

FROM PARALLEL-NOMINAL TO PATRINOMINAL:  
CHANGING CUICATEC PERSONAL NAMES

ROBERT HUNT\*  
EVA HUNT\*\*  
ROBERTO WEITLANER

0. *Introduction*

Personal names are probably nearly universal, and yet there has been very little systematic study of them. This is in spite of the fact that if they are inherited, they may provide some leverage in the analysis of the descent system of the society in which they occur. As a consequence of the little attention that has been paid to the inheritance systems of personal names, there has been no attempt to classify or even canvas the types which occur. We know that there are patronyms, and that they are inherited patrilineally, and it has been assumed that this system is standard through the Western world. A few other patterns of naming have been reported.

The main purpose of this paper is to present the analysis of a parallel-nominal naming system which has hitherto been mentioned only very briefly in the literature on Mesoamerica. We also analyze the steps by which the population of one Cuicatec village changed their naming system from parallel-nominal to patrimonial in the course of the last 150 years. Secondly, we discuss how a primarily linguistic cultural pattern (which is not a kinship term network) seems to correlate with several features of the social organization. To this end we review the literature on naming systems in Mesoamerica, present the analysis of a large amount of new data, and relate this new evidence to some aspects of the social structure of the Cuicatec town of San Andrés.

There are two major features of the parallel-nominal naming system which receive considerable attention in the following pages, the sex-linkage of the inheritance, and the types of words used in the names. The sex-linkage for inheritance is parallel, by which we mean that males inherit names from males,

\* Northwestern University.  
\*\* University of Chicago.

and females from females. It also happens to be the case that this system uses (in these Mesoamerican Indian populations) Spanish words which are only given names, but uses them both as given names, and as inheritable names.

The earliest reference we have found to what might be the parallel-nominal system is in La Farge's and Byers' account of Jacaltenango, in Western Guatemala. They did not attempt to analyze the system, but it is very clear that the first name of a parent is being inherited as the last name of the child. The sex-linkage was not clear to La Farge and Byers.<sup>1</sup>

La Farge later reported that in the Kanhobal village of Santa Eulalia, in Western Guatemala, Indians had a naming system which used Spanish names in a "corrupt" form. Each individual received two names. The eldest son carried both of his father's two names reversed in order, while younger sons took the father's first name as their second and were given first names from the calendrical Saint's list or from other relatives. Girls took first names from relatives, both of his father's two names reversed in order, while younger sons took the mother's last name.<sup>2</sup> La Farge states: "Various irregularities suggest the possibility of a secondary, matrilineal system of naming, or the concept of the pair of names as a unit, given together in some cases without regard to other circumstances, or merely a general irregularity in practice, regardless of fixed theory."<sup>3</sup> Weitlaner and Castro (1954) present two short genealogies from a Chinantec town which suggest the presence of a similar system of naming. The town, Tlacoatzintepec, shares a common boundary with a Cuicatec *municipio* whose headtown is San Andrés, discussed *in extenso* below.

Villa Rojas,<sup>4</sup> Pozas<sup>5</sup> and Stavenhagen<sup>6</sup> report a similar naming system among the Mazatecs. In Soyaltepec, Villa reports that the Mazatec speakers in the population did not have family names (or *apellidos*), but instead all had given names (*nombres propios* or *nombres de pila*). In addition, the second *nombre propio* was inherited as if it were an *apellido*.<sup>7</sup> Pozas reports the same,<sup>8</sup> also indicating that females took as an *apellido* their mother's (rather than their father's) second name.

Stavenhagen reports the same naming pattern for the Mazatec town of Ixcatlán but indicates that there are three distinct naming procedures rather than one, which he calls A, B and C. In form A, *nombres de pila* also function as *apellidos*, males receiving their names from the father, but females receive as *apellido* their mother's name. In form B, *nombres de pila* also function as *apellidos*, but all children, independent of their sex, receive the father's name. Form C, uses the standard Spanish naming system, with "true" *apellidos* inherited from the father.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> La Farge, O. and D. Byers, 1931, pp. 81, 86.

<sup>2</sup> La Farge, O., 1947 p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> Villa Rojas, A., 1955.

<sup>5</sup> Pozas, R., 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Stavenhagen, R., 1960.

<sup>7</sup> Villa Rojas, A., *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Pozas, R., *op. cit.*,

<sup>9</sup> Stavenhagen, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32.

Neither Villa Rojas, Pozas, nor Stavenhagen seem to be aware of La Farge's previous reports, but similar questions were posed. Stavenhagen assumes that the naming system directly reflects the reckoning of descent, suggesting the possibility that the three naming forms are associated with degree of acculturation and monolinguisism, and questions the possible correlation of the naming system with family organization and a past hypothetical exogamic clan. However, he does not suggest in what ways exogamic clans may be related to such naming practices.<sup>10</sup> Pozas mentions the name inheritance systems in the context of polygyny but carries it no further.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.0. *The Cuicatec Version*

In the course of field-work among the Cuicatec speakers of the ex-Distrito of Cuicatlán, in northeastern Oaxaca, Mexico, we have found all the forms reported by these authors and many others as well. We have enough evidence to justify the conclusion that there are essentially two naming systems, with distinct name types, and different inheritance procedures. We call these two systems the Parallel-nominal and the Patrinominal. Parallel-nominal is the old system. Patrinominal is the new. (In the use of patrinominal we follow Firth).<sup>12</sup> In addition, all the other forms which we recorded in the field, which include those reported by Villa, Pozas, and Stavenhagen's B, are best analyzed as forms which are transitional in the recent change from the parallel to the patrinominal system. We can establish that all these cases which do not fit the old or new system are intermediate stages in the process of change on two grounds: First, the "transitional" names are intermediate in time between the two pure systems, when one observes them in a generational and genealogical context; and second, they are also intermediate in a structural sense, being logical steps in the gradual change over (it usually takes several generations) from the old to the new system (cf. bottom of Table 1, and Table 7).

### 1.1 *The Data*

We have several kinds of naming data at our disposal. First, we utilized two genealogies of 186 and 101 persons from the Cuicatec town of San Andrés Teotilalpan. Each of these genealogies goes back to sometime before 1850 (calculated by the age at the year of death of the oldest generation). One contains six and the other five generations.<sup>13</sup> These provide the data for our analysis of intermediate types. Together they contain 287 names, and 140 instances in which the naming pattern and inheritance system is discernible.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>11</sup> Pozas, R., *op. cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>12</sup> Firth, R., 1956.

<sup>13</sup> These genealogies were gathered by Weitlaner and E. Hunt in 1955, and expanded by R. and E. Hunt in 1964. Our thanks are due to the Museo Nacional de Antropología of Mexico, which supported the first field trip, and to NSF for Grant No. GS-87 to R. and E. Hunt which supported a fifteen month field season (1963-64) in Mexico.

<sup>14</sup> The latter must be smaller than the former for the first people in the genealogy do not have their parents' names entered, and there are numerous cases in such a genealogy in which the informants cannot remember the name of some remote relative.

Table 1. Frequencies of MTI and MTII words in names by sex and age, 1955 Census,  
San Andrés Teotlalpan.

M = 982

MTI = morpheme type I

MTII = morpheme type II

Name types by sex	Age Group									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70 +		
Female-Old (MTIF)	4	9	14	29	19	16	24	21	87%	
Female-New (MTII)	140	125	87	40	23	5	3	3	8%	13%
Male-Old (MTIM)	10	9	13	10	1	6	4	7	67%	64%
Male-New (MTII)	103	81	67	57	30	16	2	4	33%	36%
E - Old (MTI)	14	18	27	39	20	22	28	28	85%	80%
E - New (MTHI)	243	206	154	97	53	21	5	7	15%	20%

Second, we possess copies of the local censuses for the town of San Andrés for 1955 and 1960, and recent censuses for five *Agencias* (dependent settlements) of San Andrés. These were analyzed for the percentages of people who had each kind of name (c. f. example, Table 1).

Third, we inspected and copied some of the birth records of the towns in the ex-Distrito, which are on file in the headtown of Cuicatlán.<sup>15</sup> These records contain not only the name of the child, but usually the full name and place or origin of both parents, and the same information but less often for all four grandparents. We sampled the records, and for 1893, which was a complete year, analyzed the whole, which contained 119 cases of name inheritance from San Andrés, and 472 cases from other towns within the ex-Distrito. These data give some additional depth to our analysis, but are primarily useful as a check on the geographical spread of the phenomena. For earlier records, we consulted a baptismal book of the parish for the 18th century, and found a few isolated cases of naming which occurred in early local manuscripts devoted to other matters.

Fourth, we discussed the phenomenon with informants in San Andrés and got information not only on the ways in which they perceive the old and new systems, but also some perspective on how one system changed to the other.

Throughout this paper, we use the Spanish spelling of names, since the Cuicatecs readily recognize them and consider they are using them in a Spanish manner. The phonemicization of names in Cuicatec, however, is different from 'canonical' Spanish, one result of which is that the roster of names in Cuicatec is somewhat smaller than in Spanish, because in some instances a set of Spanish names is reduced to a single one in Cuicatec. Examples of such reduction are the Spanish names Mariano, Luciano and Emiliano, all of which are /čían'no/ in their Cuicatec version. Informants, however, can distinguish between one and another Spanish name with the same Cuicatec pronunciation. If, when they discuss in Cuicatec genealogical matters or other topics involving individuals, there is confusion as to the identity of the persons involved, the full name in its Spanish version will be given to clarify matters.

All names used at the present time are of Spanish origin. The naming system is Cuicatec because it is used by Cuicatec speakers, but there are no names of Cuicatec origin extant. In fact, our informants were somewhat amazed at the idea that Cuicatec words could be used as names. When we pointed out that nick-names were Cuicatec words, they assured us that those were "ways people may call each other, but they are not names at all."

## 2.0. *The Analytic Frame*

In the pages below, we first present our analytical frame. Then, we focus on the old system, parallel-nominal, outlining both the structure of personal names and the manner whereby they are acquired. We follow the same pro-

<sup>15</sup> We are grateful to the authorities in Cuicatlán for their assistance in working with the local archives, and for the fact that their records are unusually well-organized and preserved.

cedures to outline the new patrinoimial system. Following, there is a presentation of the intermediate types.

We found it necessary to create a frame for our analysis of the variables involved in name formation. Western European folk terms such as given name, surname, family name, *apellido*, *patronímico*, *nombre de pila*, *nombre propio*, etc. are too ambiguous for our purposes because they reflect or imply several conditions of European name acquisition absent in the Cuicatec system. Spanish *apellido*, or *patronímico*, for example, implies among other things a patrilineal inheritance of last name. The use of such terms obscures both the analysis and the presentation of the data. Therefore, we analyze these names in terms of five variables: Morpheme Type (MT), Name Slot (NS), Number (N), manner of acquisition, and Sex Link (SL). (Other variables may well be necessary for analyzing other naming systems, but these suffice in our case).

2.1. Morpheme type refers to the linguistic distribution of particular words used in personal names. If we ask a Spanish speaker the question, "What is your name?", the response will be something of the sort of "Juan Pérez."<sup>16</sup> If we collect a complete list of such words which occur in Spanish personal names, we find that we have three separate lists, with exceptional cases in which the word occurs in two or three of the lists. Words will occur in only one of two positions in the name. Juan, for example, may only occupy the first position, Pérez, the last.<sup>17</sup> In addition, among the words which occur in first position, there is a division by gender, for most belong exclusively either to males or to females. Thus a man's name may be Juan or Mario, but the female version is Juana or María.<sup>18</sup> We call words which normally occur in the first position Morpheme Type I (MTI), and words which usually occur in the last position Morpheme Type II (MTII). MTI is divided into MTIM, male names, and MTIF, female names (c. f. Table 2.)

2.2 Name Slot (NS) refers to the position of the word in the name such as first, intermediate, or last. Thus in the name Pedro Juan, Pedro occurs in the first NS, Juan in the last NS. For Pedro Juan Manuel, Pedro occupies the first NS, Juan the intermediate and Manuel the last slot.

In name acquisition, when inheritance is involved, a word may occupy the same name slot in both donor and recipient (stationary), or it may change to a place closer to the end of the name in the recipient (shifted).

2.3. Number refers to the number of words in the name, two, three, etc. In the systems we are considering, one or two words are acquired. Also, the

<sup>16</sup> Names among Spanish speaking populations have at least two words; although they may have more, for the purpose of this presentation, a two word case suffices.

<sup>17</sup> Some words may occur either in first or second position (e. g. Gonzalo), but the number of such words is quite low.

<sup>18</sup> Word names in the first position tend to occur in complimentary masculine and feminine sets. Again, the distribution is not perfect, as witness Guadalupe, which may be either a male or a female. Names of either type can sometimes be distinguished by their morphemic suffixes, but the rule is broken too often to be considered a discriminatory criterion. Names ending with /-vc-es/ or /-vcc-es/ or /-v c-es/ are surnames derived from given names. In first position, names ending with /-a/ tend to be feminine, and with /-o/ masculine, but there is much variation. For a discussion of Spanish names in a Mexican region see c.f. Brand, D. D., 1951.

Table 2. Examples of Morpheme Types in Spanish-Mexican Names

<i>Morpheme Type I</i>		<i>Morpheme Type II</i>
Males	Females	Either sex
Alvaro	Alba	Alvarez
José	Joséfa	---
Orlando	---	---
---	Cora	---
---	---	Díaz
Guadalupe		---

number of words in the name differentiates some of the intermediate types we discuss.

2.4. A name word can be acquired by adoption or by inheritance.

2.5. Sex-linkage refers to the sex of the donor and of the recipient of an inherited name. Given inheritance from parents, a son may inherit a name from father, mother, or both, and a daughter may inherit from father, mother or both.<sup>19</sup> In many systems of name inheritance from parents, the inherited name for a child comes from only one parent rather than from both. This inheritance may be patrinominal (MSL), matrinominal (FSL), parallel-nominal (PSL),<sup>20</sup> or cross-sex-nominal (CSL).<sup>21</sup>

### 3.0. *The Parallel-nominal and Patrinominal Name-inheritance Systems*

#### 3.1. *The Old Parallel-nominal System*

In the parallel-nominal system, a person has two words in his or her name, both of which are MTIM for males and MTIF for females. Of these names, one

<sup>19</sup> Names need not be inheritable, as witness the Lugbara (Middleton. J. F. M., 1961), or may be inherited from persons other than parents, e. g. the Kung' (Marshall, L. 1957).

<sup>20</sup> We have carefully considered the current terminology to find an appropriate tag for this form of name inheritance. Neither bilateral, nor double, or any other term which fits the reckoning of descent and could match the pattern of name inheritance, seems to apply here. Bilateral indicates that both lines are in use simultaneously, while double implies that both lines are in use for alternate purposes for the same Ego. Utrolateral or ambilineal have an element of choice of sex link absent in the old system of naming. We reduced our choices thus to either symmetrical or parallel. Since symmetrical can be said to apply to bilateral (in reference to the genealogical chart), we rejected this term and chose instead parallel, which is analogous to the use of the word in the terminology for cousins, and other aspects of kinship and descent which later in this paper we show relevant in relation to naming.

<sup>21</sup> A few other types occur in isolated cases in the census and in published materials. They will be mentioned when relevant, but they have not been included in the analysis because they did not occur in well-documented genealogical contexts.

is inherited. SL is parallel, so that a daughter receives a mother's name, and a son his father's. The child receives for his or her second NS, the name from the first slot of the parent (shifted), the other name being arbitrarily selected from the Saint's Catholic calendar, from the name of any relative or *compadre*, or purely on the basis of idiosyncratic individual preference of the parents. Thus Juan Pedro (male) married to Rosa María (female) had a son Manuel Juan and a daughter Francisca Rosa (c.f. Table 3 for a genealogical presentation of the several types and table 4 for a summary paradigm of the various types).

### 3.2. *The New Patrinominal System*

This system is essentially the one that is in use in most of Mexico today, and has been the simple form of the Mexican and Spanish naming system for

Table 3. Examples of the different types of Cuicatec naming (Names are fictitious)

	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>
Parallel-nominal	Juan Pedro		Rosa María
	Manuel Juan	SIBLINGS	Francisca Rosa
Patrinominal	Juan Pérez		Rosa Díaz
	Pedro Pérez	„	María Pérez
Intermediate Types			
I	Juan Pedro		Rosa María
	Manuel Pedro	„	Francisca María
II	Juan Pedro		Rosa María
	Manuel Juan Pedro	„	Francisca Rosa María
III	Juan Pedro		Rosa María
	Manuel Juan Díaz	„	Francisca Rosa Díaz
IV	Juan Díaz		María Pérez
	Pedro Juan Díaz	„	Francisca Juan Díaz
V	Juan Pedro		María Pérez
	Manuel Pérez	„	Francisca Pérez
VI	Juan Díaz		María Pérez
	Pedro Díaz	„	Francisca Pérez
VII	Juan Pedro		Rosa María
	Manuel Pérez	„	Francisca Pérez
Official Mexican	Juan Díaz González		María Pérez Castro
	Pedro Díaz Pérez	„	Rosa Díaz Pérez



Table 4. Paradigm of name types

Sex Link	Name Slot	Manner of Acquisition						Number		
		Adopt		Inherit		Adopt and Inherit				
Parallel	Stationary	I		VI				1		
								2		
	Shifted	Old						1		
		II				III		2		
Patrilineal	ST	Villa, Pozas		New				1		
								2		
	SH	Weitlaner						1		
		La Farge, Staven. B		IV				2		
Matrilineal	ST			V				1		
								2		
	SH							1		
								2		
None	None	VII						1		
None	None							2		
		I	II	Both	I	II	Both	I	II	Both
Morpheme Type										

several centuries.<sup>22</sup> This system is not identical to the official Mexican system, because although it is the one prevalent in Mexican rural areas among the non-Indians, in the urban areas and in official contexts (such as present day legal birth certificates) the Mexican system differs (as we shall see below).

In the new, patrinominal system, each individual has two words in his or her name. The first NS is occupied by a MTIM for males, and a MTIF for females, which is selected as in the old system, from the Saint's calendrical list, from relatives other than parents, etc. The second slot is occupied by an inherited name, a MTII, and SL is patrilineal, so that both sons and daughters inherit the father's last slot MTII in the last slot of their name (NS stationary).

<sup>22</sup> Brand, D. D., 1951, pp. 85-97; c. f. Letelier, V., 1906.

Hence a man Juan Pérez married to Rosa Díaz had son Pedro Pérez and daughter María Pérez.

The official or formal Mexican system differs from this, in that a person may have any number of MTI in the first through ante-penultimate slots of his or her name, which are not necessarily inherited or inheritable; but they also have two final slots occupied by two MITI, the first of which is the father's first name from the father's father line in inherited names, the other of which is the first MITI from the mother's father's line of inherited names. Thus a man Juan Díaz González, married to María Pérez Castro, has a son Pedro Díaz Pérez and a daughter Rosa Díaz Pérez. The main difference between the simple Mexican which we call the new patrinominal system, and the formal Mexican form, is inheriting one word from the name of each parent, rather than from only one patriline. The formal or official system is double patrinominal when more than one generation is involved, and bilateral for each generation pair. The new system is only patrinominal.

A comparison of parallel-nominal and patrinominal is revealing. The number of words in the name remains unchanged. The patrinominal system contains a morpheme type absent in the parallel-nominal, (MITI), which for the Cuicatecs is borrowed from Mestizo Mexican culture, and which is a true *apellido*. Both systems involve inheritance, but in the parallel-nominal system inherited names are shifted in position (i.e., name in first NS of parent goes to second NS in child's name), while in the patrinominal system, inherited names always occupy a stationary position, final NS. Finally, sex-linkage (as we will see later the most relevant change from a social point of view) is completely transformed. In the parallel-nominal system males inherit names from males, females from females. The new system is patrilineal. This change affects not only the recognition of lines in adjacent generations, but the continuity of such lines. In the parallel-nominal system, names can be traced only two generations at a time (name-sharers are only parent-child and of same sex), and if an intermediate name in the generational string is forgotten, the recalling of genealogical continuity may be lost. Given the new, patrinominal system, patrilineal continuity can be maintained, theoretically, for an infinite number of generations. Even if a particular person is forgotten, and the genealogical linking becomes obscured, there is still a possibility of tracing connections through the common name, into a large genealogical grid of name-shares whose exact kinship position may be unknown. Matrilineal cannot be traced at all. We shall discuss a few theoretical and actual implications of these differences in the final section of this work.

### 3.3 *The Intermediate Types*

Between the old and the new, both in genealogical time and structurally, there occur the intermediate types which are stages in the process of change. An interesting aspect of the intermediate types are the variations which were rung on the name inheritance rules. In the new and old systems, we have two distinct sets of rules governing the inheritance of names. The intermediate types

present both new combinations of the variables, and new values for some of the variables. The intermediate cases involve partial changes, from the old to the new system.

We may approach the matter from two points of view, the dyadic, two generation cases (name donor and recipient) and we can also observe these intermediate cases in genealogical strings, which stretch from a pure parallel system through one or more intermediate cases to pure patrinominal.

Looking first at the two generation dyads, we find seven intermediate cases in the genealogies (c.f. Table 3).

3.3.1 *Intermediate Type I*: A male ego has his father's second slot (rather than first) MTI in his second NS, and a female has her mother's second NS, MTI in her second slot. Names contain, as in the old parallel system, exclusively MTI. Thus Juan Pedro had a son Manuel Pedro, and Rosa María's daughter is named Francisca María. Our informants suggest that this may have been a common variant of the old system. If people liked the name in the second slot better than the one in the first, they chose that one for their child rather than the standard first NS word. This type appears in the genealogies and birth records before any name with the new system occurs. This change apparently had no social consequences, primarily because it was not related to inheritance or descent. In a genealogical string, they could revert to the old pure system, which was not so of the other intermediate types. Six cases of this intermediate type occur in the corpus of the data from genealogies and only sixteen in the birth records for the whole district during 1893, which makes it relatively rare.

3.3.2 *Intermediate Type II*: The only departure of this type from the old parallel system is that children take both names of the parent of the same sex, instead of one. This produces a three-word name, since the first slot is always occupied by the individual's own 'exclusive' name, which as we said before is not affected by inheritance rules. All three words in the name remain MTI, and SL continues to be parallel with a shifted NS. Thus a male has his father's two names as his second and third name, and a female has her mother's two names in her second and third NS. In this type, Juan Pedro's son is named Manuel Juan Pedro (rather than Manuel Juan), and Rosa María's daughter is called Francisca Rosa María. This case is similar to the previous one, in that no MTII has been introduced, but it shows without a doubt that an attempt is being made toward modification in the direction of the new system. The donor's last name as well as his first is preserved. This attempt results in a juxtaposition of old and new variables in an innovation. Although no MTII has been introduced, the comparison with types III and IV seem to indicate that the last slot MTI is being treated "as if" it were a MTII.

3.3.3 *Intermediate Type III*: This type again shows an attempt to move by innovation in the direction of the new patrinominal system, plus the persistence of the old system in its most characteristic features. The first two slots carry names exactly as in the old system. The third, however, is occupied, for the first time, by a MTII which has been adopted by the name carrier, not inherited. The increase in number of words in the name, and the extra slot are

purely mechanical consequences of the fact that the name carrier became aware that in the new system there is a different kind of word being used in final position. Since MTII are *apellidos* we could state that the name carrier became aware of the difference between words used as *apellidos* in the new system, and words used as *nombres de pila*, that he had inherited a name of the old system in the normal pattern that he adopted an *apellido* word, and that he added it to his name in a very conscious effort to change. In fact our informants state that this is the case. Thus Juan Pedro named his son Manuel Juan, but Manuel Juan renamed *himself* Manuel Juan Díaz, Díaz being an *apellido* which had never occurred in his family previous to his adopting it. In the case of a female, Francisca Rosa, daughter of Rosa María, renames herself Francisca Rosa Díaz.

Three variables of a linguistic nature, N, NS, and MT have been altered. The inheritance pattern, however, has not been changed, because the only part of the name which is inherited continues to use parallel sex-linkage (the discussion of how, when and why MTII appears in the population is discussed *in extenso* below).

3.3.4 *Intermediate type IV*: In this type a male Ego has his father's first name in his own second NS, this being a MTI, plus his father's Spanish *apellido* in the third NS. A female also has her father's two names, MTI and MTII, in second and third slots of her name. Thus, Juan Díaz, married to María Pérez, had a son Pedro Juan Díaz, and a daughter Francisca Juan Díaz. This case is perhaps the most interesting of all the intermediate types, because it shows the great difficulties which may be involved in what might appear to be a very simple cultural change from one naming system to another. Such difficulties can be easily perceived, because although this naming type is the most successful attempt to approximate the new patrilineal system, it also contains the largest number of aberrant innovations.

First, name number has been increased (as in the two previous types). Second, NS is shifted, but only as a mechanical consequence of the fact that names get pushed out of their normal position because an extra name is being inherited. Last name slot, however, remains stationary. Third, MTII appears established and is being inherited as a true *apellido*, in a patrilineal fashion. This leads to the last major change in our fifth variable which takes new system form so that sex-link is now patrilineal. Hence name type involves changes in several variables. But under these conditions, we do not have the new system, because the type "overchanges" in one dimension: the patrilineal inheritance of MTII has been generalized to the patrilineal inheritance of father's MTI as well. In other words, all the structural principles functioning in the new system have been understood, except for the fact that now MTI are also treated as if they were MTII and that the father's *full* name, as a unit, is being transmitted.<sup>23</sup> This placement of masculine names (MTIM) in female names (i.e.

<sup>23</sup> It seems more logical to treat this type as a case of generalization of MTII properties to MTI than as a case in which MTII functions are not clearly comprehended, because on every other count MTII are treated in agreement with the new system, over more than one generation, and sex-linkage, the most relevant variable from the social point of view, has been transformed correctly.

MTIM are treated as MTIF besides being treated as MTII) is a deviant innovation. Such mishandling of gender is a forced consequence of the first step in the direction of overchange, since there is no doubt that San Andreseños clearly understood the difference between male and female MTI, and the names occurring in our cases of this type are not those MTI which can occur in both MTIM and MTIF lists.<sup>24</sup>

3.3.5 *Intermediate Type V*: In this case, a male or female Ego has the mother's (rather than father's) Spanish *apellido* in the second NS. In all these cases, the father did not have an *apellido*, but only MTI in his name. Thus a man Juan Pedro married to María Pérez, had children Manuel Pérez and Francisca Pérez. Sex-linkage is therefore matrilineal, and name slot is stationary. The name as a type is thus matrinominal.

Our informants insist that these particular cases were not cases of illegitimacy (when a child is not recognized by the father he may carry the mother's surname as a matter of course). But, if these children were not illegitimate, why did they carry the mother's MTII, which is neither an old nor a new system rule? The explanation can be found if we rank the principles in terms of dominance. Once the concept of MTII enters the structural choices of naming, it cannot be replaced by MTI. Furthermore, it is the MTII aspect of the *apellido*, rather than the SL rule, that first becomes dominant. Since in this intermediate type the father has no MTII to give his children, but the mother does have one, SL is reversed for the purpose of permitting the inheritance of a MTII already established in the nuclear family. So then MTII dominates SL, in the inheritance pattern of both the new and old systems. It seems that from the point of view of the parents, once a MTII enters the family, it is socially important to pass it on to the children. Since the husband does not have one, they have chosen the handiest MTII available, the wife's, to give to the children. An extension of this is seen in some men who, lacking MTII's, adopt the wife's MTII.<sup>25</sup>

3.3.6 *Intermediate Type VI*: This type is the counterpart of ITV, but the father *does* have MTII in his name. In this case, a female Ego has her mother's second NS, MTII, in her second NS, but her brothers inherit their names according to the new patrinominal system. Thus stationary name slot, as well as MTII retention, obtains, but SL is parallel, that is, the old SL principle is still dominant. Thus, Juan Díaz married to María Pérez had a son Pedro Díaz and a daughter Francisca Pérez.

3.3.7 *Intermediate Type VII*: In this case, a person adopts MTII Spanish

<sup>24</sup> When we call these changes aberrant or deviant, we are not making a value judgment as to the appropriateness of such usages. Names are part of language, and in the context of this analysis stand as to the greater or lesser value of canonical, academic Spanish versus the Spanish spoken by Cuicatecs, is irrelevant. Therefore, aberrant or deviant refers only to a movement away from a direct path of change from the parallel-nominal to the patrinominal systems under discussion.

<sup>25</sup> Two informants with this type of name indicated that they received the mother's *apellido* because the father did not have one, which confirms our view of dominance in the sense given above. The same is true for the husband who adopted his wife's MTII.

*apellido*, occupying the second slot with a non-inherited given name of MTI in the first slot, without inheriting any name from parents. Thus Manuel Pérez parents were named Juan Pedro and Rosa María. The difference between this type and Intermediate Type III, is that although both adopt a MTII which otherwise was not a family name previously, in Type III, there is an attempt at preserving some form of inheritance (the old), while in Type VII, the conflict is avoided rather than solved by compromising (between two possible variables), so that no inheritance pattern is used at all.

3.3.8 *Review of Intermediate Types*: These types cover all the cases which occur in the genealogical data and which can be analyzed with our frame. These leave out three individual instances which do not seem to fit any name inheritance nor any naming rule known to us from the area. In these three cases, the names of the child do not correspond to the parents, nor the grandparents, and all are MTI. We suspect that these were cases either of illegitimacy or of adoption, in which the child received the name before adoption, and the original genealogical parent-set from whom the name derived has been lost. However, we do not have evidence to support this claim. All of our regular intermediate types contain more than one case.

Some additional types are to be found in the reported cases from other communities in Mesoamerica. La Farge's material from Jacaltenango is not full enough for this analysis. His material from Santa Eulalia shows MTI, with shifted patrilineal inheritance, an intermediate type which does not show up in our genealogical data from San Andrés, but which occurs in our census materials, in Stavenhagen's<sup>26</sup> type B and in Villa.<sup>27</sup> Villa's materials from Soyaltepec show a MTI with stationary patrilineal inheritance as does Pozas'.<sup>28</sup> Stavenhagen's A type of naming is parallel-nominal, in the full sense that we are using the term. His C is the standard Mexican patrnominal, again in our sense.

Weitlaner and Castro's short published genealogy from Tlacoatzintepec, a Chinantec town, shows a clear case of our parallel-nominal, clear cases of patrnominal, and one case which could well be our Intermediate Type VI. (As pointed out above, it is difficult to judge these cases, for the female may have been illegitimate, and inherited her mother's name in that fashion.) In addition, there is a case of what Stavenhagen has labelled B, with MTI, stationary patrilineal inheritance of one word.<sup>29</sup>

The genealogy also contains some names which may represent other types. There is a case of a female with MTIM in the last slot of her name, which suggests patrilineal inheritance of MTIM. There is also a case of a three word name, with the first two being MTIM, which would fit either our Intermediate Type III, or IV. In addition, there are, in two lineal strings, one of two generations, and one of three, the occurrence of the word in mother's first name slot in

<sup>26</sup> Stavenhagen, R., *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Villa Rojas, A., *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> Pozas, R., *op. cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>29</sup> Weitlaner, R. J. y C. A. Castro G., 1954, p. 270.

daughter's first name slot. In the two generation case, two members of the younger generation carry this name, and in the three generation, one in each generation. In both bases, all named daughters in this section of the genealogy carry this name. This suggests, of course, that this name in the first slot is being inherited. Weitlaner and Castro point out that since the name is very popular (i.e., María), it may be coincidental.<sup>30</sup> Since the birth records for 1893 show 78 per cent of all names to be parallel-nominal, probably the later genealogies show an old system already greatly advanced in the process of change.

Of the many possible logical forms of intermediate types, only some occur. The chart of the names paradigm (Table 4) presents all the possible logical combinations of the values our variables have, and those which actually occur. Few of the possible forms in fact occur. Some are logically impossible. A case of inheritance from slot 3 to slot 3 may turn up. We do not have any cases in which a Morpheme Type I is inherited matrilineally for males, unless there is also a MTII being inherited at the same time. Logically this could occur if there were no father's name available (e.g. if there were illegitimate children). But the pressure of the parallel-nominal system is for congruency between MTI and parallel, sex-linkage of names, so that even then a son may have had a name other than the mother's. This cannot be proved with our data, because we have no cases in the corpus in which names are known and in which illegitimacy or adoption can be demonstrated.

#### 4.0 Adoption of the Patrinominal System in the Colonial Period

It is obvious that the sources of the new system are in the naming patterns of the Spaniards (and Mexicans) with whom the Cuicatecs of San Andrés and other villages have been in contact. The process of renaming according to Spanish practices started as early as the first baptisms of Indians in the area.

The earliest records of names among the Cuicatec come from the *Relaciones de Nueva España*<sup>31</sup> and other sixteenth century manuscripts, well after the Cuicatec had been conquered by both the Aztecs and the Spaniards.<sup>32</sup> These names are of *caciques*. "Native" names reported for them were Cuicatec, Cuicatec adaptations of Nahuatl, or direct Nahuatl calendrical names (e.g., Chicomecatl, Tiñaña, Citaltecutli, Yzteculli (PNE IV; 90, 185-186; ECTPP 157). It is probable that these names did not represent the standards of naming of the Cuicatec commoners, first because they seem to be "dynastic" names<sup>33</sup> and among other reasons because they were the names of the individuals who were most influenced by the Nahua conquerors. In a document dated 1562, of 65 names one was composed totally of MTI (Exped.). For that early period, we do not know anything about the names of the population at large. Moreover, most of our early cases are from the southwest section of the Cuicatec district, where the old naming system we discuss here appears very rarely in modern times.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.*, p. 150.

<sup>31</sup> Paso y Troncoso, F., 1905.

<sup>32</sup> Barlow, R., 1949, pp. 110-113.

<sup>33</sup> García Cranados, R., 1953.

In the middle of the 18th century, most cases in the baptismal book for the district are the old parallel system, but some people, including the *caciques*, had taken up the patrinominal Spanish system of naming with both *nombres de pila* and true *apellidos*. The old system was in existence around 1750, since it appears in the baptismal book, and obviously must have developed sometime before then.

The people of San Andrés, however, resisted the adoption or use of the Spanish naming system; until a few generations ago, Spanish *apellidos* were exceptionally rare among Indians. San Andrés can be contrasted with many other Cuicatec communities in that it preserved the old naming system long after the patrinominal system became prevalent in other villages in the district.

### 5.0 Geographical Distribution

The parallel-nominal inheritance system has a distribution which is curious, comprising one (or two) cases in Western Guatemala, and several towns which are Cuicatec, Mazatec, Mixtec, or Chinantec. Previously it had been reported from two lowland Mazatec towns by Villa, Pozas and Stavenhagen, and from a lowland Chinantec town by Weitlaner and Castro. But the 1893 birth records show other Chinantec and Mazatec towns having it, plus other Mixtec and Cuicatec villages.

The district of Cuicatlán can be divided on geographical and ecological grounds into four regions: the eastern flank, the central massif, the western flank and the depression of the Cuicatlán canyon. These correspond with language and dialectic groupings. The east is Chinantec. The central massif has two district groupings, one north and one south of an uninhabited plateau. The north contains one dialect of Cuicatec to which two Cuicatec settlements on the eastern flank are added. It also contains a few Mixtec villages linguistically related to the highland Mixtec to the west and a handful of Mazatec villages linguistically related to the Mazatec of Huautla to the north. The south of the central massif forms a separate Cuicatec dialect group. The western flank contains the third major dialect group of Cuicatec.<sup>34</sup> The canyon is Spanish speaking, and it has been a center of Spanish-Mexican culture since the earlier colonial times, and of Aztec influence before then.

The four zones have distinctly different percentages of the old parallel-nominal system (c. f. Table 5). It is virtually absent from the canyon, averages 10 per cent in the western flanks, 22 per cent in the central massif and 74 per cent in the eastern flank. These differences are statistically significant at greater than the .001 level ( $X^2=188.3$ ). These distributions can be understood on the basis of cultural and historical variables. First, proximity to the centers of dispersion of Mexican-Spanish culture in the canyon is negatively associated with the old system. Second, proximity to the Mazatec-Chinantec lowlands is positively associated with the parallel-nominal system. Hence, it appears as if degree of acculturation towards Mestizo culture is an influential variable.

<sup>34</sup> Holland, W. R., 1959.

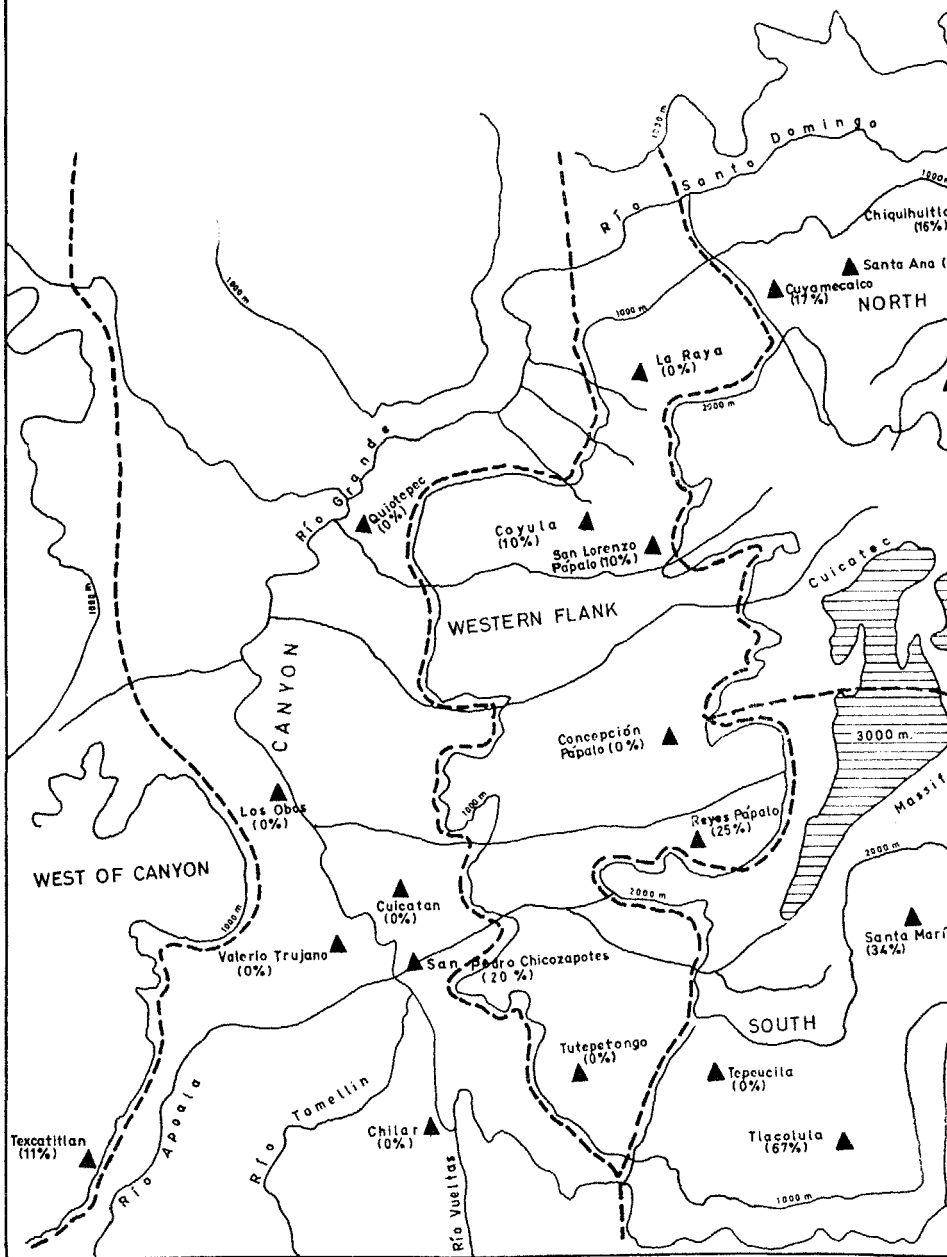




PRESENCE AND PERCENTAGES OF DISTRIBUTION  
OF THE PARALLEL-NOMINAL SYSTEM

District of Culcatlan and Adjacent Towns

(Only Towns For Which Data Was Available are Located)



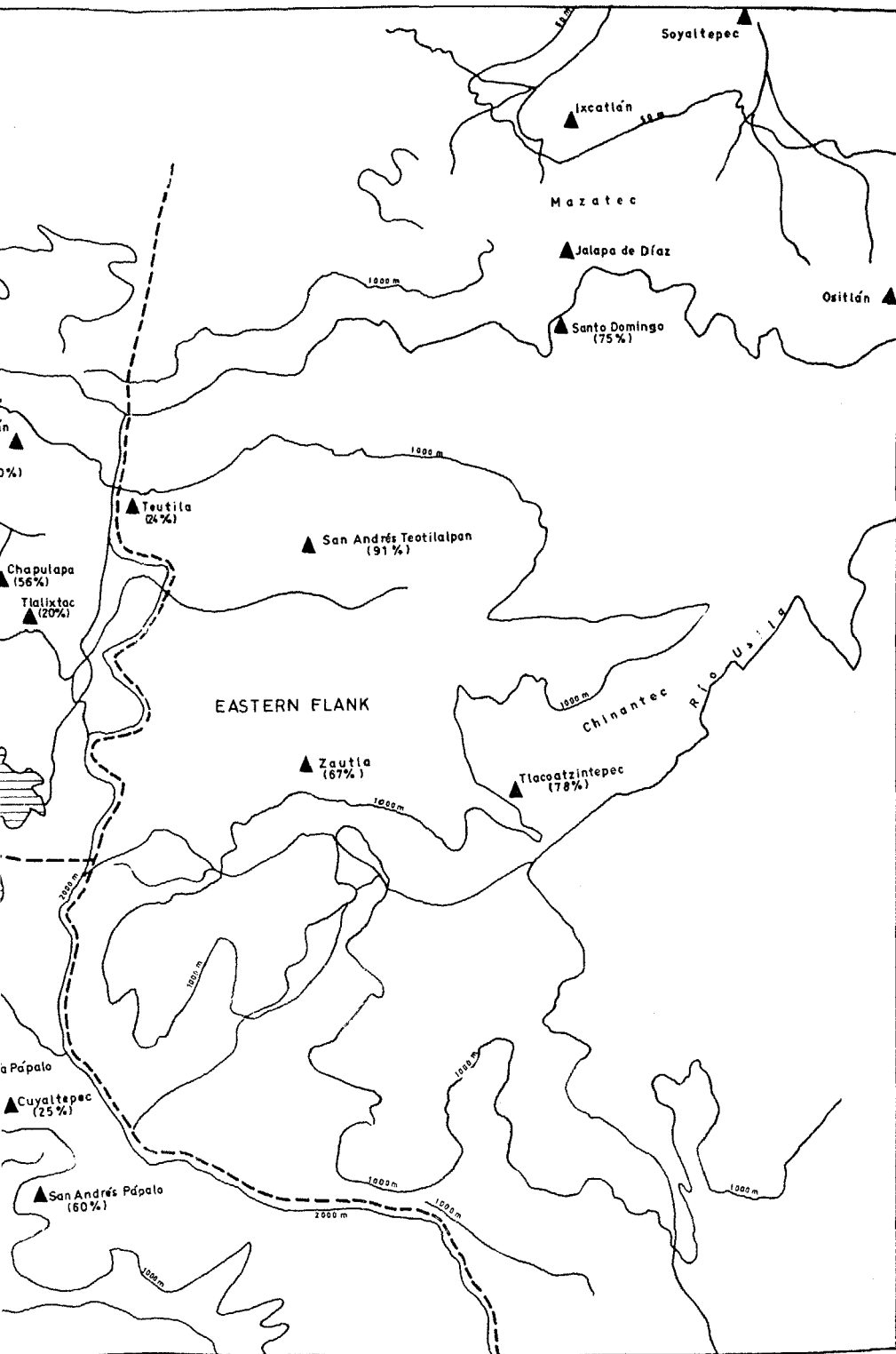




Table 5. Geographical Distribution of Parallel-nominal and Patrinominal Systems, from 1893 Birth Records, ex-Distrito de Cuicatlán.\*

Zone	Town	Frequency**		Percent		Dominant Ethnic Groups***	Percentage of Municipio Population speaking an Indian Language****	
		Old	New	Old	New		Bilingual	Monolingual
Eastern Flank	San Andrés Teotilapan	108	11	91	9	C	91	41
	Santo Domingo	6	2	75	25	CH		
	Teutila	9	29	24	76	Me, C	62	8
	Tlacuatzintepec	7	2	78	22	CH	100	66
	Zautla	4	2	67	33	CH		
	Σ	134	46	74	26			
North Central Massif	Chapulapa	9	7	56	44	C, Me	80	15
	Chiquihuitlán	8	42	16	84	Ma, C	93	73
	Cuyamecalco	9	44	17	83	Mi, Me	69	33
	Santa Ana	0	16	0	100	Mi, C	95	51
	Tlalixtac	5	20	20	80	C	95	61
South	Cuyaltepec	2	6	25	75	C		
	San Andrés Pápalo	3	2	60	40	C		
	Santa María Pápalo	10	19	34	66	C	99	41
	Tepeucila	0	12	0	100	C	93	33
	Tlacolula	8	4	67	33	C, Me		
	Σ	54	172	23	77			
Western Flank	Concepción Pápalo	0	23	0	100	C	93	40
	Coyula	1	9	10	90	Me, C		
	Reyes Pápalo	5	15	25	75	C	100	98
	S. Francisco la Raya	0	4	0	100	Me		
	San Lorenzo Pápalo	1	9	10	90	C		
	Σ	7	60	10	90			
Canyon	Chilar	0	8	0	100	Me		
	San Pedro Chicozapotes	2	8	20	80	Me, C		
	Cotahuixtla	0	9	0	100	Me		
	Dominguillo	0	10	0	100	Me		
	Los Obos	0	3	0	100	Me		
	Quiotepec	0	9	0	100	Me		
	Tecomaxtlahuaca	0	8	0	100	Me		
	Tonaltepec	0	3	0	100	Me		
	Tutepetongo	0	4	0	100	Me, C		
Valerio Trujano	0	19	0	100	Me			
	Σ	2	81	2	98			
West of Canyon	Texcatitlán	4	32	11	89	Mi	98	84
	ΣΣ	201	391					

\* N = 592

\*\* In judging the cases, we counted as old only those which give clear evidence for the old system. E. G., three cases of sons adopting the mother's *apellido* and in which the father was unknown, were classified as new.

\*\*\* C = Cuicatec, CH = Chinantec, Ma = Mazatec, Me = Mestizo, Mi = Mixtec.

These data derive primarily from Weitlaner's surveys of the area.

\*\*\*\* From Parra M. G., 1950.

However, acculturation needs to be measured on socio-cultural variables other than language itself. Although names are a linguistic phenomenon, the frequencies of the parallel-nominal system do not correlate with degree of monolingualism or per cent of speakers of Indian languages in the town. Unfortunately, this measure is based on the figures of the 1940 Mexican census,<sup>35</sup> since none are available or analyzed for 1893. Thus, it could still be possible that at the time, the degree of monolingualism did account for variation. But there is also considerable internal variation within each zone, especially within the central massif. First, out of 31 towns which were recorded in 1893, only 18 had the parallel-nominal system. Of the 13 towns which did not have the old system, 10 are Mestizo with only a small and marginal Indian population. But not all Indian towns which had the system show the same frequencies.

Three important exceptions to the general regional frequencies appear. Teutila in the east has a dominant Mestizo population with a large minority of Indian migrants from near-by villages. Concepción Pápalo in the west and Tepeucila, in the south central, are definitely Indian, but show only the new patrinal system. These exceptions probably can be explained by the same specific historical event. At the time of the conquest the three settlements were important *cacicazgos*. Teutila had a large Aztec garrison of 6,000 men,<sup>36</sup> and Pápalo and Tepeucila were head villages of old Cuicatec *cacicazgos*. Early after the conquest they were taken over by the Spaniards, who made them into *corregimientos*.<sup>37</sup> Teutila and the cuicatec *cacicazgos* in the canyon (i.e., Cuicatlán and Atlatlahuca) soon became Mestizo towns.<sup>38</sup> Pápalo and Tepeucila remained Indian in identification, but throughout the colonial period to the present have been developers of a Mestizo oriented Indian culture. Hence, they probably lost the native naming system quite early (if they ever had it).

Acculturation factors seem to be more efficient than pure geographical location or non-existence of the system in earlier times in accounting for the variation. Some Indian towns in the western flank, which historically were unimportant subject *cacicazgos* and in which no Spaniards settled, are today still conservative closed corporate communities and preserve the old system. The best example is Los Reyes, which although located adjacent to Concepción Pápalo, is a highly conservative town with both a high degree of monolingualism and the highest frequency of the parallel-nominal system in the west.

There are two reasonable hypotheses to account for the general distribution. First, there is the possibility that frequencies in the west represent cultural borrowing from the east or presence of immigrants from the eastern flank. There is today, and has been for a very long time, a certain amount of migration of people from one village to another, at times crossing language boundaries. But for these percentages to occur, the migrant population should have been considerable in size. More likely, the naming system was there already, or it was adopted without a population "moving" with it.

<sup>35</sup> Parra, M. C., 1950.

<sup>36</sup> Espinosa, M. and H. F. Cline, 1961, p. 123.

<sup>37</sup> Paso y Troncoso, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 88-99.

<sup>38</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 163-66, 183-89.

This suggests that the region of creation and dispersion of the parallel-nominal system was the area for which there is evidence of high frequency. The Mazatec highlands can be excluded since the Mazatec towns within the Cuicatec district (which are of highland Mazatec culture) have very low frequencies. The same applies to the western Cuicatecs. These leave us with the possibility that this hypothetical region was located somewhere in the southern lowland Mazatec, northern Chinantec, or eastern Cuicatec, or some combination of these.

The second hypothesis is that the parallel-nominal system was widely spread in the past, and that only marginal cultural areas such as San Andrés, with great geographical isolation and distance from non-Indian centers, have preserved it. Hence high frequencies may reflect survivals. The presence of the parallel-nominal system in a Mixtec town west of the Cuicatec canyon supports this interpretation. Texcatitlán, located in the piedmont of the high Mixtec country, in 1940 had 98 per cent of speakers of Mixtec and 84 per cent monolinguals. Eleven per cent of naming instances in the 1893 birth records were parallel-nominal, suggesting that distance from acculturation centers is the crucial factor and not distance from the eastern flank zone.

Investigation of the distribution of the phenomenon in the highland Mixtec, Mazatec and Chinantec is needed to decide between the hypotheses. We hope that future research on the ethnohistory of the ex-Distrito and surrounding regions will resolve the problem. A regional solution, however, will not help to explain the Guatemala occurrences (see above, p. 192) unless one is willing to accept that this parallel-nominal system was independently created in two separate subregions of Mesoamerica and, in both areas, evolved in the same manner. At the moment, on the basis of present evidence, the theory of a formerly widely distributed parallel-nominal system, which has been wiped out by acculturation (as it is being wiped out in San Andrés today) but survived in marginal Indian areas, seem to us more promising.

### 6.0 *Acquisition of the Patrinominal System*

If we have few analyses of personal name inheritance systems in the literature, we have even fewer examples of changing naming systems. Itkonen reports that the Lapps of Finland had personal names, surnames appeared around 1680-1720 under the influence of Christian priests, and it was then that the Lapps got Christian names. All Lapps acquired one, and many of the old Lappish names got converted into surnames.<sup>39</sup> He reports that these names were probably taken over from merchants, tax collectors, etc., which if true, would be similar to the Mesoamerican case, where the cultural broker is the source not only for the pressure change, but also is a source of the new names.<sup>40</sup>

The one full-scale study of a changing name inheritance system known to us is Spencer's account of Turkish names.<sup>41</sup> The older Arabic system, in general

<sup>39</sup> Itkonen, T. I., 1951, pp. 67-68.

<sup>40</sup> *Ib.*, p. 67.

<sup>41</sup> Spencer, R. F., 1961.

usage, was declared illegal by Ataturk, who instituted a western patrnominal system using Turkish words as surnames. Apparently the new system was thoroughly understood, for there is no report of intermediate innovations, as among the Cuicatecs. Like the Cuicatecs, however, the new names were selected from very varied sources (see below). Spencer lists six of these, which include occupations, place names, heroic and tribal eponyms, object names, lineage names, and euphonic names.<sup>42</sup>

Among the Cuicatecs of San Andrés, Type II morphemes entered the village in two different ways. An individual from the population may marry a person with a patrnominal name, or an individual may adopt an *apellido* where one did not exist before. In the former case, the outsider brought the MTII into the nuclear family, and through later inheritance by children the name passes on into the population.<sup>43</sup> This is true even in cases in which the possessor of the MTII was a female, because once a MTII appears, it does not drop out (type V).

Pressure to adopt the new naming system came from the non-Indian or Mestizo world which uses the patrnominal model. One common way was through the school. Teachers (usually of Mestizo origin and always trained in Mestizo schools) gave Spanish *apellidos* to the children in the classroom who did not have them. Since in San Andrés, boys tend to attend school more regularly and more often than girls do, this may be one reason why males took up Type II morphemes earlier than females did. Other officers who introduced new names were the local municipio secretaries (usually non-Indians, hired by the community for their bureaucratic skills), *caciques*, the officers in charge of the army draft, etc. Since all these cultural brokers<sup>44</sup> tend to deal with the local men more than with the women, here again there was differential pressure toward change in males and females.

Besides these officials, Indians acquired new names from other cultural brokers. Many men go out of the village to work on plantations in the lowlands and come back with an *apellido*. Since men much more often than women search for work outside the village, they again tend to be the agents of change (on their return) more often than women.

The *apellidos* thus selected are those common in the place where they were working, common to the area, or perhaps the surname of the official or the ranch owner himself. In other cases, individuals would take up a Spanish nickname as *apellido*, take the *apellido* related to their MTI (e.g. Gonzalez for Gonzalo), invent one from a Spanish word that caught their attention, or take up the name of some famous historical figure they knew about (e. g. one informant named Ignacio took the *apellido* Zaragoza after the general Ignacio Zaragoza).

Once a man in a sibling set took up an *apellido*, his male siblings usually adopted it too. If this were done in school, the teacher named all siblings with the same *apellido*. If it were an *apellido* adopted after a trip to the outside,

<sup>42</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 213-16.

<sup>43</sup> In the case in which a man adopted as *apellido* his wife's (or father-in-law's) *apellido* (for his name contained only words of morpheme type I), his children could either be classified as having patrnominal system names, or as displaying ITV.

<sup>44</sup> Hunt, R., 1965 b.



and brought in by one sibling, the others adopted it too, so "all brothers would have the same name," an interesting example of the pressure of the principle of sibling solidarity. The only exception known to us of this last case is one in which a man adopted a nickname as *apellido* (*Brioso* [lt. lively, brave]) which his siblings thought was silly, and they then adopted in common a different surname. Interestingly, this man has little solidarity with his siblings because of a long standing land feud.

### 7.0 *The Lineal Strings*

The data on naming for more than three generations come from the two long genealogies mentioned above (c.f. pp. 193-94). Although these genealogies show some obvious similarities (e.g. both have adoption of Spanish *apellidos* which were not family names previously), the most interesting aspect of these genealogies is the way they can be contrasted, because they represent two different routes of change from the parallel to the patrinominal system (c.f. Table 6). Phenomena common to both genealogies, besides adoption of MTII, are partial substitution of principles, in a progressive manner, through time, so that each step tends more closely to approximate the new system. There is no case of regression toward the old system. Once change has been triggered it continues slowly but steadily, and spreads. But at the same time, the data show that the amount of communication on naming practices between segments of the community is and was very low. One can see in the genealogies that every extended family group (see discussion below) was independently evolving its own way of coping with the problem. Moreover, within a genealogy one can see how every couple faced the naming of their children somewhat differently than any other couple, introducing their own innovations. The struggle to understand the new system, and the degree of willingness to give up the old, occurs in a very small context: the nuclear family. However, in some cases, all individuals in a household cluster took the same *apellido* (see discussion below).

Table 6. Distribution of Name Types by Genealogy

	<i>Old</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>New</i>	<i>Totals</i>
I (Progressive)	29	6	-	-	-	9		7	36	87
II (Conservative)	28	-	5	3	4		2		11	53
Total	57	6	5	3	4	9	2	7	47	140

Obviously, there is some amount of communication taking place, since the change toward the patrinominal system appears everywhere. But perhaps the explanation for such proliferation of paths of change is due to the fact that there were no established common norms. Every carrier of this culture felt equally competent (or incompetent) to tackle the problem on his own, without reference to what others were doing.

Other variables can be brought into the discussion which are not of an individual nature. First, San Andrés has two factions, which are politically antagonistic, and which represent the progressive versus the traditional orientations. One of our genealogies (I) comes from the progressive faction, characterized by higher bilingualism, more marriages with outsiders (of other villages), and an easier acceptance of some non-Indian traits. The other genealogy (II), represents the traditionals, more reluctant to accept outside influences, tending toward monolingualism, and village endogamy.<sup>45</sup> This difference can be seen in the naming system, inasmuch as the genealogy of the "progressives" shows a faster acceptance of the new system, while the traditional shows more attempts at preserving the variables of the old system longer, by increasing the number of intermediate steps in a genealogical string. This could also be read to mean that the traditionals, because of their lack of interest or their lesser contact with the sources of name change (the non-Indian world) had greater difficulty in coming to grips with the patrnominal system and understanding the variables involved, and thus took longer to change (c.f. Tables 6 and 7). It may also relate to the fact that the traditionals, being generally more conservative, have preserved for a longer time a descent system which favors parallel naming (see below).

Table 7. Distribution of Name Types by Generation

Generation	Old	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	New	Totals
Oldest - 1	3	1								4
2	19	2						3		24
3	21		5	3			1	4	14	48
4	14	3			4	2	1		22	46
Youngest 5						7			11	18
Totals	57	6	5	3	4	9	2	7	47	140

When we look at the total population of San Andrés above the age of thirty, according to sex, it appears that men changed to the new naming system earlier (c.f. Table 1). This difference tends to increase with age. Another related observation which appears from looking at the data in time depth, is that males have a slight tendency to change earlier than females in any given family group. This, however, is not contradictory to the fact that in a nuclear family in which MTII has already been introduced either by the male or the female spouse, it would be passed on to the next generation (this explains Intermediate Type V). To show this we have analyzed the combinations of types in the twenty siblings sets on which we had information. The number is small, but the results are suggestive.

<sup>45</sup> The factions are not clear cut in every particular. For example, in the "progressive" faction, women still use the traditional *huipil*, and some of the most prestigious curers are in it. But the progressive faction has been responsible for giving up the *mayordomía* system, while the traditionals have recently attempted to reintroduce Mayordomos for the largest and most important religious fiestas. In fact, the promoter of reintroducing Mayordomías is a brother of Ego of Genealogy II. Moreover, the progressive faction contains the men who have been the local supporters of the *mestizo cacique* of San Andrés.

Table 8. Name Type in Sibling Sets, San Andrés, Genealogies I + II

	<i>Number of Sibling Sets</i>	<i>Number of Individuals</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
	6	21	Old	Old
Name	2	3	I	Old
Type	1	2	Old	I
	1	3	II	II
	1	4	IV	IV
	1	7	V	V
	2	4	VI	VI
	1	6	Old, II, III	II, III
	1	4	New	Old
	4	17	New	New
Totals	20	71		

That females are more conservative shows in their preference for preserving the old form of the variables, or at least the old sex-linkage, even though the males of the same generation, in the same family, have changed. In part, this can be explained by stating that it is the parents who preserve the naming system, not the name carrier, and that the pressure for parallel sex-linkage shows only for females, since the change from parallel to patrinominal system, for males, involves only linguistic changes, not social-structure changes. Thus, it is easier for parents to give male children names according to the new system, and preserve the old or some intermediate form for the daughters (e.g. ITVI). This does not explain, however, why the females preserve the old naming pattern when all the males in the sibling group have a common Spanish *apellido*. Our informants suggested that many times all the brothers in a sibling set adopted a common *apellido* (ITIII or ITVII) and the females refused to do so. We have no cases of this in our complete sibling sets, but there is no reason to doubt their information. Female tendency to conservatism in naming can be related to two aspects of life in San Andrés: first, to the manner in which the new system was introduced (c.f. above), and second, to residence, inheritance of things other than names, and to the position of females in the formation of descent groups.

### 8.0 *Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Naming*<sup>46</sup>

The importance of personal naming in relation to cultural and social factors has been discussed in the past. How naming modifies the usage of kinship terms,

<sup>46</sup> What follows should be considered a tentative hypothesis. The postulated system had, by 1964, largely disappeared, and we are attempting to reconstruct a phenomenon which survives only in fragmentary ways.

for example, has been shown in detail for the Kung' and Eskimo.<sup>47</sup> It has been suggested for another area of Mexico (the Highland Maya) that name-sakes place each other in a special kind of kin relation within an agnatic descent group.<sup>48</sup> Another naming system which is related to the structure of descent groups has been reported for the Moplah, the Arabiy, and the Thangals<sup>49</sup> on the Malabar coast of India. These have double unilineal descent systems reflected in naming practices. Roys has postulated a double unilineal naming and descent system for the 19th and 17th century Maya of Yucatan.<sup>50</sup>

In the old system discussed here, since a person's name-sake is the parent of the same sex, it does not affect the use of kinship terminology. But naming does seem to be related to certain aspects of social structure such as inheritance, residence sponsorship, and membership in a descent group.

### 8.1 *Residence Sponsor and Residence Clusters*

In the first trip to San Andrés it was noticed that a large number of young married couples were residing in the bride's parents home (larger in comparison with what one could expect in most Cuicatec Indian communities which have a tendency toward patri-virilocal residence).<sup>51</sup> Also it appeared that the village was composed of several household clusters, a large number of which were built around female links. Our earlier San Andrés data revealed an apparently bilocal pattern of residence. A young couple after the wedding first resided in a domestic group containing either set of parents, until at least the first child was weaned. Forty-five per cent of 160 households were said to contain an original couple whose first residence had been matri-uxorilocal. More importantly, informants place great importance on who initiates marriage negotiations (either groom or bride's family) and clearly state that the couple had not moved with the parents of bride or groom, but with either the wife's mother or the husband's father.<sup>52</sup> Informants also stated that the normatively preferred choice of residence was matri-uxorilocal.<sup>53</sup>

A later analysis of the residence of all individuals, furthermore, showed that residence sponsors strongly tended to be a person of the same sex (exceptions include spouses and very young children whose sponsor is rarely a male), that is, parallel sex sponsorship was preferred. In addition, there was a tendency for households to cluster based upon a set of consanguineally related individuals of the same sex. In a sample of 44 such households (two or more house-compounds on plots adjacent to each other and forming a physical cluster), 78 per cent were linked to each other with parallel sex (see Table 9).

<sup>47</sup> Marshall, L., 1957; Guemple, D. L., 1965.

<sup>48</sup> Montagu, R., n. d.; Montagu, R. and Hunt, E., 1962.

<sup>49</sup> D'Souza, V. S., 1959.

<sup>50</sup> Roys, R. L., 1940, pp. 37-38.

<sup>51</sup> C. f. Weitlaner, R. J., 1961.

<sup>52</sup> In the case of matri-uxorilocality, they used such expressions as "they were received by the mother-in-law (of the man)" or "the man entered the house of his mothers-in-law."

<sup>53</sup> By matri-uxorilocal we mean that the residence is with the mother for a woman, and with the wife for the man of a couple. Patri-virilocal states that a couple is living with the husband's father. We use the dual term to focus upon residence sponsor (c.f. Fischer, J. L., 1958), rather than the couple as a unit.

Table 9. Sex-Linkages between Households in Household Clusters  
n = 44

	Sponsor-Recipient Sets			
	<i>Parallel Sex-Link</i>		<i>Cross Sex-Link</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
Frequency	9	25	5	5
Per Cent	20%	58%	11%	11%
Frequency Totals by Link Type	34		10	
Frequency Totals by Sex of Sponsor	30		14	
Per Cent Totals by Link Type	78%		22%	
Per Cent Totals by Sex of Sponsor	69%		31%	

After a couple moves out of the parental household of one of the spouses, they will build their own home on an adjacent lot, usually provided by the parent of the connected spouse. (Informants stated that this should usually be the wife's parents cluster.) Over a period of time, clusters may tend to change from male to female linkages and the reverse, rearranging the internal structure. But even though this occurs, each cluster is usually built either around only female or only male linkages, not both, an overall, female parallel linkages are preferred over male (58 per cent of cases in sample).

Linkage between households was predominantly of primary kinship ties: parents, children and true siblings (79 per cent). Thus the village consists of a series of household clusters linking fathers and their sons, or mothers and their daughters, and siblings of the same sex, female clusters being the mode. In the cases of widows, who are also heads of households, daughters remain in the cluster while sons move away. Daughters of widowers tend not to reside in the father's household cluster unless they do not have a husband or female relatives elsewhere. When the link was predominantly between siblings, the parents were dead, rather than living elsewhere. This phenomenon of separation between parallel sex lines occurs in other aspects of life in San Andrés.

The ethos<sup>54</sup> of unisexual groups is very different from that of heterosexual groups, especially if they are large ones. Single sex groups, such as work groups have a free, easy, relaxed, joking, funloving quality to them. Whenever a person of the opposite sex appears, however, the tone becomes very much more constrained, there is little or no joking, conversation drops off, and the group seems stiff and formal. The kinship terminology is also modified by this distinction of sex lines.

## 8.2 Kinship Terms

The Cuicatecs of San Andrés have a kinship terminology to which are applied the following principles of differentiation (c.f. Table 10).

1) Generation: all informants distinguish at least five generations, two above and two below Ego. Some informants, however, may add two or more for direct lineal kinsmen (great grand-parents and children). Among collaterals, however, the generational principle of distinction functions only to differentiate three levels: Ego's generation, older than ego and younger than ego. Among affinals, the principle does not operate.

2) Sex of referent: all terms with the exception of grandchild and down distinguish male and female kinsmen.

3) Linearity vs. collaterality: One's parents and children are called by exclusive terms (i.e. terms which are not applied to any other kinship [genealogical] position or category). Parents' siblings children, however, may be called by the brother and sister terms (Hawaiian cousin terms) or by the more general term of /vi' i/ (relative) (see below).

4) Degree of collaterality: all kinsmen (i.e. anybody with whom a connection can be shown in a genealogical grid) are distinguished as to degree of collaterality by two degrees. First degree collaterals have specific forms. Collaterals of second and third degree are merged into the category /vi' i/ which informants may translate in Spanish as either *pariente* (relative), *familia* (family) or *primo* (cousin). Kinsmen with whom one acknowledges some tie, without necessarily being able to specify the linkage, are referred to by the word /dt:/ . But /dt:/ is also the name of a group of genealogically related individuals. The San Andreseños translate this word into Spanish as *nuestra raza* or *nuestro grupo* (our race, our group). (This word is a homonym of the word for the multi-colored corn cob, a graphic expression indeed.) Marriage, in theory, is not permitted closer than the /dt:/ category (the fourth bed, in their idiom), but /vi' i/ are married on occasion, if they are not first cousins.

5) Sex of speaker: father's brother is called by different terms, depending on the sex of the speaker, because females distinguish father and other's lines, but males use the same term (*dunno*) for collaterals of generations above O. This is not the case for female parents' siblings, although one old female informant said that in the past mother's sister was called by a special term which she could not remember.

<sup>54</sup> We are following Bateson's (1936) use of this concept.

Table 10. Paradigm of San Andrés Teotlalpan Kin Terminology: Consanguineals

	<i>father's line</i>	<i>mother's line</i>	<i>father's line</i>	<i>mother's line</i>	<i>father's line</i>	<i>mother's line</i>		<i>either line</i>
3+					(both sexes)	m.s.	f.s.	dφφðe
2+	tatia'a	tatayu'uŋ	nanye'a	nayu'uŋ	dunno		dií'a	
1+	čida		čiako		vi'i			
0	kEabE		ko'o		daakwa		ruučí	
1-	dφyφ							
2-	dayaino							
3-	daynoroon							
	males		females		males		females	
Gener.	direct or lineals				collaterals			

6) Sex of the connecting kinsmen: In the parental generation and above, the father's and mother's lines are separate. This distinction, however, is dropping out of use. Although most adult informants know the words, they use both sets of "grandparent" or "uncle" terms for either line. Informants in their sixties or above, however, distinguish male and female lines.<sup>55</sup>

Affinity: There are only four terms for affinals, all of which distinguish the sex of the referent and none of which distinguishes generation. Two of these are terms for male and female in-marrying persons, spouses of Ego's consanguineals, and two for the male and female consanguineal relatives of one's spouse. This distinction is relevant in the context of recruitment into a descent group through marriage (see p. 219).

Two aspects of the terminology itself seem to be related to the old naming system. Personal names emphasized the connection between members of adjacent generations of the same sex. Within the terminology, again, male and female lines are distinguished for the generations above parents and partially for the parental generation. It is not surprising that both the old naming system which distinguishes parallel lines, and the kinship terms which distinguish parallel lines, are dropping out of use simultaneously. Kinship recognition, more-

<sup>55</sup> All terms indicate the sex line by the descriptive form.

over, varies in the number and sex of collaterals which informants are willing to include in regular interaction. Males include more male relatives, especially those connected through other males, while females extend their genealogies through female lines, and relate to a larger number of female relatives than males do.

### 8.3 Property and Inheritance

Property, including all major forms such as land, coffee trees, houses and house plots, etc. is owned and controlled in San Andrés by both sexes. The Mestizo *cacique* and secretaries have insisted recently on registering land property in male names. But San Andreseños are careful to specify that a particular plot registered as belonging to a man is in fact controlled by a female or a group of females. Moreover, property is passed on through either male or female lines. A person is more likely to inherit from the household cluster to which he or she is attached. Residence is generally decided on the basis of parallel sex sponsorship and some informants indicate that they leave their possessions to the children of their own sex, because "they are closer together," especially those who remain living in the household cluster. There has been pressure from the mestizos, however, for equal inheritance of all children, in a bilateral fashion in accordance with Mexican law.<sup>56</sup>

Our informants all agree that in the past, much more than today, property and important aspects of the social life were controlled by women. The Mestizos of nearby towns have the myth that the people of San Andrés used to have a "matriarchy."<sup>57</sup> Their statements cannot be dismissed as purely mythological constructs, because memories of living Indian informants contain bits of evidence which point to the greater importance in the past of females in respect to the control of property. For example, it is said that at the end of the colonial era, taxation was imposed on land, and most land was transmitted and controlled by females.<sup>58</sup> Trees, cattle, cash, and capital also were female controlled. Still today, at the wedding, there is a token ceremony related to this: the bride is given a small coin by the god-mother "to help her start her capital." Our female informants contrast this with what they see as the increasing encroachment of male rights over female rights in property at the present time. It is probable (c.f. footnote 58), however, that although there may have been a strong emphasis on property passing along female lines, male line inheritance was also possible. This is certainly true today. This type of property holding and inheritance would be congruent with the present distribution of residence (female sponsors 69 per cent, male 31 per cent [c.f. Table 9]). Given parallel sex sponsorship of residence and parallel sex-link formation of household clusters, and given the

<sup>56</sup> This in spite of the fact that the local Mestizos have an inheritance system which amounts to near mono-inheritance (c.f. Hunt, R. 1965a).

<sup>57</sup> They use the Spanish word *Matriarcado*.

<sup>58</sup> We have not yet unearthed any other evidence of this form of taxation, but informants strongly agree on this point. One informant even indicated that the woman paid the taxes though her husband may have been the owner of the *milpa*.



fact that female links are predominant, it is highly likely a) that inheritance rights go along with this, and b) that a greater amount of property passes along female than along male lines. Our analysis of inheritance is very tentative, but the small corpus of evidence seems to point in this direction.

#### 8.4 A Special Case of Ambilineal Groups

In the context of the information given in the previous sections, we can suggest that the Cuicatecs of San Andrés appear to have a special type of ambilineal grouping,<sup>50</sup> which is reflected in the parallel-nominal naming system, the pattern of residence, the household clustering and other normative aspects of behavior, to some extent in the kinship terminology and probably in the assignation and transmission of rights in property. These ambilineal groupings probably form three levels of ramage (see below) which are basically built on the principle of parallel sex-linkages. Thus, a ramage is built around single linkages which are either mother-daughter, father-son, brother-brother, or sister-sister, cross-sex choices not being favored, although they are possible as marginal alternatives.

The small residential clusterings (between two and eight, approximately) of household compounds are the smallest minimal ramage, the local core of the larger descent groups. The next larger group is composed of selected /*vi'i*/, those immediate kinsmen to which connections can be easily traced (usually up to the third collaterals). These form the intermediate ramage and are dispersed in separate household clusters. The maximum ramage is the /*dst*/ . The /*dst*/ is clearly identified as a group which, as we mentioned earlier, informants translate as "our race" or "our group." The intermediate ramage, however, is our hypothesis, since at the moment we do not have sufficient data to demonstrate that the /*vi'i*/ is a bounded group in any sense different from personal kindred. Future work may bring forth a more definite answer.

Recruitment is based upon birth links through the mother for females and the father for males, and secondarily at marriage (at the level of minimum ramage), through the spouse who is the link in the small localized ramage, the household cluster. Hence, affinals are terminologically separated into those who can become one's own descent group members, and those who do not (c.f. Table 11). The choice at marriage can be reserved by a later change in residence.

Table 11. Paradigm of San Andrés Teotlalpan Kin Terminology: Affinals

Any generation	đaađo	čiano	yintq'ān	inčandiko
	male	female		male
	In-marrying		Out-marrying	

<sup>50</sup> Murdock, G. P., 1960, pp. 10-13.

They can also be reinforced, for a male in his wife's cluster, by the practice of sororal polygyny.<sup>60</sup> Thus, in San Andrés a special form of ambilineal descent group is formed on the principle of parallel filiation. These ambilineal groups have a consanguineally related core of members, but include others and thus are compromise localized groups in Murdock's terms.<sup>61</sup>

We propose to call this form of descent parallel-lineal to distinguish it from the general type of ambilineal (or ambilateral) or the utrolateral type. Unlike the utrolateral, a person does not have exclusive membership. A man residing in his wife's cluster is still a member of his father's minor ramage although his immediate rights may not be active, but by choice belongs to the spouse's ramage. However, they could not by birth belong to either the father's or the mother's descent group, but only to that of the parent of the same sex. This emphasis was shown both in separating mother and father's lineals in the kinship terminology, and in the parallel naming system.

Lines, however, are differentially weighted (i.e. not equally selected), since it seems apparent that in San Andrés the localized ramage build more often around female-linked minimal clusters than around male ones. Thus there is a tendency within the descent group to prefer matrilineal links and matrilocality. This may be connected with a past emphasis on female property rights.

The fact that the parallel naming system emphasized only adjacent generation connections in congruent with the flexibility of the process of ramage building, and with the fact that membership by birth in the minor ramage is normally based on primary kinship links between adjacent generations. It is also pertinent that when the time came, individuals in a household cluster (the minimum ramage) all adopted the same Spanish *apellido*, although each nuclear family in a generation may have done it at a different time. This may indicate a desire to maintain ramage-name identification in the face of a new naming pattern, at least for the generation which was switching the name system. Of course, the new patrilineal system disrupted the identification of ramage members since female links after one generation get fused with patrilineal.

This does not exclude the possibility that outside the core of a ramage, membership can be acquired through cross-links, and that spouses (the most important primary affinal link) may become *de facto* members of the spouse's ramage.<sup>62</sup> These alternative choices are common not only in the actual facts of membership of other ambilateral systems, but even in unilineal descent groups. L. Bohannan<sup>63</sup> has shown for example, how although the core of a Tiv lineage may be exclusively a group of patrilineally related males, female links appear occasionally in genealogies, and that slaves and other marginal people may be included in the actual lineage group without destroying the validity of the patrilineal model.

<sup>60</sup> Although most San Andrés marriages are monogamous, even today, polygyny is permissible and sororal polygyny is preferred.

<sup>61</sup> Murdock, C. P. *op. cit.*, I, p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> In this context it is interesting to note that at present a man may choose to acquire his wife's *apellido*.

<sup>63</sup> Bohannan, L., 1952.

### 8.5 *The Geographical Spread of Parallel-Lineal Descent*

Since other villages and language groups have the same naming system, it is possible to suspect that they too have or have had the same kind of parallel descent groupings. This is supported by Murdock's view that in many Mexican peasant groups (including the Aztec, Mazatec, Mixe, Popoluca, Totonac, Yaqui, and Zapotec), the descent groups are ambilineal.<sup>64</sup> Carrasco<sup>65</sup> and Monzon<sup>66</sup> reconstructed Otomí and Aztec organization on the basis of ambilateral descent. Dahlgren has also suggested the presence of ambilateral clans for the early Mixtecs<sup>67</sup> to whom the Cuicatec are linguistically related. To what extent this was an early widely distributed pattern it is hard to state on the basis of presently known distributions. We suspect it is widespread in many Mesoamerican Indian regions, without having been reported previously.

### 9.0 *Name Change and Change in the Descent System*

Why is the naming system changing? It is obvious that for a long time, although the patrilineal system of the Mexicans was being adopted by other Indians, in San Andrés the system took longer to "take", and that once it was introduced the last feature to change, sex link, is related to the fact that naming practices represented an important marker of descent group membership. San Andreseños were unwilling to give up a naming system which was functional in terms of their social structure, for one that was not only alien, but disruptive. It is possible then to suspect that in recent times they have been willing to give up the old parallel naming system because of a change or weakening of the old structure of the parallel-lineal descent groups. A demonstration of this proposition must await future research.

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<sup>64</sup> Murdock, G. P., *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Carrasco, P., 1950, p. 92.

<sup>66</sup> Monzón, A., 1949.

<sup>67</sup> Dahlgren de Jordán, B., 1954, pp. 151, 156-60.

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