Motul. Villa (1957) argues that the Lacandon, isolated as they are, are in a unique position to retain aboriginal Maya features, and hence he projects the patrilineal named residence groups reported by Tzotzil into prehispanic times; unfortunately, Tzotzil’s data on kinship terminology is incomplete, but as far as it goes there is no suggestion of Omaha-type distinctions. Materials such as these at least support a base on which an Omaha system could have been elaborated as the principle of unilineality developed. Since this structural type has been considered a function of extreme patrilineality (White 1939:569-70), the possibility of such a base makes sense out of the present situation.

Of the development of Maya social organisation as a whole, Burdock suggests the following model:

At one time they [the Maya] presumably had a social structure resembling that of the rest of Mexico, and which is still preserved by the kindred Huastec, but they advanced one step farther and actually achieved a patrilineal organization. This was presumably due to greater patrilocalization. In addition to patrilocal extended families, which are reported for such lowland tribes as Chol, Chontal, and Chorti, genuine localized patrilineages emerged in most if not all of the highland tribes. Although the fact appears to have escaped general attention, both ancient and modern sources clearly attest the presence of exogamous patrilineages everywhere in the lowlands with the single possible exception of the Chorti, and true exogamous patri-sibs have survived among such highland tribes as the Cakchiquel, Mam, Quiche, and Tzeltal. For the most part the original Hawaiian kinship terminology was not altered, perhaps because of the insufficiency of time, but the Tzeltal evolved an Omaha terminology and thus acquired a social system of the most fully developed patrilineal sort. (Burdock 1955:95)

While we would phrase this more tentatively, the general outlines of the scheme—patrilineal tendencies all over the area, culminating in Omaha terminology only in the Tzeltal (Tzotzil) groups—do no violence to what is known. Such a model seems more plausible than to suppose that the Omaha terminology was at
one time widespread among Maya, for it seems unlikely that it would then have
disappeared without a trace in the Guatemalan highlands, where the ancient calendar
survives in detail (Nash 1957) and the greatest number of proto-Mayan phonemic
contrasts is retained (Menqoun 1956). The fact, previously noted, that the
Tzeltal-Tzotzil are at the innovating extreme in the linguistic group indicates
that they were isolated enough from the rest of the Maya to lose many of the
proto-contrasts; such a situation might have been conducive to kinship innovation
as well.

The changes away from the Omaha type which can be seen in Ochuc, Canuc,
and Armadatamango are particularly interesting because anthropological opinion
has seen that Omaha terminologies do not change. In Tax's work on the Fox, we
see an Omaha terminological system associated with a fully bilateral exogamous
family group and an absence of extension of kinship terms throughout the clans
(the latter functioning as cult societies and nothing more). (Tax 1955) (A
potential change in terminology lies in the tendency to think of AM as a
sibling-in-law even though she is still called FS.) Mead, working with the
Omaha, finds that while the breakdown of the clan system and the scattering of
the tribe has led to a shrinking of the application of kinship terms and related
behavior, "the kinship system which was carefully recorded forty years ago is
still in use, not changed in any detail." (Mead 1932:79) Nett traces historical
changes in the Osage kinship system and finds, with regard to behavior, a shift
to neolocal residence, a trend away from four-lineage exogamy, and a loss of the
special relationship with the mother's brother. In the terminology she finds
only what seem minor changes—a loss of age distinctions between siblings, the
use of the diminutive rather than the parent term for AMD, MS, and MB (especially
the former), and a general uncertainty and disagreement over the terms for grand-
parents' siblings (the latter consistent with "a decrease in the importance of
the patrilineal clan"). (Nett 1952:180-3)
The only published evidence for a change from Omaha terminology to another type is Vreeland's study of three Mongol communities. (Vreeland 1954) He explains an apparent shift from an Omaha prototype to a Dakota structure in terms of the development of clan communities in combination with a preference for marriage with women of one other sib. Krader, however, points to historical evidence that the Mongols had something other than an Omaha system. (Krader 1955:367) His classroom remarks indicate that the system was different in that it had no terms for cross-cousins; in about 1200 a designation for these relatives became necessary and a variety of adjustments were made among the Mongol tribes, some adopting Omaha terminology and others something else.

A recent and as yet unpublished study of social structure in three Tzotzil communities seems to provide the first unassailable evidence of change in an Omaha system. (Guiteras 1956) The antiquity of the structural type for the Tzotzil is supported in some measure by historical materials (cited above). In San Pablo Chalchihuitán, the Omaha terminology is found complete (see chart 1) and is extended throughout the sib although sib exogamy is no longer practiced and there is no longer a local group which could be called a clan. In San Pedro Chenalhó, sib exogamy is still in force, but in one half of the village MECh are terminologically equated with siblings and in the other half the sibling term is extended to FSCCh as well as the above; everywhere there is a tendency to call MB "uncle" (i.e., the same as FB). In Chamula, the entire structure is bilateral—inheritance, exogamy, terminology—with MB equal to FB, BS the same as FS, all cousins the same as sibling, and BCCh equivalent to SCh. A trend toward a bilateral, generational system is clear in the series.

To a certain extent, our three Tzeltal communities show parallel changes in terminology and associated structures. Their similarities and their differences are instructive.
III. The Social Structures: Continuity and Change.

The organization of Oxchuc and Cancue is the same with minor exceptions, and so for the most part they can economically be treated together. Closely related families are grouped into patrilineal lineages, each with a Tzeltal surname. Each lineage belongs to a grouping which both students call a clan but which they report as "non-localized" with only one exception; this must, in Murdock's terms, be called a sib. The members of the sib consider themselves related but cannot trace the genealogical connections; kinship terms are extended throughout and exogamy is strictly maintained. In Cancue, the sibs have names and myths of origin; in Oxchuc, the sib is designated by the Spanish surname shared by all its members and no origin myths have been discovered. Beyond the sib is the calpul (Oxchuc) or culibal (Cancue), a non-exogamous and perhaps once endogamous unit of which membership is by individual choice but usually follows the paternal line. The calpul contains members of all the sibs, but lineages are found in one or the other of the two calpules and not in both. Traditional division of the town area into sections corresponding to the calpules suggests that they were once localized, but now members of the two calpules live side by side.

Of these units, the lineage is the primary land-owning one and the most important one in daily interaction, cooperation in work, mutual aid, and the ceremonies at death. The sib functions in marriage: in Oxchuc, the boy arranges the match with the girl's parents and the wedding consists of a feast and drinking party for which he provides the goods and which is attended by the leading members of the girl's sib; in Cancue, it was formerly the custom to arrange one's marriage with the head of the girl's clan, but now the boy makes the arrangements with her parents, accompanied by a member of her sib as a kind of spokesman. Sister
exchange between sibs (bilateral cross-cousin marriage, usually classificatory) is common but apparently not preferential. Sib members help each other, adopt orphans and shelter runaways, and participate in drinking parties at times of fiesta. In Cancuc, the sib is the highest unit of social control, members (especially the elder, but others also with the help of the patron saint) being able to punish the moral failings of others in the sib by means of the nagual. (Quiteras 1947) In Oxchuc, the nagual of any old man, whether in one’s sib or not, can punish, and so the calpul also functions in social control. The calpul is the political and religious unit, with a hierarchy of offices through which each individual passes, and it acts as an intermediary between the people and the ladino-dominated municipio government. The settlement of disputes which cannot be handled by the lineage or sib comes to the calpul, and few disputes go higher. The calpul claims the land of a dead lineage and apports it among the other lineages and is thus also a land-owning group.

Certain changes in organization have been implied above and others are present in the field materials: 1) a loosening of the residence rule, bringing opposite calpules together and scattering families even though matri-patrilocal residence is still preferred and widely practiced; (whether or not the sibs were once localized is an open question); 2) some loss of sib functions—as in marriage in Cancuc and in the statements of Oxchuc informants that just being of the same clan does not entitle one to help and that no-one will work with you unless there is money in it; (Villa 1946:105); 3) much buying and selling of land (lineage lands can be sold with the permission of all the members), the land bought by an individual being considered his own and not that of the lineage; Oxchuc informants said that long ago brothers used to work together on common land, but now each man has his own and works alone; 4) a tendency, only in Oxchuc, to look
to all older men as equally powerful and worthy of respect; Villa states that since the calpul is no longer a territorial unit, people take disputes to whichever of the principales (old men) is available at the time, regardless of relationship or calpul affiliation (Villa 1976:27). In Oxcuch, further weakening of the calpul-offices are left unfilled because no-one can be found who will accept them.

In the kinship terminology, the most interesting of the changes in progress is one not suggested in the ethnography, and it occurs in the terms for cross-cousins. First of all, while the terms for cross-cousins and cross-uncles and -aunts are properly generation-overriding, they are peculiar in that the MB-SCh is self-reciprocal. This seems to be uncommon in Omaha systems, and the absence of self-reciprocity in the early Tzotzil terminology suggests that the situation may represent a change from the more usual designation of these two classes of relatives. It suggests that a once-asymmetrical relationship became symmetrical in a way significant enough to effect a terminological shift. Unfortunately, data on behavior between pairs of relatives is largely lacking; there is data which tends to equate MB and FB, and there is nothing to suggest an equivalence with SCh or any other specialization. The mechanics of this change—if it is such—are lost in the past, as the situation seems well-established (all the informants agree). The Cancuc system, in which KS's grandchildren are GCh while MB's grandchildren are MB and NS, is in all probability self-consistent (i.e., if terms had been sought for the grandparents' siblings they would probably be reciprocal); nevertheless, the fact that there are two kinds of kichen (see chart 2a), some having children called GCh and others whose offspring are called MB and NS, seems a weak point in the system. One might expect further changes in terminology either to erase the difference or to express it.
Because of the self-reciprocity of FB -SCh, the two sets of cross-cousins are designated by terms which are very similar, differing only in the terms used by a female Ego for FSCh and by any Ego for MBD. It is in these terms that incipient change is apparent. Gutieras notes "a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichan not only the male descendants, but also the female, of the mother's brother in the male line...which results, due to the rule of self-reciprocity, in the designation by a female Ego of kichan for the father's sister's children, in substitution for the kal-jun used by a woman for this class of relatives". (Gutieras 1947:12) She adds that the mother's brother's daughter's children are not considered relatives and that the inconsistency which exists here if their mother is called me-jun disappears when she is called kichan. (This statement is inaccurate in that the children of a kichan are considered relatives, but the closeness of the relationship is distinctly less than with siblings and so the major point is still valid.) In Oxchuc, also, there is a suggestion of a strain toward equation of the cross-cousins in three of the nineteen genealogies (the only three which show the MBD, male speaking, and either the FSCh or the HBD, female speaking). One, a male, calls MBD kichan; one of the women calls MBD me-jun but her brothers kal (same as FSCh) and explains that she would call them all kichan if they were her aunts; the other woman calls her FSCh kal because her FS taught her to do so but thinks that she should be calling him kichan. The terms elicited by Castro ten years later from five informants (of whom one was a woman and three were from Oxchuc and one from Cancue) show a part of this change accomplished—FSCh is kichan for both the male and the female Ego—but the system is assymetrical in that MBD remains me-jun. (Castro 1955:20-23)
it to the general uncertainty among women as to the application of those terms which distinguish by the sex of the speaker. Several women call their older brothers bankil rather than shilel, and nearly half call their own children nichan, one or two giving kal as an alternative; one suggests kal/nichan as an alternative designation for brother's child. This may reflect a general simplification in terms which is perhaps evident also in the shortening of the system in the area of MB's children—a lessening of interest in genealogical reckoning. It is also possible, but not clear, that the functional significance of these terms is decreasing; one of the terms given by Pineda (1888) and absent here is kishlal, younger sister, the reciprocal of shilel, and the loss of this term and the instability of its reciprocal are perhaps related. On the other hand, the informants may have misunderstood the investigators and given male-speaking terms instead of their own.

With particular reference to the FSCh terms, an additional explanation is possible. If a part of the driving force for change is the attitude of ladinos toward the indigenous kinship system—and, indeed, there is some evidence that ridicule was important in driving indigenous surnames underground in Aguacatenango—then one would expect that those generation-overriding terms which conflict most seriously with relative age would be the most subject to censure from outside. Hence there would be pressure to call FSCh something other than "son" or "daughter" while the HBD term, being somewhat different from "mother" to the ladino's ear, might temporarily survive.

None of these explanations is strong enough to stand by itself. Perhaps the most fruitful line of reasoning starts from the other side of the traditional kinship diagram, with HBD. Bilateral cross-cousin marriage is attested for both groups. This means, first of all, that it is awkward to refer to HBD, who is a
potential mate, as "little mother". Murdock gives good statistical evidence for his statement that incest taboos tend to apply to all relatives called by the same term as sexually tabooed primary relatives. (Murdock 1949:207) Lggran agrees that systems which class the mother's brother's daughter with the mother "effectively prevent matrilateral cross-cousin marriage". (Lggran 1956:403) The presence of cross-cousin marriage means also that the two kinds of cross-cousins are equivalent from ego's point of view and are often the same person. (Perhaps the disappearance of the special term for INaWi in Cancúc is associated with the fact that she is frequently a FS first.) This situation exerts strong pressure for identical terms, and the extension of kichan to cover all of them without distinction as to sex of the speaker is an economical way of producing this effect.

It has been assumed that cross-cousin marriage is relatively new on the basis of the widespread association between the old kind of terminology and the sexual taboo. If it is, one of the things that might have brought it about is a decrease in the number of clans into which to marry and the consequent increase in the probability that one's wife will be a clan relative of one's mother. Oxchuc has six clans, but two are so small as to be nearly extinct. Cancúc has only three clans, a fourth having merged with one of these in the memory of living people.

One other important terminological change has been suggested above. This is a tendency, in Oxchuc but apparently not in Cancúc, to apply kinship terms which express the referent's age relative to Ego rather than his precise genealogical relationship. (This has an organizational correlate in the above-mentioned tendency to regard all old men, without reference to relationship, in the same way.) One informant calls his older sister's husband tatik ("sir," "mister"—a general respect term applied to non-relatives) instead of bal and uses a unique term—bejtatil—for his father's sister's husband; both of these seem to reflect a
reluctance to class older men with siblings-in-law. Another says that the child of a nichum is also nichum unless Ego is old, in which case he says "grandchild" instead. A third informant has been cited above—the woman who called her mother's brother's son "child" on the basis of his relative age. According to Juiteras, extension of kinship terms in Cancuc consistently overrides both generation and relative age; except for siblings of the nuclear family, all "clan" siblings are called "older sibling". This is consistent with the fact that social control by the elders is still kept within the clan.

The increasing concern for age in the designation of relatives is particularly interesting in the light of the data on Aguacatenango, for in this system it assumes a dominant role. Looking first at the terminology, we note that:

1) All consanguineals in Ego's own generation and the descending generations (except his own children and grandchildren) are siblings, distinguished by sex, sex of speaker, and age relative to Ego in the same way as in Ochuc and Cancuc. (See chart la.)

2) Of the consanguineals of the first ascending generation, parents' siblings younger than parents, regardless of the sex of the connecting relative, are siblings, distinguished in the same ways (including age relative to Ego) as Ego's own generation; parents' siblings older than parents are referred to by the general respect term (distinguished by sex) or, perhaps more commonly, by the diminutive of it. One individual uses grandparent terms for most of these people, who appear to have been considerably older than his own father; he refers to the one living brother of his father by a term unique as far as our sample goes, one which expresses both the referent's great age and the fact that he is younger than Ego's father. (mamalbankil; mamal means "old").
3) On the second ascending generation, the only terms in general use are for own grandparents, and these are the same on both sides. Only two of our ten informants, both special cases, could name any of their grandparents' siblings. Both of them referred to these as "uncle older than parent", a usage consistent with the designation of brother's grandchild as "younger sibling".

4) Above this generation none of our geneologies extends.

Thus age relative to Ego and (on the first ascending generation) to the connecting relative are major organizing principles. Relative age overrides generation throughout the system, with the terms for Ego's direct lineal ascendants and descendants standing out in that they alone are unaffected by the age distinction. The sex of the connecting relative is nowhere a consideration. Lineality-collaterality distinctions are ignored on Ego's generation, while on the first ascending generation parents are merged with their siblings only when the siblings are older and the alternative terms are used for both. Sex of the referent is distinguished for all relatives older than Ego and for no one younger. Sex of the speaker is distinguished for older brother, child, and grandchild. The greater number of distinctions among older relatives gives the impression that the society faces up, so to speak, and this is highly consistent with the general pattern to be sketched below.

The affinal terms are more nearly generational. The sibling-in-law terms of Oxchuc and Cancuc are used only in one's own generation, while spouses of parents' siblings are apparently called "parent's sibling older than parent" regardless of the relative age of the connecting relative, and spouses of descending-generation siblings are called "sibling" (usually younger). On the other hand, one informant uses consanguineal terms for certain affinal relatives in his own generation; in each instance, the relative is so much older than Ego that a same-generation
affinal may have seemed disrespectful. One informant used consanguineal terms for all siblings-in-law, and another said that the use of these terms is declining. One might guess that the sibling-in-law terms are simply slower in responding to the pressures under which the rest of the system has changed and that they, too, will someday be replaced by sibling terms with their recognition of relative age. In conformity with the essential separateness of lineal and collateral relatives, the terms for so-in-law, 3-in-law, and parent-in-law are restricted in application. (One informant says that the child-in-law terms are extended to members of these people's families. This may have been true at one time, but now these people are normally compadres—ritual kinmen—due to their participation in the wedding ceremony, and the compadre term overrides the kinship term in reference and address.)

The importance of the compadre relationship sheds some light on the use of the other affinal terms. Siblings and their spouses are very commonly chosen as padrinos for one's children, and the use of the compadre term for these people rather severely limits the use of the sibling-in-law term. In this way, ritual kinship may perhaps further weaken a terminological system which is already eroding for other reasons. From another point of view, it appears to be an adjustment to the erosion of the old social structure. It seems to be used in Aquacatenango to tighten existing consanguineal and affinal bonds and, when non-kin are invited to be padrinos, to create a kin-like relationship with people outside. To the extent to which acculturative pressure is atomizing, the compadrazgo is an opposing tendency, and it has the advantage of fitting well into the local culture and at the same time being something that the ever critical ladino can understand, approve, and even share. In addition, the use of compadre terms provides a method of making one's reference more specific in a kinship system whose terms are "classifiable" in the extreme. (Other alternative designations which
While this latter task even better are taxonomically terms, very frequently used, are descriptive terms, which seem to be in fairly common use with reference to the children of one's same-generation "siblings". That the comadrazgo occurs here is surely well-developed here and is weak in Ozuluc and completely absent in Cancun in accord with the arrangement of the three, suggested by the materials above, in order of degree of preservation of the original social system. The degree of abstraction of the institution is perhaps rightly considered (Berteras 1952:101) a consequence of recolonization, not only in that it is the result of varying quantities of contact with the idea, but also in the terms suggested here.

The extension of kinship terms is wide, if we consider as such the use of general respect terms (taca, tama) for all old people and the occasional use of taca to show respect for an unrelated older man of Ego's generation. However, the terms as indicators of genealogical relationship are apparently extended beyond the limits of chart I only to children of grandparents' siblings (even where the name of the connecting relative is unknown) wherever these individuals have at least one surname in common with Ego. Thus Sarinas Perez considers as kin her 

As, who is a Hernandez Perez, but not this man's children, who are Hernandez Juarez (taking the surname of their mother as their second). She also thinks of Riberas—whose surname is Hernandez—as relatives, but she can give no Tzeltal kinship form to fit them. While the lack of a common surname seems to sort out non-relatives in such cases, the possession of a common surname does not in itself signify relationship. Although the holders of a Spanish surname are referred to rather loosely as "brothers" on occasion, groups are recognized within each of these names which are aparte, not related. People of the same surname marry with impunity (1% of all cases), although the priest tells them that this is like marrying one's sibling except in church marriage, which is rare, this presents no problem, and
couples desiring a church wedding simply change the surname of the bride for the occasion.

A patrilineal bias is suggested by the data from the above informant, and this suggestion gains support from the examination of the kinds of grandparents whom people remember. Only one informant knows the names of all four grandparents, and here the women's surnames were unknown or uncertain. Two people remember three grandparents—two paternal and one maternal; four people remember only the paternal grandparents by name, and only the maternal grandfather, and two none at all. For two of the paternal-only cases, the maternal grandparents had died when the other was very young; or had remained in a distant town; here the tendency to remember the name of only those relatives whom one knew personally may explain the situation. Nevertheless, the remaining cases cannot be so explained and may point to the leaning toward the patrilineal which one would expect in a group with this background.

The upward orientation noted above is evident in the use of the grandchild term. All of the women who were asked knew how to say "grandchild", although none was a grandmother. In contrast, one older man with grandchildren did not know the term and said so; a third and a fourth genealogy included only siblings and parents' siblings, the informants not being interested in giving more data if they possessed it; a fifth was obtained through the wife as an interpreter and it is not clear how much was her knowledge rather than her husband's. He got the terms for grandchild, male speaking, from women. This evidence is only suggestive, but it looks as if men have considerably less interest in genealogy than women and less contact with and interest in children beyond their own immediate offspring. While the one grandmother whom we knew well acts as an affectionate mother-surrrogate, her husband speaks to his grandchildren only to reprimand them and conceives this as his proper role. Our impression is that men are primarily interested in other men—their adult sons, their peers, and their elders.
Turning from the terminology to the behavioral aspects of the social structure, we note a number of features corresponding to the age principle which has seemed dominant. The top positions in the community—political and religious—are held by older men; one works up through a hierarchy of offices to chief judge and then settles down for the rest of one's life to give advice and directions and to receive respect, deference, and obedience. A group of these men, selected by the community and called *principles*, makes all decisions affecting the community as a whole. These men are thought of in terms of their ages relative to each other; one informant grouped the ten *principles* into three age-grades and suggested that the respect due each of these increased from youngest to oldest. Within the family, the old man is waited on and treated seriously; it is considered most improper to argue with him or speak to him sharply "as if he were your equal".

In social gatherings, the oldest man present says a blessing over each bottle of liquor before it is opened. (The anthropologist attending one of these gatherings was placed in the system by comparison of his age with that of everyone else so that the proper kinship terms—commonly extended to drinking partners of whatever surname—could be applied.) When two people meet, the younger bows his head for the elder to touch by way of greeting; this is done both by people of the same sex and by men to women and women to men, and sometimes the age distinctions seem to be exceedingly fine.

We do not suggest that these customs are unique. We see them as significant only in that they are here dissociated from the unilineal kin groupings which structure their expression in other Tzeltal communities; here they are applied society-wide. Corporate unilineal groups seem to be absent or attenuated in Aquacatencingo. Descent remains patrilocal (although there is a growing tendency fostered in the schools of an origin in the father's surname to the signature on official documents). This is suggested in the genealogies but becomes clear with the additional
knowledge that each lineage has a totoyal name which descends from father to
and which seems to define the exogamous unit. It is probable that kinship terms
are extended throughout this unit, but the reticence of all informants on the
subject of these named groups has made it impossible for us to get this kind of
data. Marriage is arranged after the boy has chosen a girl, between the "families"
of the boy and girl—which may mean the lineage but which seems rather to be
restricted to the nuclear family of each. The lineage, insofar as we can infer a
lineage from known blood ties, is localized to a considerable extent. (One inform-
ment spoke of a "Perez" group to the east, one around him, one to the south, etc.,
and such groupings can be seen in census and settlement pattern data.) The fact
that the town is closely settled makes it increasingly difficult with each generation
to maintain strict same-household-or-contiguous patrilocal residence; in addition,
factors of an individual nature enter in, with the result that many more households
are neolocal than patrilocal, and members of a nuclear family can be found widely
scattered. Most married men and many married women, however, live in the same or
neighboring blocks as their siblings, parents, and parents' siblings. The rule of
marriage within the hamlet (which corresponds to the calpulli-calpulli and is
ideally and deco endogamous) narrows the geographic range of marriage choice to
such an extent that husband and wife tend to settle near both their families in
many cases. Thus residence becomes more complex than a one-word designation can
express. Patrilocal residence continues to be the ideal pattern although it is
no longer an unbreakable rule.

It is not clear that the lineage owns land. In Oxchuc and Cancuc, the lineage
steps forward to claim the land when a man dies without sons, and since we have not
observed this situation we cannot be sure what the lineage in Aguacatenango would do.
...do know that daughters do not inherit and that a widow may inherit a house. The informant reports that his brother's widow asked him for permission to sell the house she had inherited. However, this happened many years ago, and no concept of lineage land-ownership has been otherwise expressed in our presence. New land comes under cultivation every year; the poorer land, which is "owned" by the town as a whole, is simply taken by the first comers, while the irrigable land in the valley is either bought from present owners or, if it has been communal, apportioned by the town government to individuals and not apparently to groups. Recently, land has been bought on the edges of town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and are watered by separate canals. The concept of rights to the land is clear with regard to the purchase, which is apparently a new departure; in the case of the land already in use, it seems more likely that exclusive use is maintained by the distrust and animosity which exists between the two barrios to such an extent that one would not want to own a field among people from "the other side". Hence we can say that the barrio is a land-owning unit, strictly speaking, only in its most recent aspect. By and large, agricultural and residential land seems to be conceived as belonging to the individual and descending to his sons as individuals.

The grouping of lineages into sibs is another thing about which we cannot be sure. It is certain that the Spanish surname does not now define such a unit, although there is a suggestion that it might once have done so in the remarks of one or two informants to the effect that all Hernandezes are brothers but do not work together any more, or that it is cause for shame to marry someone with the same surname. The possibility remains that lineages are grouped into sibs without reference to the barrio name, as is usual. If a Taeltal-named sib has gone
underground, so to speak, with the lineage names, we may have observed extensions of kinship terms within it and interpreted them as extensions to non-kin because the participants denied relationship. In addition, such a group might still be exogamous. Such a situation would undermine the whole interpretation presented here. Having recognized this fact, we propose to push it to the back of our mind in what follows in order that some kind of definite statement can be made, to be proved or disproved as our understanding grows. Our decision may be justified to some extent by the suggestions given above and by the unlikelihood that an elaborate system of denial could be sustained by a people not much given to dissimulation.

Although the lineage still exercises social control in the form of moral pressure in intra-lineage matters, the settlement of disputes and the punishment of wrongdoing, where these cross lineage boundaries, seem to be largely in the hands of the municipal government and not the kin-groups involved. (The barrios have no political-religious or judicial functions.) Murder and witchcraft are exceptions, being punished by kinsmen of the victim, but robbery, breach of promise, assault, and trespassing are brought before the ayuntamiento for arbitration and application of penal or restitutive sanctions. In recent years, the penalties imposed by this group have been backed up by the possibility of appeal to outside authority—especially since the decision to place a young man who speaks Spanish and is interested in "progress" in the major outward-facing position in the political system—but it is perhaps significant that the top political office, that of chief judge, has been held for two years in a row by curanderos (who, as a class, are said to have naguales). In general, however, witchcraft is conceived of not as punishment for wrong, as in Oxchuc and Cancuc, but as the ill-will of some enemy—a man jealous of one's material wealth, for example, or desirous of one's wife. Witches were universally held; people were shocked when we suggested that the curanderos—both widely respected old men—might know how to cause illness.
as well as cure it. Such people are not infrequently killed or driven out of town. They need be neither relatives nor old men; indeed, a noted witch of recent years was a middle-aged immigrant from a rather distant community. It is interesting to reflect that while Guiteras presents witchcraft as inseparable from the "clan" and social control, Villa cites some cases of witchcraft by non-"clan" members and by people who are angry with others for no socially-defined reason. The situation in Aguacatenango seems to carry out this trend.

Thus the unilineal group retains the function of marriage regulation, it leaves social control beyond the lineage to the local government, arrangement of marriage to the nuclear family, and property-ownership to the individual. While the lineage is localized to some extent, it is not exclusive. Ego's neighborhood usually includes both patrilineal and matrilineal kinsmen as well as some non-relatives while he is growing up; if he marries and settles in the same neighborhood, it comes to include also his affinal kin. The group within which Ego visits, seeks companions for trips, gets help in building a house or clearing a field, drinks during fiestas and goes hunting, finds padrinos for his children, exchanges food on All Saints' Day, and goes to funerals is by and large this neighborhood group. A recognition of this fact makes it easier to understand the terminological system with its bilateral extensions.

The change in the social structure in Aguacatenango can be summarized as

1. an attenuation of some of the corporate features of the unilineal kin group—land rights, other rights and duties held as if by a single person with regard to the society, rights and duties with regard to members but not outsiders (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:35)—but retention of others—perpetuity, through the lineage name and the concept of descent. Associated with this phenomenon are

2. a transfer of certain functions of this group to the individual (land-holding), others to the nuclear family (marriage arrangement), others to the neighborhood (mutual aid, daily association), and still others to the local government (formal justice);

3. a change in the function of witchcraft, at least in part as a consequence of the above changes; and

4. an extension of the behavior appropriate toward elders of
one's lineage and sib and toward the heads of the barrio to other old people as well. This latter is a function of the loss of autonomy of these groups in that once the boundaries of the sib, for example, began to weaken, the power (exercised through naguales) of old men can extend across them and all old men come to be equally feared. The grading of principales in terms of relative age may once have corresponded to differences in power among them, and in this case the relative ages of younger people may have come to be conceived of as measures of power on the same model. Perhaps the changes in the kinship terminology can be understood in some such terms as these.

On the other hand, one can fit a general increase in the awareness of age into a series of changes of a different sort—beginning, again, with the cross-cousin terms. With the atrophy of the lineage as a corporate group, the distinguishing features of members of one's mother's lineage and of the other lineages connected through one's father's sister and one's mother's sister would become less apparent, and in the absence of frequent real-cross-cousin marriage (which we assume, of course, only for the sake of the argument) there would be little behavioral reason for not extending sibling terms to the cross-cousins—especially since they would no longer be equated with the more distant, classificatory cross-cousins who are still candidates for marriage. Then, presumably, all of the kichan terms in the original system would react to the change; Soh might come to be called "sibling" and Be might become bankil (in some sense "balancing" Be, wish) and all children of bankil "siblings" as well. If Be were an old man, it would be disrespectful to call the "brother" and a respect term would be applied. As the practical differences between Be-FB, Be-FS, decreased with the decline of the lineage as a functional unit, the sibling-or-respect terminology might come to be restricted even for entire succeeding generations. (Such an
extension would be unimpeded by a tendency to merge $M$ and $MS$, $F$ and $FB$ as the similarities between these people lessened under the same influences.) Thus the present terminological system is understandable in terms of 1) an extension of sibling terms to cross-cousins made possible by the weakening of the lineage principle in social organization, 2) a further extension of these terms based on their self-reciprocity and the tendency to override generation inherent in the system, and 3) their application to additional relatives on the first ascending generation as bilateralization of kinship grouping and behavior proceeds.

From this point of view, it is possible to make a connection between this system of terminology and that of Oaxaca and Cancun by suggesting that as the sib gives way to acculturative pressure, classificatory cross-cousin marriage, while continuing to be practiced, will cease to be thought of as such in that kinship terms will no longer be applied. Since real-cross-cousin marriage is reportedly very rare, the barrier to extension of sibling terms will no longer exist and these terms may be so extended. At this point it is possible that the first ascending and descending generations will be treated in the same way as in Aguacatanango; however, there is a likelihood that these terms will already have been adjusted on a generation pattern due to the fact that $MB$ and $SCh$, though kichans, will rarely if ever be marriage partners for Ego since "husband and wife always belong to the same generation". (Guiteras 1947: 17)

This hypothesis also makes some sense out of the difference between the Tzeltal and the Tzotzil terminologies. If cross-cousin marriage had not existed, or had disappeared earlier, in the Tzotzil groups, we would expect to find sibling terms readily extended to the cross-cousins as the solidarity of the sib decreased. In the absence of the self-reciprocal law $MB-SCh$, these terms could be extended without causing any adjustments on ascending and descending generations. The
erasing of other distinctions across these generations as their functional significance lessened might result in the generational system that Juiteras reports.

The major weakness of the hypothesis lies in the fact that it assumes that certain principles—the overriding of generation, self-reciprocity, and the equivalence of relatives called by the same term—will remain in operation under changing conditions. At least in the Chenalho structure, and perhaps in many of the others, certain changes do not force others in the predicted way because the third of the above principles is not in operation—or perhaps operates so slowly that its effect is counteracted before it is complete. (Here FSeCh, the children of a wish, are called "sibling", but FSeDCh, also children of a wish, remain "sister's child".) Thus the hypothesis is useful only to the extent to which other things remain equal.

Even if this were not the case, there is clearly no substitute for detailed knowledge—both historical and comparative-synchronic—in an attempt to discover the mechanisms of structural change. With the data available at present, we can explain relative degrees of change (in terms of degrees of acculturative pressure) but not its directions. A hypothesis like the above will serve a purpose only if it can make more interesting and fruitful the intensive research which must be done.

What we have learned, then, from this study is that, contrary to previous findings, Omaha terminologies sometimes do change. Having looked at a number of variants on an assumed Omaha-type system, and having examined two in detail, we have discovered that the weakening of the lineage principle in both behavioral and terminological aspects of social organization is an important common feature. The response of the other parts of the system to this situation is varied and seems to depend on factors for the most part unknown. The fact that these
systems have changed in different ways, generational and otherwise, while conform-
ing to Murdock's prediction of bilaterality (Murdock 1947: 250) is interesting
and significant in itself. Explanations for these differences—and, indeed,
for the fact of change in these systems and not in so many others of their kind—
must come later.
Chart 1. San Pablo Chalchihuitán, Ego male and female.
(Terms in red are used by women only; where no such term in red is given, the usage is the same as for the male Ego.)
(From Guitérrez 1956, Figures 1 and 2)

[from Guiteras 1947, figures 1 and 2]
Chart 2b. Cancuc: Affinal terms, Ego male and female.

(from Guiteras 1947, figures 3 and 4)

kālib-mamal jawan kālib- mamal kālib- mel kālib- mel

nial-mamal nu nial- mamal nial- mamal

mū jawan mū jawan bāl nu nia-cha jūn bāl nu

jawan bāl' mū mū Ego Kīnam mū mū jawan bāl

mīmlal Ego

kālib kāl- jūn nial kāl- jūn kālib

nial nīcha jūn nīcha jūn bāl kālib mū nīl
Chart 3a. Oxchuc. Consanguineal terms, Ego
male and female.

assembled from nineteen genealogies
in Villa 1946.
Chart 3b. Oxcuch. Affinal terms, Ego male and female.
(from nineteen genealogies in Villa, 1946)
Chart 4a. Aguacatenango. Consanguineal terms, Ego male and female. (From ten genealogies, Metzger 1956.)

Terms in parentheses are alternatives chosen with reference to relative age. See text for criteria of choice.
Chart 4b. Aguacatenango. Affinal terms, Ego
male and female.
Terms in parentheses came from only one informant
each.
(from five genealogies, Metzger 1956.)
Chart 5. Chanal: Consanguineal terms, Ego male.

(from Metager 1957, one word-list)
Notes

1. Oxchuc was studied over a period of eighteen months, 1942-44, by Alfonso Villa Rojas (Villa 1946). Cancuc is the subject of a three-month study by Galoja Juiteras Holmes in 1945-6. Duane and Barbara Metzger gathered the data on Aguacatenango during the period from September to February 1956-7.

2. We do not assume that roads of necessity effect acculturation, for we have observed that Amatenango, neighbor to Aguacatenango and on the Pan-American highway, is in many ways more conservative than the latter. Rather, we have here been convinced by our informants that change has come with the road.

3. Pineda (1888) gives no terms for cousins and does not specify the sex of the connecting relative for "uncle", "aunt", "niece", and "nephew". His terms for father, mother, siblings (with one exception to be discussed below), children, spouses, and most of the affinals are the same as in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Aguacatenango. The terms for father-in-law, grandparents, and grandchildren are different (nial, mam, mam respectively, making the terms for these relationships completely reciprocal rather than partially so, as at present), but we hesitate to look upon these as indications of change in our three communities because the exact source of Pineda's material is not specified.


5. In Oxchuc, certain of these lineages are subdivided into branches which are considered aparte, separate from each other, and which own land separately and pass it down among themselves. These are perhaps the result of fission of the original lineages.

6. One feature of the Chalchihuitan terminology seems to foreshadow self-reciprocity in this relationship. The wife of one's mother's brother is called chic, the reciprocal (SCh) being chichol. The latter term can be broken down into probable constituents: chic + ol, "child", woman speaking. Thus the terms are nearly self-reciprocal, modified only by the distinction for generation, and the relationship may have been correspondingly symmetrical. The relation of this situation to the IB - SCh terms is, of course, problematic.

7. This tendency for relative age distinctions to override genealogical ones is found also in Chanal, a 150-year-old offshoot of Oxchuc. For this community we have only a list of kinship terms, no genealogies, from one informant, and we do not include it in the study proper for this reason. (However, see chart 5.) One informant says that once one's bankil becomes a principal, one stops using the relationship term and calls him tatik as a sign of respect.

The Chanal system is interesting also in that the two kinds of kichan found in Cancuc (see page 11) are still present, but here the grandchildren of the father's sister are called kichan rather than "grandchild", bringing about a uniformity
across the first descending generation which is not present in the above. Here, also, MB is kichan; we have no terms for the female Ego but suspect that they are the same on the basis of self-reciprocity. The terms for grandparents' siblings and their descendants follow the Omaha pattern. MBw is wish, suggesting that she may, as has been proposed, be a FS at the same time; however, we know nothing about cross-cousin marriage here. MB is me-jur—a peculiar extension which may be a step toward bilateralization and may on the other hand be simply a mistake.

8. One of these is a descendant of the town's leading family, and her grandparents' siblings are known to nearly everyone in town, although nearly all are dead. The other married a woman related to him through his paternal grandfather's brother and the genealogies were explored before this was done to make sure it was proper.

9. This is not at all clear, being based on the one genealogy for which we could jog the informant's memory with the names of the relatives in question and also on the occasional reference by other informants to "brothers" who did not appear on their genealogies. Our method—an attempt to descend from grandparents' siblings—prevented us from eliciting this group of relatives.

10. In the light of Apple's hypothesis (Apple 1956), it is interesting that the one grandfather we saw playing with a grandchild is a man who has given up all authority over his sons. The grandfather previously mentioned is still in command.
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Section 26

Changing Processes of Leadership Recruitment

In

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(San Bartolomé de los Llanos)

Chiapas
In 1957, a field project designed to study the relationships between society, culture and natural environment over long time periods was inaugurated. The project expresses the continuing interest of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in the highland areas of Chiapas, Mexico. The fieldwork is being carried out under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

A small transect, which included several Indian groups representing two different Mayan dialects, was carved out of the state of Chiapas. This area ranges in altitude from two thousand to seven thousand feet above sea level, with plant coverages differing by altitude. The municipal unit which will be discussed in this paper, San Bartolomé de los Llanos, lies between two and two-and-a-half thousand feet above sea level.

The following municipios surround San Bartolomé: Acala, Totolapa, Nicolás Ruiz, Teopisca, Las Rosas, and La Concordia. A large municipio, San Bartolomé itself boasts almost 160,000 hectares, most of which were received from the Spanish crown in the form of two land grants. In 1769 the populace received 1,300 caballerías of property as a royal grant, and in 1849 the town was given title to a smaller amount. In both instances the title was vested in the community—i.e., lands were communally owned. All lands within the municipio today are divided into two general classes, tierra baja and el ríoprecal.
The lands of the municipio are watered by two great river systems. The Río Grijalva enters the municipal boundaries from Las Rosas, flowing in a westerly direction until it enters the terrain of Acala. While coursing through the municipio it is fed by two smaller streams, the Dorado and the Concordia. The second of the two great systems is that of the Río Blanco. The Blanco flows south-westerly, entering from Teopisca, and empties its waters into the Grijalva at a place called Pajarito. A number of smaller tributaries, which for the most part carry water only during the rainy season, are found in the municipio. The relationship of river water to patterns of land use and social relations between groups in this municipio is extremely important.

At least as far back as 1778 the population of the municipio could be classified as heterogeneous. A census reported in that year (Juan María Morales) lists 4,333 "Indians," 174 "Whites," and 105 "Mestizos," with 167 "Negroes and Mulattos." In part, such a mixed population may be understood by the fact that until the last decade of the eighteenth century the municipio was a cotton-growing and -exporting center of prime importance. A resident labor force was attached to several cotton gins in that period (Juan María Morales). In fact, Gout and Avendaño Company's gin continued in operation until the first years of this century.

Contemporary San Bartolomé is divided into two ethnic groups—Tzotzil-speaking Indians and Ladinos—and into two socio-economic classes—peasant and non-peasant. All Indians of San Bartolomé are peasants (campesinos); and most of these Indian campesinos work lands whose title is vested in the community. Some Indians have joined and participate actively in other types of land-holding groups—ejidos—founded during
the agrarian reform movement of this century. Those falling into the
category of ejidatarios, members of an ejido, are not considered by our
informants as part of the Indian community, and for the purposes of
this paper we follow this classification.

In San Bartolome' one is either an Indian or not. Members of each
ethnic group recognize one another by the language they speak or the
costume they wear.

The life of the Indian community rests on a subsistence economy
based on the cultivation of maize, beans, squash, chile, and tomatoes.
These provide the staples of the diet; small surpluses of these crops
provide the meagre cash handled by the populace. The deliberate raising
of a large surplus to sell is not approved by the moral code. However,
for the performance of a public ceremony a surplus is distributed in the
form of food to the rest of the people.

Although the Indians share some religious activities with the
Ladino group (e.g., mass is attended by Indians and Ladinos together),
Indians uniquely celebrate certain rites of rogation at the nearby peak
of Cerro Ch'ulwits. Furthermore, they commemorate certain saints' days—
for example, San Sebastian and San Pedro Martir—by peculiarly Indian
festivities. Among the Tzotzil only, certain characteristic relationships
exist between man and nature, as well as between man and the supernatural.

A few Indians speak and read Spanish, but the great majority speak
only Tzotzil. Indian men and women dress in costumes characteristic of
this municipio. In those residential areas which are more isolated
than others from the Ladino neighborhoods, the Indian women tend to do
their daily chores unclad from the waist up. Such a custom was probably
more general in this warm land until the last part of the nineteenth century. At that time, Morales reports, measures were taken by the priest, in collaboration with the Ladino authorities, to insure that these women cover their breasts when in public, as well as requiring a head covering for church. So repressive were these measures that a portion of the Indian group fled the town to live in isolated fashion near their fields (ibid.).

In years past most of the Indian women shared the art of weaving the locally grown cotton, though today relatively few practice the craft. Another craft practiced in San Bartolome' was the weaving from palm of the especially heavy sombreros which characterized the men of the municipio. This skill also is diminishing, and most of the younger and middle-aged men purchase sombreros manufactured outside the region and sold by Ladino merchants. This has resulted in a sharp drop in trade with the Comitan area, from where most of the palm was imported. Only a very few women make pottery, and none weave baskets. Both of these classes of items are traditionally traded from the Amatenango people for chiles, totiques, squash, and maize. To the best of my knowledge, no Ladinos practice any of these home industries.

The Ladinos in the municipio may be divided into two socio-economic classes. The less affluent segment shares some social and cultural characteristics with the Indian campesinos. These similarities are due mainly to their agricultural occupation, the low level of technology, and a common poverty. Ladino inhabitants of the municipal seat, the cabecera, live closer to the town plaza than do Indians. The immediate borders of the plaza are occupied by the non-peasants; further afield are the less pretentious houses and huts of the Ladino peasantry.
The subordinate class of the Ladino group is landless. In general, it depends either upon lands in tierra baja which are for rent, or else upon the communal lands which lie mostly in el pedregal. Those renting in tierra baja use plows and teams, also rented. Ladinos cultivating the pedregal lands use techniques similar to those used by Indians. An iron-tipped digging stick (barreta) and the all-purpose machete are used by Indians in that pedregal land which presents a relatively open face to cultivation. In the areas more broken by formations of volcanic rock, the barreta and luc are used together. The latter's hooked form is suited to the close quarters near these outcroppings of rock.

The clothing of this campesino Ladino group is purchased from local merchants and indistinguishable from rural Mexican costumes in general. These Ladinos are generally illiterate, and speak only Spanish. The location of their residences—between the outer peripheries of the town (the Indian-occupied barrios) and the finer houses of the non-cultivating Ladinos close to the plaza—illustrates their socially intermediate position in the municipio.

The group of Ladinos living closest to the plaza is engaged in commerce, public administration, and the professions—medicine, law, and pedagogy. This group is generally literate and Spanish-speaking. A few are able to bargain with the Indian women in Tzotzil as the latter make their daily rounds with such small items for sale as tortillas, fruits, eggs, etc. (There is no regular market, as it is known in other parts of the Republic, in San Bartolomé.) Members of the dominant Ladino group make regular visits to such provincial cities as Tuxtla Gutiérrez and San Cristóbal, and most of them have some acquaintance with Mexico City, if not through personal experience, then through the newspapers,
radio, or movies. The social circle of the more affluent has contact with like circles in other near-by cabeceras, as well as with many persons in the state capitol and in San Cristóbal.

Although they are few in number, those Ladinos who live on ranches and raise cattle on privately owned lands are of great importance to inter-group relations in San Bartolomé. The need of these stock-raisers for more land to sustain larger herds of cattle has been indirectly increased by the completion of the Pan American Highway, with a feeder road into San Bartolomé. These new communication facilities, leading to such population centers as Tapachula, Puebla, and Mexico City, have increased the sales value of cattle far beyond anything previously known. The open-range technique of grazing, and the prohibitive cost of barbed wire for most agriculturalists (locally considered the only adequate fencing against trespassing cattle, horses, and mules), have pitted cattle-raisers against the peasants. The fact that town-dwelling Ladino dominants have investments in private lands in the municipio, as well as their friendships with the wealthy cattle-raising families, pits these two segments of Ladinos against the Indian and Ladino campesinos.

The erosion of many aspects of Indian culture through so many years of close contact with Ladino life, as well as the common dependence upon subsistence agriculture, no private land-holdings, general illiteracy, and an orientation to local rather than national problems, has led to some general likeness between Ladino and Indian campesinos. In addition, the fact that members of these groups either share neighborhoods or live close to one another reinforces such similarity. (Cf. Tax, 1941; Redfield, 1939.) A current policy by which Indian and Ladino cultivators may work adjoining milpas, cooperate in building enclosures for their
fields, and at times the inclusion of Ladinos and Indians in the same structured field groups (grupitos) further lessens differences. The declining importance of cultural differentiation and the increasing importance of the common threat to the lands have helped make San Bartolomé a unique type of municipio in the highlands of Chiapas (de la Fuente, Relaciones Étnicas en los Altos de Chiapas). In view of the comparative materials relating to inter-group relations in the region (ibid.), and the comments expressed by the Bartolomeños themselves, it seems highly likely that previous inter-group relations were such that each of the ethnic groups in San Bartolomé existed as parallel, functioning entities. The nature of changes found here raises the question of whether the role of leadership has also changed in the municipio.

The following sections present a discussion of some functioning aspects of the Indian society, concentrating mainly on the manner in which leaders were recruited and the attributes which a leader was expected to possess in the more traditional Indian society of San Bartolomé. Some of those elements continue to assert themselves in the dynamics of the contemporary society, whereas others are rapidly being forgotten and can be recalled only with difficulty by the inhabitants.

Homans (1950) provides a convenient framework in which to consider leadership.

The leader is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest. His embodiment of the norms gives him his high rank, and his rank attracts people; the leader is the man people come to; the scheme of interaction focuses on him. At the same time, his high rank carries with it the implied right to assume control of the group, and the exercise of control itself helps maintain the leader’s prestige. This control he is peculiarly well-equipped to wield by reason of his position at the top of the pyramid of interaction. He is better informed than other men, and he has more channels for
the issuing of orders. He controls the group, yet he is in a sense more controlled by it than others are, since it is a condition of his leadership that his actions and decisions shall conform more closely than those of others to an abstract norm. Moreover, all these elements, and not just one or two of them, come into leadership; all are related to one another and reinforce one another for good or ill. (pp. 188-189)

In this paper, "position" is interchangeable with Linton's "status" (Linton, 1936; p. 113). "A status, in the abstract, is a position in a particular pattern. A status, as distinct from the person who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties." In this paper we have chosen to use position for status because of its implication of location in a system. In later sections of this discussion it is seen that certain social positions remain the same in name, although changing circumstances also change the "rights and duties" earlier appertaining to them. "When he [the individual] puts the rights and duties which constitute the status [read position] into effect, he is performing a role. Roles and status are quite inseparable, and the distinction between them is of only academic interest." (Ibid.)

The Indian community was characterized by a number of structured groups, each of which had a leadership position. Rising from smallest to largest, the groups were: the nuclear family, the crupite, the barrio, and the entire community.

Most of the daily activities pursued by an Indian in San Bartolomé are accomplished in the company of, or in cooperation with, others of his bilateral kin group. A household always includes a set of parents and their unmarried children. In many instances it will also include either a married daughter and her family, or a married son with his family. In a few instances more than two nuclear families may be found living in the same household; that is to say, several married children
with their offspring, and spouses, or several siblings with their own nuclear families. In Barrios Convento and San Pedro Martir, the residence patterns were as follows:°

Parents with unmarried adult children 55
Parents with married son, his spouse, and children 22
Parents with married daughter, her spouse, children 14

The nuclear family is an autonomous socio-economic unit. A father and his unmarried sons cultivate the lands together (women do not participate in field work). Each family maintains a storage bin for harvested maize, and keeps its grain apart from other nuclear families. A son continues under the authority of his father until he is married. Ideally, at that point in his life cycle he becomes independent of his father, socially, economically, and otherwise. He now should begin to cultivate his own milpa, and the crop is to be used by himself for the sustenance of his own wife and children. In cases where married sons or sons-in-law live with a parent or parent-in-law, each labors in his own milpa and maintains his own nuclear family with the harvest. In actuality, all the cases I observed wherein strenuous chores were undertaken—e.g., the roofing of a house, the cultivating of a milpa—the task was almost always accomplished alone or with unmarried sons. In those cases where more than one adult married man was engaged in a task, their relationship was of employer-employee type, with payment in money or kind.

Material from the genealogies indicates that relative age is a major rule for the ordering of relationships in Indian society. Ego,

°A total of 130 households were canvassed. Of these, only 91 provided data which showed reasonably clearly who lived where.
whether male or female, addresses persons older than self in terms of respect, which override formal generational differences. Thus, a male ego addresses his father's and mother's brothers, as well as his own brothers older than himself, in terms of respect, using the general term banquil. Similarly, he addresses his father's and mother's sisters, as well as his own sisters older than himself, as vix. If ego is female the principle remains the same, the term changing to ximal. The kinship terminology of San Bartolomé characteristically extends kinship terms to unrelated persons, depending upon their known or inferred age relative to the speaker. Thus, a young man will address his male elders as banquil if they are known by him to be, or are thought to be, of the same general age as himself. Those of greater age are called by the respect term tata. Children are addressed by the terms nan and totin, and in many cases informants could not recall the names of youngsters who were their cousins. The greater concern with ascending generations than with descending suggests the greater social importance of the former. When questioned about kinship relationships, informants almost invariably showed a lack of interest, boredom, and great restiveness. In contrast, these same informants showed keen interest and remarkable memories when questions were asked about their associations in the grupitos. Men who had difficulty responding to questions concerning second cousins answered with celerity to intricate questions about the relative location of milpas of members of their grupito. Such impressions suggest that the role of kinship in ordering social relations plays a secondary part to that of neighborhood.

The relation of an older man to a younger in this society is of a respect nature, symbolized by the kin terms in use. From experience, an older man is better informed than a younger in matters concerning the
planting and care of crops. An orphaned young man, married and with children, told me that he was planting his milpa in a certain location because it was near an older, unrelated man of his acquaintance: "He is tata and will show me how," was the explanation.

Although field evidence demonstrates that in actuality there is little cooperation between milperos, whatever their kin ties, and that married sons do in fact drop from the family's economy, nevertheless there remains a close relationship between married sons and their fathers. (See Appendix A.) The number of father-son and paired sibling neighbors in the milpas is significant in view of norms calling for the independence of a man from his father upon marriage. In the light of comparative material (Villa, 1947; Guiteras Holmes, n.d.; Zumbiner, n.d.) it is possible that the people of San Bartolomé might once have been organized into lineages, as are these neighboring groups.

All members of the Indian community possess, or have recently lost, a double surname. The first surname is Spanish—e.g., Hidalgo, Velázquez, Espinosa; the second is non-Spanish—e.g., Coctum, Im, Sip. Persons in the community are thus named Bartolomé Hidalgo Coctum, Manuel Velazquez Im, and José Espinosa Sip. A great number of the second surnames, sobrenombres, are names of animals, plants, or places found in the vicinity. Following are examples of these sobrenombres, with Spanish translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Penpen</td>
<td>mariposa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaven</td>
<td>chipilín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinich</td>
<td>hormiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initam</td>
<td>iguana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasamut</td>
<td>quis (a larva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guac</td>
<td>tortilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hol chi</td>
<td>cabeza de venado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His</td>
<td>gato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sip</td>
<td>garrapata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaal</td>
<td>manta para la cabeza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Any suggestion of a special, familiar relationship between animals or plants and those possessing their names was categorically denied by members of the community. Nor was there any evidence of a pattern of avoidance between a person and the object whose name he shared.

Each of the Spanish surnames subsumes a number of sobrenombres; only rarely will a sobrenombre be found to be subsumed under more than one surname. Thus, in the attached list, only three of the former (indicated by asterisks) are found to repeat themselves under two surnames. This list, gathered during the household census of Barrio San Pedro Mártir, portrays the rather high ratio of Indian names—sixty-three—which are subsumed under a small number—sixteen—of Spanish denominatives. Although it is considered highly improper for two persons bearing the same sobrenombre to marry, more laxity is permitted those with like surnames.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surnames</th>
<th>Sobrenombres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calvó</td>
<td>Soy, Nuctam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De la Torre</td>
<td>Tucutan Chenec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espinosa</td>
<td>*Paalam Sip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>García</td>
<td>Guach Cots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gómez</td>
<td>Las *Ni Ocosingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernández</td>
<td>Tsuumun Xinich Coton Mobat (Vobat) Veramo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidalgo</td>
<td>Silvamu, Coctum, Tuluc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiménez</td>
<td>Jahil, Mia, Balom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martínez</td>
<td>Guac, Ichim, Ch'oc, Oxlas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendoza</td>
<td>Yol, Ug, Botosat, Oren, Cumhol, Poxil, Cajhuailin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales</td>
<td>Isim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pérez</td>
<td>Inac, Cucilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramírez</td>
<td>Tucutàn, Co ce, Chajol, Tema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solano</td>
<td>*Palam, *Penpen, Uehta, Ximas, Unchikiin, Eche, Yuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vázquez</td>
<td>Chuup, Ucum, Chinamit, Votin, Chaal, *Penpen, Lave, Munich, Tulan, Jol chi, *Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velásquez</td>
<td>Molal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From this point these materials and those from the more highland regions of Chalchihuitán and Chañal are no longer comparable. Whatever function these names played in the past to unite people into extended kin groups no longer operates in San Bartolomé. Groups of people with the same sobrenombre are generally from the same barrio, so that it can be said that the Palams are to be found in Barrio Convento, and the Chaals in Calvario. But neither the Palams as such, nor the Chaals as such, act as a name group. There are no corporate activities associated with any of the name groups in this municipio. Beyond the nuclear family, no corporate group interposes between the barrio and the individual except for the grupito. (Cf. Guiteras Holmes, p. 206.)

Metzger comments, "In general association and reference groups tend to be more locality-oriented than kin-oriented, and there seems to be an increasing 'individualism' in that people have wider choices in the area of association." But folkloric references are quite clear in the implication that a civil congregation of the scattered Indians occurred at some time in the historic past. The tale referring to the founding of the cabecera is as follows:

Those people who founded this town came from Guatemala. San Bartolomé, when he arrived here, built the first church to be found here, that of San Pedro Mártir. He then brought all the people who had been living disseminated in the monte together to form a población. There were no poblaciones here before his arrival, it was all monte. All of the people whom he brought together spoke the same language. San Bartolomé wanted all the people around him because he liked to be surrounded by company.

It is likely that the clustering of patrilineally related milperos is a vestige of an older pattern wherein patrilineally related families lived in separated rancherías.
In the light of comparative material from the highland Chiapas region, it seems that the grupitos of San Bartolomé resemble in some forms the parajes of Oxchuc (Villa, 1947) and the cabiltos of Chanal (Gumbiner, n. d.) in that they are groups of people farming specific areas of land to which they are tightly linked by traditional bonds. However, the grupitos of San Bartolomé appear to be associated with a piece of land through their membership in the specific barrio which holds usufructuary rights to that land area. A grupito wanders over the land area associated with its barrio, but does not claim the land for itself. On the other hand, the parajes of Oxchuc and the cabiltos of Chanal seem to have more specific allegiance through natural landmarks (e.g., caves, hillocks) to sites of land than do the grupitos. The difference may well be a function of the decreasing amounts of communal lands with access to water supplies available to the Bartolomeños. For almost all of the riverside lands have been lost to Ladino landholders or government-administered ejidos.

Therefore, it is highly significant that the one grupito of which we have record as occupying land with easy access to potable water is inhabited the year round by viable family units. The grupito is headed by Manuel Hidalgo Coctum (Barrio Calvario) and is situated on the banks of the Río Blanco at a site named Yuchen Grande. In this ranchería-grupito the population more nearly suggests the patrilineal orientation of those of Oxchuc about which Villa writes (supra) than any of the others less fortunately located with regard to water. All other grupitos of which we have record are composed of males; mothers, wives, and daughters remain in the cabecera close to a regular water supply. The membership of this unique grupito is as follows:
1. Manuel Hidalgo Coctum  Head of the grupito
5. Jose Hidalgo Coctum  Nephew of 1.
7. Manuel Hidalgo Coctum  Brother of 1, father of 5.
10. Carmen de la Torre Chatox  Wife of 9, distant relative of 6.
13. Miguel Calvo Iguin  No data.
15. Domingo Calvo Iguin  Brother of 13 and 16. Bachelor.
16. Jose Calvo Iguin  Brother of 13 and 15.

Although each of the five barrios into which the municipio is divided tends to be strongly endogamous, census materials (Barrio San Pedro Martinez) show no significant residential preference between the alternatives presented—following marriage, residence may be established with either of the spouse's parents, or a couple may settle in a place apart from either set of parents. It is here contended that in a situation such as San Bartolome, wherein most of the Indian population lives in the cabecera, and where each of the five neighborhoods disapproves of marriage to outsiders, a choice of residence locality is relatively unimportant. For although a young couple may choose to live with, or next door to, the woman's parents, the husband will be within five minutes' walk of his parents' home, and vice versa. It is noteworthy that in the only grupito which we know to have easy access to drinking water, Yuchen Grande, associations tend to be more kin-oriented than locality-oriented. This is logically so, for its membership includes six men related in the patriline who, with their wives, make up well over half the total population.
There is one more grupito we should consider because of the light it throws on changing leadership patterns. Manuel Espinosa Palam, a young man of Barrio Convento, remembers how in the recent past the grupito of which he was a member contained only men related through his father. The grupito was headed by his father, Pascual Espinosa Palam. Other members were Domingo and Bartolo, both brothers to the leader of the grupito, and the seven mature sons of these three older men. The grupito was headed by the informant's father, although the oldest member was his father's brother, Domingo. Although Domingo's ascribed rank through age was greater than his brother's, the latter's relative status was heightened by his membership in the council of Principales. Further, the latter's ability to read Spanish placed him in a position by which he could control more information than the older man, and provided him with a tool—bilingualism—which is apparently one of the currently essential attributes for jefe of a grupito. (The only jefe de grupito of whom we have record who does not command a minimum of the national language is the above-mentioned Principal, Manuel Hidalgo Coctum. But the latter delegates duties relating to such problem areas as negotiating with Ladino cattlemen, or arranging administrative matters with the State Forestry Service, to his son, Manuel, who is bilingual.)

In spite of forces bringing new patterns of association into being, fathers and their married sons still tend to cultivate adjoining milpas. The father, as an older man, wiser through experience, guides the activities of his unmarried sons. The respect allotted an older man, supplemented by the weight that experience lends his counsel in matters of agriculture, maintains his position of leadership, but the continued success of his tactics confirms the correctness of his position. Homans ably phrases
it as follows: "The social rank of the leader helped bring it about that his decision was followed, but a decision, if successful in the eyes of the followers, in turn confirmed his rank." (Homans, p. 187)

The simple economy and the unchanging traditional slash-and-burn method of cultivation help to sustain older men in positions of leadership. The impingement of such foreign, or new, elements as treating with the State Forestry Department have created problems of communication which most of the older men are not equipped to handle. Problems of this nature are managed by heads of *grupitos* to which families belong. To the best of our knowledge, all but two *jefes de grupito* are bilingual. (The exceptions are the head of the *grupito* in Yucén Grande, and the Ladino, José Cordoba.)

The *municipio* of San Bartolomé, including the *cabecera*, is divided into five *barrios*: Convento, Señor del Pozo, San Pedro Mártil, and the two smallest units, Señor del Calvario and San Sebastián. Each of these *barrios* was, and to some extent still is, a traditionally semi-autonomous unit. In the past, say the inhabitants, it was a case of "cada quien cuida a su barrio." Stringent measures were taken by the young men of one *barrio* in case of encroachment by those of another. Furthermore, each of the *barrios* farmed lands whose cultivation was restricted to the use of that group. The lands claimed by each of the *barrios* were administered by its own Principales. When one wished to cultivate land associated with another *barrio*, he was required to petition the Principales of that unit. This situation of inter-*barrio* hostility has been largely broken down by Ladino reformers and politically-oriented Indians who have attempted to weld the *barrios* into a single unified group. However, there remains today a strong sense of association between members of a
barrio and the lands traditionally cultivated by them.

The major regions which are today cultivated by Indian campesinos are distributed in the following manner: San Pedro Martir cultivates lands in the Chipilinal and Jextontic regions of the municipio. The men of Convento use the lands in Aacalton, Vega Chachi, and Vega del Paso. They also share the Pajaltón and Chelmuyo regions with the barrios of Calvario and San Sebastian. It is reported that this kind of doubling up of barrios in the same lands is a new element caused by the general shrinking of communal lands. Calvario and San Sebastian are the smallest of the five barrios in population. The Indians of Barrio Señor del Pozo lay claim to the Jechovel area for their milpas. The actual relationship of barrio allegiance and the lands claimed by a barrio is in fact quite close.

The fission of leadership between the acknowledged jefe of Yucbén Grande and his son reflects the growing importance of the rift between the younger, bilingual Indians and the older, monolingual, tradition-oriented men. As young Manuel Hidalgo Coctum said, there are some things "which are too difficult for the Principales to manage. The older men cannot read or speak Spanish, they are not equipped for such problems!"

At one time San Bartolome's Indian community was vertically structured by a socio-religious hierarchy. At the base were a number of youngsters who performed the menial duties associated with municipal organization. These mayorcitos were the "hands and feet of the authorities," and their chores consisted of running errands, sweeping the floor of the municipal office, and carrying messages to and from the authorities. The mayorcitos entered the channels towards leadership positions at about the age of twelve. From then on their life was organised by a
series of offices of increasing responsibility until it culminated in the position of Principal. The ladder is today so out of use that even men who passed through the ranks have difficulty in recalling their order. As it has been reconstructed, the organization of social duties was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Offices</th>
<th>Religious Offices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Alcalde</td>
<td>Priostes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Regidores</td>
<td>Banquilales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Mayor</td>
<td>Maltomares Primeros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty-five Mayorcitos</td>
<td>Maltomares Segundos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sacristanes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Músicos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The available information does not indicate whether the religious and civil offices were linked in an ascending chain of alternating positions, or whether each was separate and parallel.

Each of several saints in San Bartolomé were cared for by four religious officials: serving under a Prioste were a Banquilal and a first and second Maltomar. Those saints which were cared for in this way were San Sebastián, Calvario, Sta. Cruz, Cahualtic (Santa Tierra), Jalalmetic (Candelaria), San Bartolomé, San Pedro Mártir, Pascual, Sta. Catalina, Virgen del Rosario, Sta. Rosa, and probably others. Primary responsibility was undertaken by a Prioste, who made the major expenditure in the feast which was offered to the image and which involved a distribution of surplus maize and capital in the form of earnings from the sale of a fattened animal or other proceeds gained during the year of the Prioste's duties. Most of the proceeds, however, seem to have been from surplus maize which was grown during the year by the Prioste in charge of the image. The four officials obligated to the saint's care for a year were
known by that image's name for that period. A man who was one year a Maltomar Segundo would at a later phase of his life assume the obligations of a Maltomar Primero, with increasing importance in the socio-religious life of the community and with attendant increase in position and respect.

As a man moved through the hierarchy, gradually ascending from one level of responsibility, respect, and authority to another, he was also growing older. But in the lower socio-political positions, although a man acquired position and respect in the community the higher he rose, his authority seems to have been restricted to those who served as his immediate subordinates. There is no evidence, for instance, that a Prioste could make a decision which was binding upon another member of the community (e.g., a person not in the hierarchy, or a mayorcito) because of his position in the hierarchy. On the other hand, the more responsible positions an individual assumed, the more clearly manifest was his concern with the public welfare, the more respect was accorded him by the community, and the more authority the system vested in his decisions. In San Bartolomé, one of the most pervasive social values was the limitation on the accumulation of individual wealth and the restriction of the utilization of surplus to public ceremonials. Furthermore, private ambition for power, which pursued avenues other than those mentioned above, was held in check by two devices of social control: envidia (envy), which led to illness, and witchcraft. Social values were nowhere else so explicit as in the process by which an individual filled the series of positions leading to community-wide respect, responsibility, and authority, culminating in the exalted role of a Principal.
The socio-religious hierarchy performed two services for the maintenance of an on-going social life. In the first place, it was through this system that the necessary ritual observances were discharged. Members of the hierarchy were agents delegated by the whole community to perform these rites. Also, interaction between individuals or groups in the society was controlled by the presence of a highly regarded group of officials whose settlement of disputes was supported by socially and culturally legitimized authority. Secondly, the hierarchy functioned as a training ground for future high-level leaders. Starting in his pre-teen years, a man passed through a series of positions of increasing responsibility and publicly demonstrated his ability to exercise authority.

Homans says, "The leader is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest." (Homans, p. 188.) San Bartolomé provided a clear pattern for advancement to leadership. At the highest level of leadership, the society no longer relied solely upon the respect engendered by either advanced age or high office. Authority supported the decisions of the Principales, backed by the sanctions of a supernatural world which was an extension of the Bartolomeños' social universe. Such authority was restricted to the "good" men of the community; the power which came with authority was bestowed upon those whose passage through the socio-religious organization had shown them to be persons least likely to abuse it for personal advantage. So awful were these powers that the Principales, intermediaries between man and nature, were literally enabled to move mountains. The following story describes the mediating role of these ritual elders and the powers they controlled.
In days of yore the elders and the Principales were powerful, and they used this power for the sake of the community. In those days they used to move whole mountains, and they moved the neighboring peak of Laja Tendida to its present site. They knew how because they controlled naguales represented by lightning bolts, clouds, and thunder claps, but now no one is powerful enough to accomplish such feats. Before the elders and Principales used to be able to straighten things out for the pueblo, but no more. In those days the elders and Principales used to be able to go to the sacred mountain to get things for the benefit of the people. In those days we had everything, we were very rich, everybody was good, we had only Indians in the community then; there were no Ladinos here. In those times the Principales used to go to the mount for everything; they knew how to get what they wanted.

In the final analysis, the welfare of the people rested upon a balance between the secular and sacred worlds. So long as the problems raised fell within the scope of traditional experience, over which older people had more control than younger, there was little need for changing the mechanisms by which leaders were traditionally recruited.

In the years following the revolution (1910-1917) against the Porfirio Díaz regime, a determined effort was made by successive national governments of Mexico to bring isolated regions into the national web of communication. Ambitious projects were undertaken by the national government to construct roads, airfields, and schools throughout the country and were designed to link the patrias chicas of the hinterlands to the national stage. An essential part of the governmental programs was to shift many local administrative decisions away from district and municipal authorities, thus orienting the localities to Mexico City. Local politics were to become increasingly dependent upon the nation's official party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Special attention was paid by the national governments during the past twenty-five years to the problems raised by enclaves of Indians who were effectively isolated from other groups by distinctive cultural patterns, monolingualism, and
poverty. Changes in the manner by which leadership was recruited in San Bartolomé cannot be understood except with reference to the social revolutionary programs which have swept Mexico in the past half-century, but the special way the changes occurred there must also take account of the dynamics of the municipio's social life. The change there was a meeting of the ways between national governmental aspirations and the aspirations of the local Indians.

Early in the twentieth century a strong man, Bartolo Chaal, arose from the council of Principales to become a jefe político in San Bartolomé. Chaal's bilingualism, as well as a striking ability to manipulate Ladino-type political symbols, enabled him to amass great political and social power in the region. Whatever may have been his own personal ambitions, this jefe político was one of the Indians in the municipio responsive to the new ideological wave from Mexico City. By his internalization and utilization of sophisticated political cues and symbols (cf. Wolf #156, p. 1073), Chaal secured powerful political support from the national government. The "goods" in this transaction flowed both ways, for the Indians were led to regard the official party of the nation in a new light. It was to be in Mexico City that the battle to retain the communal lands could be won. The Indians responded by sending delegations to the capital to plead the case of the community before the nation's highest leaders.

Chaal, one of the first delegates to go to the national capital, was the first innovator of whom we have record in San Bartolomé. His tactics were those of a strong man; nevertheless, his previous passage through the traditional system by which authority was legitimized seems definitely to have gained him support for his novel use of authority. It is said by
present inhabitants that the Principales' council was split in its support of Chaal's assumption of an extraordinary leadership role in the municipio. His personal strength was contrary to the traditional diffusion of authority; but, on the other hand, his strategy promised a solution to the problem of the disappearing communal lands. Chaal was the agency through which the national government could secure local support for its programs of directed change, and at the same time this leader was enabled to get powerful aid in national circles for the solution of local problems.

During Chaal's reign as a powerful leader, the Indian ayuntamiento, consisting of Mayorcitos, Regidores, Alcaldes, and Principales, continued to function as administrator of certain areas of social and religious life in the municipio. The jurisdiction of this Indian organization was by now seriously challenged in such areas as the administration of the communal lands and the settling of civil torts. The Ladino ayuntamiento, located in an office directly across the plaza from the Indian seat of government, was making serious inroads into the traditional jurisdiction of the Indian authorities. Nevertheless, until the arrival of a crusading Ladino school teacher named Zamado, both Ladino and Indian ayuntamientos maintained separate, but more or less equal, offices on the main plaza of the cabecera.

At the height of the agrarian reform movement which was sweeping the Republic in the 1930's (cf. Whetten, 1948; particularly his Chapter VII), a federal teacher assumed a post in the San Bartolomé school. Zamado identified himself with the problems of the peasants of the municipio, as contrasted with the primary concern of Bartolo Chaal with Indian problems. Zamado embarked on the creation of a local campesino
front, including Ladinos and Indians. Unification of the peasants into a political action group based on class required the overcoming of hostilities and suspicions between members of each ethnic group, but it also necessitated the fusing of the five hostile barrios. An informant said, "Before a man could not settle on a sitio or put up a house in a barrio other than his own. You could not work a piece of land belonging to another barrio unless permission was given by the Principales. When Zamudo came here he awakened the naturales! Now we are united, we are all one pueblo!"

One of the first acts of Zamudo in his new post as federal teacher was to open the federal school to Indians as well as Ladinos for the first time. In reference to this act, a middle-aged Indian commented: "I am like a beast, I cannot read, and I cannot write. Before none of us could speak Spanish. Now we don't speak it perfectly, but it is better than it was before. Look at my son! He, for example, can recognize his signature from afar." In a further move aimed at enabling the Indians to engage more quickly in inter-group activities, the school teacher inaugurated a vocational school which taught such subjects as blacksmithing, barbering, and carpentering. Participation by Indian and Ladino young men in these classes permitted young Tzotzil-speaking persons to learn conversational Spanish.

The additional opportunities provided young Indian men to learn Spanish dealt a blow to the traditional pattern of office-holding; for although an older man who had passed through the succession of religious and secular duties was accorded due respect and authority, those roles requiring the use of Spanish in dealing with the Ladino world were passed
to Spanish speakers, who tended to be the younger men. Today, for example, Barrio Convento is represented by a total of seven Principales. This group of seven is sometimes described as being divided into the young Principales and the old Principales. The latter are Miguel Mendoza Youl, Feliz Vázquez Tulan, and Miguel Mendoza Martínez. All are monolingual, respected men. The younger four are Bartolomé Martínez Huexte, Juan Vázquez Uin, Francisco Vázquez Uin, and Domingo Martínez Huexte. The cabecillo, or head, of the seven leaders is reported to be the young man, Bartolomé Martínez Huexte. He says, in explanation, "I order all of the six other Principales because I understand Spanish, and the older men don't understand it as well as I. The Padre calls me in and tells me what he wants done, and then I carry this thought to the Principales. It is because I understand Spanish that I order the others."

In another highly significant move, Zamudo set out to put into practice locally what was then an important ideal of the national revolution--no work was to be performed by others for an individual without remuneration. The major effect of this edict was to strike at the traditional Indian value of obligatory service to the community. This ruling by Zamudo nullified the social-leveling system by which individual time, energy, ambition, and capital were devoted to community welfare. There were no longer clear-cut, culturally defined, channels by which the community could recruit its leaders. In a final blow, the powerful Zamudo closed and padlocked the door of the Indian ayuntamiento.

All, however, was not destruction during this history-making epoch of the municipio's life. It has already been mentioned that the five barrios began to overlook their differences in the face of the threatened
loss of the communal lands to Ladino landowners and cattle-raisers. "Ya somos unidos! Ya somos un pueblo!" Of even more importance than the unification of the five barrios in sentiment was the sharing of the communal lands with Ladino campesinos. Its effects are proving to have a remarkable influence upon a number of facets of Indian-Ladino relationships. In the past, the Indians had tended to concentrate upon those lands remaining to them after usurpation by others. The communal lands were an integrating force in their life. Under the guiding leadership of Zamudo, a peasant group was organized devoted to the administration of the communally-held lands. This association, known as Bienes Comunales, includes Indians and Ladinos, those peasants cultivating communal land. The entrance of a group of non-participating members into an active role in the administration of the lands formerly held by the Indian corporate community completed the process of change that had been occurring since the time of Chaal. The openness of the new society is signaled by the plethora of leaders and the variety of ways by which leadership is achieved in the contemporary social life.

The control of users of the land was no longer to be achieved by the sanction of institutional envy (envidia) and witchcraft; nor was the land to be protected from outsiders by the control of spiritual familiars loyal to the municipio. In the first place, the Ladino peasantry, members now of Bienes Comunales, were not motivated by the same values as the Indians. They were not concerned with the problems created by a crop surplus on the part of an individual, nor with its distribution to the group during festivals. Furthermore, their failure to observe such moral injunctions did not bring with it a fear of either of the sanctions, envy or witchcraft. In the second place, the threats to the remaining
communal lands came not from other Indians, but from sophisticated Ladinos who scoffed at the dangers of familiar spirits such as naguales. A legal suit in a local Ladino court of justice usually proved more than ample in the face of the spiritual powers the Indians had been wont to call to their aid.

Notwithstanding the pledges of unity between the respective barrios, each of these units continues to be represented, though in attenuated form, by a corps of Principales. In general, these men are middle-aged or older and had passed through at least some of the traditional offices before the arrival of Zamudio. The more sacred duties of this group have persisted over time, and it now concerns itself mainly with religious matters, working closely with the resident Catholic priest. In religious activities the Principales held undisputed jurisdiction. It is now a qualified leadership, however, for only seldom do they initiate activities in the community; most of the time they serve as intermediaries between the priest and the barrios they represent. Nevertheless, they remain important in the community, and on special occasions, such as the traditional processions to Cerro Chulhuits, they secure the services of the clergy.

In more secular intra-community affairs, the jurisdiction of these elders is challenged by a number of competing forces. Each of the barrios is also represented by a duly appointed or elected representante (we do not know which means is used). As the Principales seem to concentrate on the religious side of life, so the representantes seem to concentrate on secular issues, acting as intermediaries in relations between the Ladino municipal government and the barrios. Several of the most prominent representantes have participated not at all in the tradi-
tional system of leadership recruitment.

Representative of the new type of leader actively competing for positions with the older leaders is Vásquez Munich. He is an Indian who works communal lands and, in addition, owns a small piece of land on which he has planted fruit trees and on which he grazes his pack animals. A representante of Barrio San Pedro Mártir, and presently serving as the only Indian member of the municipal government—the post of sixth regidor is usually reserved for an Indian representative now—he has never participated in the traditional recruitment system of the Indian community. Once I told him that his son had just been thrown into the bote; the charge was wife-beating. Munich thanked me for the message and then strode angrily into the municipal palace. By the time we met again, the grapevine had corroborated the fact that the son was, indeed, an inveterate wife-beater. Vásquez Munich said that he told the municipal president, an eminent Ladino, "What do you think you are doing? You have treated me just like any Indian! You shall see, I, too, have power!" Vásquez Munich, of course, does have power, based not upon ascribed power or position in the Indian community, but rather on his political relationships extending beyond the municipio. This representante holds nominal titles in regional associations of peasants, and thus is a valued ally in local politics to state, regional, and national peasant organizations. The new leaders falling into a class with Vásquez Munich barter their local influence with the community as an opening wedge for action programs of state, regional, and national groups in return for personal power.

Another of the new type of leader of the Indian community, José Lavé is also bilingual like his neighbor Munich. José Lavé is currently
president of the Bienes Comunales group, and is reputed to be one of
the most influential leaders in the Indian community. Lave has gone to
Mexico City several times as a delegate of the peasant group in matters
concerning the disposition of the communal lands. As is true of Munich
as well, the walls of his hut are hung with signed photographs of the ex-
President of the Republic, Ruiz-Cortines. Among his possessions may be
found nominations to several regional peasant action associations, as
well as to other quasi-governmental confederations of peasants with head-
quarters in the state capitol. He is respected by Ladino and Indian
campesinos and is sought as an ally by powerful Ladino land-owners in
their struggle to obtain additional grazing lands for their herds at the
expense of the peasantry. His position is reinforced by his being
 accorded the "tata" usage by the younger men.

The new leadership role in San Bartolomé requires men who understand
two social systems, rather than just one. The new process by which
leadership is recruited among the Indians emphasizes tactical success
rather than the embodiment of social and cultural norms. So far have the
criteria for leaders changed in recent years that non-Indians have con-
fidence, respect, and, at times, leadership among the Indians. Some of
these influential persons do not have formal rank and consequently are
less able to initiate action or to back up their counsel with authority.
To this class of influentials, Indians tend to bring problems of a per-
sonal nature. These influentials have value to the Indians precisely
because they are literate Ladinos and understand how Ladino society
operates.

Mario, a Ladino of about thirty, plays this type of role in San
Bartolomé. The owner of a small piece of land on which he grazes cattle,
he is sought after by individuals in time of personal or family crises. For instance, when an Indian is put in jail by Ladino justice, the family may come to Mario for counsel as to how to get him out. Mario thinks of himself as a protector of the Indians and, as do all of the Indians' friends, treats them in patronizing fashion. Mario is hopeful that the government will install an office of Indian affairs (Asuntos Indígenas) in the cabecera with himself as its agent. He is in open competition for this potential post with another Ladino, Córdoba.

José Córdoba is one of the most influential of the peasants in the municipio. As a member of a number of regionally-organized agrarian groups, he has an unprecedented position in the local campesino group, and his decisions affect Indian as well as Ladino. A Ladino, he serves as secretary of the Bienes Comunales group, and the major part of the job of communicating between Bienes Comunales and the outside world is his. Further, most decisions concerning the administration of the lands both within and without the group's membership are dependent upon his interpretation, as a literate person, of the national agrarian code. His control of pertinent information, his familiarity with the organization's sole means of communicating with national and regional agencies—the typewriter—and his fluent command of the national language ensure him a vital position in the group. Córdoba is a leader in the Bienes Comunales group, and, through this, of the Indian community as well.

In his position of secretary he initiates much vital action in the campesino group. For example, he was instrumental in organizing the local peasant vote during a recent election. This strategy succeeded in electing a delegate to the state legislature whom the local campesinos now regard as their own legislator. The first concrete return on this
strategy was a "gift" to Bienes Comunales of its typewriter, gained through the intercession of "our" delegate.

Of all the leaders discussed above (with the exception of Mario), Córdoba has been furthest from embodying the norms of the Indians. His position as elected secretary of the Bienes Comunales group, and the fact that he is a jefe of one of the largest—sixty-seven members—grupitos, of which only two besides himself are Ladinos, testify to the respect he is accorded by the Indians. He is a young man, but more important, he is considered beyond the range of generalized kin terminology. He merits neither the respect term tata nor even the more egalitarian baqüil. Furthermore, he has no connection with the traditional method of leadership recruitment. Córdoba's success depended upon his abilities as a literate Ladino and an adroit manipulator of his relationships with the Indians. He retains this position by the careful control of the flow of communications, i.e., restricting the use of the typewriter to himself. His literateness and his contact with regional agrarian leaders provide him with more information than anyone else in the group. His continuing success as a leader in the local land question confirms his position.

Although both Córdoba and Mario seek the governmental post of agent for an Asuntos Indígenas office (which to the best of my knowledge is not even in the planning stage), Mario's position is strengthened by his wife's influence and leadership in the municipio. This woman, a ladina from San Cristóbal, generally aligns herself on political or social issues with the campesinos. She is president of the local women's auxiliary of the Confederación Nacional de Campesinos, as well as director of one of the two state-supported Centros Alfebetizantes found in the
cabecera. She serves as confidante for some of the Spanish-speaking Indian women, advising them on personal and family matters. More important for the changing pattern of leadership recruitment is the role she plays as an ally of the Indians when there is difficulty with the Ladino government. For example, she, like her husband, is often appealed to by Indian families to secure the freedom of someone incarcerated by local courts. She not merely exhibits personal interest in a case of this sort, but acts as an agent of the CNC. Although that organization, and especially its auxiliary, wields little power in the municipio itself, its functionaries are linked to the ever-powerful regional and national units. As power continues to shift from local decision-making bodies to supra-municipal forces, the outcome of local battles depends upon the ability of the protagonists to gain the ear of state, regional, and national personages. Mario's wife is respected and sought as a counselor because of her understanding of Ladino ways and because of her allegiance with non-municipal powers. This Ladina performs this service willingly for the Indians, creating a personal following among a potentially powerful political force, the Indian majority of the local campesino group.

This paper has discussed the changing procedures whereby leaders are recruited by the Indians of San Bartolomé de los Llanos, in Chiapas. There was a time when a highly formalized structure, related to the social organization and normative value system of the Indian community, functioned to recruit, train, and provide leaders for the society. Passage through a hierarchy of social obligations assured the group leaders most closely embodying its norms. The extensive time necessary to pass
through this structure provided older men, whose very age merited respect, for essential decision-making roles. A system of sanctions, which were dependent upon spiritual forces aligned with the community and whose manipulation was thought to be controlled by the "good" men—those most closely embodying the norms of the society—functioned to maintain the social system in a state of dynamic equilibrium.

The lessening isolation of the Indians, due to the building of a road and an airfield which provide relatively easy access to the rest of the Republic, and the growing threat to the communal lands by Ladino cattlemen with new markets to supply, led the Indians to seek new solutions to new problems. The concern over the diminishing lands has helped to make the Indian group receptive to governmental programs emanating from post-revolutionary Mexico City. The national government's programs for minimizing local boundaries—patrias chicas and Indian enclaves—through the construction of communication facilities, as well as its agrarian reform laws which helped to establish the national government as the ultimate source of authority in matters concerning the disposition of lands, found a ready reception in San Bartolomé.

The major attribute sought for in new leaders is the ability to speak, read, and write Spanish. As leadership roles became more specifically demanding, the community has witnessed a growing separation of sacred and secular duties. The old leaders (Principales) are now devoting themselves almost exclusively to affairs of a ritual nature, while the new types of leader (representante and Ladinos) devote themselves to problems of relating the society to the Ladino world.

Arthur J. Rubel
APPENDIX A

Grupitos in San Bartolomé

Each of the following diagrams portrays the layout of an area shared by a single grupito. The diagrams represent clusters of milpas within a large plot of land worked and shared by a group of men, generally from the same barrio. Each of these sketches were drawn by a key member of the grupito, its head or a highly knowledgeable participant. Using rough outlines, we have concentrated on father-son and brother-brother relations existing between milpa-neighbors. The Roman numerals indicate significant clusters, the Arabic numerals identify each of the participant individuals. The restricted time for field work precluded more detailed accounts of the relationships in these representative grupitos; we submit that with more information the relationships between neighbors will show themselves to be more, not less, close and meaningful.

In Diagram I, cluster I, the individuals are:

1. The informant and jefe of the grupito, Huexté.
5. His brother, Sebastian Martínez Huexté.
4. Brother of 1 and 5, Domingo Martínez Huexté.

The milpas (2, 3) separating Bartolomé (1) from his second brother, Domingo (4), are occupied by a brother-in-law (2) and a godson (3), respectively, of the jefe and informant.

Cluster II includes:

7. An older man, Bartolomé Vázquez Chaal, and his brother (9), Marcos Vázquez Chaal.
11. A son of (9), Marcos Vázquez Chaal, and his first cousin.
8. A son of Bartolomé (7). (8) has taken the mother's surname in Ladino fashion, rather than retaining his father's sobrenombre; thus he is listed as Bartolomé Vázquez Velázquez, instead of Bartolomé Vázquez Chaal.

We have included Cluster III (which includes two brothers, Manuel.
Hidalgo Coctum and Domingo Hidalgo Coctum [14, 15], as well as another [16] whose name we do not know, although the informant volunteered the information that this cluster worked neighboring milpas but "were not really members of the grupito." This is noteworthy, because of over twenty-five men listed in the diagram, these two (14 and 15) are the only ones of a barrio other than Convento (they are from Calvario).

Cluster I of Diagram II includes:

1. The father, Bartolomé Vásquez Munich.
7. His son, Antonio.
8. His younger son, Bartolo.

Cluster II:

11. Francisco Gómez, father.
10. Emilio, his married son.
9. Porfirio Gómez—although the informant did not give specific relationships, we tentatively include (9) in this cluster as either a brother or son of (11).

Cluster III: includes two brothers (16, 17), both of whom are listed as Bartolo Silvano.

As in Diagram I, all members of the grupito belong to one barrio, San Pedro Mártir. Only Pedro Mendosa Poxil (2) claims birth outside that barrio, but he is married to a barrio native.

In Diagram III, cluster I, are found the following:

3. Bartolomé Velásquez Munich, neighboring upon the milpa of his son Manuel (4) and the more distant milpa of another son, Sebastián (17).

Cluster II:

5. Domingo de la Torre.
6. Bartolomé de la Torre, brother of 5.

Cluster III:

8. Domingo Calvo.

Cluster IV:

10. Domingo Hidalgo.
Cluster V:


Cluster VI:

15. José Gómez Ocosingo.

Cluster VII:

17. Sebastián, son of 3.

Except for twelve of the listed members, all these men trace themselves to Barrio Convento. It is interesting to see that numbers 8, 9, and 10, as well as 11, from Calvario, appear to be on the outskirts of the grupito, as do the other two members from Calvario, 29 and 30. Individuals 26 and 27 (both of Barrio San Pedro Martir) and 28 (Barrio Calvario) join with Pedro Espinosa Siip (29) and Sebastián Ramírez Co (30) to form an outer fringe of the grupito's milpa pattern.

Diagram IV, cluster I:

5. José Solano.
6. José, son of 5.

Cluster II:

2. Sebastián Vázquez Ucum, father-in-law of 5.
1. Chaal, compadre of 2.
4. Son of 2; 2 and 4 are separated by the single Ladino (3) in the group.

Cluster III:

8. Juan MendozaPPoxil.
9. Son of 8.

Clusters I, II, and III are considered within Chaal's grupito, but as distinctive from the rest of the grupito. The informant says of the B members that they are "otra raza, otro puñito, otro cuadrillo," and we have, accordingly, separated them from A.

In the B section, cluster IV, Chico Chunuch (11) is the father of José Vázquez (10). The seemingly isolated 12 is Chico's wife's brother, with 13 listed as a "medio-cuñado."
The informant in this case was the jefe del grupito, Huexté. In all instances the milpas, as drawn originally by him, had boundaries touching their neighbors. They are separated here for greater clarity.
During this interview the informant, jefe of the grupito, was not paying close attention. Quoting from the field journal: "The informant was most anxious to end the interview." Probably there are more significant clusters than are included here.
The informant, attending one of the Centros Alfabetizantes, does not use a sobrenombre. The land worked by the grupito lies in an area known as Canté. Of his grupito, he says: "Somos compañeros. Se trata de banquil, totin, tata. Somos vecinos de la milpa."
This grupito contains eight men of Barrio Calvario and five of San Sebastián. Numbers 1 and 3, and 8-13 inclusive, are of the former barrio; the remainder belong to the latter. Trufino López (3) is the sole Ladino member, but his residence in Barrio Calvario adjoins that of the jefe, Chaal. The grupito works land in an area named Pajatún.
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Section 27

PRELIMINARY ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORT ON

HUISTÁN, CHIAPAS
Preliminary Ethnographic Report on Huistán, Chiapas

The municipio of Huistán, in the heart of the highlands of Chiapas, is located directly to the east of the city of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, the political and economic center of this mountainous region. Huistán borders on the following municipios: Tenejapa to the northwest, Oxchuc to the northeast, Altamirano to the east, Chanal to the southeast, Las Casas to the southwest, and Chamula to the west, a narrow arm of which separates Huistán from Las Casas. The cabecera is located in the west central section of the municipio, three hours by horseback from San Cristóbal along the main trail to oxchuc. A road, built by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) with the co-operation of the Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas, begins at the Pan-American Highway seven miles southeast of San Cristóbal and runs in an eastward direction to Chanal, sometimes within the borders of Huistán, sometimes without. An extension to connect with the north-south, Ocosingo-Altamirano-Comitán road is under construction.

The outstanding geographical feature of Huistán is the Río Huistán, which begins near the center of the municipio at the conjunction of two small tributaries and flows eastward past Altamirano and into the lowlands, becoming the Río Tzaonejá after it passes the boundaries of Huistán. The northern, western, and southern borders of the municipio correspond roughly to the ridges enclosing this river system. The cabecera, near the headwaters of one of these tributaries, lies at an altitude of approximately 6500 feet. The immediately surrounding ridges rise to altitudes of above 8000 feet.

This report is based on two months of field work in the village of Valcuc and a week-end trip to a fiesta in the cabecera of the municipio. Since the cabecera and the municipio have the same name, I will refer to the one as the "cabecera" and to the other as the "municipio" or as "Huistán." The report is not a summary of the data I have collected, but rather an attempt to organize it as a basis for future work.
It is beyond my competence to comment in any detail on the geological setting of Huistán. As is the rest of the highlands, it is an area predominantly of limestone and shale, with occasional rocky cliffs and peaks but with relatively little exposed rock elsewhere. In the highlands as a whole, rivers and streams are relatively rare: much of the drainage is underground through crevices in the limestone. Although subterranean drainage occurs in Huistán, there are numerous small streams, draining into the river, on both sides of the valley. Village water supplies are of four types: ponds, often in limestone sinks; streams; springs; and wells.

Vegetation varies with density of population. The heavily populated western half of the municipio contains relatively more fields and meadow, and relatively less forest, than the lesser populated eastern half. The forest is predominantly white pine and oak. Erosion is present but does not appear to be a serious problem.

The area of the municipio is 222 square kilometers or about 80 square miles. The population is given as 7383 in the 1950 census, 6723 or 91% being Tzotzil speakers. Thus the population density is 33.3 per square kilometer or 92.3 per square mile. A further breakdown, of doubtful utility since the total of the sub-divisions is considerably less than the total population, is the following: Spanish monolinguals, 965; Tzotzil monolinguals, 4761; bilinguals, 411. The discrepancy here is no doubt the result of inadequate census figures, not of the particular linguistic situation in Huistán, which is, apparently, that the inhabitants of the eastern third of the municipio

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\[^2\] Population and area figures are taken from Carlo Antonio Castro, "La Línguística en el Centro Coordinador Tzeltal-Tzotzil," América Indígena, Volume 16, Number 2, April, 1956.
speak Tzeltal. Such is the situation according to the linguistic map of INI and my informants in Yalcuc. The people who presumably speak Tzeltal are revueltos; that is, they have switched to ladino clothes. They are not considered Huistecos by my informants. The Tzotzil-speaking population is composed both of Indians who maintain the native costume and of those who have abandoned it in favor of ladino styles. Of those I have seen, a majority wears the native style.

The municipio is sub-divided into colonias, each of which contains one or more parajes. The secretario municipal enumerated fourteen colonias: the INI map shows seventeen sub-divisions, none of which is identified, and lists 84 parajes, some of them containing as few as two families. The parajes which I have seen are all villages in which the houses are more or less irregularly scattered, often at considerable distances from each other. The cabecera, which contains the palacio municipal, the church, and perhaps fifteen small stores run by ladinos, is laid out in the traditional grid pattern around a central plaza. The ladino population is largely concentrated near the center, the Indians living in the peripheral sections, which do not entirely follow the grid pattern. There is a significant ladino segment in at least one paraje, perhaps in several more; and there are a number of ladino ranches in the valley.

Huistán offers what appears to be some of the best agricultural land in the highlands, and therefore has been attractive to ladinos. I would tentatively infer that in the past, namely before the time Cárdenas, ladinos owned the bulk of the land in the municipio. This inference is based on
four facts: 1) Huistecos have the reputation of being poor, and in the days before highways and before the increased use of mules, of carrying much of the region's commerce on their backs. 2) I have specific information about the existence of one large finca. 3) There are still ladino ranches in the valley. 4) There are several ejidos in the municipio. The above-mentioned finca was Finca Shuncalá, which twenty years ago occupied lands of Huistán and Las Casas. In 1936-37 the ejido of Huajam, within which is the village of Yalcuc, was founded on lands expropriated from the finca. The territory of Huajam lies adjacent to the south-central section of Huistán, but within the boundaries of Las Casas: yet the ejido is a colonia of Huistán. At the time of the founding, three families lived in the area which was to become Yalcuc: one originally from Chamula, one from Chanal, and one which had lived in the locality for a long period of time. All the new settlers came from Huistán: some from the cabeceera, a few from other parajes, but most from Huajar Viejo, where they had been mozos working for the owner of Finca Shuncalá. The main products of the finca were corn, beans, and horses and cattle which grazed freely over the mountains.

According to the teacher in Yalcuc, other communities were formed on the lands of Finca Shuncalá, among them two colonias of Huistán which lie to the east of Huajam: Los Mozos and El Carmen Yalchuoh. Both these communities are among those reported to be composed of Tzeltal speakers who have switched to ladino dress. Another relevant case is the ejido of Yashtinín, to the west and south of Huajam. It is a colonia of Las Casas, but is composed of people who identify themselves as Huistecos, and who are identified as such by people in Yalcuc, even though they now dress in the ladino manner. The people of Yashtinín were formerly mozos working for ladinos in nearby Ejido Federnal.
The Colonia of Huajam

Huajam is located on the top of the ridge which forms the south side of the valley of the Río Huistán. It is a strip of land about four miles long and an average of one mile wide, running in a northwest-southeast direction. The official ejido map gives the area as 1136 hectáreas, which equals 2738.3 acres or 4.28 square miles. The village of Yalcúuc, the only settlement of any kind in the colonia, lies at an altitude of 7500 feet and occupies an area of somewhat less than one square mile in the most northern section of the ejido. Houses are widely scattered; the only regularity is in the greater concentration in the center of the community. The school and the teacher's house are located on the eastern edge of the main concentration of population, and the medical post of INI is a little farther east. Comisario Alonso Vásquez lives near the center of the settled area, beside the main trail between San Cristóbal and Chanal. The road between these towns passes through the northern part of the village. Sitios are not fenced or demarcated in any way, except for fences which are sometimes placed between sitios and main trails. Some houses are in milpas, some among trees, and others in grassy areas. Some households have but one building; others have a kitchen and one or more separate buildings for sleeping quarters, and a few have storehouses.

The terrain of Huajam is rough without being rugged; the mountain peaks are merely steep hills and the sinks and valleys are not deep. The settled area is no less uneven than the rest of the colonia: I know of no place within the area itself from which all the houses are visible, even leaving out of consideration two small groups of houses which are entirely separate from the rest of the village. The uninhabited area, called the monte, is rather intensively cultivated in the section which lies on both sides of the main
trail and within a half hour's walk from the village. Perhaps half of this section is or has been under cultivation. In the less accessible monte there are a few scattered milpas and lots of forest, some of which contains white pine with trunks up to three feet in diameter. Sections of forest are open, with grassy floors, and almost give the appearance of a park. Other sections have some undergrowth, but there is no heavy brush except in abandoned fields.

The water supply is three-fold: a pond for animals and for washing clothes; a nearby well, built a couple of years ago by INI, for drinking water; and a small spring in a cave for drinking water when the well dries up in the dry season.

Social Structure in Yalcuc

The population of Yalcuc, according to the teacher's census of 1956, was 227 people living in 46 families, an average of 4.9 per family. My census is still incomplete in that some babies and perhaps some elders are missing, but it is possible to report that since 1956 three new families have been formed and two others have recently moved away, leaving a total of 57 families, including the teacher's. "Family" in this sense means a simple nuclear family; a partial nuclear family (one parent deceased); or a partial extended family, including, for example, a widowed parent, an unmarried sibling, or orphaned children, in addition to the basic nuclear family. In a full-scale extended family of more than one nuclear family, each of the latter is counted as a separate family. Such is the system which the teacher implicitly followed when taking his census, and such seems to be the system which the people themselves use. Populations are given in numbers of "familias" or "jefes de familia," based on the concept of family presented above.
Table 1 (see Appendix) is a list of households, excluding the teacher's since his family is ladino, with the heads of component nuclear families listed under heads of extended family households. By the definition I have chosen, families live in the same household if they use the same kitchen. This definition is essentially arbitrary, but it would be unreasonable to include in the same household related families which live in adjacent compounds, because then one would have to formulate a purely arbitrary space criterion of adjacency. There are 38 households in Yalcuc: 6 extended families, 39 nuclear or partial extended families, and 3 partial nuclear families. All of the latter are widows' households, one of which contains a son who is old enough to support the family. He is Felipe Alvarez, and is listed as the head of the household. From the point of view of individual families, 14 out of 46 live in extended family households.

There is no unitary rule of residence, either in conception or in practice. Some informants say that a newly married couple lives with the man's family; others say that they live in a new house of their own, or that they live wherever they want to. The fact that Yalcuc is a relatively new village, founded after some of the present inhabitants were married, complicates the process of tabulating residence preferences (see Table 1). Technically, all couples who came to Yalcuc switched to neolocal residence, unless they came with a relative who serves as a frame of reference for a different residence choice. But the table is concerned with residence in Yalcuc, not in some other village: and tabulating original immigrants without accompanying relatives as neolocal would bias the results for Yalcuc toward neolocality. Moreover, the choice to move to the new village may very well reflect a desire for land of one's own rather than a desire to move away from the parents who stayed
behind. For example, Sebastian Álvarez was married when he came to Yalcuc at the time of the founding, and none of his relatives came. Thus he is considered an irrelevant case, because there is no one in Yalcuc in reference to whom a residence choice can be determined. On the other hand, Pedro Cruz was also married when he came: but his father also came, and his wife's family did not, so he is classed as patrilocal.

Table 1 gives the residence choice of each family. Summarizing, we have the following results: patrilocal, 12; matrilocal, 5; neolocal, 4; fratrilocal, 3; irrelevant, 2; and unknown, 20. The number of unknown cases is high because there are many women whose relationships are not yet clear. Most of these cases are very probably patrilocal or irrelevant. There have been several recent changes in residence which are interesting, because they show, among other things, that three of the four known neolocal cases are recent. Carmen Hernández got married and established a neolocal household. His brother Vicente formerly was patrilocal: he recently built a new house, after almost ten years of marriage, and moved away from his widowed mother's household. Mercedes Pérez made the same sort of switch by a slightly different process: she moved to an abandoned house from her father-in-law's household after he died and after her husband was murdered. Agustín Bolom, now matrilocal, formerly was patrilocal: he used to live next door to his father, but the latter moved away to another village and he stayed in the village of his wife. Martin Cruz, now unknown, formerly was avunculocal: he has moved from the house adjacent to his father's brother, and is now listed as unknown because the relationships of his wife are not clear to me.

The residence situation can be conveyed more adequately by a brief description of actual cases. Alonso Vásquez occupies the office of comisario,
the most important political office in the colonia. Within his compound, which consists of a large kitchen building, two houses for sleeping, and a storehouse, live his wife, a married daughter and her husband and their three small children, and a son and his wife. A short distance down the trail lives an older daughter with her husband, Nicolás Gómez, her son and his wife, and four younger children. A sixth child recently married Manuel Cruz and established patrilocal residence in the household of his father. Another of Alonso's daughters lived next door to him until her death, whereupon her husband went to live in Huajam Viejo and her two young sons stayed to live with Alonso. His other daughter is the wife of Vicente Hernández, who is mentioned above. At present nineteen individuals, almost 10 o/o of the population of Yalcuc, live within the comisario's household and a closely related one.

Another large group is composed of the families gathered around Santiago López. His own household includes his wife and a son and his wife and child. On one side lives another son with his family of six, on the other side two daughters and their husbands, Manuel and José Vásquez. Two other sons married into the village of Nacité, a paraje of Tzeltal-speaking Amatenango. This is an understandable move on their part, since the López family originally came from Tzeltal-speaking Chanal.

A third important family group reveals even more variety in its residence pattern. Sebastián Cruz is the father of the six Cruz Santis brothers and their three sisters, and the father's brother of Martín Cruz, the formerly avunculocal case mentioned above. The residence choice of Miguel mayor is unknown because I don't know the relationships of his wife, but Alonso lives close to him. Pedro's house is significantly distant from that of his father
but it is patrilocak because his wife comes from another village. His newly married son lives in his household, and his younger brother Nicolás in the adjacent house. Miguel menor lives with his father-in-law, Miguel Ara. I don't know where Tomás, the youngest brother, lives, but I suspect it is with his father. One sister is the wife of Pedro Vásquez Pech, who has a neolocal household: another is married to José Ara, son of Miguel, and lives in the latter's household: the third lives in another village. Thus within one lineage there are examples of all the standard types of residence.

Descent in Yalcuc is apparently patrilineal. I have not yet done much work with genealogies so it is not possible to give any details about descent or any information about kinship terminology. The basic surname passes from father to children. The ladino system of using the mother's patrilineal surname as a second surname is also in use, but apparently it is used only or primarily because it is encouraged by ladinos. This statement is based not only on general knowledge of social structure among the Tzotzil Indians, but also on the attitude of the people in Yalcuc. The very few men who give both surnames without prompting are all young men who have recently been to school, where I suspect there is considerable indoctrination in such matters. Every man seems to know the name of every other man in the village, but many do not know the second surname of many others. Not all official business in which lists of names are involved requires the use of both surnames. The two are used in school records and the teacher's census, and in some of the INI transactions in the village. The basic surname only is used when lists are made concerning intra-village matters: for example, records of communal work performed.

All informants deny that they use the system which is used by certain other Tzeltal-Tzotzil groups, namely, the use of two patrilineal surnames:
the second is the lineage name, the first is the name of a group of lineages called variously a clan or name-group. Perhaps there is more to the name system in Yalcuc than appears on the surface, for when speaking among themselves, the men refer to two of their number by Tzotzil surnames which are distinct from their Spanish surnames.

There is a large number of patri-lineages represented in Yalcuc, but they are shallow and their functional importance cannot yet be assessed. Many of them have only one adult male member, as can be seen in Table 1. In considering lineages in Huistán, it is necessary to keep in mind the particular history of the municipio. The foundation of ejidos and the consequent movement of people has almost certainly contributed to the dispersal of lineages. Thus the existence of a large number of lineages in one paraje may be a comparatively recent phenomenon.

The lineages are exogamous in that none of the present marriages are between members of the same lineages. There is no absolute prohibition against marrying someone with the same surname, since the fathers of Felipe Álvarez Álvarez and Sebastián Santis Santis did just that. There do not seem to be any particular marriage preferences. There is one case of marriage into the mother's lineage (Sebastián Gómez married his mother's father's brother's daughter), and three other possible cases which will be investigated. There is one case of brother-sister exchange (between the Cruz and Ara families), and two cases in which two brothers married two sisters (Santiago López's two daughters married brothers, and two of his sons married sisters).

The village has become largely endogamous. All of the younger men, with the exception of a few cases in which the origin of the wife is unknown to me, have married women of the village. Of the women who have reached
maturity within the past few years in Yalcuc, only one has married a man from a different village. Of course these remarks are made without regard to families which have recently moved away.

My information on compadrazgo is limited. It is said that there are padrinos for baptism, confirmation, evangelios, and marriage; but I do not have enough cases to indicate the extent to which individuals have all four types. The teacher, although he has been in Yalcuc only four years, is compadre of almost all the adults in the village, and does not hesitate to mention the fact. Most probably the number of his compadres reveals more about his own values than about the importance of compadrazgo to the Indians. They also have compadres among themselves, to what extent I do not know.

I have the impression that an important aspect of social structure in Yalcuc is the existence of distinct sub-groups within the community. The selection of criteria for defining groups is an arbitrary intellectual process, and several come readily to mind: costume, degree of Spanish-speaking ability, method of earning cash income. The use of any one of these criteria would yield sub-groups which are significant in some respect. The problem is to discover those criteria which define groups that are significant within the social organization and relevant to the processes of change in the community. The problem has merely been posed; it has not been solved. A preliminary solution is proposed at the end of this report.

Local Political Organization

The top political post in Yalcuc is the office of comisario, and he is the representative of the colonia in the municipio government. In addition there are three committees, each with president, secretary, and treasurer: Comité Ejidal, Consejo de Vigilancia del Ejido, and Comité de Educación.
The teacher, who is president of the Comité Ejidal, is perhaps the second most important political figure in the community, although it is difficult to judge his functional importance or the real attitudes of the people toward him. He is an interesting study in himself: suffice it to say here that, judging from expressed attitudes and observed behavior, he is a type case of the authoritarian personality. He identifies himself strongly with the community, and affirms that his goal is to promote the welfare and progress of its people.

More important than the political structure is the process of decision-making. The people of Yalcuc are in a situation in which many conscious, collective decisions about innovations are necessary, whether the innovations are presented by INI or suggested from within the village, perhaps by the teacher. Within the past year two major additions have been made to the landscape of the village: latrines and the medical post. The former were accepted by almost all families after INI introduced the idea, and the latter was requested by the people so they would not have to go six miles to the nearest clinic for medical treatment. The post was financed by INI, and the men of Yalcuc contributed labor. A less noticeable addition, but perhaps no less significant, is a very small store which was recently constructed near the school. The store was built by the men of the community and is considered to be community property. The teacher says that three men contributed the capital for stocking the store and do not want their names revealed for fear of witchcraft, and that he runs the store and distributes the profits to the investors. The possibility that he contributed much of the capital himself should not be discounted. An offer by INI to furnish more capital and to bring the store into the INI co-operative store system was rejected on the ostensible grounds that the small potential market justifies no such expansion.
These situations are not entirely comparable, but there are significant common features. In the construction of both latrines and the medical post, an individual decision to expend a certain amount of labor and/or money was necessary on the part of every man. The store did not require so much of a collective effort. I do not know the processes by which such decisions were made, but some observations about pending innovations, buying a loudspeaker for the school radio and re-roofing the school with tile, suggest the probable course of decision-making.

Decisions about such changes are ostensibly made in a meeting of adult men in the school. The proposal, at least in these two matters connected with the school, is presented by the teacher. The comisario leads a discussion, which in the case of the loudspeaker was extensive, in the other case perfunctory. There is no voting; subsequent action is based on a consensus of opinion. A consensus about the tile was reached quickly and individual contributions were collected immediately. My suspicion is that the function of the meeting is to ratify a decision which has already been made by the leaders in the course of one of the many earnest discussions which I have seen among the comisario, the teacher, and the presidents of the committees. The fact that I have heard of no attempted projects which failed because of lack of popular support indicates that the leaders are well aware of what is feasible before they slam a course of action.

Types of Costume

The most striking of the many differences which exist in Yalcuc is the difference in modes of dress. Members of each sex have three styles from which to choose. The man's native Huisteco outfit consists of white pants which are usually described as diaper-like, hanging down to the knees in back
and coming up between the legs to be fastened around the waist by a broad red sash with white pin-stripes; loose fitting white shirt, open under the arms and down the sides, sewed at the seams with blue thread and slightly embroidered in blue on the sleeves and neck; a small hat, of woven palm and with a flat crown, which perches on top of the head, and which has a red wool band around the crown and trailing in back for fiesta wear; a rather short tan poncho which is tied on each side at the bottom; and/or a heavy striped blanket of natural black and white wool. The poncho, also of wool, is never worn for fiestas. The native costume for boys whose marriage has not yet been arranged is a long shirt, styled like the man's, which hangs down to the knees and ties around the waist with a red sash or a cord. Men who dress in the ladino style wear either calzones and camisa (the general term for shirt, which in this usage means the loose-fitting shirt which is worn with calzones) or Western-style trousers and shirt, and with either a ladino-style hat.

The native costumes are woven of cotton and tailored by women in Yalcuc, but I have seen men embroidering their shirts, and they make the hats. Ponchos are woven in Yalcuc by women, and blankets purchased from Chamulas.

I have little exact data on the use of huaraches. Alonso Vásquez consistently wears the type which has a low heel guard. There are several other styles which apparently are worn or not worn regardless of choice of costume. Alonso is the only man who always wears huaraches.

The woman's native costume is a long wrap-around skirt of dark blue cotton, secured at the waist with a heavy red and yellow or red, black, and white wool sash which is wrapped around several times; a white cotton blouse, styled like a poncho, but with a longer slit in the neck and with blue embroidery around the neck; and a white cotton rebozo with a blue border woven in and
embroidered with two or three small, brightly-colored, star-like figures randomly placed. The rebozo is short and is thrown over the head or shoulders rather than wrapped around. Babies are carried in a longer rebozo of plain white cloth. Rebozos and blouses are woven in Yalcuc, but I have never seen the dark blue skirt material being woven, and so far have neglected to ask.

The ladina style for women is a cotton print dress or a skirt and blouse, a slip, and often an aoron. The skirt is cotton print or a bright solid color; the blouse is usually white, and either button-down-the-front or "peasant" style with a lot of embroidery or strips of print cloth sewed on the cuffs, tops of sleeves, and neck. The ladina rebozo is dark blue or black, sometimes with a white fleck. There is an intermediate costume which consists of the dark blue skirt and the "peasant" blouse, usually accompanied by a ladina rebozo. Probably this style should be classed as ladina. It is used by approximately 25% of the women in nearby San Mateo, a baraje of Yashchin in which all the men dress in ladino clothes. Moreover, I have the impression that it is used by few if any of the wives of men who have maintained the native style in Yalcuc, but this latter point should be checked before the style can be classed unequivocally as ladina. Only once have I seen a woman wear huaraches.

Table 1 shows the manner of dress of male heads of families and of their wives or females heads, in the case of two widows. For males totals are native, 23; calzones, 8; trousers, 10; alternating, 1; and unknown, 2.

The alternating case is the young male nurse, Manuel Cruz, who works during the week in an INI clinic in another village, and staffs the medical post in Yalcuc on Sundays. During the week he wears shirt and trousers, and on Sundays the Huisteco suit. The distinction between calzones and trousers is probably not significant, and in the discussion the two categories will sometimes be
treated together and the ladino style. Totals for females are native, 10; blue skirt, 9; print dress or skirt, 5; and unknown, 21.

Within each group of father and sons, of brothers, or of males in extended family households, costume is unvaried, being entirely native or entirely ladino, with one exception. Four of the Vásquez Pech brothers wear ladino clothes; the fifth and oldest, whose wife comes from the Cruz lineage, a stronghold of native costume, wears the Huisteco suit. The limited data on female dress indicates that husbands and wives always dress similarly, as far as the broader categories of native and ladino are concerned and assuming for the time being that the intermediate woman's style is properly classified as ladina (see Table 2). Within the ladino category, a majority of the wives of both calzón- and trouser-wearing men wear the blue skirt style (see Table 3).

Making a Living

Land tenure is partly determined by the ejido status of the colonia: land cannot be bought, sold, or rented. Use rights are assigned to individuals by some combinations of factors of influence and need or willingness to work. These rights, as well as the ownership of houses, are said to descend patrilineally. There is an abundance of land, but a shortage of good, convenient land; the latter seems to be concentrated in the hands of a small number of men. In the more intensively cultivated area of the monte, all land, even timber land, is assigned to an individual. A man can cut timber on another's land if he obtains permission from that person.

A major segment of the economy of Yalcuo is the production of food for subsistence. The chief subsistence crops are corn, beans, and squash. In addition there are a few small peach trees, some chayote vines, and a few gardens of cabbage. Most families have at least of few chickens: they eat
eggs and very occasionally a chicken, and sell eggs and chickens when they go
to San Cristóbal. A few families have turkeys. Some families have a pig or
two, to furnish meat for a feast or to produce some additional cash income.
Some families have a few sheep; they are primarily for wool, but occasionally
a sheep is sold, and rarely one is eaten. A number of men have oxen for plowing,
and a few have horses which are used primarily as pack animals. Dogs are num-
erous; they serve as pets and as hunting dogs.

One of the remarkable things about Yalucu is the relatively great impor-
tance of hunting and the slight amount of game. A man seldom goes into the monte
without his .22 rifle or escopeta, and he seldom uses it. Only once have I
seen a bag of game; a party of four went out one morning especially to hunt,
and came back with two rabbits. But there is much talk about hunting, and
much interest in game animals in the United States. The men, with wistful eye
and nostalgic tone, talk about the good old days when they first came to
Yalucu, and one would see two or three deer near the village most every
evening. During daylight hours I have seen no live wild mammals except two
mice. Evidently squirrels are rather plentiful, but hard to shoot, since the
air plants in the oak trees furnish very effective cover. Driving through the
woods at night one usually sees a rabbit or two who is fascinated by the car
lights. Various birds, including the dove and the blackbird, are considered
game animals and are eaten if bagged.

The two major sources of cash income are wheat and labor on coffee plant-
atations in the coastal region of Chiasas. Men leave for the plantations in
October or November and stay until December or January. Wages are six or
seven pesos daily, and the cost of roundtrip transportation and living expenses
en route is about $75. Men usually say that they come home with $300.
This year only four men, plus the sons of two of them went from Yalcuo. One of this group, and perhaps another, wears the native costume. Although working on coffee plantations is no doubt a strong impetus for switching to ladino clothes, the stimulus does not operate in all cases, at least not immediately.

At least eight men, and probably several more, plant wheat. By far the largest producer is Alonso Vásquez. The two basic requirements for wheat farming are oxen for plowing and plowable land. Most of the monte is not plowable: even in cleared land, there are too many rocks and often too many stumps. The meadow in and around the village is plowable, and it is here that most of the wheat is planted. Within the confines of the settled area, there is at least half as much land in wheat as in corn. Of course it would be possible to plant wheat using only a hoe to break the soil, but this is practically precluded by the amount of labor involved.

Planting is accomplished in October and November, after the heaviest rains have stopped but while there is still significant precipitation. Contour plowing is always practiced, presumably because it is easier for the oxen to plow on a level. A field is plowed several weeks before planting, and plowed again after seed is sown by hand. Some fields have rocky sections where the soil is broken by hoeing. Fields are harvested in April, May, or June: informants do not agree on the month, or perhaps the harvest extends over three months. Most if not all of the harvest is saved, without threshing, until fall, when the price is higher. Wheat is threshed by driving a team of horses or mules over it, or by flailing it with long, flexible poles. It is winnowed by throwing it into the air on a windy day. The only other tools used are a cole with a natural fork of two or three prongs which serves as a
nitchfork, and a flat shovel hewn out of a pine plank. Men do almost all the
threshing and winnowing. Sometimes women stand around and watch, pick up
stray grains of wheat, and once I saw a woman drive the team for a little
while.

There is only one variety of wheat, called trigo breve. Most estimates
of the reaping:sowing ratio range from 4:1 to 6:1. I have not measured any
fields so cannot yet give an estimate of yield per acre.

Volume units are used to quote quantities of wheat and corn. A cuartilla
is four liters, a tercio is sixteen cuartillas, and a carga, or mule load, is
two tercios. The price of wheat varies seasonally between $100 and $120 a
carga, and corn varies from $80 to $96. Men in Yalcuc usually sell wheat in
quantities of one or two tercios at a time, even when it is hauled to market
by landrover.

Every man in Yalcuc plants corn. Those who have oxen plow whichever
they can of their milpas, some who don't rent them and plow by the day.
Milpas are plowed two or three times. If a milpa has not been used the year
before, it may be plowed once in the fall, again in January or February, and
just before planting in March. A milpa which has been used the year before is
plowed after harvest, in January or February, and again before planting.
Milpas which are hoed are apparently hoed only once before planting. Most of
the milpas within the settled area are plowable, as are some of those in the
nearer monte. Corn is planted with a digging stick. It is reported that
three or four seeds are placed in each hole, and that perhaps all, perhaps
only one or two, will sprout. In the better milpas most bunches contain three
stalks; in the poorer ones there are many small, single stalks which do not
bear ears.
In the middle of November the work of the harvest begins in milpas near the houses. Husking is accomplished with the aid of a small bone blade which is used to separate the husks at one end. They are pulled apart with the hands, and the ear is removed with a twisting motion. Women help in carrying the ears to the house, where they are placed in the patio to dry a little in the sun. Kernels are picked off by hand, by both sexes, and put in baskets or bags for storage in the kitchen, the attic of the sleeping house, or a storehouse. There are four types of ears: white, yellow, black, and spotted.

Milpas in the settled area are used two to four years in succession and are allowed to lie fallow for four or five years. In the monte a milpa of the true monte type, full of rocks and stumps, is used only once every five or six years. As far as I know, only Don Alonso practices fertilization: he moves his ox pen several times a year.

Squash and beans are also planted in milpas. A few squash are used when they first become ripe in the fall; others are left until the corn harvest, then placed on house roofs to dry. Bean pods are picked just before corn, by women sometimes with the help of men, and dried in the patio until they pop open. Then they are flailed with a stick and winnowed in the manner of wheat, with men and women working together on this task. The beans are dried some more, for a half a day or a day, and stored in the manner of corn. There are two basic types of beans: botil, the scarlet runner bean; and frijol chiquito, similar to the common baked bean in the United States. It is said that beans are worth $7.50 a cuartilla, just three times the price of corn at its lowest.

Another important aspect of men's work is cutting lumber and building houses. The standard house type is a square building, measuring from ten to twenty feet, which has a high four-sided roof with wide eaves and a short
ridge pole, and a dirt floor. The basic frame consists of four oak poles at the corners; on this basis a roof frame of pine poles is constructed. The more substantial houses have walls of vertical, hand-hewn pine boards which may be as wide as two feet, and which are lashed to the frame with vines. Many houses have walls of tejamanil, the long, narrow pine shingles which are usually about three feet long. One house and the abandoned chapel have walls of plain wattle-and-daub; the teacher's house and part of the school are wattle-and-daub covered with lime plaster. Almost all roofs are tejamanil. A few cooking shelters which serve as kitchens for families which have but one substantial building, and two abandoned houses, have roofs of straw. The new medical post is a log cabin with a tile roof.

There is an alternate house type, rectangular with a relatively low, two-sided roof, whose occurrence sometimes seems to indicate low economic status rather than a preference for a different type. Of five families who have such houses, perhaps two do so because of poverty, three apparently from preference. All except one of the latter, a doubtful case, belong to the group characterized by ladino clothes.

Almost every family has a sweat house. They are made of logs or boards plastered with mud and have a rounded end of stones and mud and a protecting roof of straw or tejamanil. The great majority of sweat houses are built into the wall of a house, with the entrance from inside the house.

The fall of the year, after the corn is ripe, is the time for cutting lumber and tejamanil. New houses are built during the time of the corn harvest, after the rains have stopped; at least they were this year. Trees are felled with axes and split with wedges made of green oak. Boards are trimmed with axes, shingles used untrimmed.
In the village as a whole, men do approximately half of the work of gathering firewood, although practices vary greatly by families. Men with oxen often haul in tree trunks and do most of the chopping and splitting; sometimes the wife wields the axe. Otherwise the tendency is for men to cut, split, and carry wood; for women to gather kindling and firewood which can be acquired with a machete.

Men usually work alone in obtaining firewood; in plowing fields and cutting lumber they usually work in groups with as many as five members. Out of 21 groups, most of them engaged in plowing, 7 were composed of one man, 11 of two or more men related as brothers, father and son, father-in-law and son-in-law, or a combination of these, and one group was two brothers-in-law. There were two groups of four each in which only one of the men was not related in the above ways to any of the others. Men who work together usually trade work: a man helps his brother plow the latter's field, and his brother helps him plow his field. The trade is not necessarily even: Alonso Vásquez and Santiago López get more help from their sons-in-law than they give.

My data on women's work is not detailed, but the broad outlines of the women's side of the division of labor are clear. Only women prepare and cook food, wash clothes, clean house, and weave cloth. Women handle most of the care of children and of the animals around the compound (chickens, turkeys, pigs, and dogs). They haul most of the water; occasionally small boys haul water, sometimes for the teacher, and at times adult men, on order of the comisario, have carried water for me.

Horses, oxen, and sheep are cared for mainly by small children, sometimes as young as eight. They take them to pasture and to water at the pond. On occasion men or women do these tasks.
The daily schedule does not vary greatly from season to season, but of course the content of activity does, especially for men. The people arise about five or six o'clock; the sun comes up at six during the equinox, and at seven the shortest day of the year. One informant said that when they are working especially hard they sometimes get up while it is still dark. Breakfast is prepared and eaten, and the men may leave immediately afterward if they are working in the fields or the monte. During the slack time of year in the fall, they may stay around the house until mid-morning and then go out hunting for a while. The mid-day meal is usually at noon, according to all reports; but school is not let out until one o'clock. If a man goes far into the monte he takes a lunch and may return in the middle of the afternoon and eat some more. Men working in nearby fields either have their wives come and eat with them or they return home for lunch. At any one time of year women have a greater choice of activities. In the morning they usually carry water, do the washing, and sweep the house and patio. Weaving is done either morning or afternoon. There is often smoke coming from kitchens most of the afternoon. Social activity for women takes place in small groups gathered in someone's patio either morning or afternoon. I have not noticed much interaction or conversation among women washing at the pond. Late afternoon is the men's time to socialize. Most every day some men come to the school to play basketball or to watch and smoke and talk. Often there is a meeting which most or all of the men attend. The group breaks up at sunset and the men return home for a sweat bath with the family and supper. After supper the family sits around the fire until eight or nine o'clock and then goes to bed.
Religion and the Ceremonial Cycle

The people of Yalcuc have the reputation of being good Catholics, and this reputation seems to be justified. Alonso Vásquez is a friend of the priest who lives in Tenejana and serves Huistán, Chanal, and other municipios; and he and Pedro Cruz went to Mexico City with the priest in the spring of 1957. There is a distinct effort to be married by the priest and to have children baptized and confirmed. Before and during the time of Todos Santos religious services were conducted at the school by the teacher or his daughter.

Major ceremonial occasions in the municipio are the Change of Officials on January 1, the fiesta of San Sebastián on January 20, Carnaval the week end before the beginning of Lent, the fiesta of San Isidro on May 15, the fiesta of San Pedro on June 29, the celebration of national independence on September 15 and 16, the fiesta of San Miguel, the patron saint of Huistán, on September 29, and Todos Santos on October 31 and November 1. No informants have mentioned Holy Week so I cannot yet estimate its importance. This year an additional occasion of great importance was the visit of the bishop from San Cristóbal to dedicate the church bell in Pedernal. The entire population of Yalcuc, with very few exceptions, went to Pedernal for the day; and there were few others present in native costume. It was also an occasion for baptism and confirmation. The teacher was padrino for fourteen children from Yalcuc.

The patron saint of Yalcuc is San Antonio, and there is a local fiesta on his day, June 3. His image was formerly kept in a chapel, but has been moved to the comisario's house.

In Yalcuc Todos Santos is observed primarily in the cemetery, which is small because the village is relatively new. Families with relatives buried there go with pine boughs and flowers to decorate the crosses on the graves,
candles to burn beside the crosses, food of all types for the sustenance of the souls of the dead, and trago for the men to drink in order to produce an alegre atmosphere for the returning souls. Women kneel individually or in groups over a grave; there are periods of silence and periods of wailing which may last for over an hour. The men seem largely oblivious of the women; some of them play guitars or violins, the others sit around and talk, and they all drink according to their taste, which varies greatly.

This year the fiesta of the patron saint in the cabecera was a dismal affair, since the rain hardly stopped during the two days I was there. Saturday the major event was horseback riding around the plaza all afternoon, and much ritual drinking, by a group of officials dressed in extremely gaudy costumes. Other officials participated in ritual drinking, most of them to a lesser extent. The priest came from Tenejapa, and there were two masses Sunday morning, one attended primarily by Indians, the other by ladinos.

In the afternoon there was a small procession carrying a picture of San Miguel around the plaza. Both days bulls were brought into the plaza and there was much excitement at the prospect of their being ridden, but the rain interfered. Chamulas came to sell apples and oranges, and a few to sell the wool blankets which are part of the Huisteoo costume. Tenejahuanesos sold fruit and peanuts. As far as I could tell, all trago was sold in the ladino stores. Ladinos and revueltos attended in significant numbers and participated fully in the drinking and the procession. Peak attendance of perhaps 1500 occurred Saturday afternoon.

National independence was observed in Yalcuc by a long program of patriotic recitations and dances by the school children and music by imported ladino musicians on the evening of September 15. The next day there were games and
and dances by the children, and on both days a considerable amount of drinking by the less temperate members of the community.

Sub-groups and Culture Change

A common feature of contact situations is the existence of a continuum of degrees of acculturation. The investigator is able to define two or more groups and to rank them from "least acculturated" to "most acculturated" or from conservative to progressive. Such an approach would be applicable to Yalcuc if one assumed that the man who wears ladino clothes and works on a plantation for a few months is more acculturated than the man in native costume who uses oxen and a plow to produce wheat. Yet both these men are acculturated with reference to the pre-Columbian base line, and they may differ significantly in other ways.

Perhaps a more fruitful approach would be to define groups on the basis of criteria not limited by considerations of acculturation, and then to see if such groupings have any relevance for present-day processes of change. It is logical to assume that the core group in the community can be defined by the sociocultural characteristics, using only those characteristics in which there is significant variation in the community, of the key man in the social structure, Alonso Vásquez. Some rather easily isolated characteristics are native costume, cash income from wheat or at least the eschewing of plantation labor, strong Catholicism, and active participation in community and municipio affairs. Other men who clearly share all of these characteristics are Alonso's son, Guadalupe, and his sons-in-law, Miguel Ton and Nicolás Gómez; the latter's son, Sebastián; Alonso's brother Pedro and his son, Nicolás; Pedro Vásquez Pech, of a different Vásquez line; the Cruz Santis brothers and probably their father, Sebastián; Miguel Ara and his son, José;
and Manuel García. There is at least one other man who shares all but one of the criteria: Pedro González wears calzones but definitely belongs in the core group. This group has a certain residential concentration in the center and the southwestern segments of the community.

A fringe group differs with respect to all of the above-mentioned criteria. It is characterized by ladino clothes, the absence of wheat raising and the presence in some cases of cash income from plantation labor, weaker Catholicism, less participation in community affairs, and no participation in municipio affairs. It is composed of at least these men: Juan López and his son, Marcelino; the two Santis Pérez brothers; the three Hernández Pérez brothers; and Felipe Alvarez. Three of them, the López men and Miguel Santis, live a quarter of a mile to the northeast of the nearest house in Yalcuo; the others live on the very eastern edge of the village.

At this point it is impossible to specify whether or not there is only one intermediate group, since the necessary data is lacking on some men. There is one clearly distinct group composed of Santiago López; his sons, Aurelio and Hermilo; his sons-in-law, Manuel and José Vásquez; and their brothers, Agustín and Hernán Vásquez. These men all dress in ladino clothes, plant wheat as a cash crop, are active in community affairs, but do not participate in municipio affairs.

There is not enough data to place the remaining cases, except for the two men who disturb the neatness of the above scheme. Sebastián Alvarez wears the native costume and is active in community affairs, but derives his cash income from working on plantations. Miguel Vásquez, Alonso's brother's son,
is also active and works on plantations, but wears ladino clothes. Probably some of the lesser known men are also ambiguous in that they do not seem to belong to any of the groups defined so far. Nevertheless, these groups reflect some sort of empirical reality; and more importantly, they seem to play significantly different roles in current processes of change.

All of the recent changes which are visible to the naked eye have already been mentioned: the well, latrines, the medical post, and the store. Of the five families who do not have latrines, two are widows' families, two are families in the fringe group, and one is the family of a man who dresses in the native clothes but who is an ambiguous case as far as the sub-groups are concerned. According to the survey of the male nurse, almost all families which have latrines use them regularly. Yalouo is the only village in the zone served by the INI center in San Cristóbal in which a majority of families have latrines.

The medical post was completed in the summer of 1957. I moved in the middle of September, and it was first opened for business the second week of my stay. It is staffed by a young male nurse and is open only on week ends. During the first nine weeks of use, 18 different people visited the puesto for a total of 24 consultations. There are two interesting sets of figures on the clients. There were four young children, four adult males, and ten adult females. Twelve are from families in the core group, three from ambiguous families in which the head wears the native costume, two are wives of men who wear ladino clothes, and one is unknown to me. Half of the core group clients are relatives of the nurse.

It is a difficult task to obtain information about native medical practices for two reasons: the people are reluctant to divulge information about
esoteric matters in general; and now that medical practices of some people are changing rapidly, they hesitate to reveal the existence of "old-fashioned" methods of treatment. For these reasons the statement by several informants that there are no curanderos in Yalcuc should not be taken at face value.

Nevertheless, it very possibly is true. The informants say that there used to be two or three curanderos, but they were old men and are now dead. In the one case in which I know a curandero was consulted, for the treatment of one of the women of the intermediate group, the client went to a ladino curandero living in the outskirts of San Cristóbal. In another case involving a baby in a fringe group family, it was said that the man went to another village in Huistán to look for a curandero. I do not know if treatment was initiated; in any case, the baby soon died.

The core group in Yalcuc, the group which seeks to maintain its identity as Huisteos, its relation to the municipio, and its ties to the land, is the group which participates most actively in the INI health program. The members of the fringe group have participated only in so far as they have acceeded latrines, and very few people who dress in the ladino style have used the services of the medical post.

Type of costume is one criterion which has been used to define sub-groups. As such, it is taken as a constant. Actually it is an aspect of culture which is subject to change, although I cannot say whether or not change in mode of dress is proceeding rapidly at the present time, as it is among men of the neighboring municipio of Oxohuc. A change of costume is important because it reveals a change in how one wants to appear to the outer world, and it is probably one of the first steps in the change of self-identity from Indian to ladino. The inhabitants of Yashtinín all dress in the ladino style, but they,
as well as the revueltos in Yalouo, emphasize to me that they are Huistecos. This does not necessarily reveal anything about the way in which they actually conceive of themselves, because they know that I am an anthropologist who has chosen to live in a more-or-less Indian village, and this knowledge may influence their expressed attitudes. The common attitude among local ladinos is that revueltos dress as they do because they do not want to look like Indians, and this is no doubt a part of the explanation. Other factors, such as the economics of weaving, might also be important.

The brief considerations of culture change presented here all lead to an over-all impression which is certainly conjectural and not supported by much data but which is perhaps worth stating explicitly. There are two cultures influencing on the people of Yalouo: local ladino culture, with at least rural and urban sub-cultures; and the way of life represented by INI. There are some indications that the people who are supporting the INI efforts are those who have changed least in the direction of ladino culture. Although this hypothesis may apply to individuals in Yalouo, it does not suggest that in general more ladinoized people or communities reject the innovations proposed by INI, since in Yashtinin latrines have been accepted in part and a pressurized water system is under construction.
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Calzones</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trousers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 28

Residence Patterns in a Tzeltal Community
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RESIDENCE PATTERNS IN A TZELTAL COMMUNITY

A RESEARCH PAPER SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE

BY
MURIEL EVA VERBITSKY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JUNE, 1959
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF CHARTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRODUCTION</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. PRESENTATION OF THE COMMUNITY</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  The Kinship Terminology. A Model: Operational Principles
  The Bilateral Kinship Group and Ritual Kinship
  The Limited Patrilocal Lineage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. RESIDENCE I: THE GENERALIZED PATTERN</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. RESIDENCE II: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  Residence for Newly Married Individuals
  Residence for Nuclear Households
  Residence of Unmarried People
  Residence for Ex-married People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. RESIDENCE III: CONFORMITY TO THE IDEAL PATTERNS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENT</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. THE RULES OF RESIDENCE IN AGUACATENANGO</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A FINAL STATEMENT</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX I</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX II</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAP OF THE COMMUNITY</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX III</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIAGRAMMATIC MODEL OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AGUACATENANGO</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIBLIOGRAPHY</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Fischer's typology</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kinship Terminology--Male Ego</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kinship Terminology--Female Ego</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Residential Affiliation in Compound Households for Married Individuals (1956)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Residential Affiliation in Compound Households for Married Individuals (1958)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Residential Affiliation for Married Individuals in Nuclear Households in Reference to Sponsorship by the Parents of Each</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Residence Affiliation in Aguacatenango for all Married Individuals</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. House Transactions</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Residence for Unmarried Individuals in Aguacatenango</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Residence of Ex-married Individuals in Aguacatenango</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Fischer's Typology for Consanguineal Local Residence</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Componential analysis of Residence in Aguacatenango</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the spatial distribution of individuals in a social group has been a legitimate concern of anthropologists for as long a period as anthropology has been a science.

After the development of the genealogical method, it became evident that genealogically related individuals grouped and organized themselves in space, following certain principles which were of a more generalized application than residence itself.

Several universal forms of residence were soon discovered and named, and their description interested many an anthropologist. Among them, Lowie (1920:157), Rivers (1924), Kirchhoff (1922), Kroeber (1938) and Hoebel (1939:446) presented especially detailed descriptions.

The theory developed by a whole generation of anthropologists crystallized, finally, in the work of Murdock's "Social Structure." This classic and controversial book made several heuristic contributions to the field. It tested, on the one hand, the validity of statistical analysis for cross-cultural research. It established in a different form the interlocking of sub-systems within a social system which "functionalist" anthropologists have hypothesized by displaying the interdependency of certain modes of residence with certain types of kinship terminology, incest
rules and techniques for the transmission of property rights.

On the other hand, Murdock's book opened a new road for those students interested in the problem of taxonomy. The work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambivalent in meaning and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology. (Murdock, 1949:16-18, 33-)

A series of articles was published as a result of Murdock's opening up of the field. Titiev (1956) and Faror. (1956), among others, utilized Murdock's hypothesis in reviewing and expanding some problems of correlation between the development of an Omaha type terminology and the emphasis on patrilocal residence.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock himself (1955) wrote a new article wherein he pointed out the necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. Fortes had in mind a con-
time-dimensional analysis of social structure. He examined the problem of socio-structural analysis from the point of view of quantifiable data and he singled out space and time as the dimensions that delimit social activity. He felt that relations between the two dimensions were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes goes on to apply his own ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change.

Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.:1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it in the field.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956) Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new typology of residence. The Goodenough and Fischer articles showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.
Forte (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension." (Forte 1958:5) of which he spoke ten years ago (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as
Marck and Forstes had recommended in their previous statements.

Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors, such as, for example, place of birth, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried—as well as for married—people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.¹ Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." Those communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of internal status differentiation.² Residential groups, consequently, are "small groups"; moreover they are reference groups of the membership type (See Merton's definition in Merton, 1950 and in Social Theory and Social Structure). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences

¹Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare et al. (1957), Mills (1954).

²For the definition of "small groups" see Shils (19 ), Strodtbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).
of type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residually spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong. For example, it is possible, as in the case of the community treated in this paper, that incest rules refer to one level of residential groupings (the household) while endogamy rules refer to another level (the sub-community or barrio-town division).

Fischer proposes then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer 1953:512).

Raulet (1959) has made one valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disre-
gards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

I believe that the two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

The aim of this paper is a modest one. I have attempted to test the possibility of combining both types of analysis in the framework of a Tzeltal Indian community, to describe the results of the analysis in terms of the patterns of residence and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices. The paper deals, therefore, more with techniques and method of analysis, than with particular hypotheses. I shall be satisfied, however, if the results of my descriptive analysis of residence helps in a small way to clarify the meaning of the terminology current in the field.
## CHART 1

**FISCHER'S TYPOLOGY**

Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Kin Sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Neolocal</strong></td>
<td>Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Consanguineolocal</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Patrilocal</td>
<td>Any consanguineal relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Matrilocal</td>
<td>Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Avunculocal</td>
<td>Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Amitalocal</td>
<td>Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Fratrilocal</td>
<td>Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Sororilocal</td>
<td>Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Filiolocal</td>
<td>Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Filialocal</td>
<td>Son or son's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Nepotilocal</td>
<td>Daughter or daughter's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Heterolocal</td>
<td>Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. Affinolocal</strong></td>
<td>Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Virilocal (for women only)</td>
<td>Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Uxorilocal (for men only)</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)
I. PRESENTATION OF THE COMMUNITY

The community on which this study is based is the Tzeltal Indian village of Aguacatenango, located in the highlands of Chiapas, in southern Mexico.

Aguacatenango was studied by the writer during the summer field season of 1958 and by Duane and Barbara Metzger during the summer seasons of 1956 and 1958. The data used in this analysis come basically from a census of the village made by the writer during the months of July and September 1958, but genealogies and field notes from the previous year have been utilized as well, due to the generosity of the co-workers, to whom the writer is deeply indebted.

Aguacatenango is a community situated just off the Pan American highway some fifty kilometers south of San Cristobal las Casas, one of the largest cities of the state of Chiapas. The village is situated at an elevation of about six thousand feet in a small valley surrounded by broken hill country which descends in a series of terraces towards the hot lands of the valley of the Grijalva River.

The inhabitants of the village are, historically, related to the Mayas and share with them a Mayan language and Mayan cultural traditions. The people believe that their ancestors came from a place called Bahuitz, close to the region of Oxchuc, in the same state. We do not know when the settlement was founded,
but the first mention in Spanish sources corresponds to the year A.D. 1611.

Aguacatenango is a town of nuclear type (S. Tax, 1937) with regular streets. It contains 170 household units, having an average of five inhabitants per unit. Unlike many other towns in the area, Aguacatenango does not possess a large rural periphery in which the inhabitants depend on the village. Only one settlement, the colonia of El Puerto, has close ties with members of the village. This colonia depends administratively on Aguacatenango, and many of its inhabitants are literally kin of members of the community (many having moved down in the last thirty years). Marriages are still contracted between El Puerto and Aguacatenango, but rules of town endogamy seem to be developing at a rapid rate in both communities with respect to each other. Twenty-one households, of a sample of sixty-eight in Aguacatenango, reported having relatives in El Puerto and ten in the same sample have ritual-kinship ties there.

In addition to its relations with El Puerto, the community has trade relations with other Indian communities in the region and commercial as well as political connections with the Ladino (mexican) world that surrounds it. Ladinos are not part of the community life of Aguacatenango. They interact with the Indians mainly in the impersonal spheres of life—such as commerce—or through the officials of national institutions—the National Indian Institute, the Ejido Commission, the Government officers of the head town of the municipio and of the state, and the Catholic priest.

1For more historical materials, see Verbitsky 1958.
Aguacatenango is basically a corporate community. Membership is acquired by birth and residence or through marriage and residence. To be a villager one must be born and live in the town, have access to land for housing and cultivation, conform to the norms and share the culture of which the community is the ultimate authority. "Contractual" membership occurs seldom. A few individuals have become community members by special permission of the village authorities. In the revolution of the 50s, many Indians attached to the hacienda "states" found themselves suddenly cut off from any residential group. They usually moved to the closest village in the area. Aguacatenango had its share of such an "unattached" Indian population and there is one family in town, founded by an ex-peon of the Rancho San Rafael. This man married in the town, and his children are villagers.

The few individuals whose community membership is only by residence and not by birth, have broken their solidarity with their places of origin, and for all purposes of behavior their "foreignness" to the community is minimal. The only strangers living in town are the Ladino teachers of the Federal Grammar School, and they are looked upon with suspicion.

Pressures for homogeneity are innumerable and fully working. Deviants are few, well known, and can be counted. There are only six individuals now in a community of more than eight hundred inhabitants, that can be considered deviants. Deviation is opposed by strong negative sanctions, and may result in expulsion from the corporate community. It seems that deviation from community norms, once a first commitment is made in one area of
behavior, forces the individual to accumulate negative sanctions in other areas of behavior. Therefore, such individuals are already living outside the community (are not members any more) or are on the way out. Among the characteristics by which deviants may be recognized, some common ones are: solidarity with the Ladino world, expressed by conformity to outside village standards, e.g. dressing differently, communicating in the Ladino language (Spanish), behaving toward achievement in terms of wealth, literacy, and participation in the formal Catholic administration.

The fact that Aguacatenango is a self-contained organized body with strongly centripetal tendencies, does not mean it is a conservative community. Social and cultural change is a constant living process, originating both from internal pressures within the social structure and from the influence of the surrounding world, and new ideas and technology are welcomed when community consensus sanctions them positively.

The Kinship Terminology: A Model: Operational Principles

An interesting case of such change is presented by the kinship terminology. Historically, Aguacatenango shared with other Chiapas Maya communities the characteristics of unilineally oriented societies. Today, it can be said that social behavior is "male" oriented, and this is manifested in the system of authority and in some forms of kinship behavior. But terminologically the system is not a patrilineal one. The main emphasis in classifying clusters of relatives is relative age rather than precise kinship affiliation.
Certain discriminations of a bilateral nature are made, following a set of operational principles which underlie terminological distinctions. These principles do not work symmetrically. More contrasts are made among persons of the older than of the younger generations. Seniority, for example, overrides generation among collateral relatives, and the sex of the relative is overlooked among grandchildren. The use of affinal terms is at present restricted to parents and children-in-law. Sibling-in-law terms are declining in use, responding to the same pressures that are modifying the rest of the system. A careful study of historical changes in the kinship system has been written by Barbara Metzger (1956).

The principles that operate within the kinship terminology of Aguacatenango, are as follows in order of emphasis. Emphasis is determined by the number of terms that the principle affects.1

1. Seniority (relative age to ego's). Three main distinctions are made. (15 terms)
   a. Younger than ego. (6 terms)
   b. Older than ego but younger than ego's father (3 terms)
   c. Older than ego's father (4 terms)
   d. Ego's parents (2 terms)

---

1 Seniority is indicated in all the terms (15); sex of the relative is indicated in bankil, wil, tatá, nana, nilel, muk'il tat, muk'il me, chinaná, sintatá, tata, nana (11); lineal vs. collateral is indicated in the terms: muk'il tat, muk'il me, chinaná, sintatá, nican, mamničan, k'al, k'il'al, tata, nana (10); generation is indicated in the terms: muk'il tat, muk'il me, tata, nana, nican, mammičan, k'al, k'il'al (8); sex of the speaker is indicated in the terms: bankil, nilel, nican, mam nican, k'al k'il'al (6).
2. Sex of the relative (11 terms)
3. Lineal (8 terms) vs. collateral (2 terms)
4. Generation (8 terms)
5. Sex of the speaker (6 terms)

(See Charts 2 and 3).

The greater number of distinctions made among older relatives indicates that this is a dominant organizing principle, and gives the impression that the society "faces upwards." This aspect of the terminology is highly consistent with the patterns of behavior within and outside the kin group.

The extension of the kinship terms is wide, and kinship terminology is used for non-relatives on a society-wide basis. It is common, for example, that an elderly lady whom one meets on the street will be called "činnaná" as a sign of respect. The use of the sibling name, again, seems to indicate that sibling-like behavior is expected of the person addressed in such a way, independently of the "reality" of the relationship.

The Bilateral Kinship Group and Ritual Kinship

Kinsmen who participate in, for example, a funeral or a house-warming are recruited from a large loose group--beyond the limits of the household--of the bilateral relatives. The same group of bilateral relatives, plus affinal and ritual kinsmen, are invited to participate in the following events: weddings, birth announcements, household Saint's parties, house-roofing fiestas, and others.

Ritual kinship contributes, as does the kinship system and its extensions, to the ordering of people in social space.
### Chart 2
**Kinship Terminology—Male Ego**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Male Relative</th>
<th>Female Relative</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>muk'ul tat</td>
<td>muk'ul me?</td>
<td>older than ego's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>naná</td>
<td>older than ego but younger than ego's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bankil</td>
<td>wis</td>
<td>younger than ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGO</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kih'ín)</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ničan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mam ničan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart 3
**Kinship Terminology—Female Ego**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Male Relative</th>
<th>Female Relative</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>muk'ultat</td>
<td>muk'ulme?</td>
<td>older than ego's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>naná</td>
<td>older than ego but younger than ego's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šilel</td>
<td>wis</td>
<td>younger than ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGO</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kih'ín)</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kil'áal</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

*Lineal*  
*Collateral*
It also seems to provide a mechanism for the enlargement of one's system of communication within and outside the town.

Compadre (ritual kinship) relationships are contracted at three formally recognized rites of passage: baptism, confirmation, and marriage. In the first two, a single couple establishes ritual kin relations with a second marriage pair. In the case of the third, some substantial portion of the groom's married kindred become ritual kinsmen of the bride's married kindred.

The marriage ceremony seems to be a focus of cultural elaboration, leading to the development of new social relations, and largely connected with the individual's position in society.

The godfather-god child relationship does not involve the extensive responsibilities common to other relations of the same type in comparatively "Catholic" Mexican communities.

People chosen as "padrinos" for a child are usually kinsmen, and frequently the parents' own siblings. The ritual kinship term of compadre overrides the kinship term in reference or address. Behavior between compadres has a different flavor than that between siblings, and we suspect that the compadrazgo relationship functions to reinforce the sibling bond, which is threatened by reasons of a structural as well as a psychological nature, as will be explained later.

Incest taboos among ritual kinsmen extend only between compadres and not between ahijados, even if one or the other of the parents was padrino de bautizo. It follows from this that there is no exogamous rule associated with ritual kinship, that could affect first marriages. It is interesting to notice that this simplification of the ritual bond differentiates clearly
the functions of compadrazgo in Aguacatenango from those characteristic of it in other communities. Compadrazgo terminology also is weakening (or replacing) the use of kinship terminology which itself has been changing for other, multiple reasons.

**The Limited Patrilocal Lineage**

A large group of individuals is recognized as "relatives," or, in Tzeltal, as those "who are my family." Those individuals have one last name in common with Ego. The possession of a common surname, however, does not indicate a kinship relation. A member of the Perez group, will speak of his own "Perezetik" and those "Perezetik" who are "aparte." Connections are lost, frequently after the second ascending generation, and spatial (residential) proximity plays a more important role in determining kinship behavior than does genealogical connection. Several patrilocal families localized in a neighborhood form an extended family which provisionally, because of lack of a better name, we call a "limited patrilocal lineage." Such "lineages" do not cover more than three generations in depth, sometimes perhaps four, when the linking relative is recently deceased and still remembered.

There is a word to indicate "my family on my father's side" (mayan i konsojk), but lineage names are not remembered easily and the younger generation seems to have forgotten them. Lineage names were different from the Spanish last names, and those which we have collected are Tzeltal words for animals. One of the reasons for the constant breaking of linearity seems to be the strong sibling rivalry among male siblings. Men, in general, are less interested in genealogies than women, and much
more distant, socially, from younger children other than their own.

These "limited patrilineages" are the larger units where kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force, but they are not landholding units. Individuals in time of trouble seek advice from the elders of such a group. This group also exercises social control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a group member has been murdered. Informants declare that "all the Iendezetik" will get together against the "Perezetik" if a Perez kills a Iendez. We have not seen a case of the lineage functioning in this way.

This group has also certain control over the distribution of inheritance. We have one case reported for a widow who went back to her natal household and gave back the house lot to her deceased husband's father. In another case a widow asked permission for selling a house (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

Sanctions for deviant behavior, outside this group, are exercised by the household group or the Ayuntamiento, with the application of the traditional law.

An analysis of the combinations of last Spanish names of married people does not show any preferential choices, and it is difficult to determine the function of the patrilineage as an exogamous unit. People with the same last Spanish name marry frequently, so the only tangible incest rule refers to the first level of residence groups, i.e. the household.
This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of a "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) widespread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (Lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959. Unpublished student notes).

Individual rights and duties are affected by a series of factors. The position of any member of the community in the social structure can be understood in terms of such factors, and the way they are interlocked. The amount of authority displayed by an individual in the household or for the town as a whole, the prestige attributed to him, his chances for owning property or displaying leadership abilities—all these are directly related to certain factors independent of the individual's personality. Among these factors, sex and relative age play important roles for kinship behavior as well as for more generalized social behavior. A third important factor is residential affiliation, which is the main concern of this paper.
II. RESIDENCE I: THE GENERALIZED PATTERN

Residence in Aguacatenango is generally patrilocal for married men, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children. (See Fischer's typology, Chart 1).

For a recently married man, patrilocality consists of living in his parents' house, together with his wife and children.

For a well established couple with grown-up, unmarried children, male patrilocality consists of living in a nuclear household, the male being the owner of the lot and house—which usually he has obtained from his own father—the wife living in a virilocal setting with their children.

We shall call the first "primary patrilocality," the latter "secondary patrilocality." The reasons for this dichotomy are several. First, this dichotomy correlates with the order in which these forms of male patrilocality are distributed in time, and follows the life cycle of the individual; second, it correlates with the degree of spatial proximity to the parental household; third, it indicates the order of establishment of the first two units of residence (the compound and the nuclear domestic group) which are the smaller size of the residential reference groups in the village. The larger ones are the neighborhood, the barrio and the town.

Compound households are those composed by two or more
married couples, or the remnants of such. Nuclear households are composed of a single couple and their unmarried children.

The preferences for residence that we have called the generalized pattern are shown by the analysis of census materials, which allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of primary choice of residence, but offering as well numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.
III. RESIDENCE II: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

A. Residence for Newly Married Individuals: Compound Households

The preferred choice for a newly married couple is residence in the man's household, and a complete analysis of all compound houses shows this. The procedures of classification were as follows: a wife living with her husband and her parents-in-law or one of them, was classified as a virilocal case. A husband living with his wife in the house of one or both of his parents-in-law, was considered to be an uxorilocal resident. In a compound household, married brothers and a married sister living together with parents and spouses were listed as residents in a joint family. The last classification was thought to be closer to reality than would be a division of this single case into the above categories a and b of Fischer's typology. Seven households composed of diverse or unspecified extended families, but each containing only one married couple at the time of the census, were classified separately; their members were listed in the charts of old marriages, ex-married and unmarried people's residence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virilocality</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocality</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint families</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1956 there were a total of fifty-six compound households for the whole community. If we exclude from the chart the joint family, which does not represent new marriages but an old established compound, the emphasis on primary patrilocality for males and virilocality for women becomes clearer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virilocality</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocality</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These compound households represent a stable 30 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the 1956 and the 1958 census, a large number of the old compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared. Despite this movement, the 30 per cent was kept stable, because during the same period other nuclear households became compounds. In spite of the changes in individual households, the percentages of residence types did not change after a two year period.

**CHART 5**

**RESIDENTIAL AFFILIATION IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS FOR MARRIED INDIVIDUALS (1958)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virilocality</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocality</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neolocality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures utilized in this analysis hereinafter come from the 1958 census, which covers half of the village in a chessboard pattern of blocks, across barrios. (See Appendix I)

This is a new couple—a case of elopement—and the boy's parents are dead. They are borrowing a house in non-related compound.
Excluding the neolocal case, to be able to compare with the previous chart of 1956, we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virilocality</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocality</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1958</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virilocality</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocality</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Residence for Old Marriages: Nuclear Households

To understand residence affiliation for the rest of the nuclear households in town, other procedures were applied. Once a young couple have had one or two children, they usually move, as previously noted, to another nuclear house contiguous if possible, to the man's parents' household. The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult with each generation to maintain strict contiguous-household-patrilocality as a secondary form of residence. Other factors, in addition, of a more individual nature, enter in, with the result that at first glance, many nuclear household heads are apparently living, under Fischer's classification, in a neolocal setting. The problem of applying a typology such as Fischer's in this analysis is that in each case, sponsorship has to be redefined because "forms" of sponsorship vary according to different circumstances for individual's histories. Usually, the father or a close relative in the father's line (somebody who for this purpose replaces the father) will provide a young man with a house. Let us say that patrilocal sponsorship is expressed in Aguacatenango by giving the sons a house, even if it is not contiguous to the parental one.
Therefore, to determine secondary residence patterns, every man and woman was located geographically in relation to his or her parents. It was also determined, when data was available, who owned the house lot (the sitio) and from whom it had been obtained.

The results of this analysis indicates a strong emphasis on secondary patrilocality for married males, and a strong bias toward inheriting a house in the male line. Patrilocality is, in this case, defined as residential proximity to the household of the parents of the male head of a nuclear household.

CHART 6
RESIDENCE AFFILIATION FOR MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS IN REFERENCE TO SPONSORSHIP BY THE PARENTS OF EACH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAN</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>WOMAN</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cases</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>combined percent</td>
<td>cases</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same block</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjacent block</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same barrio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>different barrio</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other town</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SAMPLE</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of these figures brings up certain interesting results, especially when combined with the figures for com-
pound households. Here are the total percentages of residence found in the sample of the town, counting married individuals only.

We can see now that while 95 per cent of the married males are living in a secondary patrilocal setting, only 64 per cent of the females do so. Even this 64 per cent is an inflated figure since a woman tends to marry a man who lives close to her parental household. Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the most frequently followed pattern.
If we exclude the first and last categories, which will be analyzed separately, because of special characteristics, we are able to observe that 75 per cent of a sample of families living in nuclear households have obtained it through the relatives of the husband, while 25 per cent was obtained through the relatives of the wife.

Land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when required. Ideally, most parents think that their houses will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' death. Usually most people will say: "The house will be for our younger son, because he will take care of us in our old age, when all our other children marry, get their own land and leave this house." In practice, many times the house has to be sold before this time arrives. The main reasons for selling a house is to pay for the burial of a family member.

Most widows, if the house is not reclaimed by the husband's family,
will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. When this is the case, the money obtained is divided among the relatives who claim rights over the property.

C. Residence of Unmarried People

Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively.

CHART 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living in type</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrilocal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrilocal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parentilocal</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's
stepmother; cases of children living in the father's parents' compounds without the father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household. Fratri-local sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Orphans frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's terminology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence, because in practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population.

D. Residence for Ex-married People

CHART 10

RESIDENCE OF EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN AGUACATENANGO (e.g. Widows, widowers and divorced cases) 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living in Type</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filiolocal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filialocal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepotilocal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this man in Agua cate nango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Agua cate nangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting.

The above charts cover the percentages for all the cases for which we had data. I have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they are part of the past, or concern individuals who do not live in the village any more. Among those cases we have several which seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

I know of two cases of individuals eloping to the colonia el puerto immediately before marriage. Primary residence outside the community seems to be associated with elopement of the new couple. I know of three cases where the preferred form of primary residence for married individuals was the husband's brother's house. In those cases, the husband's parents were dead, and the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took responsibility for the payment of the bride price for his younger brother's wife. Four cases, finally, of primary matrilocal residence for married males, comprising individuals who at the time of the marriage were living in the mother's mother's household, because their parents were dead, and no other relative was left in the original compound.

Now, with numerical evidence at hand, we can make an
objective statement about patterns of residence. We suggest that this technique has some superiority to the most common traditional descriptions produced by anthropologists in the recent past. This technique of analysis also permits us to control the normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. I think that one of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed. In our understanding, they reveal to us the real dynamics of social groups, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation.
IV. RESIDENCE III: CONFORMITY TO THE IDEAL PATTERNS

A DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENT

Aguacatenangueros believe that a young married couple should live with the husband's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising one or more children through the weaning period. Once the marriage has proved stable, the couple will move to a house given to them by the husband's parents, and a younger brother, perhaps, will marry and bring his wife into the house. The last of the sons will stay with the parents until their death, and he and his wife will inherit the house.

When the couple moves out, which seldom takes place without a certain amount of conflict, they establish a nuclear household. Through time, when their own sons grow up and get married, bringing their own wives into the house, a new extended patri-local compound will develop, and another cycle in the history of a domestic group will be started.

The transition between compound residence and a separate nuclear house is not an easy one. Parents try to keep their children as long as possible, because children are an economical as well as an emotional asset to them. Most changes of residence are expressed in terms of conflict. A quarrel between the two generations involved, or between siblings, as well as malicious gossip, seems to be present in each case.
If we observe the composition of nuclear households we see that these people live up to their own ideas about who should live apart from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them, represent 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child represent 7 per cent also. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

Married men, however, only conform to the patrilocal ideal in 95 per cent of the cases. (See Chart 7). The rest, in spite of the variation, are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternative rules available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

A man will go to live with his wife's relatives, or live in a house given to him by her parents, for the following reasons, which everybody in town knows:

1. When he is an orphan, in which case he does not have a parental household to bring his wife to live in, nor parents to give him a house lot.

2. When his wife is the only or last child in her parents' household, and at the time the marriage was arranged, a special agreement was made, by which he promised not to alienate his wife from her natal place.

Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married child living with them when they are old, have very little prestige in the community. They are spoken of as "bad people," people who do "wrong" to their children-in-law or mistreat their own children. A couple with a single daughter will be eager to keep her
after marriage, especially if all the sons have married and left
the household after the virilocal "bride-service" of the wives.

These transactions are very unstable, because the goal of
the male is to bring his wife with him to his own household, if
he has one, and to occupy his place as son and possible heir of
his father. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, be-
cause it is a way to avoid the heavy burden of being a "muja,"
obedient-without-discussion to her mother-in-law; living in a
place where she has little authority, and where for a long time
she will be considered as an outsider. Authority is traditionally
located in the male, and most husbands are successful in choosing
residence place for themselves and their wives. Consequently,
very few couples remain long in an uxorilocal setting.

3. The third reason for living in the wife's parents'
house is also a temporary one. At the time a marriage is arranged
a bride-price, called the "bocado" (mouthful) is paid to the
family of the future wife by the family of the future husband.
This bocado has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of
consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes
and alcoholic drink. This payment symbolizes the transfer of the
wife's reproductive and labor powers from her natal household to
her husband's. The symbolic meaning of the bride-price is clearly
verbalized at the marriage ceremony. The new wife is told then,
that she starts a new life, she now has a new family and she has
a new home, where she should learn new ways of doing things and
forget the old ones. Among her duties as a good daughter-in-law
and a wife she should not visit her family too often, she should
gather firewood with her mother-in-law in the place of her mother,
she should obey and respect the people in her new house and work hard for them.

If a woman is living in her husband's parents' house, and she gets mildly ill, the household will take responsibility for her curing, paying the necessary expenses, because her husband as well as her husband's parents sponsor her residence there. But if her sickness becomes a prolonged serious case, she becomes a burden for the household without being an economical asset, because her reproductive capacities as well as her labor power become annulled. Her transfer to her husband's group, is symbolically reversed by a shift of residence to her original natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his own father.

Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties is broken down with marriage and patrilocal residence. During the first years of marriage, particularly, when the woman has not borne children, she is an outsider in the husband's household. She must work hard for a woman she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her without delay. An interesting triadic relation is developed between her, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power. In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is one of cooperation but not of

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1See Caplow (1956). Other writers in the subject of triadic relations are: Mills (1954), Vinacke (1957), Bales (1957).
"collaboration." Command and sanction are in the hands of the mother-in-law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the division of labor in every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved. In the normal course of events, this triad dissolves into a coalition of husband and wife, who move out of the household after a child is born. The dynamics of social conflict are controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior, and only in exceptional situations a couple leaves the compound before the birth of a child. Residential changes, however, are usually expressed in terms of ongoing conflict.

The relation of a woman and her father-in-law, is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

Together with the pressures brought by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage. Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her husband's household does not. The change of residence at the time of sickness, provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the
functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as psychological needs of the individual.

Three cases of residential change for this reason (sickness of the wife) occurred during the summer of 1958. After the sickness is successfully cured, the couple usually moves to a separate house and sets up a nuclear household of its own.

Special rules of residence are provided for more specific cases. Widows go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases the woman "holds" the property of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiolocal residence). This form of property could be called trust property.

Filiolocality is therefore no exception to the previously stated rule but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Chart 5</th>
<th>From Chart 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrilocal</td>
<td>Filiolocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrilocal</td>
<td>Filialocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between children, perhaps it is preferred to follow a male and not a female line. In some
cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the children become members of the father's parents' household. When a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal mother and not the father, is the sponsor of the child is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother. The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It seems to us that one of the main forces operating behind this structural arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights between stepchildren.
These alternative rules of residence explain the 13 per cent of compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families. (The 13 per cent represents a total for the community, counting all compound households in the village).

Three and two-tenth per cent still remains to be explained, and it corresponds to people living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was borrowed from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor for Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and had not inherited land. The other such family is a young couple, married without their parents' approval. They ran away and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence very unstable. From those two cases we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or for social reasons (in the case we have, parental sponsorship was denied because of disapproval of the marriage.)

The edges of town are a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages, also live on the edges. Two complete blocks in the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family, which
originally arrived from Chamula—a Tzotzil town—two generations ago. Other families living in the village outskirts come from La Palizada and El Puerto.

**Residential Affiliation at the Sub-Community Community and Supra-Community Levels**

Residence determines marriage choice to the extent that marriage is endogamous to the "barrio." The barrio represents the second level of residential reference groups.

The town of Aguacatenango is divided in two sections (barrios) at each side of the Church building. The origins of this division are unknown to us. Perhaps the community was originally made up of two different migrant groups, or perhaps the barrios are remnants of a moiety system, but there is no evidence to support either theory.

Each barrio plays a role in the communal divisions of labor, by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the town governing bodies. Each barrio is today a landholding unit. (Irrigated land is divided between the two barrios and watered by separate canals, but land ownership seems to be a recent feature of the barrio organization.)

Social interaction is largely limited to the residents of each barrio. Barrio groups include farming groups; fire-wood gathering groups (a woman's activity); groups of men formed for buying and butchering cattle before a town's holiday. House parties organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no people, with the exception of the anthropologist, are invited to participate if they are residents of "the other side." In the past, there were two
Catholic organizations for women, one for each barrio: The Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe. These two organizations interrupted meetings at the same time that the Sacristan officership ceased to exist in the Church organization, about twenty-five years ago. Last summer, an attempt at revival was made by the Women's Catholic Association of San Cristobal, but its success is doubtful. An "escuadrilla" membership (boys' age-group) is limited to barrio residents. Visits to relatives and other people are limited to the neighbors. Visits to far away houses, especially to houses in the other barrio are rare, due to very unusual circumstances, and accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in a household, about the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrios to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the owners of the cow when the milk was asked for by the wife of the sick man. The senior woman of the household denied that her cow had any milk. When the visitor left, it was explained to the anthropologist that "milk is money, the "Ladino-school-teacher" pays better for it, and besides . . . the visitor came from the other barrio.

But the main reason for the survival of the barrio division, as understood by Aguacatenangueros themselves, is the practice of barrio endogamy. Chart 7 shows that 100 per cent of the men live in their own barrio, and 86 per cent of the women. It is difficult to observe endogamy from the residence affiliation of men, because in case they marry outside their barrio they bring their wives into it. But the percentage of women living in a barrio other than their own indicates that 8 per cent of
marriages occur across barrio boundaries, and 6 per cent of men
in town have married women from other communities.

Of the 8 per cent of barrio exogamous marriages, most are
cases of second marriage. We have knowledge of other cases, but
they are part of past family histories and could not be counted
in the statistics. It is our hypothesis, that the competition
for girls among unmarried males in a man's own barrio, makes for
conflicting interests within a barrio. When a man marries for
a second time, it is a preferable choice for him to marry outside
to avoid conflict with the men with whom he interacts most fre-
quently.

Barrio exogamous weddings do not follow the regular pro-
cess of marriage arrangements. After a period of going steady
and sexual experimentation which has determined the couple's
mutual choice, usually a marriage is arranged between the parents
of a boy and girl. A series of visits, called the "pedida de la
novia" (asking for the bride) is paid from the boy's relatives to
the girl's parents. These visits include the payment of the
bride-price or "bocado." Barrio exogamous marriages are viola-
tions of the barrio endogamy rule, and therefore, "legal" "pedi-
das de la novia" across barrio boundaries are socially forbidden.
When a man and woman decide to live together as marriage partners
in spite of their different barrio residence, they elope to the
man's house at night, or they leave town together. Therefore,
primary virilocality is an absolute rule in cases of barrio exo-
gamous marriages. Elopement cuts out any social relation between
a woman and her relatives, until a secondary form of bride-price
is paid. This secondary form of bride-price is called the
"agradecimiento". It consists of a payment reduced to half of the usual bride-price, 150 pesos in the form of consumable goods. A small marriage ceremony exchange is performed. The agradecimiento ceremony is less important and involves less ritual, because "the children were already living together." This ceremony reestablishes social interaction between the couple and the wife's household.

Town exogamous marriages occur between Aguacatenango and El Puerto. This colony has become an independent social unit, and exogamy between the two places is not socially approved. We know, however, about several marriages of this type. La Palizada, a highlands town, seems to be a reservoir for marrying out daughters when the family is large and poor. We know of two cases, one of the past, and one contemporaneous, in which both Aguacatenango women married La Palizada men, and the reason given was the "poverty" of the girls' families. Those marriages are not sought as prestigious, because the "Kurikes" (La Palizada people) are looked upon with pity for their poverty, and considered, at the same time, "sinful" for practicing polygamy and as "mistreating" women by making them work in the cornfields.
V. THE RULES OF RESIDENCE IN AGUACATENANGO

A FINAL STATEMENT

Up to this point, we have described the general patterns of residence and have pointed out certain ways in which people make choices. In this section a new procedure is employed to summarize the data in such a fashion as to deduce a simple set of rules.

Fischer’s paper on residence offers an elegant set of procedures for census analysis, but we think that his final typology does not do justice to the procedures, because it does not take account of all the possible principles which would make a universal typology. Fischer divides residence types under the headings of consanguineolocal, affinolocal and neolocal. Consanguineolocal is again subdivided in two main groups, those which follow a matrilineal and those which follow a patrilineal line. In this dichotomy lineal relatives of Ego’s own generation are lumped together with collaterals of the same lineage. All ascending generations are grouped with the paternal generation, and all descending generations are grouped with Ego’s children generation.

Fischer's typology results in ten types, and the Aguacatenango data will cover seven of them (heterolocal, atatalocal and sororilocal being the exceptions). The error of Fischer's typology is the underlying assumption that people make residence
choices based mainly in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

CHART 11

FISCHER'S TYPOLOGY FOR CONSANGUINEOLOCAL RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patrilineal</th>
<th>Matrilineal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.25% patrilocal</td>
<td>6.5% matrilocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amitilocal</td>
<td>avunculocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fratrilocal 1.5%</td>
<td>sororilocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5% fililocal</td>
<td>0.5% filialocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heterolocal</td>
<td>0.25% nepotilocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collaterals</td>
<td>lineals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such a typology is very useful when applied to groups where linearity plays a very important role in the organization of kinsmen in space. But it will obscure the analysis of residence among more bilateral groups. One way of developing a typology of a more universalistic nature, could be to make finer distinctions in the analysis of sponsors.

In Chart 12 below, all frequencies and forms of residence are presented (the specific sponsor is not stated because he is mentioned elsewhere). In this chart, as many distinctions in the types as necessary were made to elicit the rules which govern residential choice. This type of chart has been utilized previously by Goodenough (1956) and others in componential analysis of kinship. Chart 12 cuts the data in a more minute fashion than Fischer's.

For the Aguacatenango data two more distinctions have been made: the sponsor's sex (independent of his lineage affilia-
ation) and generation of sponsors. When other communities are described in such a fashion, other distinctions will possibly appear as important ones.

**CHART 12**

**COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS OF RESIDENCE IN AGUACATENANGO 1958 SAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male sponsor</th>
<th>female sponsor</th>
<th>consanguineals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patrilocal 2</td>
<td>patrilocal 3</td>
<td>matrilocal 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
<td>(none at present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parentilocal 47%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avunculocal 0.25%</td>
<td>matrilocal 1</td>
<td>1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>primary 5%</td>
<td>secondary 3.5%</td>
<td>ego's generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>secondary 8.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fratrilocal 1.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>filiolocal 1.5%</td>
<td>nepotilocal 0.25%</td>
<td>1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patrilineal</td>
<td>filialocal 0.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>collaterals</td>
<td>matrilineal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lineals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**II Affinals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male sponsor</th>
<th>female sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>uxorilocal 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>virilocal 21%</td>
<td>uxorilocal 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ego generation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**III Self sponsor**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>neolocal 6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**IV Non-related male sponsor**

|               | borrowing 0.25% |

**Sub-community level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>same barrio</th>
<th>different barrio or town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Rules for Residence Choice

1. Any individual Ego in Aguacatenango, independent of his age, sex or married status will prefer to reside with a male sponsor.

2. Consanguineal relatives are preferred sponsors against affinals or self (neolocality).

3. Affinalocality is preferred over neolocality.

4. Sponsors of Ego's parental generation are preferred over any other generation.

5. Among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives are preferred over collaterals.

6. Lineage affiliation of the sponsor does not count as much as the sponsor's sex, but patrilineal relatives are highly preferred as sponsors over matrilineal ones.

7. Spouses reside together. The male is preferred as sponsor among affinals as well as among consanguineals.

8. Unmarried children reside with both parents. If the parents are separated young children reside with the mother. If the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than the father is preferred.

9. Widows, widowers and divorced people prefer male sponsors over females, regardless of lineality.

10. Men always reside in their own barrio (unless they leave town). Women reside in their own barrio (86 per cent) unless married across barrio or town boundaries.
Any other arrangements which do not follow this simple set of rules are unstable and show low frequencies. (Borrowing, for example, represents 0.5 per cent of a 100 per cent corresponding to a total population of 384 individuals in 68 households.)

With this set of rules, the residence of any Aguacatconango individual can be predicted with a high degree of certainty and it would be rewarding if a similar procedure of analysis could be positively tested in other communities.
## APPENDIX I

The complete sample of the 1958 census arranged in agreement with Fischer's procedure (without combination with Fortes' developmental cycle).

### Single individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrilocal</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrilocal</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parentilocal</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ex-married individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filiocal</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filialocal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepotilocal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Married individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrilocal</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrilocal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virilocal</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neolocal</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratrilocal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 384

Note: I have divided neolocal into secondary patrilocality 33, secondary matrilocality 11, neolocal 24, non-related sponsor 1.

I have divided patrilocal into types 1 (living with parents), type 2 (living with grandparents), type 3 (living with a patrilineal related male of the parental generation).

Type 1, I have sub-divided in primary patrilocality, for children and married males living in the same compound with parents; secondary patrilocality for married males in a different compound than parents, but a house given by his parents. Matrilocality I have sub-divided into primary matrilocality for children and married females living in the same compound with parents; secondary matrilocality for married females whose house was given by her family. (Figures are indicated in the corresponding sections of the text.)
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FORTES, MEYER

GOODENOUGH, WARD II.

GOODY, JACK

HARE, A.P., BORGATTA, E.F. AND BALES, R.F.

HOEBEL, E.A.
HUMANS, GEORGE

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL

KROEBER, A.L.

LOWIE, R.H.

MERTON, ROBERT K.

METZGER, DUANE and METZGER, BARBARA

METZGER, BARBARA

METZGER, DUANE

METZGER, DUANE and BARBARA


METZGER, DUANE and VERBITSKY, EVA

MILLS, T.

BURDOCK, GEORGE P.

HALETT, HARRY

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TITIEV, MISCHA

VERBITSKY, N. EVA
Section 29

EL MÉTODO HISTÓRICO

EN LA

ANTROPOLOGÍA SOCIAL:

LOS APELLIDOS DE CHANAL
Chanal es uno de los municipios del centro de Chiapas que pueden considerarse 100 o/o indígena. No hay ladinos que residan permanentemente en el municipio, excepción hecha de un secretario asalariado del gobierno local y varios maestros de escuela. El gobierno local está controlado, por lo menos oficialmente, exclusivamente por funcionarios indígenas.

Más del 90 o/o de la población habla únicamente la lengua Tzeltal, una rama de la familia Mayance. Según informes obtenidos en Chanal, solamente hay dos o tres mujeres que hablan español.

Como muchas otras comunidades indígenas de Chiapas, Chanal se compone de dos secciones o barrios endogámicos, los cuales contribuyen equitativamente a suministrar funcionarios para el gobierno local. También, como en la mayoría de las comunidades Tzalteles y Tzotziles, existe aquí una especie de sistema de parentesco que se caracteriza por un apellido doble el cual es transmitido por la línea paterna. Generalmente uno de los apellidos es español y el otro indígena. Por lo tanto, toda la comunidad se puede dividir en varios "grupos de apellido español", a los cuales Villa Rojas denomina "clanes". A los grupos de apellido indígena los llama "linajes".

Los clanes son, desde luego, patrilineales y también exógamos. Un apellido indígena, por regla general, no se combina más que con un apellido español. Así, vemos que una persona cuyo supuesto nombre fuera Antonio Hernández Yemoc, sería miembro del clan Hernández y del linaje Yemoc o de la subdivisión de aquel clan. De acuerdo con la costumbre, se le prohibiría casarse con una mujer de apellido Hernández.

Desde luego que hay excepciones dentro de este patrón, pero este sistema se encuentra con notable frecuencia en todas las comunidades Tzotziles y Tzeltales. Aun no se sabe en qué forma
se originaron estos grupos de apellidos españoles ni como perduran o se transforman. Lo que sí sabemos es que de una comunidad a otra hay bastante variación en las funciones de estos grupos y que en la actualidad hay casos en que ya no tienen ninguna función.

El objeto de este informe es simplemente el de ilustrar una manera de estudiar estos grupos de parentesco y hacer notar los problemas que se pueden suscitar. En primer lugar describiré el archivo del cual se obtuvo el material. En seguida analizaré y haré un resumen del material ilustrativo que se encuentra en los apéndices, y finalmente indicaré en qué forma puede contribuir un estudio de este tipo a los fines del Proyecto, así como a la antropología de la región.

I

La Oficina del Registro Civil de San Cristóbal las Casas tiene a su cargo el registro de todas las actas civiles del municipio de Las Casas. En años anteriores esta oficina también era responsable de llevar el registro de todo el distrito del cual es cabecera San Cristóbal, y del cual forma parte Chanal.

La oficina tiene a su cargo, entre otras cosas, el registro de los matrimonios civiles, así como de los nacimientos y de las defunciones. Los registros que se encuentran en la oficina actualmente, según nos dimos cuenta al hacer un examen superficial, datan de los últimos años de la decena de 1880.  

Durante el periodo de 1880 hasta la fecha, se han efectuado dos cambios muy importantes en el método de llevar el registro. Antiguamente los funcionarios que estaban a cargo del registro de los municipios anotaban los nombres de los habitantes de los municipios indígenas de acuerdo con el sistema local de parentesco. Es decir, que en aquellos municipios en donde los indígenas heredaban dos apellidos del padre, ambos nombres se anotaban. Posteriormente se cambió este sistema a favor del actual, que consiste en anotar el apellido español del padre seguido del apellido español de la madre. Los apellidos indígenas no se registran en lo absoluto hoy en día.
El otro cambio importante, arriba mencionado, es que en la actualidad se llevan registros separadamente en las cabeceras de los municipios en vez de hacerlo en la cabecera del distrito.

Es muy probable que de cuando en cuando se lleven a cabo algunas variaciones individuales en el método de llevar el registro dentro del municipio y en cada municipio. Por ejemplo, en 1904 parece ser que los registros de nacimiento fueron hechos por la misma persona todos los meses menos en septiembre. Los registros de septiembre mencionan solamente al padre de la criatura y únicamente el apellido español, mientras que en los demás meses se da el nombre completo del padre y de la madre.

**TABLA I**

**APELIDOS ANOTADOS EN LOS REGISTROS DE CHANAL DE 1904**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GÓMEZ:</th>
<th>LÓPEZ:</th>
<th>SANTIS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tzima  (13)</td>
<td>Paz (5)</td>
<td>Mozan (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaxas (10)</td>
<td>Tib (4)</td>
<td>Antun (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guacax (4)</td>
<td>Chicó (6)</td>
<td>Jolva (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chavín (5)</td>
<td>Xampil (5)</td>
<td>Boc (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimbac (4)</td>
<td>Cucay (2)</td>
<td>(?) uimichos (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corías (4)</td>
<td>Poyte (2)</td>
<td>Coquiell (?) (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libax (1)</td>
<td>Libax (1)</td>
<td>Quinichi (?) (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libax (2)</td>
<td>Calobal (1)</td>
<td>Porquet (?) (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calobal (1)</td>
<td>Nichi (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>González (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bot (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERNÁNDEZ:</th>
<th>MÉNDEZ:</th>
<th>PÉREZ:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yemoc (12)</td>
<td>Hon (3)</td>
<td>Calobal (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soten (5)</td>
<td>Chisna (1)</td>
<td>Chicó (1)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Zopa (1)</td>
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TABLA XI

COMBINACIONES DE APELLIDOS
DE CHANAL ANOTADAS POR
MARK GUMBINER
(1957)*

<table>
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<th>GÓMEZ:</th>
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<td>Xampil</td>
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<td>Cucay</td>
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<td>Puyte</td>
<td>Te’es (Díaz)</td>
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<td>Verquis—same as Tzitam?</td>
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<td>Quinich</td>
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*Pagina 72 de sus notas de campo.  Fíjese que esta lista incluye solamente linajes actuales que continúan; que Gómez Espín incluye sólo mujeres; y que Gúlanto ha desaparecido.
Estos registros están abiertos al público. Se encuentran en hojas separadas por categorías (nacimientos, defunciones, etc.) y por localidades. Están arreglados por años en paquetes, y cada uno contiene las hojas de todas las distintas categorías. De estos paquetes se puede sacar, a veces, un juego completo de hojas de determinada localidad y copiar la información que presentamos en los apéndices I y II.

IX

En la Tabla I se hace un resumen de los apellidos anotados en los apéndices I y II. No se incluyen los apellidos españoles que no se encontraban combinados con apellidos indígenas. Sin embargo, deseamos hacer notar que el apellido Díaz se encuentra ocho veces, y nunca se combinó. Morales también aparece varias veces, pero nunca en combinación. En algunos casos hemos anotado los nombres separadamente: Gómez Libax y Gómez Libax; Gómez Guaxax y Gómez Guaxas. Es posible que estas diferencias hayan sido errores del empleado que hizo el registro o del copista, o que en efecto se trate de nombres distintos.

Varios apellidos indígenas aparecen con apellidos españoles diferentes (lo cual es una violación a la regla general antes mencionada): López Chicó y Pérez Chicó; Gómez Libax y López Libax; Gómez Calobal y Pérez Calobal.

En la Tabla II se da una lista de las combinaciones de apellidos de Guanal que fueron anotados por Mark Gumbiner en 1957.

Haciendo ahora una comparación entre las Tablas I y II, podemos hacer notar los siguientes puntos:

1. Pérez Calobal y Jiménez Guachi se convirtieron en subdivisiones de Gómez Calobal y Gómez Guachi.

2. Los linajes de Hernández se convirtieron en subdivisiones de Santís.

3. Aguilar Zemen se convirtió en una subdivision de Méndez.

4. Los linajes de Velasco se convirtieron en subdivisiones de Santís.
Todos los clanes que fueron registrados en 1904, con excepción de Bautista, aparecen en la lista de 1957. En 1957 aparece un clan que no se encuentra en el registro de 1904. El apellido Díaz, que aparece por sí solo en la lista de 1904, se encuentra en 1957 bajo Santis, si es que aceptamos Teves como Díaz.

De esta comparación podemos sacar cuando menos dos observaciones muy importantes:

1. Cuando ocurre un cambio, existe la tendencia de que todo el clan cambie en masa (tal como en el caso de Hernández), y no solamente los linajes individuales del clan. Esto indica cierta solidaridad o autoridad entre los clanes.

2. Parece ser que existe bastante inestabilidad en el sistema en lo que se refiere a la nomenclatura. Si realmente es un hecho que en el clan existen la solidaridad y la autoridad de que hablábamos antes, entonces ¿por qué y cómo se une tan fácilmente un clan a otro clan?

Desde luego que no es posible llegar a una conclusión con respecto a la organización social o al desarrollo social basándose en tan pocos datos, pero sí podemos establecer una hipótesis que se podrá cotejar por medio del examen de documentos así como por el método convencional de la entrevista que se emplea en la antropología social. Esta breve excursión a los recursos de los archivos podrá dar al lector una idea del valor que puede tener dicha investigación en el estudio de la naturaleza y de las funciones de estas unidades sociales en determinada comunidad.

Volviendo ahora al empleo de estos mismos datos en comparación con datos semejantes de otra comunidad, podremos apreciar aun mejor el valor que tendrá esta investigación de los apellidos.

Como sabemos por los datos proporcionados por los informantes, Chanal es una comunidad que se formó como una "rama" de la comunidad de Oxchuc hace menos de 200 años, nos podremos dar mejor cuenta de la situación estudiando las condiciones actuales de Oxchuc y buscando el control histórico del cambio de nombres en la comunidad de Oxchuc.
En el VOCABULARIO TEZELAS-ESTÁNOL (1953) se publica una lista de los clanes y linajes de Oxchuc. Gómez aparece con 32 linajes; Méndez con 7 linajes; Santis con 32 linajes; López con 14 linajes; y Rodríguez y Enciso con un linaje cada uno. (Gumbiner 1957: 64-66).

Aunque existen aproximadamente el mismo número de clanes tanto en Chanal como en Oxchuc (seis o siete), hay más del doble de linajes en Oxchuc (ochenta y cuarenta en números redondos). De acuerdo con el censo de 1950 la población de Oxchuc es también aproximadamente dos veces mayor que la de Chanal.

Si comparamos la lista de 1953 de Oxchuc (Apéndice II) con las listas de 1904 y 1957 de Chanal (Tablas I y II), vemos que:
1. Calobal no aparece en la lista de Oxchuc, pero Pérez aparece como linaje de Gómez.
2. Huanuch aparece como linaje de Gómez, pero Jiménez no se menciona para nada.
3. Los tres linajes de Hernández de la lista de 1904 de Chanal aparecen en la lista de 1953 de Oxchuc—todos formando parte del clan Santis, y Hernández no se menciona.
4. El linaje Tzemen, que en la lista de 1904 aparecía como el único linaje unido a Aguilar, aparece en la lista de 1953 como linaje de Méndez. También Aquilan (que bien pudiera ser una corrupción de Aguilar) aparece como linaje de Méndez, pero Aguilar no aparece.
5. Los dos linajes de Velasco que aparecen en la lista de 1904 se encuentran en la lista de 1953, pero como linajes de Santis. Velasco no aparece en lo absoluto.

Según esta comparación, es evidente que el agrupamiento actual de los nombres de Oxchuc es igual al de Chanal. Si suponemos una lista de 1904 de Oxchuc muy semejante a la de Chanal (esta suposición nos parece razonable pero no la pudimos cotejar ya que este informe se preparó en la ciudad de México en donde no fue posible obtener datos históricos), entonces vemos que hay una relación notable en el desarrollo social de dos comunidades aparentemente independientes. Cuando un clan o un linaje cambia de nombre o de
afiliación, parece ser que los cambios ocurren en la misma forma tanto en Chanal como en Oxchuc. Así, Hernández Yernoc no se convierte en Gómez Yernoc en Chanal y Santos Yernoc en Oxchuc, sino que se convierte en Santos Yernoc en ambas comunidades. También hemos de hacer notar que si un linaje cambia de nombre de afiliación en una de las comunidades, aparentemente lo cambia también en la otra.

Nos enfrentamos entonces con los siguientes problemas: ¿Qué clase de relaciones sociales existen entre Chanal y Oxchuc capaces de producir tal relación? ¿Es que una comunidad se deja guiar por la otra, o se efectúa el cambio simultáneamente en ambas comunidades? De hecho, la decisión de cambiar el apellido de Hernández por el de Santos se hace conjuntamente por los linajes de Chanal y de Oxchuc, o existe un jefe de clan o linaje que preside sobre las dos comunidades? ¿Existen dos comunidades separadas o solamente una?

Hasta aquí he indicado la posible contribución que podría significar este tipo de estudio documental para la mejor comprensión de la organización social en determinadas comunidades. Como nota final quisiera añadir que un estudio de este tipo que cubra toda el área Tzotzil-Tzeltal puede ser una gran contribución a la lingüística y a la demografía histórica de la región.

Por ejemplo, tanto el etno-historiador como el lingüista tendrán problemas acerca de las relaciones entre Tenejapa y Chanal-Oxchuc, una vez que hayan comparado los datos recogidos de los apellidos de Tenejapa por Fernando Cámara y los que tenemos aquí de Chanal y de Oxchuc. Cámara (1944:537-38) da una lista de los siguientes clanes: Gómez, Guzmán, Hernández, Jiménez, Insín, Jirón, López, Luna, Méndez, Mesa, Pérez, Ramírez, Santos y Velasco. Unidos a estos nombres de clanes, da los nombres de linaje, muchos de los cuales se encuentran en Chanal y en Oxchuc también.
En Tenejapa combinado:  
Apellido de Linajes con:  
Pale      Santis  
Chelap    Santis  
Cohtom    Ramírez  
Conde     Pérez  
Ton       Méndez  
Huasquis  López  
Huacax    Jiménez  
Chihc     Guzmán  
Sopa      Guzmán  

En Chanal y en Oxchuc combinado con:  
Pale      Santis  
Chelap    Santis  
Cohtom    Santis  
Conde     Santis  
Ton       Núñez  
Huasquis  Gómez  
Huacax    Gómez  
Chihc     López  
Sopa      Santis  

Estos datos de Tenejapa son asombrosos. Acaso los apellidos indígenas que se presentan aquí tienen un origen distinto del de los apellidos de Chanal o de Oxchuc. Si tienen el mismo origen, entonces tenemos que explicarnos su presencia por migración o matrimonio, pero por medio de qué proceso van unidos a los distintos nombres de clan?

III

Es posible que el antropólogo social nos pueda dar la razón por la que las gentes de esa área hacen migraciones en la actualidad, y también nos diga en qué forma afectan estas migraciones la organización social y otros elementos culturales que han heredado. Nos puede decir cómo la familia o "clan-linaje-hogar" funciona en diversos sitios y bajo diversas condiciones, pero probablemente podría obtener muy poca información histórica de sus informantes que le indicará en qué forma cambian estas unidades siglo con siglo, o de las relaciones que puedan existir entre dicho cambio y la migración.

El etno-historiador se interesa en los mismos elementos que estudia el antropólogo social, pero le interesa más estudiar dichos elementos desde el punto de vista histórico. No es posible lograr una perspectiva semejante estudiando una sola comunidad. El etno-historiador puede empezar en cualquier comunidad, pero usando esa comunidad como punto central, debe seguir huellas o hipótesis que lo lleven al pasado, así como a una vastísima área geográfica de dimensiones desconocidas.
En vista de que Chanal está comprendido dentro de la región de estudio de este proyecto, se podría tomar como el punto central para iniciar la etno-historia, pero a la larga la investigación posiblemente tendrá que incluir toda el área Tzeltal-Tzotzil-Tojolabal para lograr un estudio completo. En otras palabras, una simple relación histórica no se puede establecer directamente desde Chanal hasta Amatenango, que es otra comunidad Tzeltal incluida dentro del área de nuestro proyecto. Se deberán seguir varias claves históricas desde Chanal hasta las comunidades a donde lleguen dichas claves, hasta que con el tiempo el cuadro esté lo suficientemente claro para incluir a Amatenango.

Lo que pretendemos en este informe, entonces, es hacer notar que existe una fuente de recursos documentales del cual podemos sacar datos útiles para un entendimiento de la organización social dentro de las distintas comunidades, y útiles asimismo, para estudios regionales lingüísticos e históricos. Estos recursos documentales son los registros civiles y eclesiásticos de los apellidos de las comunidades indígenas del área. Estos apellidos son especialmente interesantes porque reflejan un sistema social que podría incluir clanes, linajes y calpules. Es probable que en ninguna parte de Mesoamérica, con excepción de Chiapas y Guatemala, tengamos la oportunidad de observar estas unidades sociales en pleno funcionamiento en la actualidad y al mismo tiempo tengamos algún control documental de los cambios que han sufrido a lo largo del tiempo.

NOTAS

1El problema de los grupos endogámicos localizados dentro de una comunidad es demasiado complejo para tratar de estudiarlo detalladamente en este informe. Sin embargo, en unas cuantas palabras diremos qué parte de dicho problema puede atribuirse a una terminología superpuesta. Las palabras paraje, barrio, sección y calpul se usan con mucha frecuencia en toda esta área. A algunos residentes, e incluso a algunos investigadores sociales les parecerá que estas palabras son casi sinónimas. En cambio otros opinan que cada una de estas palabras tiene un significado muy especial.
Villa (s.f.: Notas sobre el calpul ....) ha tratado de demostrar la existencia del calpul en la región. Según él, el calpul ha existido en esta área desde tiempos prehispánicos y en la actualidad subsiste en muchas comunidades indígenas de Chiapas y Guatemala.

La definición del calpul se basa principalmente en la descripción de Zurita del siglo XVI. No hay duda de que el patrón que rige en la organización social del área Tzeltal-Tzotzil corresponde al calpul prehispánico en lo general. Sin embargo, existen aún algunos problemas que no han encontrado solución con respecto al funcionamiento del calpul, de los clanes y de los linajes. Las crónicas del siglo XVI no están lo suficientemente completas para ayudar al antropólogo moderno a solucionar estos problemas, y además suscitan diversas interpretaciones relacionadas con varios puntos.

Si efectivamente existió el calpul en Chanal, formando la base de la organización social actual, aparentemente ha sufrido modificaciones muy considerables. Lo mismo sucede en casi todas las demás comunidades y esto presenta una gran dificultad para poder tomar un caso como base. Nos encontramos frente a infinito de variantes, todas las cuales tendrán que compararse con suma cuidado para poder hacer una reconstrucción del sistema antiguo.

Para efectuar dicha reconstrucción, sería necesario en primer lugar, establecer la dirección del cambio en varias comunidades con mucha precisión, casi en la misma forma en que el lingüista planea las líneas de cambio de las lenguas contemporáneas a una proto-lengua.

El tipo de investigación que se esboza en este informe y que está ideada para aislar las distintas clases de cambios que se reflejan en los apellidos, podría contribuir a resolver el problema del calpul.
No describimos aquí los archivos eclesiásticos, de los cuales se pueden obtener datos semejantes. Sin embargo es digno de tomarse en cuenta que los archivos eclesiásticos con frecuencia datan del siglo XVI, pero los registros del presente, así como en los registros civiles, mencionan únicamente los apellidos españoles.

Gumbiner me esbozó, verbalmente, el sistema de cambio de nombres según lo entendió el en Chanal:

1. Un linaje en masa puede adoptar un apellido español en lugar de los dos apellidos que llevaban antes. Ejemplo: En el linaje Gómez Huach, restringido a un solo barrio, todos los miembros del mismo han cambiado su apellido a Jiménez. El linaje Gómez Mulex lo ha cambiado a Morales.

En las listas de comparación de 1904 y 1957 hemos tomado nota de estos cambios. Sin embargo, es interesante añadir que el linaje Gómez Huach estaba circunscrito a un solo barrio. Morales aparece por sí solo en la lista de 1904, de manera que el cambio de Gómez Mulex a Morales no es una innovación reciente. Lo que nos parece curioso es que el linaje Huach estaba relacionado con el apellido Jiménez en 1904, más tarde con Gómez y finalmente dejó el nombre de Huach a favor del nombre único de Jiménez.

2. Algunas familias de un linaje pueden cambiar su nombre y otras no. Por ejemplo, Gómez Gonzal, el cual se encuentra en los dos barrios... todos o parte de los individuos de un barrio han tomado el apellido español de González por sí solo, y los otros no.

Una vez más nos encontramos con una referencia a los cambios que ocurren en los barrios. ¿Indica esto la reafirmación de la organización del barrio sobre la del clan o linaje? Este punto podría relacionarse con nuestra discusión sobre el calpul. La parte indígena del apellido no debería, por regla general, encontrarse más que en un calpul (Villa s.f.);3), aunque el clan o parte española del apellido se halle presente en ambos. En el caso de Gómez Gonzal la segunda parte del nombre no es indígena sino española, y por lo tanto representa, probablemente, un clan reducido y no un linaje, y por eso puede encontrarse en ambos barrios.
3. En el clan Santis, el linaje Yemuc de un barrio cambió al apellido de Hernández; y el linaje Soten del otro barrio cambió también a Hernández. Chitom ha cambiado a Velasco (una parte de Chitom cambió a Velásquez) y Aquino cambió a Velasco. Santis Quituc cambió a Sánchez.

Nuevamente tenemos aquí el proceso que ya hemos descrito de un grupo que aparentemente ha sentido necesidad de cambiar su apellido combinado español-indígena a una combinación de apellidos españoles, y luego regresar al apellido español original y dejar la parte indígena.

El elemento más importante de este cambio es que dos linajes distintos de Hernández están renunciando a su identidad como linajes en favor de un solo nombre de clan de Hernández. En los otros casos de abandono del nombre de linaje, no encontramos este factor ya que había solamente un linaje unido al apellido español. Esto también parece contrario al concepto del calpul, puesto que aparentemente hay un acuerdo entre los grupos de diferentes barrios.

Si de las tres agrupaciones sociales principales—el clan, el linaje y el barrio—el linaje es el grupo más funcional (según indica Gumbiner en sus notas) ¿en qué forma se lleva a cabo este acuerdo?

John V. Baroco
Cámara Barbachano, Fernando. 1944. Diario etnográfico; expedición para trabajo de campo etnológico en el municipio de Tenejapa, Chis., 1943-1944. Copia a máquina.


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<td>Hernández Soten</td>
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<td>Hernández</td>
<td>Parto</td>
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APÉNDICE II
NACIMIENTOS - CHANAL
1904

ENERO:
Sebastián Gómez Corles
Agustín López Tib
José Antonio Velasco Chitam
Francisco Pérez Calobal

Madre
Regina Velasco Aquino
Manuela Hernández Yemoc
Manuela Gómez Morales
Ignacia Hernández Soten

FEBRERO:
Miguel Gómez Chavin

MARZO:
Juana Gómez Tzimá
Ramón López Xampil
Paulina Velasco Chitam
Paulina Pérez Calobal
Domingo Pérez Calobal

Madre
Regina López Tib
Margarita Muñoz
Andrea Gómez Guaxas
Mónica Gómez Guaxas
Mónica Velasco Chitam
María Velasco Chitam

ABRIL:
Lorenzo Velasco Chitam
Martín Santis Moxan
Tomás Méndez Guaquitaquin
Delfina Gómez Tzimá
Pedro Díaz

Madre
Ana Gómez Guaxas
Manuela Gómez Guaxas
Mónica Gómez Chavin
Dominga López Poyte
Antonia Gómez Chavin

MAYO:
Cresencia Gómez Tzimá
Selestino Gómez Tzimá
Nasario Moreno
Soleda Gómez Tzimá
Catarina Gómez Gonzáles
Petrona Aguilar Tzemen
Agustín Velasco Chitam

Madre
Petrona Hernández Yemoc
Manuela Santis Antun
María Gómez Tzimá
Regina Santis Antun
Juliana Santis Moxan
Agustina Gómez Guaxas
Agustina Gómez Libax

JUNIO:
Gregoria Gómez Morales
Domingo Morales

Madre
Lucía Velasco Chitam
Petrona Velasco Chitam
Santiago Aguilar Tzemen
Ramón López Xampil
Manuela Díaz
Antonio Rodríguez Pom
Cesilia Gómez Coríes
Bacilio Gómez Bot

JULIO:
Petrona Jiménez Guachi
Mónica Hernández Zoten
Secundina Velasco Aquino
Pedro Pérez Calobal
Lucía Méndez Hon
Aurelia Natalia Gómez

AGOSTO:
Engracia Velasco Aquino
Pasquala Mendes Chisná
Amado Gómez Coríes
Martín Díaz

SEPTIEMBRE:
El mes de septiembre se encuentra anotado con letra distinta a
la de los otros meses, y se da sólo el apellido español del niño
con la anotación—padre soltero, y el nombre del padre. No se
encuentran anotadas las madres.

Hay solamente un caso de nombre indígena: El niño está anotado
como Macedonio Bautista, y el padre como Mariano Bautista Chail.

OCTUBRE:
Isabel Hernández Yemoc
María Velasco Chitam
Candelaria Velasco Chitam

** No pude leer bien este nombre—parece que la primera letra es
C o P...y la tercera letra Q o G...las demás letras probablemente
están correctamente transcritas.
NOVIEMBRE:
Saturnino Velasco Chitam
Agustín Lopez Tib
Santiago Pérez Calobal
Tomás Gómez Chimbac
Cresencia Díaz
Petrona Santis Guinichi
(o Quinichi ?)

DICIEMBRE:
#Victor Santis Porquet (?)
Marcelo Santis Antun
Regina Hernández Yemoc
Hilario Pérez Gómez
Cirilo Gómez Tzimá

*Este nombre es un acertijo. Solamente estoy seguro de las dos últimas letras y de la segunda letra.
Section 30

NOTES ON THE USE OF CALENDRIICAL NAMES

IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CHIAPAS
NOTES ON THE USE OF
CALENDRICAL NAMES IN 16TH CENTURY CHIAPAS

Up to the present time our knowledge of the use of the divinatory calendar among the indigenous communities of Chiapas has been derived primarily from the brief passages of Núñez de la Vega in his *Constituciones Diocesanas* (1702). In fact, the list of day names originally published by Núñez is the only list known today for the Chiapas area. This list has been repeated with typographical errors and orthographic variations by Boturini, Humboldt, Brinton, and all other writers who have dealt with the Chiapas calendar. (Becerra, 1933: 5:12-16).

Although Núñez, writing at the end of the 17th Century, mentions the use of the divinatory calendar, he gives no indication that the calendar may formerly have been used to assign personal names corresponding to the day of the child's birth. Earlier writers likewise fail to indicate that this custom existed in Chiapas during the prehispanic or conquest periods. 1

The document which shall be described in the following pages is, therefore, of special importance in that it documents the use of calendrical names in the area shortly after the conquest, and gives us an incomplete set of day names for the 16th century to compare with that published by Núñez some 150 years later.

I. The document is in the form of a book of baptismal and marriage records for the years 1557 to 1584. It is composed of 61 leaves listing baptisms from 1557 to 1584 and 22 leaves of marriage records for the same period. The final seven leaves contain a constitution for the Cofradía del Rosario, and a list of the members of the cofradía.
Indigenous names are common in both the baptismal record and the marriage record through the year 1561, but decrease sharply in frequency after that year, and finally disappear completely. In order to test the frequency of the names, it was therefore necessary to check only those entries from 1557 through 1561. The following tables give the results of this testing which includes all readable indigenous names for this period. The table of Spanish surnames summarizes only those that occurred in the years 1557-59.

The combinations of the day names and the numerical coefficients as given in Table I illustrate a preference for the numbers six, nine, ten, eleven, and five, each of which occurs from 33 to 47 times in the summarized names. The numbers one, four, and seven occur from 9 to 17 times each. The unpopular numbers were two, twelve, thirteen, three, and eight. Three and eight occurred three times each, while two, twelve and thirteen did not turn up at all.

A slight possibility of error exists in the summary for ten, twelve and thirteen. These three numbers are formed from the same root—LAGH: LAGHUN=10; LAGHCH=12; and ISHLAGHUN or OSHLAGHUN=13; therefore, it is quite possible that the prefix designating thirteen may have been confused with the feminine prefix X or SH, or that the suffix of twelve was dropped. In any case, twelve and thirteen could not have occurred more than three or four times each, which still leaves them among the more unpopular numbers.

The list of day names shows some deviation from that of Núñez. The orthographic variations which were accepted as corresponding to the Núñez list are indicated in Table III. Sixteen of the days in the Núñez list are represented in the present list. Of the other four, at least one may correspond with one or two of the unclassified names given in Table IV.
The only serious variations in the orthography of the days that were matched with the Núñez list were Chin for Chimax, and Lam for Lambat. Both of these, however, at one time or another occurred with a period after the final letter, thus indicating that they were probably accepted as abbreviations when they were recorded.

Of the unclassified names, there are only two that we have to take seriously, since the others occurred only once and may have been the result of errors in my reading or in the original transcription. These two names are CHAUC and OC or UC. The OC series would present no problem were we able to accept the alternate reading given in Table IV, which is a normal contraction of the final C of Vac (6) or Huc (7) with the beginning C of COC, the day name. COC would be readily acceptable as an orthographic variation of Núñez' CAHOGH. However, since we have the two examples of Hoo-oc and Balun-oc we cannot accept the contraction possibility, and are thus left with another name that does not correspond to the Núñez list.

Still another possibility for connecting the UC and OC group of names with CAHOGH is the supposition that the final syllable was taken as a conventional abbreviation. The Quiché equivalent of CAHOGH is something like KANYOK.

In the Yucatec calendar OC is a day name, the equivalent of the Tzeltal ELAB. The possibility of the OC in this document being related to the Yucatec would seem very remote, were it not that among the other unclassified day names given in Table IV are Tzun or Men, Manich and Cauac, which also resemble Yucatec days. 3

The CHAUC form seems clearly to be a variation of CAHOGH. The Chuj calendar, which more than any other corresponds to that of Núñez, has the
form CHAYOK. The Yucatec calendar was CAUC (See Table V), and the calendar given by Ximénez (presumably 16th Century Chol) gives Caoc (Ximénez 1929-31: I, 101-2).

Another name from our unclassified list which might very well correspond to a form in the Chuj calendar is CAUCH, which occurred twice among the names that were summarized for this document, but both times referring to the same person. The Chuj calendar gives KIPAP as an equivalent of Núñez' CHIC (of which we found no example). The Quiche, Mam, and Jacaltec name for this day is NOH, and the Yucatec is C.BAL.

One possible conclusion from this resemblance of the day names in this document to the Yucatec is that among the calendar priests of this community at the time, there was one who used the Yucatec system, a graduate of the University of Chichén-Itzá, perhaps.

II. So far the community which bore these calendrical names has remained unidentified. Looking first at the evidence for geographical location, the primary consideration is that of place names.

Two place names occur that are readily identified. The first of these, Comitán, occurs frequently from the late 1570's to the end of the record, but does not occur in connection with the indigenous names that are recorded in the first years and which have been summarized here. The possibility of the book having been started in one place and then taken to Comitán and continued is worthy of consideration. Following this theory, there is some circumstantial evidence in favour of Copanaguaustla as the place where the book was begun.

The book begins in the same year that the Dominican convent at Copanaguastla was established—the year 1577 (Reyes-Sal 1932: II, 363-4). The first
entries which bear the name Comitán occur about the time that the Dominican convent at Comitán was established—about 1577 (Ibid. II, 491-2). The names of the friars that sign the first partidas include those of several such as Domingo de Ara and Sebastián de Morales, who can almost surely be connected with the convent of Copanaguastla at that time.

On the other hand, Comitán was probably assigned to the convent of Copanaguastla as a visita at the time the convent of Copanaguastla was founded. This would account for the book beginning in the year 1557 and also for the presence of the friars from Copanaguastla. This seems the more likely possibility.

The other place name which is easily identified is that of Coapa. The reference to Coapa occurs near the bottom of f.4r, under the date June 6, 1556. There are two partidas which record calendrical names in all respects exactly like the other calendrical names, and after each of these entries there is the notation "este es de Coapa."

Coapa was a thriving town situated between Comitán and the Guatemalan border when Fray Alonso Ponce passed through it in 1585 (Ponce 1911: 199). Becerra identifies this town with the modern Tepancoan, or rather with a nearby hacienda (1932: 57-58). In any case the town of Coapa was on the other side of Comitán and this increases the possibility that the baptisms recorded in the book all took place in Comitán.

Apart from the calendrical names themselves and the word snichan, meaning "child of", there are three short passages in the native language which may throw some light on the provenance of the book and the identity of the community with which it deals. These passages are:
a) The first of these passages is the title of the book and is engraved on the front cover. It might possibly be translated as "Book of the married Zotzil men and of the newly born children of Lord God". The key word here is that of Xóchil, which resembles the Aztec word for "flower". The most logical interpretation of the word is Tzotzil. This does not fit with our assumption that the language of Comitán and Coapa would probably be Tojolabal or Tzeltal and that of Copanaguas probably Tzeltal. Even if the three-way distinction between Tzeltal, Zotzil and Tojolabal was not made at that period, it is curious that the word Zotzil would be applied to the community of Comitán, since it is usually associated with Zinacantan.

The Relación of Alonso Ponce classifies all of the towns from the Guatemalan border to Comitán as speaking "a strange language--Coxoh"; all of the towns between Comitán and Ixtepec as Quelemes; Chiapa as Cendal; and Tuxtla as Zoque (Ponce 1911: 131-206). This does not correspond to the modern distribution of languages at all. This "strange language" of Coxoh could hardly be Tojolabal, which is closely related to Tzeltal and Zotzil. The towns between Comitán and San Cristóbal now are in the Tzeltal area and the towns between San Cristóbal and Chiapa are Tzotzil.

Nemesal classifies Copanaguazteca with the Zélales (1932: II, 382) while Ximénez says that Copanaguazteca spoke a language so slightly different from that of Zinacantan (Zotzil) that the same sermon might be preached in
both places (1929-31: I, 361). And again referring to the Zinácantecos he says "they are called Sinacantec "only in" the Mexican language and in their own language they are called Zóchil Vinic." (1929-31: I, 360).

Since there was evident confusion among the Spanish at the time as to the classification of the native groups, we might suppose that the use of the word Xóchil or Tzotzil need not be taken too seriously as an equivalent of the modern Tzotzil. The language, however, cannot be passed aside. The language of the title itself and at least one of the other two passages is almost certainly Tzotzil. The implication is, then, that the community was also Tzotzil speaking, which Comitán probably was not, although Coanaguastla may have been.

But even this evidence in favor of Coanaguastla may be minimized if we suppose that the priests as well as the scribes were from Coanaguastla and therefore, might make their notations in Tzotzil.

b) The second passage occurs at the bottom of the first page of the book, immediately after the first group of 39 baptisms. The word Jutebeltic may refer to modern San Cristóbal. A confident translation cannot now be given, but the passage seems to say that the baptisms took place in San Cristóbal, or at least that the recording took place in San Cristóbal. We can almost surely discount San Cristóbal as a place of origin for the baptismal record, so this passage still remains a puzzle.

c) The third passage appears to contain two place names—Pantla and Tzumuvitz. Neither of these names occur in the dictionary of place names of "escerra but a possible identification of Pantla may be made with the "parcialidad de Pantala Grande" which is listed for the town of Socoltemango in the special report of the royal accountant for the year 1761 (Trens 1957: 217-19).
Socoltenago lies between the site of ancient Copanaguastla and Comitán, a little closer to the former. This does not help us much in making a choice between the two towns as the center of the calendrical names. The question will have to be left undecided for the present, but with the evidence still strongly in favor of Comitán.

Still another fact which tends to link Comitán with these names is the present distribution of calendrical place names. Very few have survived, but of the half dozen or so easily identified place names with combined numerical and day elements, three or four are in the vicinity of Comitán. The two hills of Hun Chubin and Go Co are noted for their archaeological remains which date to the Maya late classic. Hunaná lies between Comitán and the site of ancient Copan. And the name of Comitán itself was Baluncanan, according to Vicente Pineda (1888: 150-1).

The strongest evidence does not, however, indicate Tojolabal as the common language of the area. The passages which have been quoted seem to be Tzotzil or Tzeltal.

From still another source there is an indication that the calendar described by Núñez may have extended as far as the Lacandones. Remesal (1932: II, 425) gives the name of a Lacandone chieftain who spoke with Fray Pedro Lorenzo in 1563. The name was Chuaaghoal, a name which corresponds perfectly with the names registered in this document, and which resembles neither the Yucatec nor the Quiche versions of this day. Even the Chuj calendar which corresponds to the Núñez "Tzeltal" calendar in all but 4 days, does not contain the AGHOL form. This connection with the lacandones may also give us a clue as to how the Yucatec day names may have entered into the Comitán calendar.
Other than this one clue we have no idea how far the use of this particular Chunam calendar may have extended. A search of other early baptismal records may turn up other communities which shared this calendar or which used other calendars.

No attempt will be made to treat here of several other aspects of this calendrical material. The connection between the calendar and magicism which is described by Núñez will be treated in a separate paper. For the present it will suffice to note the principal conclusions which may be drawn from the material presented here.

1. Calendrical names were used during the pre-Hispanic period and for the first few years after the conquest by the people living in the area of Comitán or Copanaguastla.

2. The language spoken by these people may have been related to modern Tzotzil.

3. Tzotzil was very likely spoken at Copanaguastla, thus confirming the statement of Jiménez. This conclusion is based on the short passages written by the priests or their scribes. Whatever the place of origin for the book, the priests were almost certainly from the convent of Copanaguastla.

4. The "Tseltal" day names published by Núñez de la Vega were in common use in the area described during the 16th century; however, other day names, some resembling those recorded by Landa for Yucatán, were also in use.

5. The use of this set of calendrical names may have extended to the Lacandones.

6. Some inferences may be made as to the "good or bad" quality attached to the numerals and day names of the divinatory calendar. These inferences are based on the distribution of the combined elements as illustrated in Table I.

John V. Baroco
Alfredo Barrera Vásquez (1943: 5) recuerda: "...sabemos que los aztecas, los zootecas y los mixtecas acostumbraban dar a los personajes nombres calendáricos. Torquemada e Ixtlixóchitl hacen referencia a algunos personajes totonacas llevando nombres calendáricos, aunque traducidos al náhuatl. Deidades del panteón azteca y algunas del quiché, llevaban también esta clase de nombres. De que hubieran practicado los mayas de Yucatán la costumbre de dar nombres calendáricos a los niños, no hay noticia, pues no hemos visto hasta hoy consignado en ningún documento nombres calendáricos pertenecientes a personas. Otros grupos mayas sí usaban nombres calendáricos como los cakchiquiles."

Landa, (1941:129) however, mentions the custom of taking the children to a calendar priest for a general horoscope, and to receive a calendrical name which was used only during childhood. Núñez de la Vega describes a similar custom for the Tzeltal, but without specifically saying that the child received a calendrical name. Núñez places more emphasis on the relationship with magualism, saying that it was from the calendar priest that the nagual of the child was known—the nagual corresponding to the day of birth.

This problem of the significance of the calendrical name, and other types of personal names, within the culture will be discussed in another paper now in preparation. The problem is especially interesting in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil area where magualism is very strong, but the calendrical priest and the knowledge of the old day names have disappeared, a result that might not have been predicted in view of the statement of Núñez de la Vega. For a theoretical discussion of the differential retention of calendrical elements in Guatemala see Nash (1957).

2This book forms part of the Archivo de la Diócesis of San Cristóbal las Casas, Chiapas. It was made available to me by Msgr. Flores, to whom I am also indebted for assistance in the paleography of several difficult passages.

Of these unclassified day names, one can be verified because of its survival as a place name. This is OC, which survives as a place name for a hill very near Comitán. Since OC has not appeared as a day name in any of the calendars of the highlands, Go-oc has not previously been identified as a calendrical name.
### TABLE I - FREQUENCY OF CALENDARICAL COMBINATIONS

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The upper figure in each column refers to male names and the lower figure to female names.
### Table II: Frequency of Spanish Surnames

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
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<tr>
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<td>PÉREZ</td>
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<td>MORALLES</td>
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<td>VASQUEZ</td>
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<tr>
<td>GARCÍA</td>
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<td>ÁLVAREZ</td>
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### Table III: Frequency of the Day Names and Orthographic Variations

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<td>NIX</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>WOTAN</td>
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<td>GHANAN</td>
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<td>CANAN</td>
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<td>ABAGH</td>
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(See Table IV)
### Table IV - Unclassified Day Names

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<th>Name as it appears in the document</th>
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<th>Day Element</th>
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<td>Vac-cuc</td>
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<td>Uc</td>
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<td>Oc</td>
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<td>Huc (7)</td>
<td>Oc</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Chau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Buluch (11)</td>
<td>Chau</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Ana Sbalunchauo</td>
<td>Balun (9)</td>
<td>Chau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Gonzalo Buluchau</td>
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<td>Chau</td>
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* Adapted from La Farge and Byers (1931). The Quiché list is that collected by Sapper.
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Section 31

TZOTZIL-TZELTAL NOMENCLATURE

AND

SOCIAL STRUCTURE
This paper is a departmental project report. It is the third of a series of such reports dealing with the subject of nomenclature among the Tzeltal-Tzotzil. Since it is a field report many references to comparative material could not be included because they were not available at the time of writing.

The intention in this paper is to describe the system of compound surnames which is characteristic of the area; to outline the social structure of four indigenous communities which together illustrate the range of variation with which we are dealing; and finally to discuss briefly and in an exploratory fashion the question of clans and calpuls as elements of the pre-Hispanic social structure of the area.

There are apparently several points of view concerning the present or past existence of clans in the area. The problem is one which undoubtedly requires further historical documentation, and there is no attempt here to offer final solutions or conclusions.

The ultimate objective of this report and the others of this series is to establish a point of departure for historical research now being planned.

I am grateful to Alfonso Villa Rojas for making available to me the unpublished materials which were used in the preparation of this report.

John V. Baroco
San Cristóbal las Casas,
Chiapas.
The term "Tzotzil-Tzeltal" refers to two indigenous linguistic groups located in the central part of the state of Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico. The two languages belong to the Maya family and are very closely related. It is for this reason, and because they occupy contiguous areas, that they are frequently grouped together as in this discussion. The communities which comprise this linguistic area are located on the accompanying map.

These communities range from ones in which Spanish is spoken by more than 90% of the inhabitants to others in which the indigenous language is spoken by more than 90% of the inhabitants. The largest settlement is the city of San Cristóbal with some 17,500 inhabitants. This is the trade center for much of the area. San Cristóbal is a "ladino" or non-Indian city in that most of its inhabitants are not native speakers of the indigenous languages.

The other settlements of the area might be classified as either Ladino, Indian or mixed towns. Several of the towns are more than 95% Indian and the Indians have at least nominal control of the town government. In others, with a greater percentage of ladino inhabitants, the Indians usually have only partial representation in the town government, or no representation at all.

The ladino towns have in some cases a considerable indigenous population, but these individuals and families are transitional. The Indians are usually attempting to follow a ladino cultural pattern in dress, language and general behavior.

In the indigenous and mixed towns, the Indian element is usually characterized by:

1. A distinct costume which sets one apart from both ladinos and Indians of other towns.

2. Some kind of political organization which enables them to deal with the
neighboring ladinos and governmental agencies as a unit. In an Indigenous town, this political organization will likely be formal and recognized by the State and Federal constitutions. In a mixed town the organization may be an informal arrangement, whereby certain individuals of the Indian community come to be recognized by both ladinos and Indians as spokesmen for the community. These individuals apparently gain and lose prestige according to the effectiveness with which they deal with the ladino authorities. Their prestige and influence is measured by the number and kinds of things they are called upon to do, and the willingness with which they are obeyed.

3. A religious life which is distinct from that of the ladinos. This religious life may be manifested in a great variety of forms. It may simply be a question of celebrating certain religious fiestas apart from the ladinos, or more usually it extends to a well defined religious organization and a cycle of religious observances which take place in the church, in the milpas, in near-by caves or on hill tops, and in the homes of certain religious officials. In a typical indigenous or mixed community the Indians will have a formal religious organization which includes offices and functions that are clearly distinct from ladino religious activities.

4. Certain traditions and customs which may include community or barrio endogamy; beliefs concerning naguales (animals or elements of nature which are spiritually related to an individual and which may assist him in curing, witchcraft, or other supernatural activities); marriage and birth ceremonies which center around the kin group and which may be more important than the rites recognized by the Catholic Church; etc.
Localization of houses and farm lands according to custom or decision which derives from the indigenous community itself. In a mixed community the Indian houses usually surround a ladino center. In both Indian and mixed communities, the farm lands which are not individually owned, are apportioned out among the Indian community according to the section of town in which they live or according to real or conventionalized kin groups.

Occupation might be considered a characteristic which sets the Indian community apart from the ladino, but it is not particularly diagnostic. Many entire communities have given up the Indian way of life, including almost all of the characteristics listed above, and yet they continue to farm the land in the same way as their typically Indian neighbors. In general, the only full-time occupation of the Indian male is that of farming (although many part-time specialists are found in the Indian communities). Extractive and craft industries, as well as trading, are all important in one or another of the Indian communities, but full time is almost never devoted to these activities. Women take time from their many other chores around the house to work at these specialties, and men find time between the field chores to perform those gainful activities which are considered men's work.

In general these are the salient cultural and social characteristics of the area. Our attention will now be turned to the system of nomenclature. A generalized pattern will first be presented, and then discussed in terms of social structure and historical implications.

Social anthropologists who have worked in the area have noted exogamous name groups in some of the communities which seem to function as patrilineal clans and lineages. In other communities these same name groups exist, but without any of the clan or lineage characteristics. This difference has not been satisfactorily explained, although the obvious factor of differential acculturation
has been suggested as the principal mechanism by which the present situation may be explained.

The name groups are based on the inheritance of a compound surname through the paternal line. A child inherits from his father, not one, but two surnames. The first of these surnames is Spanish (Hernández, Vázquez, Pérez, etc.) and the second is indigenous (Ton, Tulan, Sip, etc.). The two surnames or "apellidos", are not usually separable, although by rule the indigenous apellido is ordinarily sufficient to identify a person, and is frequently the only one employed by friends and neighbors within the community.

Usually the indigenous apellido is restricted to a particular community. However, occasionally a given apellido may be found in several communities. This can often be explained by migration, but a few of the apellidos have a distribution which might indicate multiple origins. The Spanish apellidos, on the other hand, are relatively few, and the same ones are repeated from community to community.

Each individual bears, in addition to his double surname, a baptismal, or given name, which as a local indigenous equivalent. This equivalent is usually a conventionalized mispronunciation or abbreviation of the common Spanish given name. Thus, Domingo Vázquez Tulan might be called by his friends in the village, Tulan. To an inquiring ladino, he would likely be either Domingo Vázquez, Domingo Vázquez Tulan, or Domingo Vázquez Roble. (In the dialect of San Bartolomé, the word Tulan is used to refer to the oak tree (roble), although the meaning of the word in other communities, and perhaps the original meaning, is fuerte, or strong). If this individual were very acculturated, he might give his name as Domingo Vázquez Gómez, assuming that Gómez was his mother's Spanish apellido.
The rule, then, is that an individual inherits from his father these two surnames, which are combined in a certain way. For instance, in a given community Tulan should never be combined with any other surname than Vázquez. But Vázquez will probably combine with quite a few other indigenous surnames. Therefore, we have the analogy of clans and lineages: Vázquez designating the patri-clan, and Tulan, a lineage within that clan.

The variations from the above model can usually be explained by acculturation—an attempt to bring the indigenous system of naming to conform with the national system, which is that of inheriting a single apellido or surname from both the father and the mother.

In attempting to follow the national pattern of naming, the Indian may select either the Spanish or the indigenous surname of his father and combine it with either the Spanish or indigenous surname of the mother. Thus any one of four possible surnames may result. For example, the children of José Vázquez Uín and Rosa and Espinosa Sip may have any of the following surnames: Vázquez Espinosa, Vázquez Sip, Uín Espinosa, or Uín Sip. The first of these possibilities is the most common choice, or rather the most common imposition of the ladino authorities.

The authorities to whom the Indian must come to register births, deaths, baptisms, or other civil or religious acts, now uniformly require the Indian to follow the national system of nomenclature, and they usually make the choice for him, registering only the Spanish surnames of the father and mother.

The distribution of this system of nomenclature is irregular. It is found in both mixed and indigenous communities and among both the Tzeltal and the Tzotzil. Only in a few of the communities is this system used by a majority of the inhabitants, although some individuals may be found in all of the communities who trace descent in the manner described.
Here we shall be able to deal specifically with only four communities of the
southern end of the Tz'utujil-Tzeltal area, and this only in an exploratory fashion.

II. The communities which are described below are ones from which we have
data on the social organization and the system of nomenclature. They illustrate
the range of variation which may be found within the linguistic area as a whole.

1. San Bartolome de los Llanos.¹ The community is nucleated, the Indian
community living in the town center with approximately an equal number of ladinos.
The town is divided into five barrios (the largest of these is in the process
of splitting to form a sixth) each of which has an informal political and religious
organization. The communal lands which surround the town are roughly divided into
areas which are thought to correspond to each of the barrios. Ordinarily, there-
fore, members of a given barrio work land in the same area. The barrios are not
now endogamic although they may have been in the past.

The basic unit of the political and religious organization is the barrio.
This is the social unit which provides personnel for religious and political
activities, and is the basis for the pattern of land use. The barrios tend to
perform many religious activities separately. This separateness is displayed
especially when in the month of May the annual pilgrimage is made to the top of
the hill behind the town. Each of the barrios makes the pilgrimage separately on
succeeding weeks. The other major fiestas are sponsored by one or the other of
the barrios, but usually the other barrios cooperate in celebrating the fiesta, in
attendance if not financially.

Status and respect are achieved thru service within the traditional religious
organization, or thru effective political leadership within the barrio. The
religious offices which remain are few. The position of alferez is still important,
although it is not filled every year, because of the great outlay of money which
is required (and perhaps also because the office does not confer as much prestige
as formerly). The political leadership is displayed in being able to maintain
good relations with the ladino authorities and intervene with them to secure special services for the barrio, to protect a member of the barrio who has been jailed, etc.

Nagualism as a means of social control is a thing of the past. Informants relate that the leaders of the past possessed naguales, but those of the present do not. There is no longer any individual who has sufficient influence or stature to command the entire town, however they can relate an unbroken succession of such leaders of the past going back some one hundred years and ending with the death of the last such leader within the last fifteen years.

Marriage is not contracted between members of the same lineage and is not usual between persons having the same Spanish apellido.

Compound names are used by almost the entire Indian community. The Spanish apellido apparently has no function other than that of being used for identification when dealing with ladinos. The indigenous apellido is used with a Spanish baptismal name, or its indigenous equivalent, to identify the individual within the indigenous community and to indicate the lineage. The lineage has no social function within the community political or religious organization.

2. San Pablo Chalchihuitán. The community is divided into five "calpules" or barrios which are geographically localized. The cabecera is, unlike San Bartolome, of the vacant type. The land comprising the cabecera, or town center, is not thought to belong to any one of the barrios, but to the community as a whole.

The political and religious organization is based on the barrio (and perhaps within the barrio, on the lineage). Status and respect are achieved thru age and service to the community in religious and political offices. The barrios hold certain fiestas separately, and for general fiestas the money is collected within each barrio by the principales or "pasados" (those who have attained a certain status through age and service) of the barrio.
The possession of naguales was probably a means of social control in the past. Much skepticism is expressed today about the existence of these spirits, although their importance in the past is readily admitted.

The use of the compound name is universal, and the indigenous apellidos are localized by barrio (calpul). The Spanish apellidos, on the other hand, are found dispersed throughout the municipio. Barrio endogamy is both an ideal and a practice. The Spanish apellido group is an exogamous unit, however the unity of the group is recognized only within the barrio. A person with the same Spanish surname, but from a different barrio is not considered to be a relative.

In these two communities we already see a major difference in the social organization and the system of nomenclature, although they seem to be cut from the same basic pattern. The characteristics of San Bartolomé might be explained by a greater rate of acculturation. In San Bartolomé the indigenous name serves only to identify the individual and the lineage, while in San Pablo the name has the additional function of geographically locating the individual within the community. The Spanish surname group, however, shows little more function than in San Bartolomé.

In neither of these communities do we see much evidence at present of a connection between nagualism and the surname groups.

3. Oxchuc. All of the population and lands of the community (including the town center) are divided into two barrios (calpules). Geographical limits for the two barrios are pointed out by informants, but individuals living or working in either of the areas do not always belong to the calpul to which the area should correspond.

Membership in a calpul is described by Villa as similar to membership in a fraternity which carries on certain religious and political activities. Each calpul has a hierarchy of both political and religious offices which confer status and authority on those who hold them. Positions in the political structure of
the community as a whole are filled alternately from the two calpuls. At the present time membership in the calpuls seems to be a matter of choice.

The town center is a place of permanent residence for a few ladinos and Indians. More than 90% of the Indians live in small settlements near the fields which they work.

As in most of the other communities, age and service in religious and political offices brings status and respect. The individuals who hold these offices are thought to possess powerful naguales which aid them in the maintenance of order and the punishing of transgressors.

The use of the compound name is universal, and the indigenous as well as the Spanish apellidos are found dispersed throughout the community. According to Villa, both the indigenous and the Spanish surname groups have social functions within the political and religious structure. The head of both the "clan" and the lineage is usually the oldest male of the respective group in terms of age and service. The clan leaders must give their consent to marriages of the members of the group and they perform various activities in the arrangements and ritual connected with marriage.

Although Villa states specifically that land is individually owned, he further states that land used or owned by a man may be claimed by "clan brother" if this person dies leaving no close male relatives. Land is inherited "within the lineage, unless the wife actually helped buy it with money earned from her own activities."

The possession of strong naguales is attributed to lineage and clan leaders as well as calpul leaders, and this is an important factor in social control. Disputes within a lineage are usually handled by the lineage leader on the basis of his traditional authority and the implied power of his nagual.
4. **Cancuc.** The community of Cancuc is also divided into two barrios (culibales or calpules) which are not strictly localized and which are not endogamic. Membership in a barrio (culibal) is determined not by choice, as in Oxcuch, but by lineage. The political and religious offices of the community alternate between the two barrios as in Oxcuch.

The community was until only recently, divided into four non-localized exogamic clans with indigenous names. At present there are only three clans because of a merger effected within the last two generations. Each clan has a guardian spirit (lab- the same name given to the personal nagual in Tzeltal communities) which resides in a certain cave from which the clan is thought to have emerged. There are now no heads of clans, although each clan formerly was headed by an individual with the title of chulel.

The compound name is present, but the Spanish surname is even less important than in the first two communities which have been described. Many individuals have reportedly "forgotten" their Spanish surname. On the other hand, the indigenous name is important because it identifies the lineage and the barrio. Since the exogamic unit is the clan, and the Spanish surnames do not coincide with the clan, this name group has no function in regard to marriage regulation, nor, in fact to any other institution as far as can be seen. The over-riding function of the Spanish surname as a means of identification used with ladinos is, however, probably important in all of the communities.

III. We may now consider the relationship of the system of nomenclature to the social structure of these communities. In the communities described the compound name is used by most of the inhabitants. The second part of the name, the indigenous apellidos, is no problem. It is the patronym, and indicates the lineage.
Since a lineage is always attached to a clan, if there are clans it must
also serve to identify the clan of an individual. In at least two of the communities
it also identifies the individual's membership in a calpul. It does not differ in
type or function from the indigenous surnames which Hoyos (1940) collected in
Yucatan.

The first part of the name, the Spanish apellido, is a problem, however.
Its only function as far as can be seen is as a convenient means of identification
tobe used with lacinos. Nevertheless, the individuals who bear any one of these
Spanish apellidos seem, in some communities, to form a cohesive social unit with
the following characteristics:

1. It is exogamous.
2. It has an internal organization which regulates marriage and settles
   internal disputes.
3. The members of the group are found dispersed throughout the community
   (or other endogamous unit).
4. It is composed of a group of specific lineages.

On the basis of these characteristics, the Spanish name groups have been
considered clans.

In reaching this conclusion, however, two important points have been left
unexplained:

1. The essential conflict between the calpul and the clan as structural
   concepts has not been satisfactorily explained. The two institutions have been
described with overlapping functions and jurisdiction.

2. Clans are reported from Cancuc which have the same characteristics as
   the clans of the other communities but do not correspond to Spanish name groups,
   although the name groups exist in the community. The Spanish surnames appear not
to have any function within the community.
These are basically historical problems, but their resolution will be of significance to the social anthropologist. In effect, we are saying that we know nothing of the origin of these institutions in the area. Since the historical work which might answer these questions has not yet been undertaken, we may at this point only indicate several hypotheses.

The following chart indicates the presence or absence of four characteristics associated with the calpul or barrio.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of the Barrio is localized;</th>
<th>Calpul or Barrio controls land use.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chalchihuitán yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Cancuc vestiges only</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vestiges only</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Bartolomé yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>no</td>
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<td></td>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxcuch vestiges only</td>
<td>yes</td>
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</table>

As indicated in the above chart, all four of these characteristics are present in Chalchihuitán, and this remarkable similarity to the Aztec calpul prompted Villa Rojas (1946:23-24) to conclude his comparison of the two institutions in the following words.

Por los párrafos aquí transcritos se puede ver que el Calpulli mejicano estaba basado en lazos de parentesco de naturaleza clánica posiblemente; con delimitación geográfica definida y parcelas de terreno que se transmitían de padres a hijos; las tierras no podían venderse ni traspasarse a otro Calpulli, pero sí darse en renta. Los calpullis eran endogámicos y se procuraba evitar la mezcla con gente de otro calpull. En los asuntos de gobierno eran los parientes de más edad y experiencia los que llevaban la responsabilidad. Además de esto, se sabe también, por otras fuentes que cada calpull tenía sus propios dioses, sus propios sacerdotes y su propia estructura religiosa. La similitud entre las dos situaciones que venimos comparando resulta así bastante aproximada y sugestiva.
At the same time, Villa refers to the thesis of Manuel H. Moreno (1931) saying that ...aunque habla de clanes en todo el curso de su trabajo, no sienta las bases que prueban su existencia ni tampoco explica el papel que, en caso de existir, pudieron tener tales clanes en la composición del calpulli.

This criticism of Moreno might well be applied to Villa himself. By his own definition of the Aztec calpull, Villa has suggested a social unit which appears very much like a localized clan. He has indicated that this organization is remarkably similar to that found today in San Pablo Chalchihuitán. And he also has talked about clans in these communities without explaining how these clans function in a society with a calpull type of organization.

The clans, apart from the calpull, nevertheless exist. While both the calpull and the clan (in Chalchihuitán and Cancuc) are composed of specific lineages, the one is endogamic, in tendency at least, and the other is exogamic. The two institutions seem at cross purposes – as though one were imposed upon the other. How does a clan leader wield judicial authority over a group of lineages, when this same authority is also vested in the leaders of the calpull?

The suggestion that the social structures of the entire Tzeltal-Tzotzil area are based on a common pattern (Villa 1946a:18) seems valid. The calpull was almost certainly included in this pattern and there is a strong indication, as we have seen, that the calpull was superimposed over another kind of clan organization, differing from the calpull in being exogamic and consequently non-localized.

Since we are now in no position to attempt to reconstruct the prehispanic social structure for the area, we may suggest several possibilities which can be checked historically.

1. The Aztec calpull type of organization may have been introduced by the Spanish and imposed upon a local organization which may have had some other kind of clan organization.
2. The calpul type of organization may have been introduced much earlier and have been well established when the Spanish arrived.

3. The institution which we are calling a calpul may have been the result of Spanish reducciones, each calpul or barrio having at one time corresponded to a separate community.

This last possibility is perhaps the most likely of the three, and indicates the importance of undertaking historical research which can give us an idea of how the reducciones were carried out in this area.

The only evidence we have as to the origin of the Spanish surname group is inferential. We know that it was customary in the 16th century to give the newly baptized infidel (Jew, Moor, or pagan) the name of his sponsor at baptism. Thus, the baptized adult became both a member of the Catholic Church and a member of the Spanish society which accepted him. This custom is reported in a number of places but a simple reference here will suffice. Motolinía, reporting the baptism of a son of Moctezuma, describes the rite of exorcism and baptism and finally mentions those present: "a lo cual fueron presentes Rodrigo de Paz, que a la sazón era alguacil mayor (y por ser su padrino se llamó al bautizado Rodrigo de Paz), y otros oficiales de su majestad." (1941:119).

The general procedure used in baptizing adults is also described by Motolinía. All of the persons who were to be baptized were gathered together and over all of these the rite of baptism was performed. Then over only a few were the associated rituals of the time performed. The children were baptized separately and individually. (1941:125).

From these two fragments and similar evidence, we may imply two things: the Indians were given the Spanish names of their sponsors in baptism and the adults were baptized in groups. Thus a large group may have received the same Spanish apellido at baptism. If the group that was brought together happened to be a clan or calpul, then the Spanish apellido might have coincided with this group. On the other hand, if the group brought together for baptism did not happen to correspond to an existing kin group, then an artificial, spiritually related
group may have been created, all of these individuals being children in baptism of the same sponsor. This spiritual kinship group may have been institutionalized and perpetuated with the prohibition against intermarriage (of siblings) and with limited responsibilities and functions in regard to marriages of members of the group.

This theory might explain not only the origin and function of the Spanish name groups, but also the way in which they became a part of the calpul-like structure. However, there is one principal reason why this theory is unacceptable as an explanation for the origin of clans in the area. This one objection is the fact that exogamic clans with origin myths and with indigenous names are reported for Cancuc.

There is a possibility that the data from Cancuc can be reinterpreted to fit the above theory, but ultimately the entire question of the origin of the name groups and the presence of exogamic non-localized clans in the same community with endogamic, localized clans (the calpul) will have to be documented. Historical speculation is no substitute for historical research, as the above exercise illustrates.
NOTES

1 This outline is based on the field work of the author and of Arthur Rubel in San Bartolomé during the summer of 1957.

2 Based on the field work of Calixta Guiteras (1946). The data used here is taken from the summary by Villa Rojas (1946a).

3 Based on the field work of Calixta Guiteras (1942) as reported in the article, Kinship and Nagualism in a Tzeltal Community, Southeastern México, (1947).

4 Based on the field work of Calixta Guiteras (1946) as reported by her in Clanes y sistema de Parentesco de Cancuc (México), (1947).

5 This quotation is from an unpublished paper. Villa has personally informed me that he no longer holds this opinion.

Villa and Guiteras are undoubtedly the two persons who could most clearly present the nature and function of the clan and calpul for this area. It is therefore unfortunate that we do not have a more precise statement from either of them which would picture the functioning of clans and calpuls in the light of present knowledge, and with an indication of the questions which remain unanswered. For instance, Chalchihuitán is divided into two endogamic, localized calpuls. Clan names (the Spanish apellido) extend across these calpul boundaries. Does a single clan leader command in both calpuls? How clearly are the political functions of the clan authorities separated from those of the calpul authorities? What evidence is there of friction between the two groups? If there is open hostility between the two barrios or calpuls (as has been reported for several of the towns) how are amicable clan relations extended across calpul lines?

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Section 32

WITCHCRAFT AS SOCIAL PROCESS

IN A

TZELTAL COMMUNITY
WITCHCRAFT AS SOCIAL PROCESS IN A TZELTAL COMMUNITY

Witchcraft belief and practice is a pervasive aspect of Tzeltal and Tzotzil Indian communities in the southeastern highlands of Chiapas. In the community of Amatenango, a Tzeltal speaking municipio, men are frequently killed for being practicing witches. In the nine months that I spent in Amatenango, and for three additional months for which I have data, every two months a man was murdered for being a witch.

The theory of witchcraft in Amatenango is a fairly coherent body of conventional understandings. Amatenangueros believe that some men have animal counterparts, called nahuales. The nahual may be a common domesticated animal like a horse, dog, or bull, or it may be one of the wild animals that roves the hills, such as the mountain lion or deer. It is never a fantasy animal. The nahual is a source of power for its owner, or possessor. The possessor of a nahual may, on whim, but only at night, transform himself into the animal and roam the streets of the pueblo or travel the hills near the community. As the nahual he may converse with other nahuales. The nahual is the source of power in medical practice, and all curers must have at least one nahual in their possession. A man is born associated with, or possessor of a nahual. The nahual is revealed to him in a dream. He does not necessarily announce this to the community, or act in any special way because he has an animal counterpart.

Sometimes men with nahuales may get vicious and use their power, which is essentially a medical and curing power, to bring illness rather than to cure it. These men are the witches. Possessors of animal counterparts who use the special medical power that such animals confer to inject illness into others or to eat souls are witches. The nahual who walks by night may pass a sick person's

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2. Field work was financed by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am also indebted to the Instituto Nacional Indigenista for aid and support.
house and night by night "eat" a bit of his soul, until the body has no strength
and the bewitched victim dies.

Two things must be stressed about the nahual witch belief system. First all
curers have nahuales, but some men with nahuales are not known to the community.
Secondly, possession of a nahual does not necessarily mean that a person is a witch
or practicing witchcraft.

As a body of cultural theory then, the witchcraft system leaves open the empiri-
cal definition of who is a witch. Cultural theory does not tell anyone who
a witch is, and gives no particular, immediate rules for the logical or empirical
establishment of a witch.

This I take to be a characteristic of any functioning system of witchcraft
belief. Since witches are practitioners of aggressive and deadly magic and are
continual threats to the social order, and operate in violation of the moral rules
of a society, it is not possible to have a set of cultural beliefs which provides
general and immediately verifiable rules for the identification of a witch. If
such operational witch theory did exist it would mean that no witches would op-
erate, for nobody would suffer their presence.

It is this general characteristic of a system of witch beliefs that makes the study of witchcraft a study of social process. For one of the issues perennially
at stake in a society with a cultural theory that includes witchcraft is the identi-
fication of witches and their elimination.

The identification of a witch is a social process of validation of somebody's
aggressive activity against a witch. A society with witchcraft beliefs must have
some social machinery to decide, when a man, or group, or the whole society eliminates
a witch, that they have served as executioners, not as murderers. The problem of
social order rests on the consensual meshing of public opinion about an act of vio-
lence which is either a favor to the society as a whole, or the most flagrant violation of its moral equilibrium.

Viewing witchcraft from the side of the victim, that is someone who feels that witchcraft has been exercised against him, is a convenient perspective for seeing how the social process of identification and validation is conducted. A man or a member of his family gets sick in Amatenango. Like us, he assumes it will pass. He may take a bottle of the home brewed trago, a medicinal herb, some aspirin, and forget about it. The illness, however, does not pass. He needs the services of a specialist. He calls one of the curers, of which there are about a dozen. A curing ritual is carried on. Time passes and he worsens. He calls the curer again, this time asking if he is under the spell of a witch. A ceremony of pulsing and blood letting is carried on, and foreign objects are sought in the man's blood. His blood is asked to "talk" to the diviner and say what kind of illness he is afflicted with.

He gets sicker and sicker, no curing ceremony helps, no herbs relieve, no liquor eases, no penicillin brings abatement. It is witchcraft, certainly. As he sickens, he cannot work, his assets melt away, he cannot look after his animals, and they are lost. All this is a further sign of witchcraft. His pressing problem is to get the spell lifted, to identify the witch who is causing this trouble. He calls all the curers together in a major curing ceremony. Each one pulses, each one says he is trying to cure the man. Nobody will name a witch. The man is dying and no one knows who is behind it.

He may invite one of the curers with whom he is especially friendly or in whom he has confidence, ply the man with liquor and attempt to get a name from him. Failing this, he will review the reasons why anyone would hold a grudge against him. Was it envy for his good crop? Was it an argument in a brawl? Was it refusal to offer liquor to a curer? Was it stickiness in a marriage negotiation? Was it
his hauteur in treating a poor villager? These are the kinds of questions he asks.

He then makes a decision that someone is doing him in. He asks one of the curers to send his nahual around to talk to this man's nahual and tell it that no harm, envy, or hatred is held by the sick man. If he recovers soon thereafter, the affair is closed. But say it is one of his children and the child dies. He then holds a grudge against a witch. He may not be sure enough to act, but he keeps looking for evidence. He watches his suspect, keeps asking, keeps worrying the idea, and he begins to sound out public opinion about the man, and, perhaps, to spread news of his growing suspicion. If a further misfortune hits him in short order, he acts.

In Amatenango killing a witch is always an affair of ambush, is always a group of men against the witch. Amatenangueros may or may not be brave as we measure bravery, but only a fool will pit his ordinary self against a man he suspects of being a powerful witch, and only a fool will even seek vengeance when his intended victim is in command of his powers. The killing of a witch then is an ambush, with the man to be killed set upon when he is drunk, and set upon by a group of men.

The most usual method of killing is to poke a shot gun through the wattle-and-daub wall of the suspect's house when the man to be killed is in an alcoholic stupor, pull the trigger, and disappear into the night. Other killings of which I have knowledge include cutting a witch to pieces with a machete, kicking him to death with the heavy cleated caítes, and shooting in the back with a pistol.

The crucial factor here is that a man, together with a small number of his friends or kinsmen, have decided to kill another man as a witch. The problem facing the community is whether the killing was justified. That is, did a witch get destroyed, and therefore a source of potential evil get removed, or did a man indulge a personal grievance, or a drunken impulse? This is what the trials after
a killing are concerned with. It is rarely a question of who did the killing; that is almost immediate public knowledge. The question is one of the validity of the slaying, and that validity turns on the problem of identification. Identification is a social decision as to the character of a dead man, and as to the character of his slayer. For after all, it is nearly as uncomfortable a situation to have a murderer about in a small community as it is to have a witch. Both share the trait of irresponsible evil-making.

Here I want, in part, to describe, a trial after the killing of a man. The suspected slayer was brought before the assembled officials of Amatenango in the building which houses the civil officers. The accused man was seen drinking with the dead man the night before. They had quarreled, the accused had called the man an ak chamel — a caster of sickness -- and had cursed him for bringing misfortune. The now dead man had laughed and staggered away to his house. So much was common knowledge.

Witnesses were assembled. They included the immediate family of the accused, the widow and brother of the dead man, and the father of the dead man. Several of the neighbors of the dead man and several neighbors of the accused were also on hand inside the juzgado. Outside many people of the dead man’s barrio hovered near the entrance to the juzgado. Everybody in the community was talking about the recent death. The people in the dead man’s barrio came to view the body, which was under the charge of the officers of the civil hierarchy.

The questioning went something like this. The judges addressed remarks to the accused. Did he drink with the deceased last night and did he insult him? Yes, he did both. Why the insult? The accused recounted the death of one of his children, from witchcraft. Then he said the dead man had told him at the time of the funeral that death was not finished yet in that household. Two weeks later another member
of the household died. The man's wife supported the story. Neighbors said they had heard the threat at the funeral. Neighbors then went on to say the dead man was becoming muy bravo as he learned to be a curer. He was not as humble as a beginning curer should be, but demanded much.

The judge then turned to the dead man's family, who had heard all this testimony, which established two important things: First the dead man was a novice curer and this meant that he had a nahual, and second that he was regarded as bravo or aggressive by the neighbors and did not properly abide by the age respect rules of Amatenango social interaction.

The kin of the dead man then began a line of testimony which carefully and systematically severed their social relations with the deceased. The dead man's wife testified that her husband was often gone nights, drinking, or doing she knew not what. She did not know of his special powers—had she not recently lost a child from what appeared to be witchcraft too? She established the fact that her husband was a mystery to her and that she did not know of his violation of respect relations or his beginnings in curing. Effectively she denied her social relation as wife. The dead man's brother then testified that he was a friend of the accused and that they had been drinking the night before and in fact were together when the killing took place, but were far from the site of the slaying. Now everyone knew that the dead man's brother had been so drunk that he could not with reliability testify to anything. What he was affirming was his confidence in the accused and his unwillingness to assert the claim of sibling for revenge. He too severed social relationships with the dead man.

It was now clear to the judges, and to me, who was amazed and confused by the trial, that nothing was going to happen to the accused. He was free. His just grievance had been established, his neighbors had called him a cumplido.
honorable man. And the dead man was singled out as a violator of norms, his wife and brother had publicly cut their connections to him and had established the basis for a verdict. The judges decided the slain man had been in fact a witch. The slayer was in fact an executioner, not a murderer. Community consensus was quickly reached on this killing.

When the Mexican police came the next day to investigate a killing, they were presented with a minute description of the position of the dead man, the time of the killing, the size of the hole in his head, etc. But they were not presented with any suspects. To the outside world, nobody in the community had the slightest suspicion of why the man was killed, or the remotest idea of who did it. The police took notes, went home, muttering about inditos and their ways.

Not all killings reach this level of agreement. Some men are killed and many people have reservations about the justice of the slaying. In a case of a curer who was killed by the rest of the curers for what essentially was a violation of guild rules, many people in the community thought an injustice was committed. Nor do the families of the victims always cut off social relations with the deceased in a public display. Some women mourn their dead husbands long after they have been slain as witches, and continue to say that a murder was committed. The consensus-making mechanism is not always perfect, and witchcraft leaves many unresolved strains in the community and generates cause for further violence. This, too, is one of the built-in hazards of a system of witch belief having post hoc identification as a necessary corollary.

The process of identification of a witch is one of consensus, and a man runs a risk of death if he misjudges the character of the victim, or if he is not well integrated into his neighborhood and kin group. Having witches about who can only be identified after the fact is a necessary condition of a viable
theory of witchcraft. But the *ad hoc* identification is not an invitation to indulgence or to wanton killing. The constraints of communal judgments about the character of the persons involved, both *slayer* and *slain*, set the limits of witchcraft action. And in a small face-to-face community, no one, as a moral man, can for long lay false claim to virtues and to social status.

Manning Nash
Section 33

Markers of Acculturation

in a

Ladino-Indian Town
Markers of Acculturation in a Ladino-Indian Town

John Hotchkiss
University of Chicago
May 1959

In many regions of Meso-America are found two distinct socio-cultural groups, Ladinos and Indians. The distinctive features of each have been well described, so that we now have good ideal-type characterizations of them (Gillin, 1949; Redfield and Tax, 1952; Tax, 1937, 1952, passim). Study of the interrelationships between these groups has been a major focus of anthropological work, and findings from various communities and regions of Mexico and Guatemala have shown how these relationships are many and varied, depending upon factors of territorial location of groups and the kinds of contacts between them, as in the sectors of commercial, religious or political activity (de la Fuente, 1952; Gillin, 1948; Goubaud, 1952; Hoyt, 1955; King, 1952; Redfield, 1939; Roberts, 1948; Siegel, 1941; Tax, 1941; Tumin, 1952). Because of the superordinant position of Ladinos with respect to the Indians, much of this contact has resulted in changes in the Indian culture which have been described in terms of relative degrees of "ladinoization". There is little agreement, however, on the nature of this social process. Some of this disagreement is due to the fact that investigators have generalized from their own field studies, and these cover a broad range of Ladino-Indian contexts. My aim in this paper is to suggest ways in which we may approach greater conceptual clarity in the interpretation of this process.

One type of community where it is fruitful to examine ladinoization is the local community setting where both Ladinos and Indians reside. In a community

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1. I wish to acknowledge the helpful suggestions offered by Manning Nash and Robert M. Adams of the University of Chicago on preliminary drafts of this paper.
2. See Adams, 1956, for a review of the differing emphases and points of view represented, for example, in Redfield, 1939; Siegel, 1941, and Tumin, 1952.
in highland Chiapas which I shall call San Agustín, there exists a mixed population. The Indians there today, however, do not conform to the ideal characterization of Indian, although it is historically known that their ancestors of only three generations ago did. Today, instead, they are found in a relatively high degree of integration into the Ladino society of this community. A few characteristics of these Indians are described below which in this community effectively set them apart from Ladinos. These distinguishing characteristics I call "markers", and they can be conceptually treated as variables in the preliminary stages of analysis of ladinoization. While the markers may be viewed as hurdles, obstructions or impediments along a transition axis toward ladinoization, I stress that I do not imply any dynamic notion that "becoming a Ladino" is a desire or motive on the part of the Indians, nor are these markers consciously maintained by Ladinos for the purpose of "keeping the Indian in his place". I do not know if these motivations are present; my analysis is not geared toward making these assertions.

The Ladinos of San Agustín number some 4,000 persons. They live in the central portions along the two main streets of an elongated grid-patterned town which is on an all-weather motor road. San Agustín is a major trade center for several neighboring Indian communities, and less than half of the Ladinos of San Agustín are directly engaged in agricultural occupations. Rather, most of them fall into commercial occupations—artisans, traders and brokers.

Surrounding the grid portion of the town are several small neighborhood enclaves, or barrios, where the majority of the Indians reside. A few Indians have moved into the town center, and now occupy the side and back streets. The core of this total Indian population of some 1,200 are second and third generation descendants of immigrants who came to San Agustín from two large Tzotzil-speaking Indian areas, San Andrés and San Miguel. The original migrants came during the Revolutionary period, sometime after 1910, when through land reforms agricultural
lands and house sites were made available to them in San Agustin. There has been a steady trickle of Indian families into this town since that time. Some of these come directly from Indian communities. Others come from large Ladino land-holdings in the region where they had originally gone to work as wage-laborers, so that by the time they reach San Agustin, they are a couple of stages removed from Indian communities.

At the level of community-wide organization, the San Agustin Indians are indeed highly integrated into the Ladino society of this small community. While being administered by a committee of Indians and elected by them, the ejido land base of the Indians is dependent upon Ladino support, and there is close cooperation between the ejido committee and the Ladino municipio administration. Economic ties on the individual household level through periodic wage work for Ladinos, various forms of work groups in cargo transport, partnerships in land exploitation and agricultural enterprise, links many Indians to rich and poor Ladinos alike. In the economic sphere we find a great number of enduring relationships and a high degree of mutual dependance for goods and services between Ladinos and Indians.

Indians have separate barrio religious organizations for the celebration of saints that were brought from their original home communities, but these are only active two or three times a year. The Ladino fiesta organizations seek out Indians to help in the planning and carrying out of community-wide, Ladino-directed religious fiestas. It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of either kind of religious participation for the Indians, but there is a greater degree of Indian integration into Ladino religious life than is found in most Indian communities.

Politically, while the Indians are in a subordinant position, through their ejido and educational committees they are able to effect political action favorable to themselves. Through the ejido organization, the Indians participate in
political ritual which validates the power vested in the local chapter of the national political party, PRI, and which underlies San Agustín municipio government. Thus, in San Agustín, there is no traditional Indian type of political-religious organization, and the Indians are active in community economic, religious and political affairs.

While there is a relatively high degree of integration, or ladinoization, at this level, the picture must be balanced by the ways in which Ladino and Indian segments of the community are identified by each other as distinct entities. Local San Agustín Ladinos refer to the Indians that live in the community as "inditos". Likewise, the San Agustín Indians refer to, and distinguish themselves from, the Ladinos by calling themselves "naturales". Yet, they do not identify with Indians of the surrounding Tzeltal or Tzotzil communities. The verbalized Ladino-natural distinction is accompanied by stereotypic statements from individuals of both groups characterizing the opposite group, usually in deprecatory terms.

The main occupational pursuit of the Indians is verbalized by the agricultor-agrarista distinction. Agraristas are the Indians engaged in small scale agriculture whose land base is provided by the ejido program. Ladinos do not participate in this program, and the small scale Ladino farmers refer to themselves as agricultores.

Other markers are found which are not immediately or directly verbalized, but easily visible or ascertainable, which serve to identify the Indian. These may not be, when taken together, applicable to each and every Indian, but if a person is characterized by any one, he can be so tagged, and I know of no Indian who does not come under some one of these markers. These fall, in addition to the occupational distinction made above, under the categories of residence, surname, costume and language.

If a person is known to live in a barrio, he is considered an Indian. If he is seen in an unguarded moment using the Indian language, he is irrevocably tagged; and similarly, if he wears Indian costume. While the use of the Indian language is rare and specially guarded against in the presence of Ladinos, many
older persons use it for certain occasions, and in many families, it is used among adults. Most children and younger adults know only Spanish. Likewise, the use of Indian costume is relatively rare, but so worn, there is no mistaking an Indian. Among women, while the wearing of the distinctive regional woman's costume is rare, the so-called "generalized Indian" woman's costume is commonly worn in San Agustín, and this differs markedly from Ladino women's dress. Also, the occupations of servants, charcoal-makers and fire-wood-gatherers are distinctive for Indian women.

A roster of the Spanish surnames held by Indians, with only three exceptions I know of, reveals that their distribution is mutually exclusive with that of the names found among the local Ladinos. There are a few Indian surnames used, but in the present-day Ladino manner, and not bound in the "double" Spanish-Indian surname usage found in other Indian communities throughout the region. So, when an Indian is introduced or known by name, he is marked.

The markers mentioned here are undoubtedly not exhaustive for the community of San Agustín, but they seem to be the crucial ones, if one is to judge by cases where Indians appear to make efforts to structure situations in their relations with Ladinos whereby such markers are hidden. There are numerous occasions when Indian language use is discarded, and fewer cases where Indians change their occupations, costume, or residence from the barrio to the town center. In no case that I know of has any individual or family accomplished all of these successfully in San Agustín and is now considered a Ladino there. There are cases reported of Indian individuals and families moving to, or spending a greater proportion of the year in other Ladino communities, but rather than assume that such persons are able to pass as Ladinos in these communities where their background may be unknown, I would reserve comment on this until the situation is directly observed and reported.

In San Agustín, I have tried to show that the community is structured in such a way as to lead even the more recent "anonymous" Indian migrants to take
up barrio residence and in other ways to fit into the community in situations where the markers become applicable to them. While it cannot be fully documented, it is not unreasonable to postulate that similar characteristics are found in the predominantly Ladino and mixed Ladino-Indian communities in other regions of highland Chiapas and neighboring Guatemala, where Ladinos today are greatly outnumbered by Indians, and where co-existence of both groups has a long tradition.

By analytically isolating the identifying markers found operating in a particular community setting, we first see the limitations which may be present in the ladinoization process for that community. Then, by coupling the distinguishing markers found with fuller contextual statements of the types of Ladino-Indian relations present, we may arrive at a more refined description of the ways and the sectors of activity in which ladinoization occurs. Through comparative studies of other settings, where Ladinos and Indians are found in close proximity and in relative higher degrees of community integration, general formulations of such ladinoization processes may be tested.
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Section 34

ANNOTATED LIST OF PLANTS
OF THE
HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS

[ in process ]
Section 35

PRE-HISPANIC TERRACES AROUND AGUACATENANGO

[in process]