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TALKING, SPEAKING AND CHATTING IN AZTEC¹

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Speakers of Modern Aztec dialects in the Valley of Puebla from the snowcapped volcanoes, Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, to the city of Cholula and from Huejotzingo to Atlixco can recognize distinctive patterns in everyday language use characteristic of each town within the area, despite the fact that the region represents a single cohesive dialect area². Differences among the three distinct varieties of everyday speech that exist in the area and their social use form the basis for this type of folk linguistic dialect differentiation. Though the diagnostics of this system differ considerably from those employed in areal linguistics or dialectology they are nevertheless concrete and quantifiable. My purpose here is to sketch the differences among the three varieties of speech, the situations in which they are used and their role in the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation. The ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation serves to maintain ethnic boundaries within the region and in this way reflects perceived social, economic and political patterns within the area that have been built up through time.

Recognizing patterns in everyday language use is a matter of considerable import to native speakers of Modern Aztec in this area. Political, social and economic relationships among communities in the area maintain and delineate a system of mutual interdependence among people from different towns that is essential to everyday life in the Valley. The interdependence of Valley communities results from distinctive social, economic and political patterns throughout the area, some dating all the way from before the Spanish Conquest to others that are the result of the rapid economic growth of modern Mexico. Recognizable differences in everyday language use thus serve as an index of the relationships of mutual interdependence among communities that are important to the everyday lives of the people in the Valley.

1 Within the region there are three distinct varieties of everyday speech. The variety referred to as *tlahtoliztli*³ 'speech' is the most formal of the three genres and uses the whole range of honorifics in the same manner as described by Jane and Kenneth Hill (1978) for the Tlaxcallan side of the Valley. Such speech is used in virtually all public events where Modern Aztec is appropriate⁴, among individuals having formal social relationships with one another, i.e., *compadres* 'co-parents', godchildren, godparents, etc., with all individuals ascribed a significant degree of social status, i.e., elders, foreigners, clerics, etc., with civil or religious officials, i.e., *mayordomos*, *fiscales*, *topiles*, etc. as well as with the *Presidente Municipal* 'mayor', *Secretario* 'town secretary' and other civil officials from other towns and other areas. The level of honor used in such formal speech is adjusted to the status of the individual addressed and to that of the addressee according to the same rules as described by the Hills. All levels of the honorific, or distance-respect system can be heard in this type of speech at a public event when people are 'watching the way they speak'.

A less formal variety of speech referred to as *tenohnotzaliztli* is used in commercial exchanges, visiting and tale telling among individuals from different communities. This variety of speech functions almost exclusively at level II of the distance-respect system described by the Hills except in four towns on the Northwestern edge of the area where level III is used with individuals of ascending generation. Level II of their distance-respect system, though it is morphologically marked, is the most neutral level of respect (Hill and Hill, 1978:172) and thus the most widely used of the four levels of respect. It is in this variety of speech that the greatest degree of linguistic variation is found. This is a logical consequence of the fact that this variety of speech is used in most types of non-formal inter-community exchanges.

The third variety of speech is called *teilhuializtli* 'talk' and is used among family members and individuals of the same community not having relations of ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*). This variety functions at levels I and II of the distance-respect system and is generally reserved for intimate family situations or talk among old friends. This is the least formal of the three varieties of speech where social relationships are defined on the basis of kinship or long standing established relationships.

The *tlahtoliztli* variety of speech is used where well defined social relationships exist and the *teihuializtli* is used in situations where social relationships are implicitly defined. The *tenohnotaliztli* variety of speech is on the other hand used among members of distinct communities where relationships are defined in terms of general patterns within the Valley. It is in this type of situation where relationships are in fact not well defined, either implicitly, as is the case with intimate family situations, or explicitly, as is the case with formal social relationships, that it is most important for native speakers to recognize patterns in everyday language. Thus it is not surprising that non-formal inter-community exchanges should exhibit the greatest degree of linguistic variability.

2 Each of these three varieties of speech show characteristic patterns of variation both among themselves and among the communities of the area. It is on the basis of the *tenohnotaliztli* variety of speech that it is possible to distinguish among communities as the other varieties of speech show relatively little inter community variation. Quantitative phonological variation in the *tenohnotaliztli* variety is essential to ethnolinguistic dialect differentiation. Morphological differences among the three varieties not related to the use of the distance-respect system are almost nonexistent. Thus far no major syntactic differences have been found among the three varieties except that more formal speech appears to use a greater degree of syntactic complexity. Some communities in the area show some syntactic reorganization (Pu ry, 1976), both due to language contact phenomena and language death, but these differences are found in all varieties of speech when they occur. By far the most important parameter of variation both linguistically and for native speakers is to be found at the phonological level.

		e						e:						i			i:		
		T	ε	^	α	ə	a	T	ε	^	α	ə	a	T	ε	ι	T	ε	ι
1	SX	.04	.04	0	0	0	0	.10	.08	0	0	0	.02	.10	.10	0	.16	.11	.05
2	YAN	.04	.04	0	0	0	0	.10	.10	0	0	0	0	.08	.07	.01	.15	.11	.04
3	SFC	0	0	0	0	0	0	.06	.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.04	.04	.02
4	SMT	.02	.02	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	SBN	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	SJT	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	SBT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	SAC	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	SCO	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	SMM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	SBC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	ATX	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.03	.01	0	0	.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	SLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.01	0	0	.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	SLA	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.04	.02	0	0	.02	0	0	0	.01	.01	0	
15	NEP	.01	0	0	0	.01	0	.05	.02	0	0	.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	
16	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	.02	.01	0	0	.01	0	0	0	.01	.01	0	
17	STO	.01	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.02	0	0	.01	0	0	0	.01	.01	0	
18	DA	0	0	0	0	0	0	.04	.01	0	0	.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	

TABLE I

The formal variety of speech shows relatively little phonological variation in the 18 communities under study in the region. These 18 communities were selected because of the availability of ten or more fluent adult speakers of Modern Aztec⁵. Only in SMT, where only 6 fluent speakers could be found, is the data in Table I based on less than ten samples. Table I shows the rate of total variation, T, per hundred occurrences of i and i: as well as e and e: in all positions and the rate of occurrence of each particular variant contributing to the total, T. Variation due to non-probabilistic rules has been eliminated from this sample and simply not counted in calculation frequencies. Linguistic constraints on variation have likewise been ignored here due to the fact that they play a very minor role in the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation. Although some specific rules do apparently correlate with such factors as indigenist sentiments and economic orientation they do not apparently play an important role in ethnolinguistic dialect differentiation. The relatively low rate of variation in this variety of speech that is shown in Table I is fairly homogenous throughout the area.

		e						e:						i			i:		
		T	ε	^	α	ə	a	T	ε	^	α	ə	a	T	ε	^	T	ε	^
1	SX	.69	.33	.07	.08	.04	.17	.85	.52	.07	.04	.06	.11	.64	.36	.28	.81	.54	.27
2	YAN	.58	.29	.05	.06	.07	.11	.69	.55	0	.04	.04	.06	.52	.32	.20	.88	.56	.31
3	SFC	.19	.14	.02	0	.03	0	.55	.51	0	0	.02	.02	.48	.48	0	.52	.38	.14
4	SMT	.33	.31	0	0	.02	0	.56	.55	0	0	.01	0	.06	.06	0	.27	.22	.05
5	SBN	.31	0	0	0	0	0	.56	.55	0	0	.01	0	.43	.43	0	.32	.32	0
6	SJT	.29	.29	0	0	0	0	.55	.55	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	.27	.27	0
7	SBT	.03	.03	0	0	0	0	.06	.06	0	0	0	0	.01	.01	0	.05	.05	0
8	SAC	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.46	.46	0	0	0	0	.03	.03	0	.05	.05	0
9	SCO	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.43	.43	0	0	0	0	.41	.41	0	.30	.30	0
10	SMM	.02	.02	0	0	0	0	.02	.02	0	0	0	0	.44	.44	0	.32	.31	.02
11	SBC	.02	.02	0	0	0	0	.02	.02	0	0	0	0	.47	.47	0	.33	.31	.01
12	ATX	.18	.11	.03	0	.04	0	.39	.15	.03	0	.21	0	.03	.03	0	.14	.12	.02
13	SLO	.22	.11	.05	0	.07	0	.39	.15	.03	0	.19	0	0	0	0	.11	.11	0
14	SLA	.28	.10	.06	0	.12	0	.42	.14	.06	0	.21	0	.05	.05	0	.12	.12	0
15	NEP	.26	.14	.04	0	.07	0	.52	.17	.10	0	.25	0	.03	.03	0	.11	.11	0
16	ST	.23	.09	.03	0	.11	0	.41	.11	.10	0	.21	0	.06	.06	0	.11	.11	0
17	STO	.30	.11	.09	0	.11	0	.40	.12	.08	0	.20	0	.03	.03	0	.11	.11	0
18	DA	.21	.09	.04	0	.08	0	.52	.17	.10	0	.25	0	.03	.03	0	.11	.11	0

TABLE II

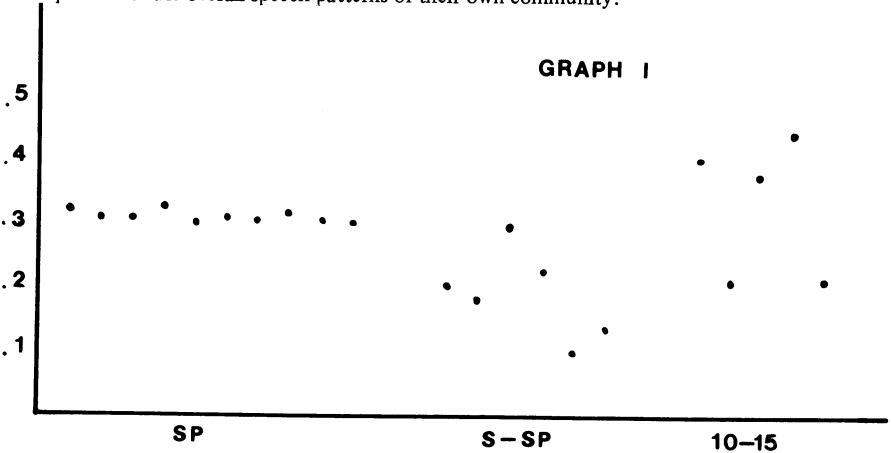
The *tenohnotzaliztli* variety of speech on the other hand shows a far greater level of variation and is essential in the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation. Table II shows the rate of variation and the rate for each variant for each of the 18 communities. Both the quantitative rate of variation, the total T rate of variation of a form such as i or i: for a community, and the qualitative rate of variation, the rate at which a particular variant occurs or group of variants occur are important in ethnolinguistic dialect differentiation.

		e						e:						i			i:		
		T	ε	^	α	ə	a	T	ε	^	α	ə	a	T	ε	^	T	ε	^
1	SX	.06	.06	0	0	0	0	.11	.08	0	0	0	.03	.21	.14	.07	.26	.18	.08
2	YAN	.05	0	0	0	0	0	.10	.10	0	0	0	0	.13	.10	.03	.30	.22	.08
3	SFC	0	0	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	0	0	0	.06	.06	0	.11	.07	.04
4	SMT	.02	.02	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.03	0
5	SBN	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.09	.09	0	0	0	0	.04	.04	0	.01	.01	0
6	SJT	.01	.01	0	0	0	0	.08	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.01	.01	0
7	SBT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	SAC	0	0	0	0	0	0	.05	.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	SCO	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.03	0	0	0	0	.04	.04	0	0	0	0
10	SMM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.03	0	.03	.03	0
11	SBC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.02	0	.02	.02	0
12	ATX	0	0	0	0	0	0	.04	.01	0	0	.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	SLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	.03	.01	0	0	.04	0	0	0	0	.01	.01	0
14	SLA	0	0	0	0	0	0	.05	.02	0	0	.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	NEP	.01	0	0	0	.01	0	.04	.02	0	0	.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	.02	.01	0	0	.01	0	0	0	0	.01	.01	0
17	STO	.02	.01	0	0	.01	0	.03	.02	0	0	.01	0	0	0	0	.01	.01	0
18	DA	0	0	0	0	0	0	.04	.01	0	0	.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE III

Familiar or intimate talk, *teihuializtli*, shows far less variation than the *tenohnotzaliztli* variety of speech and in this sense is more similar to the formal type of speech. Table III shows the rates of variation for the same 18 towns in the area. The differences between the data in table III and that of table I may well be due to the fact that in the communities of NEP, DA and SJT less than ten samples have been obtained in this speech variety. The restricted context of intrafamilial use makes samples of this variety very difficult to obtain. Most of the samples of this variety thus far obtained are the result of having family members interview each other when the author was not present. Some of the very low rates of occurrence may also be a result of the mode of analysis of our texts, as the analysis was done without the benefit of sophisticated acoustic equipment.

In all three varieties of speech samples have been taken from everyday conversations of widely differing lengths. The conversations took place between members of each of the 18 communities and three friends of the author who are native speakers of Nahuatl. The data in tables I, II and III is based on the speech of adult fluent speakers of Modern Aztec or Nahuatl as the language is also known. Younger speakers and semi-speakers⁶ show a far greater variation in their speech patterns than do adult fluent speakers. Graph I shows the rate of occurrence of *ɔ* for *e* for ten fluent adult speakers from the town of SX, 6 semi-speakers and five young people between the ages of 10 and 15. The semi-speakers ranged in age from 12–37 and since most of them were unable to even perform a simple translation task, they were played a section of a conversation from a local market and asked to repeat ten sentences. The young people were asked to play a game of buying and selling things in the market with one of the author's native speaker friends. The young people appear to attempt to use the correct *tenohnotzaliztli* variety of speech but either undercorrect or overcorrect whereas the semi-speakers, though the quality of *e* shows considerable variation in some cases, were not able to even approximate the overall speech patterns of their own community.



3 The ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation is based on three elemental folk designations that are Spanish loanwords. There also exists a set of native terms used to describe the phenomena involved in ethnolinguistic dialect differentiation but these terms remain semantically opaque. These terms can be used to describe modes of speaking as well as differences in speech patterns and represent value judgments concerning speech. For example *tlahtolmelawak* can refer to the rate of loanword incorporation in everyday speech in a particular community but also means 'to speak true words' and as such represents a value judgement as to the sincerity or truthfulness of a speaker. *Ahuelahtoa* refers to the quantitative rate of vowel variation of a particular community but also means 'to be unable to speak well'. It can in this sense refer to an inappropriate mode of discourse or be a value judgment about an individual's speech. For this reason the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation must be described in terms of the three loanwords that represent the elemental folk designations of the system at present.

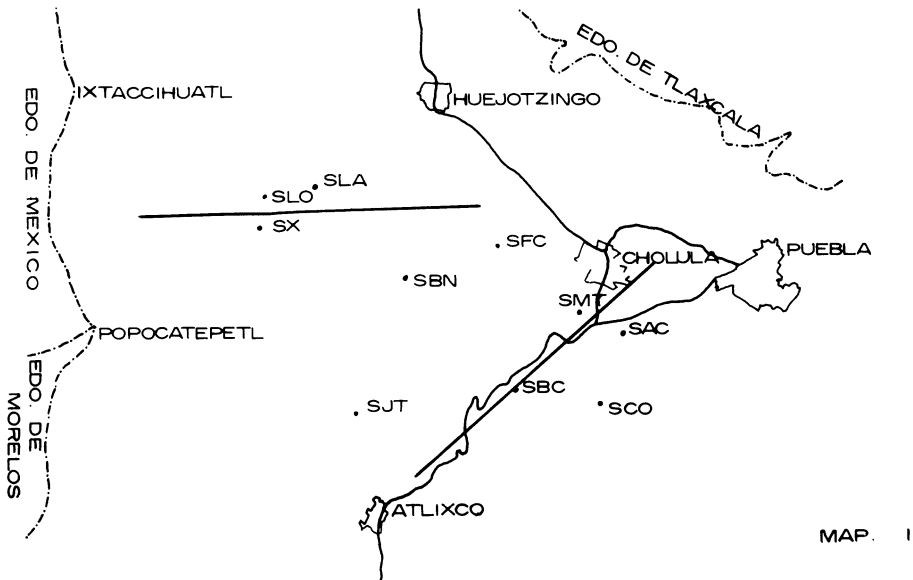
Tono is the most important designation of the system as all, towns in the area are said to differ by *tono*. This is an aggregate term that refers to the ordering and realization of prosodic rules (Knab, 1976), the perceived degree of quantitative and qualitative vowel variation (Knab, 1979) and certain lexical forms. When someone is said to speak with another *tono* it means that his speech bears distinctive patterns of pitch, stress, vowel quality or lexical use from ones own speech.

Distinto is the most transparent of the three terms and is used to describe the speech of ten towns in the area. The term refers to the quantitative degree of relexification characteristic of adult speech in a specific town (Knab, n.d.). When one speaks in a manner that is considered *distinto* it means that one speaks clearly or distinctly without a great deal of interference from hispanicisms. This is quite distinct from the term's meaning in Spanish where where it means 'different' and as such represents a reanalysis of the term by native speakers of Aztec. This reanalysis is more in accord with the notion in Aztec of the clarity of speech.

Diferente refers to the speech of but four towns in the area. The speech of these towns differs in the use, nonuse or incidence of use of specific morphological systems. To speak in a manner that is considered *diferente* means that an individual uses distinctive morphological devices in his speech or uses them in a perceptibly different manner or with a different frequency than in ones own speech.

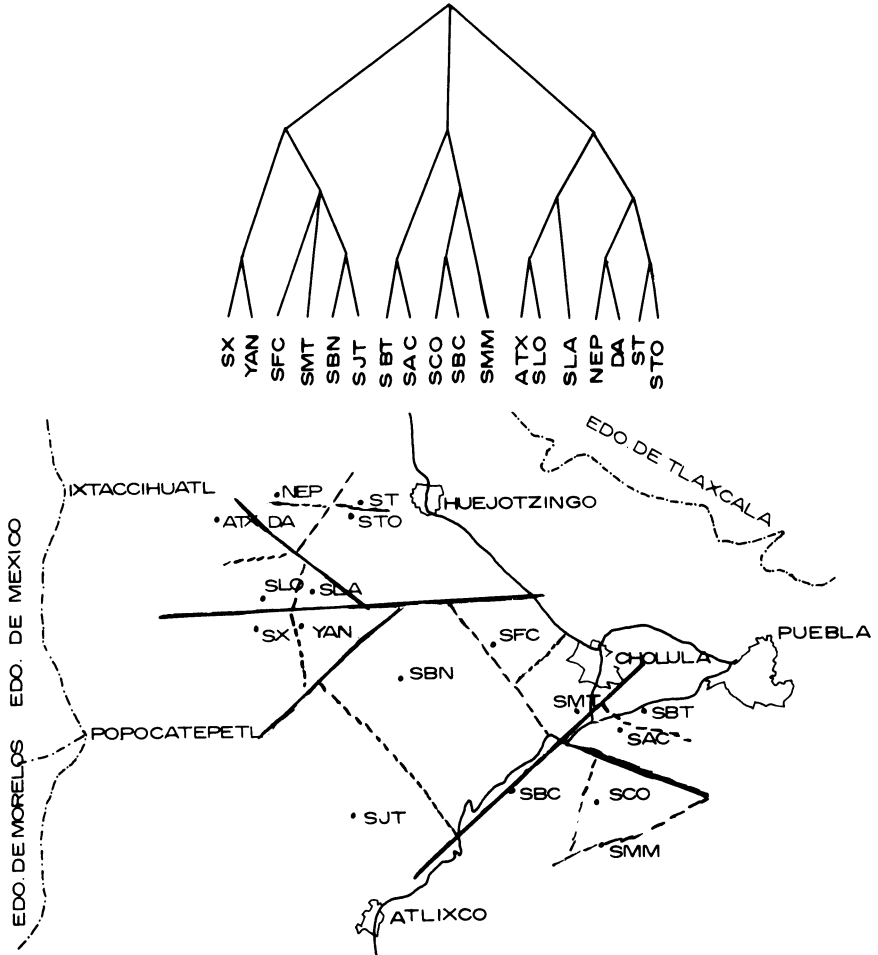
Ethnolinguistic dialect differentiation is based on differences perceived by native speakers in the *tenohnotzaliztli* variety of speech. Most native speakers can recognize almost no differences in either the formal or familiar varieties of speech within the area. To check the sensitivity of this ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation ten native speakers were asked to classify and identify the speech of 18 towns in this study. The classifications showed almost no variation among individuals from the same town and identifications were nearly always correct as to the town that a particular speech sample came from. The same ten native speakers were also asked to rank and to group the dialects of the 18 towns on the basis of each of the folk linguistic terms. This then served as a basis for mapping the ethnolinguistic patterns perceived by native speakers. Parodies of the speech of each town by a particularly adept native mimic made it possible to pin down the folk linguistic distinctions with concrete and quantifiable linguistic features of everyday language.

The term *distinto* labels the speech of ten towns in the region; SCO, SAC, SBC, SFC, SJT, SMT, SLO, SLA, SBN and SX. Rankings on the basis of the term *distinto* were found to correspond closely to loanword counts done on speech samples from fluent adult male speakers of Nahuatl. Adult male speakers from a given town show little variation in their use of loanwords in the *tenohnotzaliztli* variety of speech, i.e., in SAC for example there was no individual who varied by more than 7 loanwords per five hundred words in controled topic discourse from any other individual. Female speakers on the other hand have relatively fewer loanwords in their everyday speech but this is the only male/female difference that has thus far been found in the area. Towns that showed variation in the rankings, and no town varied by more than two positions, have very close rates of overall relexification. When native speakers were presented with the rankings based on loanword counts they unanimously found them appropriate to their intuition. Loanword frequencies however proved inadequate to account for groupings as the difference among the three stable groupings were barely perceptible, and in some cases amounted to no more than twenty loanwords per five hundred words of discourse. Differences in the use of particle loans did however prove the key to groupings. Map I shows the distribution of these groups in the area.



The two most straight forward aspects of the term *tono* are; 1) lexical use, such as the preference of the term *niuctli* over *octli* for pulque, a fermented beverage made from the juice of the maguey (*Agave sp.*) or century plant and the preference of the word *cihuatl* over *sohuatl* for 'woman', 2) the ordering and realization of prosodic rules which assign a rising-falling pitch to long accented vowels in some of the dialects in the area (Knab, 1976). These features account for the broad general groupings arrived at by native speakers and indicated by the heavy lines on Map II. Chart I shows more adequately the groupings and subgroupings arrived at by native speakers. Each of the nodes on Chart I can be labeled for a specific linguistic feature that allows native speakers to differentiate the group and in this case the three major groupings can be labeled for the above features.

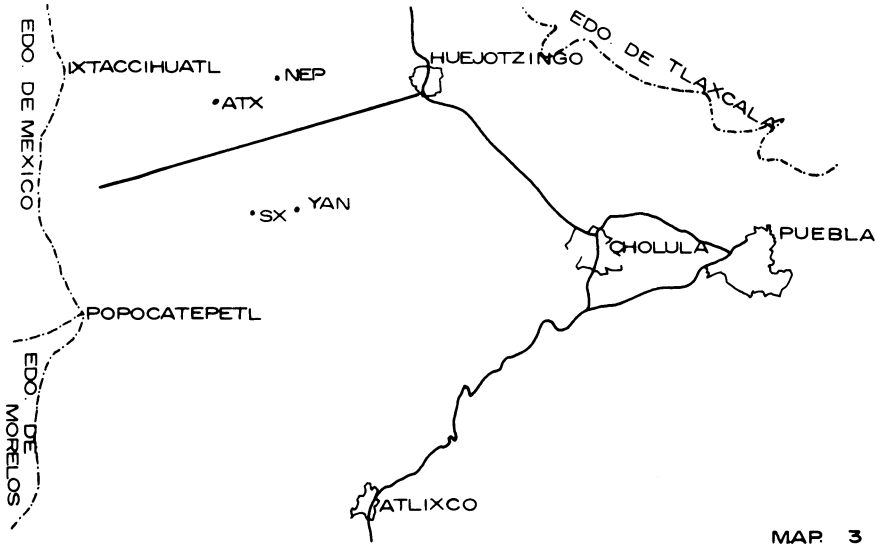
CHART I



The more subtle types of differentiation which account for the subgroupings in Chart I and on Map II rely on the overall quantitative rates of vowel variation and are weighted in terms of specific qualitative variants. In Table II the relative proportion as well as the type of variation also distinguishes the three major groups yet for the subgroupings it is the specific type of quantitative or qualitative variation that allows native speakers to differentiate each one of the dialects within the area.

Within the first group both SX and YAN are distinguished by the fact that e and e: can vary to a. In the second group SAC and SBT are distinguished from other members of the group by their very low rate of i and i: variation. In the third group SLO and ATX are distinguished by the low rate of occurrence of *as* as a variant of e as are the NEP and DA dialects. The two subgroups in this group are distinguished on the basis of distinct rates of the variation of a to e (not shown in Table II). Differentiation within the subgroups of the other two major groupings is likewise based on the quantitative rates of variation or the qualitative types of variation not shown in Table II. Nevertheless in this way each of the nodes on Chart I can be labeled for a specific type of variation, and it is exactly the type of variation that native mimics emphasized in their parodies of the speech patterns of each one of the communities that corresponds to the types of variation used to label the nodes on Chart I. The ethnolinguistic system is thus founded on concrete and quantifiable features of everyday speech patterns within the Valley that are weighted in terms of patterns perceived by native speakers in everyday language use. The weighting of the features employed in dialect differentiation does not appear to be arbitrary as in general the more marked qualitative variant of specific vowels are the features selected by native speakers as diagnostics whereas even relatively great changes in the quantitative rate of variation of unmarked vowels appear to be of lesser importance in differentiation.

The term *diferente* refers to the speech of but four communities in the area- ATX, NEP, SX and YAN. These are the only communities in the area that use the Aztec possessional system. The only division within this group that shows any degree of stability among the ten native speakers differentiated SX and YAN from ATX and NEP, this is apparently based on the optionality if the o-prefix in the formation of the preterite. Map III shows the distribution of these communities and the single stable division among them.



MAP 3

4 Perceived patterns in everyday language use in the Valley of Puebla are based on patterns of social, political and economic relationships that play a crucial role in everyday life in the Valley. In this sense patterns perceived in everyday language use define for native speakers the types of general relationships that are important in situations that are neither implicitly nor explicitly defined in everyday exchanges. The importance of such a system in the everyday lives of people in the Valley who have been for the most part up to the beginning of this century agriculturalists (Bonfil, 1973), with a complex set of social, religious and economic interrelationships, cannot be underestimated. Simply the regularity of the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation among ten native

speakers and the fact that native speakers can differentiate dialects in such a subtle manner serves to illustrate the importance for people of being able to distinguish each town's linguistic identity. This in turn reinforces ethnic boundaries by defining social, political and economic interrelationships among communities in terms of each town's own particular linguistic identity. The social, political and economic relationships that are reflected through the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation, though they are the result of interdependent diachronic processes, are perhaps best viewed individually.

The developmental process resulting in the modern political divisions within the Valley shows a striking similarity to the groupings and subgroupings of the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation. At the time of the Spanish Conquest there were three polities within the Valley of Puebla; the Cholanteca and the Huejotzintleca were allied with the Aztec empire and the fiercely independent Tlaxcalteca, north of the area under study, formed a separate and independent state within the Valley. With the Spanish Conquest the Tlaxcalteca who had allied themselves with the Spanish settled the eastern communities of the region under study (Nolasco, 1967). The resulting divisions of the area correspond to the divisions based in the three major ethnolinguistic groupings. The area around Calpan including the communities of SLA, SLO and ATX was claimed by both Cholula and Huijotzingo (Nolasco, 1967:70). In the eighteenth century both SJT and SBN pertained to Atlixco for a short period of time (AGN, I;VII:138). Within the Cholantecan group SX and YAN have traditionally pertained to the same subunit of the system, the municipality of San Nicolás de los Ranchos, with SFC and SMT being separate subunits of the Cholanteca system. Within the Eastern or Tlaxcaltecan group SCO, SBC and SMM, though pertaining politically to the Cholantecan polity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as did all the Tlaxcaltecan towns, broke off forming an independent polity late in the seventeenth century (Nolasco, 1967:71), whereas both SAC and SBT apparently pertained to the same political subunit (AGN, T;IX:44). Thus within the Cholantecan group (SX, YAN, SFC, SMT, SBN and SJT) the first subgroup corresponds to dependent and independent municipalities. The second to the historical alignment of SBN and SJT with Atlixco and the third to the further differentiation of existing subgroups. Within the Eastern or Tlaxcaltecan group the first subgrouping corresponds to the separation of SCO, SBC and SMM from the Cholantecan polity. The subsequent divisions correspond to political or territorial subunits within the area. Within the Huejotzincan group the first subgroupings correspond to traditional territories and disputed territories of the Huejotzintecan polity. The second subgroup corresponds to dependent and independent subunits of the system which is followed by further subdivision. In this way all of the ethnolinguistic groups can be seen to reflect the development of present day political divisions within the area, but since none of these systems of interrelationships is in fact completely independent of other factors in the area, the ethnolinguistic groups also reflect in a similar manner such things as economic patterns in the area as they are reflected in market patterns.

There are basically three traditional market centers within this region; Cholula, Atlixco and Huejotzingo, in addition to the city of Puebla itself which participates directly in the national economy⁷ and is more a Spanish speaking economic center than other more traditional market towns. Though the three traditional market centers could be seen as a part of the larger Puebla system, since they participate more and more directly in the national economy as a result of increasing penetration and rapid economic development, it is perhaps better to view them as a separate system that feeds into both the Puebla system and the national economy. People from communities in the Tlaxcaltecan group regularly trade in the Cholula, Puebla and Atlixco markets but express a preference for the Puebla or Atlixco markets and in fact attend the Atlixco market with almost twice the frequency that they attend other markets. The Atlixco market, it should be noted, attracts many Tlaxcaltecan as far away as the state of Tlaxcala itself. People from communities in the first subgroup (SBC, SCO and SMM) attend the Atlixco market with far more regularity, many of them attend on a weekly basis, than do those of SBT or SAC who, due to the availability of easy transportation to Puebla and Cholula, go to the Atlixco market somewhat less regularly. Here it should be noted that the structure of transportation routes in the area is an important factor in determining which markets are attended. The transportation system in the area is as much a result of political and economic factors as it is a result of geographic ones. For example most towns in the Cholantecan area are connected by roads and bus routes leading directly to Cholula whereas people from Huejotzincan communities must transfer one or more times in order to attend other markets in the area. The same is true for people in most of the communities in the Tlaxcaltecan area. Puebla is in fact

throughout the area the central hub of the transportation network, thus making Puebla the most important overall market center in the area. Within the Cholantecan area Cholula is by far the preferred market town. Only people from the communities of SJT and SBN attend the Atlitxco market with any degree of regularity and it should be noted that both communities pertain to the same subsystem centered in SBN. SX and YAN in this group also participate in the same subsystem of the Cholula market system centered in San Nicolás de los Ranchos and that because of their distance from Cholula people from SX and YAN attend the Cholula market somewhat less regularly than do people from other towns in the area. People from the communities in the Huejotzincan group regularly trade in the Huejotzingo market but also attend the markets in Puebla and San Martín Texmelucan with some regularity. People from the Huejotzincan towns also attend the Cholula market but without any degree of regularity. People from these communities attend the Huejotzingo market more regularly than any other but prefer the Puebla market. In the first subgroup (SLA, SLO and ATX) people attend the Huejotzingo market with less regularity, due to transportation than do people from NEP, DA, STO or ST. People from SLA, SLO and ATX all participate in the same subsystem of the Huejotzingo market centered in Calpan and people from SLO and ATX attend other markets in general with less frequency than that of Calpan. People from ST and STO attend the Huejotzingo market on an almost religious weekly basis, whereas those of DA and NEP attend less regularly. The market system thus reflects the ethnolinguistic groupings and subgroupings in terms of market attendance and market preference, and in terms of the market systems with their subsystems within the area.

Social interrelationships in the area have in general been given far less attention than they deserve. Bonfil's (1973) excellent work on the center of Cholula itself and Olivera's (1972) work on religious systems give an important insight into the interrelationships within the area, but unfortunately no more. Such things as ethnic identification and group solidarity are far more difficult to quantify than market patterns or political systems. There is thus unfortunately no sound basis aside from the ethnohistorical polities in the area on which to base social groupings in the area. Mercedes Olivera's work in SBT (1967) and her as yet unpublished work in SFC may eventually provide a sound basis for social groupings based on social or religious organization within the area if they do in fact show general patterns. Despite the lack of a basis for general social groupings in the area there are some types of social patterns in the area that do reflect the most specific subgroupings. These are based on marriage ties and ties of *compadrazgo* among communities. Patterns of attendance at religious festivals for a town's patron saint or other religious festivals, dances or pilgrimages may also prove useful in defining larger social groupings but need more study. Ties of both marriage and ritual kinship are for example far stronger between SX and YAN than with any other towns. People from SBN also look to people from SJT for *compadres* before any other town. People interviewed from SBN had more out of town *compadres* from SAC than from any other place but Puebla which may be due to migration patterns. There also appears to be some degree of intermarriage among these two towns. Such patterns in the Huejotzincan group are however less straight forward than in the other areas as people from ATX for example prefer out of town *compadres* from SLA. There is also a small amount of intermarriage reported among people from NEP and ST. Such patterns do not fit the patterns of the ethnolinguistic subgroups but do though need further study. Though social relationships among communities in the area are far more nebulous than either political or economic patterns, it does nevertheless appear that such factors as ethnic identification and community solidarity can account for the major groupings of the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation and that patterns of social and religious organization as well as attendance at intercommunity functions such as festivals for patron saints, may in the end provide an adequate basis for defining the subgroupings. Nevertheless ties of *compadrazgo* and intermarriage among people from distinct communities do provide an adequate basis for the most specific subgroupings. Though social interrelationships among communities are less well defined than political or economic systems, since all three factors together with others in reality make up the fabric of everyday life for people living in the communities of the area, their role in the everyday interrelationships among people in the Valley is undeniable.

5 Recognizing patterns in everyday language use in the Valley of Puebla and using the proper variety of speech in the appropriate situation is essential not only for linguistic competence but for any type of adequate meaningful social exchange. In patterns of everyday language use in social situations where the relationships of the participants are either implicitly or explicitly defined, it is not necessary to indicate linguistically ones social identity. Yet where social relationships are defined in terms of general intercommunity relationships of mutual interdependence in the Valley a variety of

speech is required that linguistically indicates the identity of each participant in the exchange as coming from a specific community. This not only reiterates ethnic boundaries in the area by allowing participants in an exchange to identify each other in terms of intercommunity patterns of mutual interdependence that are important in the everyday lives of people living in the Valley, but helps maintain the equilibrium, established over the centuries, in everyday relations among communities in the area. Such a system that weaves together the threads of language and society in the fabric of everyday life is obviously the result of long term relations of interdependence among people living in sedentary agricultural communities for centuries in the Valley. And despite the fact that it is rapidly disappearing along with Modern Aztec (Knab and Hasson de Knab, 1979, n.d.), the system of ethnolinguistic dialect differentiation still shows great regularity among native speakers of Modern Aztec living in the Valley. Unfortunately though, given the rapid rate of language loss in the area and socioeconomic change, especially within the last ten years, the system has lost its functional utility among the vast majority of the inhabitants of the area and remains as but a relic, that is rapidly giving way to 'progress'.

The regularity observed in the ethnolinguistic system of dialect differentiation correctly implies that the system is based on concrete and quantifiable linguistic features, though they are not the features that would be chosen by the areal linguist or dialectologist. The system is in fact based on features perceived in everyday language use by speakers of Modern Aztec and weighted in terms of social, political and economic interrelationships among the communities of the area that are important in their everyday lives. Native speaker dialect differentiation in this case is far more subtle than areal linguistic studies or dialectologies, and despite the fact that the area does, on the basis of both formal and intimate varieties of speech, represent a single cohesive dialect area, native speakers do not perceive it as such. Native speakers in fact perceive the diversity in everyday speech that defines patterns of relations among communities in the area that are essential for everyday life of the people in the Valley. Everyday language use in the Valley of Puebla at least, defines the relationships among people that are essential in their everyday lives.

NOTES

- 1) This work was originally begun under a small grant from the American Philosophical Society's Phillips Fund in 1974 and continued under a N.E.H. youthgrant in 1976. Since 1978 this work has been carried out under the auspices of the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas of the U.N.A.M. with the constant encouragement and support of Dr. Jaime Litvak King the director of the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas.
- 2) Yolanda Lastra de Suarez(1974, 1975) and Fernando Horcacitas(1976, 1977, 1978) are in the process of conducting a full survey of Modern Aztec, or Nahuatl, dialects in Mexico and it is to both of them that this study owes much from its inception as a complement to their work.
- 3) The orthography used here is an adaptation of the orthography used for Classic Aztec since the sixteenth century.
- 4) The use of Modern Aztec in Public events in the Valley of Puebla is today extremely limited, as in general the language functions almost exclusively as a household language in the area. As little as twenty years ago Modern Aztec was the language of most public speeches in a number of communities but due to the process of language loss in the area fewer and fewer people can understand or use the language, thus its use is more and more limited every year.
- 5) This material has been selected from 368 interviews thus far conducted in the area but due to the process of language loss or the unavailability of a sufficient number of speech samples in all three varieties of speech from a single individual, much of this corpus was of limited use.
- 6) Semi-speakers are individuals with a limited productive capacity in a language who usually have a somewhat greater receptive capacity in the language.
- 7) My understanding of the market systems in this area is for the most part due to many enlightening conversations with Edward Gardner whose knowledge of markets and marketing in this area far exceeds my own. Mr. Gardener is of course in no way responsible for my interpretation of market systems in the area or any of my errors concerning markets and marketing.

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