

Some Aspects of Social Structure of a Mayayucatecan Catholic Community, Mani

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The aim of this paper is to describe and clarify several aspects of religio-cultural integration of a small Catholic community, Mani, in terms of social structure.

The study focus is on the concrete description and analysis of responses to two photos and Story Questions to describe the degree to which *pudz* is a social fact and clarify a specific way of thought of people in Mani about *pudz*. The main findings are as follows.

The scene that a young couple are talking at the front door of yard is interpreted as an occasion to *pudz*. Consequently the family members, especially parents, have to deal with this situation with great care and intension, keeping in mind the great possibility of *pudz*. This sort of watching or precaution is regarded as parents' duty and right as well. Reflections of people in Mani on *pudz* center around feelings of regret or guilt.

The theme of the third day punishment of *pudz* is parents' beating. A photo connoting beating is used to analyze the responses to the beating. The result was that the photo is interpreted as a scene of Father's beating his son and that children's disobedience or stubbornness to parents is the main reason for beating. Concerning parents' beating children, there is a tendency to positive attitude to beating for sound development of children.

Key Words : social structure, family structure, *pudz*, beating, Catholic culture,

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Introduction

Religion is to be studied in terms of not only religious doctrines or rituals but also a socio-cultural integration viewpoint. A religion can exist only in the form of socio-cultural integration.

The aim of this paper is to describe and clarify several aspects of religio-cultural integration of a small Catholic community, Mani.

1 *pudz*

Our investigation in a Mayayucatecan Catholic community, Mani in Yucatan, Mexico¹, shows that *pudz* occurs with surprising frequency in 62% to 66% of all marriage cases. *Pudz*, elopement, is called *escapar* or *escapo* in Spanish. The word *pudz* or *escapo* is very familiar to almost all people in Mani and there has been a traditional song in Maya kept in Mani and based upon the song a musical drama of *pudz* was composed and have often been played by the people in Mani.

There is no need for the people of Mani to declare it, but most people can tell who did *pudz* with so and so. Such exact living memories are to be derived from the fact that *pudz*s have been done only within the small community of Mani, which has a population of nearly 5000.

For our investigation, out of 300 families 56 were selected out through a sampling process. To those informants who told us of their *pudz*, we further inquired if their parents and siblings did *pudz* or not. According to the results, the former shows 62% (67/107) and the latter 51% (280/553). All family members of a ministro, *sexton*, did *pudz*.

Pudz is so familiar to them that they can even predict it. Our data no. 22 shows that the

A road to Mani from Merida



An approach to Mani



The slash-and-burn cultivation in Mani



A corn field in Mani



parents, when they perceived their daughter to do *pudz*, asked her not to do so for them. They can tell when young people are about to do *pudz* judging from the way they walk together and the way she was dressed and so on. For instance, they say that the young couple are sure to do *pudz* when she does not wear *reboso* (a Mayan black shawl worn with their *hipil*, Mayan traditional dress), for it has become the custom for women to leave her *reboso* in this case. A young couple were caught in the act of *pudz* and beat by her brother (data no. 24)

The expression that '*pudz*s go on until seven (*pudz siega hasta siete*)' has come into common use in Mani. Once someone does *pudz*, then another six *pudz*s will follow on and on before it comes to an end. The phrase can be one evidence out of many to show the frequency of *pudz*. One discovery of our investigation was that 18% of all *pudz*s were done on the occasion of a dance during the festival. It is generally admitted that the festival, especially the festival for Virgen Asunción in August, is a good chance for *pudz*. One young peasant said, '5 of 6 *pudz*s were done the year before last, and 7 or eight last year'. A festivals is an occasion for several *pudz*s in Mani. During one-month stay, the present author was informed of 5 cases of *pudz* in Mani.

Pudz is, as has been described above, a fact with which all the people in Mani are familiar and its frequency is quite high.

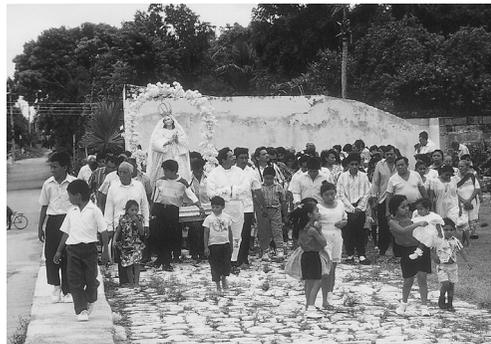
Pudz is one of the social phenomena in Mani which suggest the following several specific aspects of ritual process. As noted earlier, *pudz* includes ①the man's offering of *pudz* to the woman and fixing the time and place for it, ②the appointed meeting in the evening near her house, ③runaway from the woman's house to the man's house, ④a stereotyped greeting at the door: 'I am back but not alone. I am with my lover.' and numerous exchanges of views between the couple and his parents, ⑤admittance of the couple by his parents, ⑥the immediate contact and the meeting between the both sides, ⑦the reaction of the woman's

parents, usually including the request to: 'let them get married as soon as possible' 'let them come over again on the third day for the punishment', ⑧the punishment on the third day (12 beatings with a rope of 6 knots) followed by acceptance, advice, and arrangement of marriage by the both sides, ⑨the small party for their marriage among family members.

Here we turn to the task of attempting to analyse how this ritual process of *pudz* is significantly correlated to the frequency of *pudz*.

2 *compadrazgo* and *padrinazgo*

Virgen Asunción in Mani



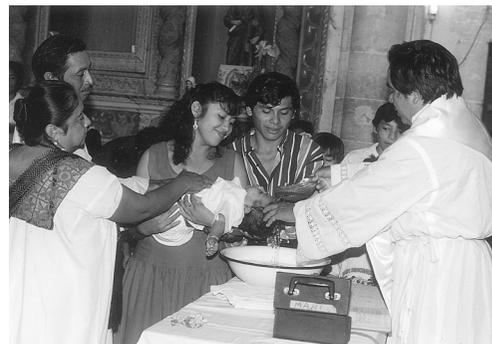
A *Corrida* (bullfight) in Mani



One family in Mani



A baptism for a child with god parents



In Mani ritual kinship (*compadrazgo* and *padrinazgo*) as the institution is the most widespread intimate spiritual social relationship, into which a man or a woman may enter on such occasions of contracting the main sacraments of the Catholic church as *ocja* (Mayan baptism), baptism, confirmation, *primera comunión*, 15-year-old ceremony and marriage².

An extensive and complex network of ritual kinship encircles all the Catholic in Mani,

rendering many-sided economic and educational reciprocal assistances. The system of ritual kinship relation has supported diversified aspects of everyday life of all the Catholic in Mani where the physical and ecological conditions are extremely severe and almost all families are composed of seven children on the average, which could be a restricted social factor of a destitute living environment.

The results of our investigation show: (1)an observable inclination to establish important ritual relationships with kinsmen including paternal sides as well as maternal ones. (2)that the kinship in this world overlaps with the ritual kinship in the next world. (3)that the ritual kinship integrates socially such dissociative families as the first marriage family and the second marriage family. (4)that the ritual kinship integrates their friends and acquaintances into a sacred social family relationships. (5)that the ritual kinship throws them into an emotional and passionate spiritual integration.

One of the vital functions of ritual kinship is to initiate the small children into a Catholic community and it is the duty of god parents to encourage their godchild to live a decent life.

The ritual kinship also functions as a supplementary social institution to nuclear families. It improves the tense relation between the family members and serves as a role model of Catholic virtue. Family problems are reduced in extent and importance by the ritually established authority which presents an ideal example to children.

In the *compadres-compadres* dyad, such socioeconomic assistances or obligations as financial aid for land purchase, educational expenses, daily necessities, rituals in the life cycles, and debts are fulfilled as far as practicable, and those moral or philosophical supports which include gratuitous donation of land and clothes, sincere admonition for the settlement of family problems, full instructions and warnings to questions of marriage and married life, family life, alcoholism, and juvenile delinquency are as well pledged to be put into practice.

Compadrazgo is a relationship that is established between two individuals, couples, or a fixed number of related people (kinsmen and nonkinsmen) through the link of a person, image, object, or occasion. *Compadrazgo* relationship is considered sacred, which forces the people to construct the axis of social relationship in terms of respect and confidence. The establishment of such ritual coparenthood involves following several patterns of behaviours : (1)the *ahijados* and his parents should present their compliments (*tzic*) before the *padrinos* do. (2)*Ahijados* should pay a visit to the *padrinos* with *primicia*, the first harvest of the season. (3)*Ahijados* ,their parents and the *padrinos* should call each other not by name but address each other as *compadre* or *comadre*. (4)*Ahijados* and their parents should use the term *usted* instead of *tú* and should not talk with undue familiarity. (5)*Ahijados* and his parents should not

talk about nasty and dirty topics. (6) *Ahijados* and his parents should dress themselves up when they visit their *compadres*. (7) *Ahijados* and his parents should be obedient to their *compadres* and should not talk back to them. (8) *Ahijados* and his parents should not get dead drunk. These specifically patternized social behaviours resting on respect and reliance, reciprocally but not exactly symmetrically, preserve due equilibrium with *padrinos*' or *compadres*' religious and socioeconomic support to *ahijados* and their parents.

I Method

1 Photos and Story Questions (*cuento*)

For our investigation, two semantic photos (Photo III and Photo IV) are used. Subjects are 93. In Mexico, Prof. Nobukiyo Nomura (1988), Erich Fromm (1970), Oscar Lewis (1972) used this semantic photo method.³ Ours is different from these preceding studies in that we do not include depth psychological analysis. The references to Photo III and Photo IV are applied to complement the data collected by other methods in our investigation.

Story Questions Method is also used for the same purpose but depth psychological analysis is not included in our investigation either.

2 Photo III and Photo IV and Story Questions

Color Photo III and Photo IV describe one of the typical Mayan everyday lives. These photos are taken by the present author in a Mayan community, Tekax where Mayan people are living under the same conditions as in Mani but they are not acquainted with each other.

Photo III

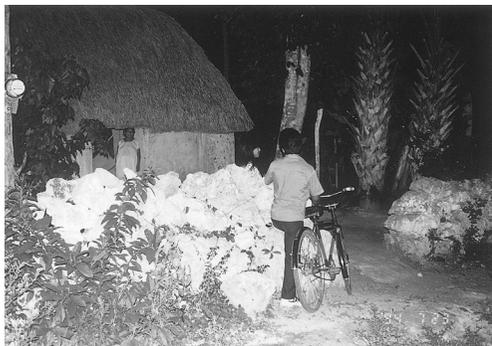


Photo IV



Each subject is presented Photo III and Photo IV separately and asked to tell whatever comes to his or her mind. The time limit is not set.

Story Questions Method is the application of Erich Fromm (1970) to our investigation. For our study focus, the contents are restricted to *pudz* only.

The procedure is as follows. First, a photo of happy home circle is presented to a subject. Second, the following Story is read aloud to a subject. Third, a subject is asked to tell whatever comes to his or her mind. No time limit is set.

"A son of this family did *pudz* with a girl whose parents did not approve of their daughter's marriage to the boy. So he had to live in a very far community from their parents."

"*Un muchacho de esta familia se escapo con una muchacha que sus padres desaprobaban y tuvo que irse a vivir muy lejos de la población endonde viven sus padres*"

Photo V



II Responses to Photo III

1 The young couple at the door

The scene is described by all the subjects as "talking" and the two are lovers (*novio* and *novia*).⁴ (M3:6:7:9; P1:3:6:8:9) In Mani, especially in the evening, the scene is quite an everyday affair. Mayan houses, as the Photo shows, are so constructed that a small wooden front door is made at the point in their house and lot (*solar*) along the road. A young man (*novio*) comes to the front door to have a talk with the girl (*novia*) living there. This custom needs the girl's parents' prior approval.⁵ Against the background of this custom the following references are

made; "They are a pair of lovers, and so they are talking." (M9) "A pair of lovers are talking. The two are courting." (M3) "They are talking about their life in the future." (M1)

2 The woman in the yard

"She is keeping an eye on her daughter so that her daughter may not do *pudz*" is typical of the references to the woman in the yard.

- ① "Mama waits while her daughter is talking with him, and stays there until he leaves, for Mama is afraid that he will take her daughter" (M1). "Mama is on her guard against her daughter's *pudz*" (M8)
- ② "Mother stays there so that they will not do *pudz*" (M2) "Mother is keeping an eye on the two" (M5)
- ③ "Mama is watching the two. For, he is taking her daughter away before they get married" (M4)
- ④ "For the man is her daughter's lover, the woman is watching her daughter at a distance. Most probably the woman is worried that the man is offering her daughter *pudz*. Out of the mothering love and intuition (*un sentido de madre*) that Mother protects her children from every harm possible, she is watching her daughter. The woman has a feeling that the two are going to do *pudz*." (P5)
- ⑤ "For Mother knows fully that her daughter will do *pudz* with the young man, which is an unwise act. She is keeping a close eye on her daughter, because she is the only daughter and Mother wishes for the happiness of her only daughter." (P6)

In Mani, it is alleged that they have to watch their daughters against *pudz*, "because the two are a pair of lovers," or "because the two are not yet married." If not, the two are to do *pudz* or the man will take her away.

That sort of precaution or guard is regarded as "parents' duty" and "parents' right."

- ⑥ "Mother takes great care of her daughter. It's her duty. It's her responsibility for her daughter not to do *pudz*." (M7)
- ⑦ "It's Mother's duty to take care of daughters. But even if I am very careful for my daughters, daughters are taken away by *pudz*." (M3)
- ⑧ "The lady is careful that her daughter does not go for *pudz*. Even they are allowed to have a talk like this, they often do *pudz*. The two do not seem to be allowed to talk like

this, so more attention should be paid to them." (M9)

- ⑨ "Mother is watching her daughter. Because Mother knows that she has a responsibility (*responsibilidad*) for her daughter. If Mother does not watch her daughter, the daughter does *pudz*, so that Father will scold the daughter severely and he will beat her. This makes her go out of the house to watch her daughter while the daughter is talking with her boy friend." (M11)
- ⑩ "Mother is watching the two and is sure that they do not go for a wrongdoing, *pudz* (*vigilando por el bien de la pareja*). Mother finds it best for her daughter, for Mother has enough experience in life and mother loves her daughter." (M8)
- ⑪ "Mother is watching the two against *pudz*. Mother should behave like this. It's Mother's right (*derecho*) to be very careful for her daughter not to do *pudz*, for if Mother is not very careful for her daughter she is taken away (*llevar*) by the man. If this is the case, some arguments and fights (*pleitos*) are caused every so often, so that daughters will live away separated from her house." (M12)
- ⑫ "The lady watching the two, so that the man becomes aware that she stays vigilant against his abuses (*abusar*). This keeps the man from doing something wrong or immoral (*comportamiento inmoral*) To lead a moral life means a great deal to the lady. The lady does not like her daughter to be spoken ill of her for immoral behaviour." (P8)

Such care, watch, precaution as described above are parents' love for their daughters. They are done for their daughters and for their peaceful family life. For all that, *pudz* is done at frequent intervals.

III Responses to Photo IV

1 Beating

Photo IV is described as the scene of Father's beating (*pegar*) or punishment (*castigar*).⁶

- ① "Father beat his son. Father is still scolding, so the son is taking that posture." (P1)
- ② "Father must have beaten his son.···" (P4)
- ③ "Father must beat his son because the son did something wrong." (P6)
- ④ "The child is crying because he is punished or beaten." (E6)
- ⑤ "All the family gathered together to see what the son is doing after he was beaten by Father" (E9)

⑥"They are sure that Father will beat his son again, so they stay there to see it." (P1)

The main reasons they give for Father's beating are, as the following cases show, defiant disobedience (*desobedesio*) or sheer stubbornness (*terco*) to parents.

⑦"Because he does not work hard." (P2) "Because he is not obedient to parents" (P3)

⑧"The son is to be punished because he is disobedient (*desobedesio*) to Father." (P7)

⑨"Because the son is very stubborn to Father or he does not do what Father told him to." (P9) "Because the son does not obey his parent, Father is scolding and punishing him." (E1)

⑩"All family members are carefully looking at the boy who gets his own way. The son asked Father some money for sweets, but Father did not grant the request. This made the son force his own way, which led to Father's punishment." (P12)

⑪"The son in the photo is crying because Father punished him. The son did not do what Father told him to or the work Father ordered him to finish, so Father scolded him." (E2)

⑫"Because the child is so stubborn (*terco*) or he fell down, Father is telling him to stop crying or saying to him that he will punish the child." (E3)

⑬"The child is disobedient to Father. Probably the child was told to take care of his younger brother but he did not follow it. The child is stubborn, so parents may tell him what to do. But the child has never done it, so Father gets fed up with his son's behavior. This makes Father beat the son. Father beat the son in order to let him do what he ordered to. Poor the child, he started crying because he was beaten by father." (E5)

⑭"Father beat the son because the son did not do what Father told him to. Father is saying that he will scold the son much more severely if the son goes on like this." (E7)

As well as disobedience and sheer stubbornness to parents, "fights" (P1) (P4) (P10) or "mischiefs" (P5) (P6) (E4) are given to describe the scene.

2 References to Mother

As far as Photo IV is concerned, it is a noteworthy fact that there are relatively a large number of references to Mother found in their responses. Those references are related with Father's punishment or beating but the contents differ from those which are described concerning beating or punishment from Fathers' standpoint. The main core of Mother's

mental attitude shown in the references is, as the following cases show, that Mother feels sad each time the children are beaten or punished by Father.

①"Mother feels sad to see Father punishing the child." (P2)

②"Mother feels sorry for her son who regrets his disobedience to parents." (P3)

③"Mother is grieved (*duele*) to beat her child. For Mother is always grieved to see her child beaten. But this is not the case with Father. Father does not feel pity for his children when they are beaten. The point is how Father feels when he beats his children. It is anger that drives Father to beat his children." (P4)

④"Mother is thinking about Father's beating the son. She feels sad for it." (P5)

⑤"Mother feels grieved (*dolio*) because Father beats his son. Mother is saying to her son that he should not do such a thing again and that Mother feels grieved when Father beats him, and vice versa." (P9)

⑥"Mother is sorry she cannot do anything for her son. Mother is just staying there to see what is going on, for her son is disobedient to Father." (E1)

⑦"Mother thinks it wrong for Father to beat his son. Mother feels displeased with Father for beating his son, for she finds it good to advise children what to do before parents beat their children who do not follow their advice." (E6)

These responses show that mothers feel grieved more than fathers when sons or daughters are beaten and the latter part of case ⑦ shows displeasure at Father's beating his son.

But along with this sort of grief and sorrow, some apprehensions that children do not grow up to be a man if they are not beaten when necessary. Complicated feelings of grief and displeasure at beating children are expressed through responses to Mother in Photo IV.

⑧"Mother feels sorry (*lastima*) for the child. If not, I think it good for the child to be punished like this, because children will be stubborn and obstinate if they are not punished." (P7)

Some responses about Mother's mixed feelings include positive references to beating children.

⑨"Mother finds it necessary for Father to beat the son, because beating the son will teach him a deep respect or fear (*miedo*) for something great, so that he will not disobey

(*desobedecer*) parents." (P6)

⑩"The man is doing what Father should fulfill (*ejerciendo como un padre*), for his duty as Father is to discipline his children and to punish them if necessary." (P8)

⑪"Mother agrees with Father on beating children, for beating children is a kind of favor (*favor*) for them. Mother does not feel bad in any way but she gives moral support to him in terms of parental discipline." (P8)

⑫"Mother finds it wrong for her son to force his own way, for that attitude is not expected of him. In this case, parents should advise him not to do so, and show him how to behave. This way of discipline enables him to grow up to be a respectable person." (P12)

⑬"Mother came out to find her son crying. Father is telling him to obey his order (*ordena*) and not to do again what he did" (E3)

The above-mentioned cases show that beating or punishing children is "a kind of favor (*favor*) for them" and "a duty as Father." If parents neglect this duty, for his duty as Father is to discipline his children and to punish them if necessary, "children will not acquire a deep respect or fear (*miedo*) for something great, so that he will not disobey (*desobedecer*) parents." (P6)

In order "for children to change into a respectable person," parents scold, punish, beat them to show them how to behave.

The following responses to beating children show delicate differences in meaning found between Father and Mother.

⑭"It is Father's duty to give a small (*pequeno*) punishment to the son. This keeps the son from doing something wrong. Mother feels grieved (*dolio*), but it is necessary to show an example (*ejemplo*) to the other children." (P12)

Concerning Mother's complicated feelings, there are several responses found from the viewpoint that Mother's attitude influences Father's beating children to some degree.

⑮"Mother feels grieved but she cannot say anything about Father's beating children. If she says something negative about it, he may this time beat her in the full belief that she takes son's side." (P11)

⑯"Mother responds in this way to her son who is beaten by Father, because Father is sure

to get more and more indignant if she shows straight forwardly her feelings. Mother is wondering why her son responds like this, for this way of expressing feelings to parents makes Father get more and more indignant." (E2)

⑰"Mother takes it good for Father to punish (*castigar*) his son so that the son will lead to be obedient to parents and do Father's orders. At the same time, Mother is considering how she can complain (*reclamar*) to her husband about beating children. Her husband has a number of affairs and so he gets into the bad habit of beating children, which drives him to beat her son this time." (E7)

This kind of complicated feelings of Mother is one of the distinguishing features in references to the following sample story (*cuento*)

IV Responses to Story Questions (*cuento*)

Our story goes "A son did *pudz* with his lover (*novia*). Father did not allow them to get married. The couple had to live separated away from their parents."

The method of interview was described specifically in I Method.

About half of the responses to Story Questions are for *pudz* and half are against *pudz*.

①"It is not good for the couple to live away from home. Even if parents do not allow them to get married, they should not leave their house to live somewhere else. For parents must bring up their children. The couple must feel sorry for what they did themselves. Father must repent what he did to his son. This could happen to Mother. Mother feels grieved (*dolorosa*) and sad (*triste*)." (P4)

②"Parents should allow their marriage, because the son loves her. Father should not have rejected their marriage. Father must feel grieved for not accepting their marriage. The couple have gone far away from home. In due course the young couple are sure to be sorry for *pudz*. They will come back home. Father will accept them.

Father now regrets what he did. Mother opposed what her husband did or her son's *pudz*. Mother always suffers (*sufre*) from these family troubles." (P10)

③"It is wrong for the couple to live far away from home. Though parents dislike them, they are family members. The parents must have accepted them if the young couple had asked them over again and again. Then the young couple could have stayed with the parents. If

they do not have enough food, they can manage to share it for their happy life. Father is grieved when his son stays away from home. Mother feels grieved much more than Father, for Mother is on good everyday terms (*acostumbra*) with their children. Mother started grieved when her son left home, for she was not sure that they were able to afford food or clothing." (P11)

④"The parents and the couple are both responsible for the separation, because it is wrong for Father not to accept their offer and the couple should not leave their house to stay away. Children are obliged to help seniors with their work.

Father does not agree with them to live separated from each other. Father thinks that way, though he may say that he himself is not sorry for it while he is living separated from his son. Mother feels sad (*triste*) at each mealtime." (P12)

⑤"I think it good for the couple to start their new life separated from their parents. For parents sometimes interfere with their children's matters and get them involved in a great deal of trouble. Probably God may bless the couple so that they can manage to live a happy life together. It is quite common for the couple to live separated from their parents instead of following their parents' decision. Though the parents feel grieved at living separated from each other, almost all people in Mani are living that way. This way of living is generally accepted here and is natural (*es natural ya que todos lo hacemos*). Even our parents also did *pudz* to start their life under the circumstances existing at the time.

No wonder that their children, son or daughter, follow it. Parents should consent (*consentir*) to their marriage, accept it and help their children when they are at a loss.

To my mind Father is so egoistic that he forgets how he got married. He fell in love with a girl and he started his new life with her because his parents did not oppose their marriage. Father wanted to choose a bride for his son." (E1)

Main reflections of family members on the son's runaway and *pudz* are; "They are sorry for it." "They are grieved at it." "They are guilty (*culpable*) of it"

⑥"They are anxious about it and they are sorry for it. They repent of having done it, for their parents come to hate (*odiaron*) them. The parents feel quite ashamed of it, for it should not be done. The parents say that they will punish (*castigar*) the two when they come back home." (P1)

⑦"They should not do *pudz*. They should not leave their house to live separated from home.

For in due course the parents will reflect on their conduct and excuse the couple for *pudz*. I wonder how the son should behave. Now he stays far away from home and he is alone. Nobody can help him when he gets into trouble. The parents is ready to accept the son and excuse him when he comes back." (P3)

⑧"The parents are grieved at their son's leaving. They are deeply sorry for what they did to the son. What they did should not be done to their son." (P6)

⑨"Certainly some will think well of others. But some parents do not accept what is good for their children, which leads to *pudz* of this sort. They did not accept them because they did not like the girl. On second thought, the son will also feel guilty (*culpable*) of it." (P7)

⑩"The parents feel guilty of it and displeased at it contrary to the wishes of the son." (P8)

⑪"Mother is very sad, because she cannot state his opinion." (P8)

⑫"Probably they will soon become aware of their own faults and both families will consent to their marriage. Then a newly-born good couple are to be as happy as before and grandchildren will link the two families into closer relations with each other." (E1)

As has been described, *pudz* occurs with frequency, but the references shows that reflections of people in Mani on *pudz* center around feelings of regret and guilt. According to the religious teachings, "it (*pudz*) is wrong (*Es mal*)." When the couple offer to celebrate their marriage at church, Father (*padre*) makes it a custom to accept it only after he keeps a close eye on their everyday life for half a year or so.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper is, through an analysis of responses to two photos and Story Questions, to describe the degree to which *pudz* is a social fact and clarify a specific way of thought of people in Mani about *pudz*. The main findings are as follows.

The scene that a young couple are talking at the front door of yard is interpreted as not only a talking of a pair of lovers but also an occasion to *pudz*. Consequently the family members, especially parents, have to deal with this situation with great care and intension, keeping in mind the great possibility of *pudz*. This sort of watching or precaution is regarded as parents' duty and right as well.

The theme of the third day punishment of *pudz* is parents' beating. A photo connoting beating is used to analyze the responses to the photo. The result was that the photo is interpreted as a scene of Father's beating his son and that children's disobedience or

stubbornness to parents is the main reason for beating. Concerning parents' beating children, there is a difference of view found between Father and Mother. Mother agrees that parents should beat children for them to grow up to be a man but at the same time Mother feels sad or grieved at beating children.

Reflections of people in Mani on *pudz* center around feelings of regret or guilt.

Footnotes

The present author has been engaged in revising and enlarging the published works in order to publish a complete collected work : *A Study of Catholic Culture Integration of Lowland Maya Communities in Mexico*, part of which the paper is sure to form. Consequently some parts or sections of the paper duplicate closely the works already published before. The present author refers to it toties quoties in the Note and references to clarify the responsibility for it.

- 1) 1993 *A Marriage form (pudz) in a Maya Village, Mani.*
Bulletin of the Institute of Comparative Studies of International Cultures and Studies.
Vol.32 pp.210-218
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- 2) 1995 *Ritual Kinship (compadrazgo and padrinasgo) in a Maya-yucatecan Catholic Community, Mani.* *Chiikisogokenkyu* Vol.5 pp.53-64
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- 3) As to the method and the results, see the following works.
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- 4) "They are talking or quarreling." (M10) "The son has just come back home and they have a pleasant talk with each other." (P7) are not included here.
- 5) Among the references are "The woman may come out to tell her daughter to go and stay in the house." (P3) "The woman does not like her daughter to talk with a man at the front door, so she comes out of the house to tell her to talk inside the house. For it is wrong (*mal*) for daughters to have a talk with men at the front door." (P4)
- 6) The references include the following responses. "The boy is praying. He takes this posture for a prayer. He is leaning on a stone for a prayer." (P3) "They are watching the boy to see what he will do next. The boy may have caused some mischief, for he is crying." (P5)

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