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NOTICE

AVISO

Tataltepec de Valdez, Oax. L. & K. Pride
Chatino de Tataltepec

Generation	Consanguineal Relatives			Vocative
2	grandfather	sti cusu'	"father old"	chi'i
	grandmother	xtya'a cusu'	"mother old"	ma'a
	g'parent's brothers	chi tya'a	"g'dad relative"	
	g'parent's sisters	ma' tya'a	"mum relative"	
1	father	sti	"father"	papá
	mother	xtya'a	"mother"	maméa
	parent's brothers	chi tya'a		
	parent's sisters	ma' tya'a		
0	siblings	tya'a ngula	"relative born"	
	parents' siblings' child	tya'a	"relative"	
	parents' cousins	tya'a		
	parent's cousin's child	tya'a		
1	children	sñi'	"son/daughter"	mbichi' (boy)
	sibling's children	sñi' tya'a	"relative's child"	mbixu' (girl)
	cousin's children	tya'a	"relative"	
2	grandchildren	sñi' ste'	"child of-clothes"	
3	great g'children	sñi' sñi' ste'	"g'child's child"	

	Affinal Relatives	Ego = man		
1	father-in-law	sti laa	"church father"	
	mother-in-law	xtya'a laa	"church mother"	
0	spouse (wife)	clyo'o	"spouse"	
	wife's brother	culya	"brother-in-law"	
	wife's sister	xtya	"sister-in-law"	
	sister's husband	culya	"brother-in-law"	
	brother's wife	xtya	"sister-in-law"	
1	daughter's husband	sñi' laa	"church child"	mbichi'
	son's wife	sñi' xi	"bride child"	mbixu'
		Ego = woman		
1	as for man			
0	spouse (husband)	clyo'o	"spouse"	
	husband's brother	xtya	"sibling-in-law"	
	husband's sister	xtya		
	sister's husband	xtya		
	brother's wife	xtya		
1	as for man			

The 7 basic kinship terms: sti, xtya'a, tya'a, sñi', clyo'o, culya, xtya, are all inalienably possessed nouns, so that a personal pronoun always occurs following any of these terms to designate whose relative is being spoken of. e.g. sti na' "father I", xtya'a yu "mother he". Further relationships may be indicated by means of descriptive phrases. e.g. nu cuna'a ji'i tya'a na' "the woman of relative I/my".

Further Vocative Terms

ñuñu "Dear"- used with spouse, younger close relatives, other small children when one needs to gain their confidence.
chucue "Friend" - used (particularly by children) between close male friends.
chocua' "Friend" - close female friends.
sñi' "Child" - used with anyone designated as sñi' by the speaker.

Compadrazgo Relationships Ego = man

1	godfather - general necessity	sti quicha "father illness"
	godmother	xtya'a quicha
	godfather - baptism	sti tya "father blessing"
	godmother	xtya'a tya
	godfather - confirmation, 1st communion	sti tya cuaya' "father blessing measure"
	godmother	xtya'a tya cuaya'
0	compadre	mba
	comadre	mali
1	godchild	sñi' quicha
		sñi' tya
		sñi' tya cuaya'

Ego = woman

1	as for man	
0	compadre	mali
	comadre	mali
1	as for man	

These same relationship terms are used as vocatives, except that the further modification cuaya' is dropped in the vocative form. Whereas other vocatives seem to be used at will, this set are used obligatorily in speech between persons in any of these relationships. One godparent of the same sex as the child is chosen, and their spouse(or if unmarried their sibling) automatically becomes the corresponding godparent. e.g. normal, healthy baby boy born; needs as his first godfather a sti tya. The wife/sister of his sti tya will be his xtya'a tya. These godparents become compadres of the baby's parents. They provide clothes for their godchild for the baptismal ceremony in the church, where the priest sprinkles the child, held by its godmother, with holy water and puts salt on its tongue. The child's parents remain at the back of the church, and take no part in the ceremony. If the child dies, these godparents will provide the burial shroud and bonnet of brand new material, even if they pleaded poverty and inability to provide christening clothes. They also decorate the table where the child is laid out, and generally help at the funeral. If the child is ill, they will take them to get medicine, or give some money to help, or help in some other way. If the families remain on good terms these godparents will be called on in any emergency that crops up in later life. The same people are often asked to be sti/xtya'a tya to all subsequent siblings of their sñi' tya, and the xtya'a tya will be called on by her mali to help with the laundry made necessary by a new baby until the child's mother is well enough to go to the river again for herself. She doesn't usually wash clothes for her original godchild though, just subsequent ones after the relationship is established.

The next necessary godparent is a sti/xtya'a quicha. At an appropriate time agreed on by the compadres, this godparent will take a candle either into the

church, or to the child's home where he/she will light it and say a rosary for the child. This may be before or after the christening. If the child is ill, these godparents may be called upon to help in the same way as the sti/xtya'atya, and in the event of the child's death, if for some unaccountable reason the sti/xtya'a tya will not do their duty, then the sti/xtya'a quicha fill the breach. If the child is ill again later on, and the family feel the need of more candles to be officially burnt on his behalf, then asecond (or even third or fourth) sti/xtya'a quicha must be found, as this is only done once by one godparent for a particular godchild in his whole lifetime. Yet other sti/xtya'a quicha are asked to be with the child when he receives his certificate of graduation from primary school (they provide an appropriate present at that time), and yet another sti/xtya'a quicha will be hosts for the first part of the wedding feast when this child gets married.

At some time between the ages of 5 and 12 years the child will need a sti/xtya'a tya cuaya' who will arrange with the priest for a private "blessing" ceremony. With no further witnesses this sti/xtya'a tya cuaya' will take the child to the church where the priest sprinkles it with holy water in the same way as at the christening, but does not put salt on its tongue this time. This private ceremony may take place before or after the child's confirmation and first communion. For these latter ceremonies the child needs two other sti/xtya'a tya cuaya'. However, many Chatino children do not attend the catechism class, and so are not confirmed and have no first communion ceremony. This is hastily remedied by a few words from the priest at their wedding service so that they can partake of the wedding mass. For many Chatinos this may be the only time that they participate in the mass (although they may attend) in their whole lives, because of the fearful need of ritual cleanliness in order to do so.

Reciprocal obligations between the compadres, and between the child and its godparents continue for the rest of their lives, and include; helping each other on any special occasion - wedding, funeral, fiesta (if one of them is a mayordomo), housebuilding, birthday fiesta -; help during illness - godchild will help with chores and errands if his godparent is ill, compadre will help make a cornfield (or weed it , or whatever is necessary at that juncture), comadre will take some present of food -; if the child is orphanned and has regularly visited his godparents, they will probably help him a bit, but only on very rare occasions would they take in and bring up the orphan - this is ususally done by the orphan's grandparents, or if none are living, his eldest sibling runs the household, or if the eldest is a boy, and already married, he will take the younger ones into his household.

Good friends or kindly disposed acquaintances are usally asked to be godparents - who will be kind to my child if he becomes an orphan? is the question the parents ask themselves. They may choose an employer or richer people who are kind to them, they may choose a relative (unusual) or even a sibling (rare), but more usually good friends in good health.

Marriage

A marriage partner must be chosen from beyond what are considered to be consanguineal relatives, i.e. one does not marry a tya'a. Several generations are necessary to lose track of a blood relationship, but it is quite permissable to marry someone with the same surname if they are not considered to be a tya'a. The other restriction is that one does not marry one's xtya'a tya "blessing godmother" 's child, but it is quite permissible to marry the child of any other godparents. The children of one's xtya'a tya are tya'a to' pilya "relative mouth/edge water-tank/font". One's spouse is usually from Tataltepec also(which eliminates any problem of differing customs), but not necessarily.

There seem to be/6 steps to the ideal marriage as follows:

1. The father may suggest to his son that it is time he thought of marriage (usually after his "marcha" year as a "consorito" when he has obtained his "cartilla" and is considered an adult i.e. he is 18 years old), and ask who he would like to marry. Alternatively, the son may approach his father, and tell him of the girl he has chosen. If the young man's father is dead, he will speak to his mother who in turn will consult in this order 1. her brother, 2. the son's sti tya, 3. the son's sti quicha. If the young man is not with his mother, then he must speak to whoever is the head of the household where he is living. The primary consideration is whether a wedding can be afforded or not.

2. The father then speaks to a friend of his or to the son's godfather (one), and requests him to become the official go-between. This man then takes a bottle of liquor, or vino, or cerveza, and some cigarettes or tobacco leaves to smoke, and goes to ask the chosen girl's father for permission to ask for her hand in marriage. The girl's mother may, or may not be present at this interview.

3. If permission is granted, then the go-between together with the young man's father will return on the day the girl's father has invited them (it may be a week later, or a month, or whatever) to ask for her hand. They will take a repeat of the same gifts. No positive answer is given, but the girl's parents promise to think about the request, and appoint another day to meet and give their answer.

4. The father and the go-between return again to the girl's home on the appointed day, and if the girl's parents are favourably disposed towards the match, they will promise to consult the girl herslf and her godparents. A new appointment is made on which to give the answer. They will have taken a further supply of the same gifts.

5. Armed with more of the same gifts the father and the go-between again present themselves at the girl's home on the appointed day. The girl's parents then tell them that they are in favour of the match, and their daughter is willing. They arrange another meeting to which the young man and his mother are also invited. This is for the girl's parents to interrogate the young man to find out if he really does want to marry their daughter, or is just being compelled by his parents.

6. With a new supply of the same gifts, but without the go-between this time, the prospective bridegroom and his father and mother meet with just the girl's parents. If all are satisfied, they arrange the engagement party.

7. The engagement party is also held at the girl's house. All of her immediate family and her godparents are present, as well as all of the young man's family and his godparents. He himself will bring a load of firewood; someone else in his family will carry a male turkey, and someone else a big chiquihuite (laundry basket) of bread; others carry 5 - 8 maquilas of corn, a whole lata' of panela (20 cakes), chocolate, sugar, ground coffee, 1k. lard, a quantity of chile peppers (chile ancho, other dried chiles, and the local, home-grown variety), 1 - 2 gallons of liquor.. The girl's parents do not serve anything, but just receive all these gifts.1 It is up to the young man's family to bring any refreshments that are to be served, and to arrange any entertainment. This will depend on their economic ability, but may include several pitchers of coffee ready made, another chiquihuite of sweet bread, and/or a hired record-player and loudspeaker to provide music for a dance.

Next morning early the girl's mother sends out gifts of the bread and coffee received from her prospective son-in-law's family the night before to all her relatives and mali. The young man is now free to visit the girl at her home - he will usually take an edible gift, or firewood, or carry water for them, or occasionally a bigger gift of money, or a corn-grinder, etc.

8. Later the civil wedding is arranged for, at the mutual convenience of the couple's parents. A couple is asked to be sti xtya'a quicha for the wedding. The young couple may go to the district town (Juquila) and appear before the judge there with their fathers and wedding godparents as witnesses, or the young man and his father may go alone and get the papers from the judge for the local town president to actually perform the civil ceremony - but this latter method is more expensive. The civil ceremony may or may not be followed by a dance.

Afterwards the young couple return to their respective homes.

9. The church wedding follows when convenient - immediately, next day, next week or next month. The bride usually wears a conventional wedding dress which is provided by the groom's family. Coffee or chocolate and bread provided by the groom's family may be served at the bride's home afterwards. During this ceremony and for the thirteen succeeding days it is very important that the bride and groom should not touch each other even accidentally - if they do not "guard the days" they will at best be impotent, or even shrivel up and die, so they continue living at their parents' homes during this period, and the groom is not encouraged to visit his young bride.

10. On the thirteenth day, accompanied by all their relatives, the young couple go to the church again. The girl wears a new outfit provided by her husband, but not her wedding dress. They take a large bunch of flowers, and 13 candles - one for each guarded day. These are provided by the fathers, mothers, and godparents, who all give one each. They are left burning in the middle of the church or in front of St. John. Then they all go to the wedding godparents' house, and the festivities begin with a dance which lasts until the early hours. The whole immediate family of the bride have now become compadres with the groom's immediate family. The bride now changes into her wedding dress, and the town band conduct a procession of everyone present at the dance over to the home of the bride. Dancing is continued till breakfast-time, then breakfast is served by the bride's family. More dancing, and finally they move to the groom's home for dinner served by his family. After dinner the bride changes into yet another new outfit provided by the groom, and the dancing continues till about midnight. The bride now remains at the groom's home. The following morning together they go round, escorted by a number of young friends and relatives, to invite people to a final dance at the groom's house that evening.

This ideal actually occurs, but it is very expensive, and almost impossible for a young man whose father is dead.

Originally, the actual bride and groom were not consulted, as their marriage was arranged while they were still children. (We know of at least two instances of this in the past decade - in one case the bride and groom were forced to comply, although the bride cried for most of the wedding, including her 13 guarded days when she was well and truly guarded by her parents; in the other case the youngsters rebelled violently, and both managed to elope with the partner of their own choice, despite vigilant families. Just for the record, the first case cited here has developed into a very happy and successful marriage after all.)

Only in very recent years has a civil wedding been incorporated into the custom and ritual since the priest refused to marry couples who had not had a civil ceremony first, with an official wedding certificate to prove it.

Various alternatives have developed to avoid either the expense, or the seriousness of a formal marriage bond:

1. If a couple are both poor, and their families cannot afford a wedding with all the trappings, or if they do not have relatives who will take the responsibility for them, then the young man will ask permission from the head of his household to bring the girl of his choice home. If the girl has a family, the ritual asking for her hand may be complied with (steps 1 - 7), but with a much less elaborate engagement party. A short time later (sometimes the standard 13 guarded days), the girl will move in with the young man's family. If they were formally engaged, they will probably be married civilly and in church at the earliest opportunity that they can afford to, but their will be no wedding dress, no feast and no dances. They might just have a simple family celebration meal. This is accepted as a respectable arrangement/substitute.

2. If a marriage is being arranged against the will of one or both parties, or if the girl's parents refuse her hand when a young man has already spoken to her secretly and she is enamoured with him, then they will elope. They

usually run right away to another village. Irate fathers may follow them, and if they are caught before nightfall, they will be brought back to the Town Hall where usually just the young man will be put in jail, but if the girl's father is furious enough with her, the girl will be jailed too for at least one night. If they are not caught, they will probably return after 2 - 4 weeks. One or both sets of parents will still be angry with them, and again they will be put in jail - the punishment often depends on their fathers' suggestions to the authorities. The girl's father may insist on a wedding at the earliest possibility, or he may require the young man to carry rocks to repair the streets of the town under police guard for so many days, etc. In any event, when they get out of jail, the young couple will live together from then on under the roof of the most sympathetic of their parents. Sometimes, the young man's parents will welcome them back while deploring the match; then, while their son is out at work during the day, his young wife's life may be made a misery till either she persuades her husband to build some kind of house and to set up a separate establishment, or (more often, because her husband cannot understand her problem, as everyone is very nice to her when he is at home) she will run away in desperation, either to her parents (if they have forgiven her) or with some other fellow. The young man is then easily persuaded that his parents' disapproval originally was indeed justified, and she was an unsuitable partner after all. If he was already engaged before his elopement, his parents may yet be able to smoothe over his "indiscretion" with further gifts to the family of his fiancée, and the wedding will go ahead as planned. However a girl who elopes can never hope for formal marriage, unless with the fellow with whom she eloped.

Marriage Breakdown

Alliances break more easily than couples married in church, as there is much more social pressure, particularly from the two families involved, for the married couple to stay together. Without a formal engagement at least, the two families feel no obligation to each other, as they are not compadres. However marriages do break down occasionally in the following ways:

1. If a man tires of his wife, and just sends her home as unsatisfactory, she may choose to take any children or not. She may feel that she had no children when she came, and leave them to her in-laws. Her father will prabably take the case to the Town Hall, and demand a settlement for her, or inheritance for the children if she takes them with her. If it was just an alliance, her case will not excite much sympathy at the Town Hall, but if the couple were married, the authorities will regard the whole matter as much more serious.

2. If a man runs off with another woman, his children remain with their mother, unless (very rarely) she refuses to keep them, and hands them over to her mother-in-law. Their house also remains for the wife, and all the things in it. If the case is taken to the Town Hall, they will divide the work done between the man and his wife; i.e. cornfield, other crops, animals, etc. The children will still visit their father, and will ask help from him when they need money for anything. Half-siblings are regarded as tya'a ngula "relative born" even though they have only one parent in common. Sometimes the husband will return to his original family and either support both families, and share his time rather arbitrarily between them, or cut off the second familiy. The latter usually involves a case at the Town Hall to sort out property rights.

3. If a woman runs off with another man, the children remain with their father, as well as all the family belongings. She has abdicated her right to any contact with her children as well as to any of her former belongings, e.g. domestic animals, fruit trees, etc. Very rarely would a husband follow a runaway wife to bring her back, or take her back later if she wanted to return to him. A married woman's dessertion of her husband is considered very serious, but it is perfectly understandable, although deplorable, for a woman to be unfaithful to a man that she is just living with.

Second Marriages

We know of only one case in the last decade when any kind of formal ceremony was involved to establish a second marriage, i.e. where one partner from the first marriage has died. This case involved a widower with one small daughter, and he formally requested the hand of a more mature single woman, i.e in her middle twenties. Usually a widower will form an alliance with a widow, and such alliances rarely seem to break up. The alliances that do not last are usually between a widow and some apparently unattached man - often from another town where he has another family of which he is a bit tired, but to which he eventually returns. These are often mestizo men.

The widow almost always brings her children from her former marriage with her, unless there is a very strong objection from one set of grandparents who are willing to take on the upbringing of their fatherless grandchildren, or perhaps just one of them. Similarly, the widower often brings his children from his former marriage with him, but in his case the grandparents more often object, and take on their grandchildren themselves, rather than let them be influenced by some strange woman. If a grandmother is widowed and alone, she will usually take over an orphanned or semi-orphanned grandchild so that they can help each other. When her son is widowed she will have moved in right away to take charge of his kitchen for him, and to help with the children, so it is quite natural for at least one of the older children to stay with her if he later forms a new alliance. In a second marriage, if the husband already has a very young child, his new wife will often bring up that infant as if it were her own, but neither she nor her husband seem to feel the same way about the other children of their new spouse. Indeed, the parents themselves treat the children of their dead spouse quite differently from their younger children of the second marriage. The partners seem to deliberately be much harder on their older children for fear of offending their new partners, and will even utilise a child's inheritance from his dead parent to subsidise the new household, e.g. The father of a middle income family died leaving his coffee holdings to his son and daughter, and his donkey, banana plants and other fruit trees to his wife. Later she formed an alliance with a widower of similar income who was left with three sons about the same ages as the children of his new wife. The youngest child was about five years old when the alliance was formed, but all had to work "so that your ~~father~~ step-father/mother will be pleased with you because you have earned your food", so none of them attended school, and all grew into the illiterate-inferiority-complex state of mind as teenagers, by which time they had various little half-siblings of whom they were all inordinately fond. When coffee harvest came each year, all went out to help pick it, then the mother sold what was not needed for their own family, and used the proceeds for new clothes for herself and the smaller children, or household articles, or a radio,etc. In consequence, as her original son and daughter grew older they became sly, and when the harvested coffee was in the house, they would take out several measures and go off and sell it privately to obtain some money of their own from what was rightfully their own property. All five of the older children worked hard and constantly, but always ate less well than their younger siblings, were looked after very perfunctorily when ill, and had no treats, pocket money or spare time to play. None of them will be or has been given a customary Chatino wedding, because the parents say they cannot afford it. However, their eldest half-sister is already formally engaged and looking forward to a normal wedding.

The descriptive miña'a which is derived from ña'a "see", is used in the terms for second marriage relationships, i.e. step-father, etc., but there is no special term for step-sibling, and they are not considered as related.

step-father sti miña'a "father seen", step-mother xtya'a miña'a
step-child sñi' miña'a "son/daughter seen"
half-sibling tya'a ngula "relative born"

Anthropology 6 Chatino de Tataltepec de Valdez, Leslie & Kitty Pride

Religious Fiesta Calendar

January 1 - new Town Hall - whole coucil and tenientes "guard" days.

13 - end of guarded days, ceremony in church to hand over bastón of office to new president.

20 - San Sebastian - special mayordomo (junior).

¡ February 2 - Candelaria (Tututepec).

- Carnival "ta'a oui" - special mayordomo (junior). Sunday is the important day, continues Mon. and Tues., then Lent begins, on Wed. "feast of Cristo"

¡ 4th Friday in Lent - (Huaspaltepec).

5th " " " - "biyerne tlyu" same special mayordomo (junior) "feasts of Jo'o Ysu"

Good Friday -"biyerne jo'o"

April 25 = San Marcos
May 3 = Santa Cruz
May 15 = - San Isidro

Ascension Day - the Patronal feast - special mayordomo (senior) "feast of Jo'o José".

May 25 - María de la Luz - a Guadalupe day.

June 13 - San Antonio "Sna Ndayu - special mayordomo (senior).

24 - San Juan - special mayordomo (junior).

25 = Santiago - "Snyago ni tyo"

August 1 - a Rosary is said every night for the next 14 nights, all mayordomos involved - ? "guard days".

15 = a Guadalupe day "ta'a bina'a" - "church" mayordomo responsible (senior).
elders meet to appoint the next year's mayordomos.

September - another feast of Jo'o Ysu - special mayordomo (senior).

October 7 - Rosario - aMaría day. New mayordomos officially made known.

11 - a Guadalupe day

15 = "ta'a Jo'o Cña'" - new mayordomos take office, "guard days".

31 - Los Angelitos" - mayordomos decorate the church and Town Hall.

November 1 - Todos Santos " ta'a jyo'o" unless the 1st falls on a Sun., then the feast is carried over till the Mon.

3- the souls are escorted back to the graveyard.

30 - San Andrés

¡ December 8 - the virgin of Juquila "ta'a quichi"

14 = the mayordomos and sacristanes wash the "church clothes".

15 =Rosario - clean clothes for Mary - posadas begin = anyone may request that the saints come to their house for this.

24 - Noche Buena "ta'a ngula Jo'o" = special mayordomo (junior)

¡ = feasts in other towns that are particularly attended by people from Tataltepec.

Also, on Jan. 1, Mayl, Aug. 1 and Nov. 1 candles are lit by the elders and/or mayordomos and placed by all the crosses in town, and also on certain mountain tops surrounding the town.

National Fiestas

As there is a complete primary school in Tataltepec, the teachers see to it that all the national fiestas are observed in the appropriate manner. They instruct the Junta Patriotica when a procession is in order (which includes the entire school, the band, the town council with the president carrying the flag, the members of the junta and the members of the Comité de Padres de Familias), and when there is to be a school programme so that decorations are needed. Most mestizo parents, and perhaps 50% of the Chatino parents attend the school programmes, but only those participating usually turn out for the processions or parades, except on September 16th. For that fiesta the soldiers and the "young men who are learning, the march people" also join the procession, and there are quite a number of spectators as the president makes the necessary speeches, with horse-races following. In October, 1976 they also celebrated UN Day, and the soldiers had a part in the proceedings then too. However, the main participants and organisers here are all mestizos, and the Chatinos just attend for the spectacle. This "watching the spectacle" is also true at the town's patronal fiesta on Ascension Day when the mestizo element have instituted a basketball tournament, but very rarely is a young man of Chatino origin included in the home team, although they learn to play at school. Recently the soldiers have introduced football, and are teaching the "march boys", but what place this will have in the fiesta scheme is not, as yet, apparent.

Private Fiestas

1. Engagement parties and weddings (previously described)
2. Birthday parties - These seem to have developed from Spanish influence. Only influencial people actually have a fiesta on their birthdays, and only if they receive greetings (usually publically, with music, over the loud-speaker) from a number of God-relatives, etc. do they then feel obliged to put on a special meal and invite all those well-wishers to share it.
3. Funerals are attended by anyone who has respect for, or some obligation to, the dead person, and all present are invited to eat as the meals are prepared. Spanish influence has modified this ceremony greatly.
4. The other type of private fiesta is arranged when a family buys a new household saint. This may be a picture or, very occasionally, an image, and they will have saved up for it for some time, and then usually buy it at a fair accompanying a big fiesta in some nearby town. As soon as they arrive home with it, they arrange for a cantor to come to their house. A procession is formed of family and relatives with candles and copal burning censers, to take the new saint into the church. They then return home with it where the cantor holds a rosary service, and it is installed on the family alter table. At the next visit of the priest to town, he is asked to officially bless this new saint, so the procession takes it to church once more. After returning home a small feast is held for all those invited to take part in the procession. This may be followed by a dance, with a general invitation to the whole town, accompanied by records played over a loudspeaker, but no further food will be served. However, guests will bring liquor and cigarettes, so these are served liberally.

October 15th Feast of the Saint of the/ Sainted/ Holy Strongbox (ta'a to'oña')

On this day the six junior and two senior mayordomos, plus the "church" mayordomo take office for the ensueing year. They were chosen when the town elders, both men and women, got together at the tagabinda on August 15th. Then they were officially notified and appointed on October 7th, the Feast of Rosario. Since then they have been making their preparations for their inauguration by making a large quantity of beeswax candles of various sizes. All of the junior mayordomos gather at the house of the chief mayordomo to make a large supply of candles for the church supply, which they will need to augment as the year goes on, and the candles get used up. The wax is paid for from the offerings given weekly to the

saint. Also half-burned candles in the church are put out after each service, and collected by the mayordomos to melt down again and make new ones. The chief outgoing or "church" mayordomo takes a bundle of 13 very thick candles, each about two feet long to hand over to his successor. The town council and other elders are provided from this "church" supply with candles to carry in the special procession on this day, October 15th. The incoming "church" mayordomosis responsible for entertaining all his fellow mayordomos, both incoming and outgoing,aas well as the town elders and the town council on this occasion. His house must be decorated, and an archway of flowers tied to carrizo built on the main trail about 20-50 yards from his house. Under this arch the new church mayordomo kneels with his wife and family, and the other incoming mayordomos and their wives, to receive charge of the most revered object in the twon, "Saint Strongbox". The men all carry lighted candles, and the women censers with copal burning in them, both in the waiting, kneeling group, and those in the procession which comes from the outgoing mayordomo's house. The outgoing church mayordomo himself carries the special bundle of "holy" candles, while a senior sacristan carries the "Saint Strongbox" ina snow-white flour sack. They are followed by two long files of people in the official procession, including two men playing a fife and small drum (of other important fiestas in many areas including Mitla), all the other outgoing mayordomos and their wives, the town council, the town elders (male and female), and the town band. This is an especially solemn occasion for the sacristan carrying the saint, because if he loses his balance somehow, and drops it, the most dire consequences (first to him, and then to the rest of the town) are bound to follow. This "Saint Strongbox" has no place in the church, but is always kept in the house of the current "church" mayordomo, who is its guardian. No ordinary person would dare to touch this wooden box, let alone open it, so very few know what it actually contains. The priest has opened it on occasion, and therefore one or two of the sacristans and former mayordomos have seen the beautiful gold reliquary that it contains. It is surmised that during the revolutionary troubles at one period (probably 100+ years ago since no-one remembers such an event), a priest fleeing for his own life entrusted this treasure to the chief mayordomo for that year to keep it safely for the church, which he did, and the custom has continued. "Saint Strongbox" is considered to have more power than all the saints in the church, and if the "church" mayordomo and his family do not comply with all the necessary restrictions, customs and duties associated with his office in an acceptable way, this saint in their house is liable to show its disapproval in a very tangible way -- sickness (family or domestic animals), crop failure, accidents, etc. If, however, they toe the line in every possible way, and lavishly fulfil their obligations without regard to expense, this saint will ensure blessing on the household.

After receiving the "Saint Strongbox" and the holy bundle of candles at the floral arch, the new chief mayordomo and his party lead the way to his house for the feast, which is very formally conducted and only includes invited guests,i.e. town council and elders, fellow mayordomos and senior sacristans. They eat molé, perhaps followed by beans, and drink homemade tepache prepared from panela.

On October 16th the outgoing mayordomos initiate their successors into their duties, as it were, by showing them the orange, lime, coconut, and mamey, and gourd trees that it is their duty to look after. In fact one mayordomo is specially designated as the "Citrons Fruit Mayordomo". These fruits are sold for church funds, and the gourds are cured, and then those in excess of the needs of that year's fiestas are also sold for church funds; soall the trees must be carefully tended. After being introduced to the trees, their first job is to make a new gate for the graveyard in readiness for the feast of All Saints.

After this, from October 17th, for the next 13 days and nights all the newly appointed mayordomos must "trap" or "look after" the days, i.e. purify themselves by ~~obtaining~~ abstaining from sexual relations, abstaining from all kinds of liquor, and abstaining from lighting candles, although they may go to church, may be at

home (when not "on duty"), and may smoke.

During this purification period the mayordomos all sleep together under the bell shelter, or up at the site of the old ruined church if it is fine. (In 1976 this was changed, and the mayordomos went up on a little hillock in the middle of town known as Calvary -- perhaps because the soldiers had the town remove the ruins of the old church, and build a helicopter pad there.) Some stay awake each night to beat the drum, and this must continue all night to alert the souls of the dead to the imminence of their feast. The bells are also tolled for a short time each evening, as if for a funeralm in honor of the dead.

During these days everyone else in the town is making his own family preparations for the feast. Most families make their own special "saint bread", and their own beeswax candles. They prefer to buy a 10K. sack of flour, collect 30-50 eggs and buy the appropriate amounts of cinnamon, sugar, and lard to make their own batch of bread. Part of the dough is fashioned in plain lumps as rolls, and the rest is moulded and cut into the figures of "babies", specially for the occasion. Not every family has its own mud-brick oven, so those without will hire someone else's to bake their bread. They provide the firewood and pay a fairly standard charge for the use of the oven. For the candles, raw cotton is spun into thread for the wicks (and for other necessities), and the beeswax is bought in blocks by the pound. The wicks are tied on a stick, then molten wax is poured onto them coat by coat till the candles are deemed big enough. These candles will be burnt during the feast on the altar table, under it and outside in the yard at various times. A candle will also be sent with each gift of food that is taken to relatives and friends during the feast. Every family that owns banana plants has been saving a special bunch for this feast. Most people also get other fruit such as apples, tangerines, oranges, limas, pineapples, etc. to go on their food tables. Extra corn must be available for all the special cooked food such as atole and tamales, and also chocolate to drink with the bread, and some kink of meat or cheese for the molé and tamales. The chocolate is made locally from cacao beans which are ground up, mixed with sugar and formed into either sticks or little cakes in a mold, and then left to dry and harden. Locally grown tobacco, or cigarettes from the store, as well as coffee, must also be obtained.

On October 30th everyone is very busy with the final preparations. Firewood and water are fetched to last over the next two days with all the extra cooking. Flowers for decorating must be obtained, preferably both double marigolds in abundance (quee ba'a), and the maroon coloured cockscomb (quee ndana). The mayordomos must acquire vast quantities of these flowers in order to decorate the church, the Town Hall, the priest's house and the straw bull. The police on duty at the Town Hall also help to collect the decorating materials. For the actual food-offering table the mestizos usually use another ordinary table scrubbed thoroughly and sunned, then placed in front of the family altar table. The Chatinos usually make a new platform from cane or thin, peeled ploes tied together with vines in the same way that they make beds. This platform may stand on very tall legs, or be suspended from the rafters by ropes at about eye level. Two of the same thin poles are bent over and secured to the family altar table, then covered with cardboard and coloured crepe or tissue paper to form a canopy. People try to take a bath and wash clothes on this preparation day, as it is not good to bathe or carry water during the feast. Some people start to make fish, cheese or iguana tamales on this day, too. Just after dark a number of rockets are let off by the mayordomos, and they beat the drum all night for the last time.

Early on the morning of October 31st every family is decorating their altar table with the marigolds and cockscomb flowers, some with strings of miniature bread babies and all the fruit. The home-spun cotton thread is traditionally used to suspend all these items. The food table has a clean, usually embroidered tortilla

cloth placed on it, and several places are set with tiny bowls of chocolate and small-sized bread rolls ready for the souls of the dead children (santu). They just prepare several places, not necessarily one place for each child that has died in that immediate family. A few rockets are let off by the mayordomos outside the church to summon the souls to breakfast, and then the tamal-making begins in earnest.

After breakfast, at about 10:00 a.m. the mayordomos are met by the town elders outside the church, and together they make a large wreath of marigolds and decorate the priest's door with it. (The mayordomos have previously decorated the church and the Town Hall.) They then all go into the church for a rosary service, followed by a procession round the church.

Afterwards, sometime between midday and 2:00 p.m., a whole barrage of rockets and camaras (rather like bombs exploding, make from bullets buried in the ground) are set off, the drum and fife are played, and the bells sound a joyful peal of welcome to the souls as they arrive for dinner. Fish and/or cheese and/or iguana tamales have now joined the chocolate and bread on the food table to tempt these children's souls.

Next, the mayordomos get down the wooden frame of the straw bull which has been lashed to the rafters of the bell shelter all the year. They replace the petate coat, and refurbish the petate face and the tail if necessary, then they decorate it with marigolds. One of them gets underneath and lifts it up by means of a crossbar, so that he is inside with only his legs showing, then the new straw bull is paraded round briefly just there outside the church where it was made. That night the mayordomos go home, and after the rosary, etc.

If November 1st should fall on a Sunday, the festivities are postponed until ~~No~~ November 2nd, Monday, but there seems to be no objection to the October 31st proceedings continuing as usual, even when it falls on a Sunday. When the Sunday intermission occurs, the straw bull is paraded throughout the town on that day, led by his "keeper" who wears a dark jacket and trousers, and a wooden mask. The bells are tolled longer than usual that evening.

November 1st (or 2nd if that is the Monday) begins with an early morning rosary held in the church, which is followed by a special tune played on a trumpet from the top of the little hillock known as Calvary in the middle of the town. A procession leaves the church and goes all round the town led by the sacristans carrying one large and several small plain wodden crosses. It includes the mayordomos with candles, the town council and elders, but no women and no censers. They are preceded along the way by a man setting off rockets.

The food tables are now set with adult-sized bowls of chocolate and bread rolls, as well as other offerings. Later in the morning, almost at midday, another rosary service is held in the church, and then more rockets and cámaras are set off, the drum is beaten and the bells rung, as the tables are set with molé and tortillas. The molé is usually has chicken, turkey or pork meat in it. More kinds of tamales are make and added to the offerings, with fillings of shrimp, prawn, pig's head, armadillo, venison, chicken, turkey, etc., and also coffee, cigarettes and/or tobacco leaves. About 3:00 p.m. the bells are rung in a special catastrophe-type peal (this same peal was used during the eclipse of the sun in 1970), and after a pause are tolled. This tolling continues day and night until the souls "leave". All the bell-ringing is done by the sacristans. Most families try to have new clothes for this feast, and during the afternoon members of the family are busy delivering gifts of food -- molé, bread and chocolate, and/or tamales -- to relatives and friends. The children all take a gift to their godparents. These gifts are usually carried in a tortilla cloth held by the four corners and are accompanied by a candle. Families also start visiting the graveyard with bunches of marigolds, a candle and a gift of food.

At the same time during the afternoon, the dancing of the straw bull begins. It is led from house to house by its keeper, and then dances to the accompaniment of drum and fife. Other dancers dressed as women with handkerchiefs masking their faces and armed with wooden machetes, dance round the bull and goad it on to greater efforts. These are usually mayordomos, and the restof them go with the bull and often take their turn dancing beneath its framework. The bull is always accompanied by a crowd of spectators, especially children. At each house they are given donations of tamales, and sometimes a drink of liquor. The tamales are all taken back to the Town Hall porch where they are shared with the town council.

During the night of this eventful day, the sacristanes take the "Saint Indigent" (a plain cross on a large hemispherical base so thickly covered with greenery and flowers that it is hard to see it), and accompanied by all the junior mayordomos and some of the police. They go to every house in town where they shout, bang the door and let out weird shreiks accompanied by the drum untilthey gain entrance. The saint is greeted with reverence by the household, and a donation of tamales, bread and/or money is received, as well as a drink. The bread and/or tamales are carried away in a rope bag, and eaten during the rosary service in the church the next morning, but fruit or drink is consumed immediately at the donor's house. The chief mayordomo remains at the church all night.

The following day the bells continue to toll and the graveyard visits and trips to the houses of friends and relatives with gifts continue as well. As on the previous day an early morning rosary service is held in the church, attended by the mayordomos and other dignitaries, and followed by the trumpet playing the same tune from the hillock, then the fireworks. Later the town band goes to various private homes of town elders to accompany rosary services sung there. The straw bull dances both morning and afternoon visiting every house in the town, and again the tamales given are eaten on the Town Hall porch. The mayordomos begin to make arches of marigolds at the entrance to the graveyard, and over the trail inside.

Early morning rosary begins the next day also and the bells continue to toll. The same agenda/timetable of trumpet-playing, fireworks, pause, and another rosary is followed as on the two preceding days, and the marigold arches are finished in between. Then the whole town is mustered, each family equipped with bunches of marigolds and candles, and the mayordomos, sacristans, band and town council lead this big procession out of town and across the river to the graveyard to "return the souls to their graves".

After the return of the procession the band repair to the house of the "church" mayordomo where a dance is held that is open to the whole town. First the town council and elders, and the other mayordomos are entertained to a festive meal, then the music begins and others start to arrive. The dance may continue well into the night and panela tepache is served liberally.

In the following days most people return to work, but the straw bull continues to dance each day, led by its keeper, and with one or two mayordomos in attendance. As the days pass the donations of food to its attendants become less and less, as all the festive fare runs out. The aimis for the straw bull to continue dancing until November 15th, but in recent years it has stopped sooner by common consent, although all the mayordomos are asked to accompany it once more on the final day of dancing. At some time during these days a rival troupe of masked dancers usually appears with extravagant advertising over the loud-speakers. These are the young men of the town, and anyone may join in. They dress both as men and women (and in any other exotic garb that they can lay their hands on) and all wear carved wooden masks, but not animal-face masks as in some other Chatino towns. They dance in the main square several hours to the accompaniment of records played over the loud-speaker, and some of the "men" are armed with lassus to capture the unwary in the crowd of spectators. Unfortunately this amusement often breaks up in disorder if the dancers are plied too freely with liquor.

It should be noted that for each event the chief mayordomo must go and personally invite his fellow mayordomos to help, or to attend as necessary. Without this personal and formal invitation none of the intended guests will appear or consider himself included. This description shows that with its attendant activities the All Saints feast occupies an entire month in Tataltepec.

National Fiestas are called "School Feasts" i.e. they are considered to concern only the schoolchildren and authorities.

Of the private fiestas: (i) birthdays appear to be of recent origin, (ii) weddings have been modified by Spanish influence (eg. to include a church service and a white wedding dress), (iii) engagements appear to be the original, very binding, betrothal ceremony, (iv) funerals are modified as to laying out the corpse and what is buried with it, (v) blessing-the-saint fiestas have very definite Spanish influence and modification but appear to have their roots in the solemn adoption of a household god -- only a couple of generations ago pictures and images of saints were quite rare in people's homes: instead they had plain (pagan) crosses which were planted underneath the altar table in the earth floor of the house. The family would burn candles before them on the same days that the authorities burnt candles before the community crosses, one of which guards the trail from the Town Hall up to the site of the old church, and the others stand one on each main trail leading out of town, just outside the housing limits.

Of the religious fiestas things are well syncretised, but the dane flute and small drum, and the special trumpet music are perhaps original, but may have European influence. Wherever the participants are required to "look after the days" by abstinance (eg. weddings, becoming town officials at the new year, All Saints, etc), this would suggest pagan purification rites. The sun is equated with the Holy Trinity (evidence is the rays of glory said to represent the Trinity above church altars -- it must be the sun). Curses are invoked on people by calling upon the power of Saint Earth and/or Saint Fire who have power everywhere, whereas the saints in the church are only strong inside the church. There are several folk-tales concerning "the Poor Jesucristo", and how he had to flee from the devil. In one he hid in a banana plant, which is why a banana has a cross inside if you break it across. Therefore it is cannibalism to bite a banana, and you must just break off bite-size pieces to eat it. He also gave some corn to a man who helped to hide him another time and told him to plant it, and that is how people started to have cornfields.

The group of believers is still much too new and young to know just what they will do about fiestas.

Some of the Chatino names for fiestas perhaps give a clue to origin also, e.g. Carnival "ta'a cui" feast of ? the planets. Further investigation is necessary at this point. The candle-burning before crosses, & out on the mountain tops 4 times a year no doubt has a pre-conquest origin.

Tataltepec de Valdez
Chatino de Tataltepec

The Power Structure:

Women are not considered in the authority heirarchy, except as wives. However, in order for a man to progress up the authority ladder, he must be married, or at least have a wife with whom he lives amicably, so the wives have their part to play.

Children become adults at the age of 18, that is the new year after their 18th birthday for unmarried girls, and after completing their year of "marching" as conscripts for the young men. As adults they are now eligible for town work. For single girls and widows this means service on the "Junta Patriotica" for a year at the time. For the men this means turning up at the Town Hall to work for the day whenever a day of "town work" is declared. Not everyone goes each time, but each adult male must complete a certain number of days of town work each year, and a register is strictly kept as proof. The men must also serve as policemen for a year at the time. If there is more than one adult in any household, whether male or female, they are not usually called on for service in the same year. All adults are eligible for some taxes, and others are levied only on heads of households.

When a young man marries, he and his wife usually live with his parents, and are considered as part of that household. However, his authority over his wife is inviolate, and she must obey him rather than either of his parents or either of her own parents if there is a conflict. He himself is still subject to his own parents' authority as part of their household. When he builds his own houde, moves into it and sets up his own kitchen, then for the purposes of the Town Hall that is a separate household, as they are "on a separate account." However, if he continues to work with his father on the land, in this respect he remains under his father's authority. Only when he clears his own cornfield separately, etc., is he a completely free agent. A man and his wife make most of their family decisions together, such as going to a fiesta in another place, buying animals, etc., but the man is the spokesman for the family taking the responsibility for their decision. Also, he alone decides where he will clear land for his cornfield. If the father and mother disagree regarding an arrangement for an older child, the child will make his/her own decision. If he wants to do what his father wants, then he will say, "Well I'm going to do this because my father gave me permission", or he will quote his mother if he wants to do what she wants. Money is known as "fuerza", and is often the deciding factor in decision-making, e.g. whether to get married, whether to go on a trip, etc. Money and possessions, i.e. fuerza, make the difference between poor people and rich, influential, respected people, even though, theoretically, only their position in the power hierarchy should make this difference of influence and respect. This money-fuerza factor seems to owe a lot to mestizo influence.

The council of elders must always be consulted by the town council: (a)in matters affecting town land,(e.g. giving residence permission to new immigrants from other areas, building an airstrip, etc.)

(b)in matters concerning taxes or levies to be imposed on the townspeople, (e.g. for fireworks for the patronal fiesta each year, for erecting public buildings like school classrooms, for wages for

council employees like the bandmaster who trained the new town band, etc.)

(c)in matters concerning town work

(d)any other important matter that affects the whole town.

Thus the town elders expect to be the ultimate board of reference, and trouble always starts if a town president makes a decision on his own, or just with the advice of rich mestizos, when such a decision affects the whole town. These elders are all men who have progressed up through all the strata of the authority hierarchy, and have held the ultimate office of "church mayordomo". Any man who has been a member of the town council commands some respect, but only those who have been "church mayordomo" are included in the elite council of elders. As well as advising the town council, the main function of these elders is to choose those who are to be mayordomos for the ensuing religious year (which begins on Oct. 15th), and those who are to be town council members for the ensueing secular year (which begins on Jan. 1st). Some council members (presidente, regidores del presidente, suplente al presidente, síndico, suplente al síndico) are appointed for three years, and the rest for just one year. The four groups of policemen and their "tenientes" and "cabos" who will serve the town in the ensueing year are also decided upon, and their duty begins on Jan. 1st too, as they are attached to the Town Hall. One group serves each week in rotation, and only sacristanes, mayordomos, members of the town band, and Town Hall appointments to particular committee jobs are exempt from this police duty as long as they continue in such offices. However, after the first appointment to the town council, a man is no longer called as a policeman, but before that, a man may find himself on police duty every other year.

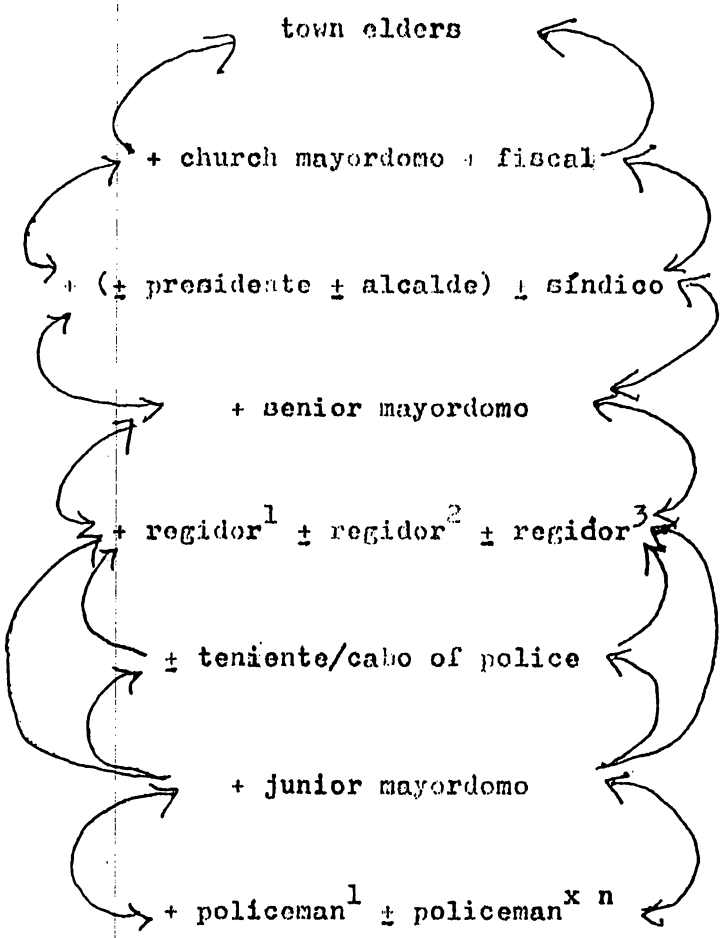
When the elders are choosing the mayordomos, they have various qualifying factors in mind. A mayordomo must have a wife with whom he is living amicably, and therefore a well-ordered household; he must be known to be honest and to talk kindly to other people; he must have served as a policeman several times; he must not be known as a drunkard or to illtreat his family. His age is not really a deciding factor -- he may even (though rarely) be under 30 years of age when he is first chosen as a junior mayordomo. A man may be chosen twice as a junior mayordomo, but this does not happen often. After serving as a junior mayordomo, a man is eligible to be chosen as a junior member of the town council. Formerly, a man was not considered as eligible to be a teniente or cabo of his group of policemen until he had served as a junior mayordomo, but this is no longer the case. One of the police cabos for this year is still quite young, and has only served as a policeman once before. Also at least one junior member of the town council has never served as a mayordomo -- this may be because he has no wife, although this does not prevent a man from serving on the town council. This particular young man is highly respected and quite influential -- he also served in the church as a sacristan for a number of years.

As with the mayordomos, there are junior and senior positions on the town council. The juniors are the regidores, and some of these are one year, and some three-year appointments. A man may serve as a regidor more than once, but each time in a different position. After this he is usually eligible to be a senior mayordomo, and then for a senior position on the town council which includes alcalde, síndico and presidente. A man may serve as each of these three in succession, but he must have served either as alcalde or presidente in order to be eligible for the coveted office of "church mayordomo". A church mayordomo may already have served in the religious office of fiscal,but if not, he

will do this two years after servin as church mayordomo. He is now an elder, and not eligible to be called upon for any other town office, except that of PRI representative for the town, however, he is not released from his yearly quota of town work days until he is 60 yearsold.

Appointment to a committee job, suchaas the Comité de Padres de Familias which serves the school and the teachers, exempts a man from police duty that year, and involves a lot of time and work, but does not help him progress upwards in the power structure at all.

Authority Hierarchy



Note: It is considered very desirable for a widow, widower, or "divorcé" to form an alliance with a like partner. Apart from other considerations, the qualifications for all mayordomos would seem to encourage this.

Chatino de Tataltepec

Purely functional products for everyday use

Men - bricks and tile. No Spanish-speakers do this work. Men teach their sons, so that the art stays in the fam ily. This is a dry season occupation. The product is both for their own use and/or for sale. They use communally built kilns in rotation. A few men also make vine basket paniers for donkeys to carry loads such as rocks.

Women - clay comales and all sizes and shapes of pots. Many women make their own supply, but some are known as specialists in making comales, and/or cántaros, and/or other pots. These specialists produce an extra large supply for sale. Each woman fires her own individually. They neither glaze nor decorate these pots in any way. They also embroider servietas for tortillas in the Spanish style that the girls learn at school, with cloth and embroidery silks from the store. The designs are usually taken from store-bought transfers, but the arrangement on the cloth, and the use of colours, shows individual creativity. Those who are particularly good at this embroider cloths for sale to itinerant merchants, otherwise they are for home kitchen use.

They used to start with raw cotton, spin it, and weave tortilla cloths, fajas, cloth for calzones, and a special huipil for the women to be buried in. Only one or two very elderly women are able to weave now, and the younger ones have no desire to learn, while the men no longer know how to fashion the necessary "woods" for the weaving.

Products for religious use

Thereis alittle more oppertunity here for individual artistic talent to emerge, but it rather depends on who the mayordomos are for a particular year. The All Saints fiesta provides scope for everyone in the way of decorating their homes.
Men - also for the All Saints fiesta the mayordomos make a bull out of petates.

These are fixed to a cane superstructure (which is carefully kept from year to year), which has horns and a tail. The result is decorated with marigolds, and a man carries it and dances underneath.
Crude palm-wood masks are used by the "petate bull's" keeper, and for the troupe of masked dancers that performs at this time. However, these masks ~~have been passed do~~ have been passed down in the family, and I do not think that anyone can make ~~them~~ them now. The mayordomos also make garlands of marigolds for decorating the arches set up over the trail to the graveyard at this time. During the year, at appropriate fiestas, they decorate the church, the town hall, the various crosses in and around the town, and their own homes and altar-tables with special flowers, palm fronds, cane fronds, and other particular leaves found in known places out on the mountainside. Ceremonial trips are made by the mayordomos on the appointed days to collect these leaves, but their whereabouts is not secret. Most of this decoration is very stylised according to custom, and the only variation comes in the decoration of the indivual houses of the mayordomos for the particular feast for which each one is responsible.

drawing of straw bull.

Another mayordomo duty, together with the elders of the town, is to make the special new hammock used each year to enact the ascension on Ascension Day (the patronal feast).

Thereare a few specialist artists who are often called in at funerals to decorate the body and the table where it is lying. One of them is almost always called in for the important funeral celebration eight days (for a child), ten days (for an adult) after the death to make the "cross" of flowers, beans, and corn, and

to decorate the altar table with origami type cut-out paper designs, flowers and paper flowers.

Women - the women make clay candlesticks and censers varying the pattern according to individual taste, although they are never very elaborate. They may have fluted edges, little "feet", handles, or other additions for decorative effect. Like the pots, these articles are not glazed or painted, and have no designs cut into them or drawn on them.

For All Saints, almost every household makes its own supply of bread. They make many bread rolls shaped somewhat like babies, and have a lot of fun doing it. They also get a lot of satisfaction from the look of the result.

With regard to music, the Chatinos of Tataltepec are very fond of music, but have no special musical tradition, except the cane fife and small side drum that are played at the time of the All Saints fiesta to accompany the petate bull as it dances. A lone trumpeter also plays a distinctive air from the top of the little hill in the centre of the town known as "Calvary"; this occurs early in the morning on the last two fridays of Lent as well as Good Friday, Ascension Day, and to usher in one or two other important feasts during the year. They love dances, but utilise mostly ranchero pop from records played by one of the town's tocadiscos. This is the official thing for weddings, baby's funeral, or any traditional dance associated with a religious fiesta nowadays since the town hall acquired a tocadisco. Children are taught to jig up and down on someone's knee in time to the music long before they can walk, and so develop a good sense of rhythmand an eagerness to dance.

Comment on Qn. no.17, Degree of Incorporation into National Culture.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

I guess the problem centers around definitions:
What is meant by 'incorporation' - their own degree of adaptation, or how much they are pushed into a mould?
What is meant by 'national culture', and what is a good example of it?
For instance, Mexico City would not be a good example, in our way of thinking - it is too cosmopolitan, too 'westernized', even though, to an educated Mexican, M.C. is the epitomy of national culture, and indeed much primary education is based on that assumption. Perhaps a better example of national culture would be a smaller city or town in the provinces, controlled by mestizos but relatively unwesternised and with a certain indigenous intermixture.

There's the question of language: People talk very loosely about bilingualism, as if a native was either bilingual or he was not, whereas probably a percentage figure, based on a scientific test, is the only true index of his ability in the national language, ie. 10%, 37%, 93% bilingual etc. In a town like Tataltepec there's a wide difference in bilingual abilities, from 5% to 60% and 70% (in a very few), among the Chatinos. Also people judge critically the amount of Spanish words incorporated into the Indian language; that may, or may not be, any guide to degree of acculturation.

What constitutes 'cultural incorporation'? OK. There's a government primary intervention school (with new prefab. buildings), a govt. clinic, soon to be a govt. school boarding facility, and an army garrison. But those all came from the outside - the Chatinos did almost nothing to bring them there, and understand the reason for their existence very little. In any case, most rural towns in Mexico now have these things and more. Some towns, which have everything materially can still be said to be isolated and indifferent to the national culture.

The Tataltepec people themselves have adopted shop-bought clothes, and some possess transistor radios (which they can't get repaired locally - no repairmen), flashlights, agricultural pump sprayers (for using weed-killer in their cornfields). They copy the local mestizos to a certain extent. But their old way of life is still very alive; they can 'live off the countryside' almost completely - they can live on close to nothing, in terms of money. Another factor in acculturation is the population change and drain by work exodus. While the Tataltepec people do get their most gainful employment by going out to the coastal cotton fields and coconut plantations, and to coffee fincas in the area, relatively few of them go completely, or stay for periods longer than a month at a time.

Perhaps also an awareness of what the 'nation' is, and a true, intelligent sense of actually being a Mexican, is essential to acculturation. Many Chatino kids are taught lots of 'civics' in primary school, but have little idea what it really means - have little idea even of what their own province (state) of Oaxaca is.

'Marginated peoples and communities' are the big political thing of the moment, and the Chatinos (as also the mestizo community) think it is just fine to be included in this category if it means that they are going to be recipients of more government hand-outs.

So, I reckon that this question is worth a whole extra page, and maybe someone like Margaret Daly could put out one of her study sheets on this, and suggest some way of evaluation.

(In my statistics of literacy and Readers, I haven't included Chatinos living nearer the Pacific Coast in the towns/villages of Paso de la Reina, Pueblo Nuevo nr. Tututepec, and Jocotepec, which I would like to visit some time in the not too distant future)

Tables extracte d from an unpublished paper by Kitty Pride

Table 1 Yaitepec Chatino Consanguineal Terminology

my grandfather	stį^{2} ʔǫ^{3} kula^{3}
my grandmother	yʔǫ^{1} ʔǫ^{3} kula^{3}
my father	stį^{1} yǫʔ^{2}
my mother	yʔǫ^{1} yǫʔ^{2}
my relative	taʔǫ^{43}
my child	snyǫʔ^{32}
my grandchild	snyǫʔ^{32} stǫʔ^{1}

Table 2 Yaitepec Chatino Affinal Terminology

my spouse	kwilyoʔų^{3}
my father-in-law	stį^{2} lyǫ^{43}
my mother-in-law	yʔǫ^{1} lǫ^{43}
my son-in-law	snyǫʔ^{3} lǫ^{43}
my daughter-in-law	snyǫʔ^{3} ɤǫ^{43}
my brother-in-law (m. sp.)	kulyǫ^{43}
my brother-in-law (w. sp.)	hynǫʔ^{43}
my sister-in-law (m.sp.)	hynǫʔ^{43}
my sister-in-law (w. sp.)	ɤtyǫ^{43}
my co-father-in-law (m. sp.)	mba^{43} ʔyǫ^{21}
my co-father-in-law (w. sp.)	mbare^{34} ʔyǫ^{21}
my co-mother-in-law (m. sp.)	mare^{34} ʔyǫ^{21}
my co-mother-in-law (w. sp.)	mblyi^{21} ʔyǫ^{21}

Table 3 Yaitepec Chatino Vocative Terminology

grandfather	ta^{32} ɤu^{2}	co-father (m. sp.	mba^{43}
grandmother	no^{32} ɤu^{2}	co-father (w. sp.	mbare^{34}
father	ta^{32}	co-mother (m. sp.)	mare^{34}
mother	nǫ^{32}	co-mother (w. sp.)	mblyi^{21}
my child	snyǫʔ^{32}	male companion (m. sp.)	tɤeʔ^{32}
boy	ti^{32}	female companion (w. sp.)	tɤoʔ^{32}
xxx dear	nyų^{32}	friend (with respect)	bi^{3}