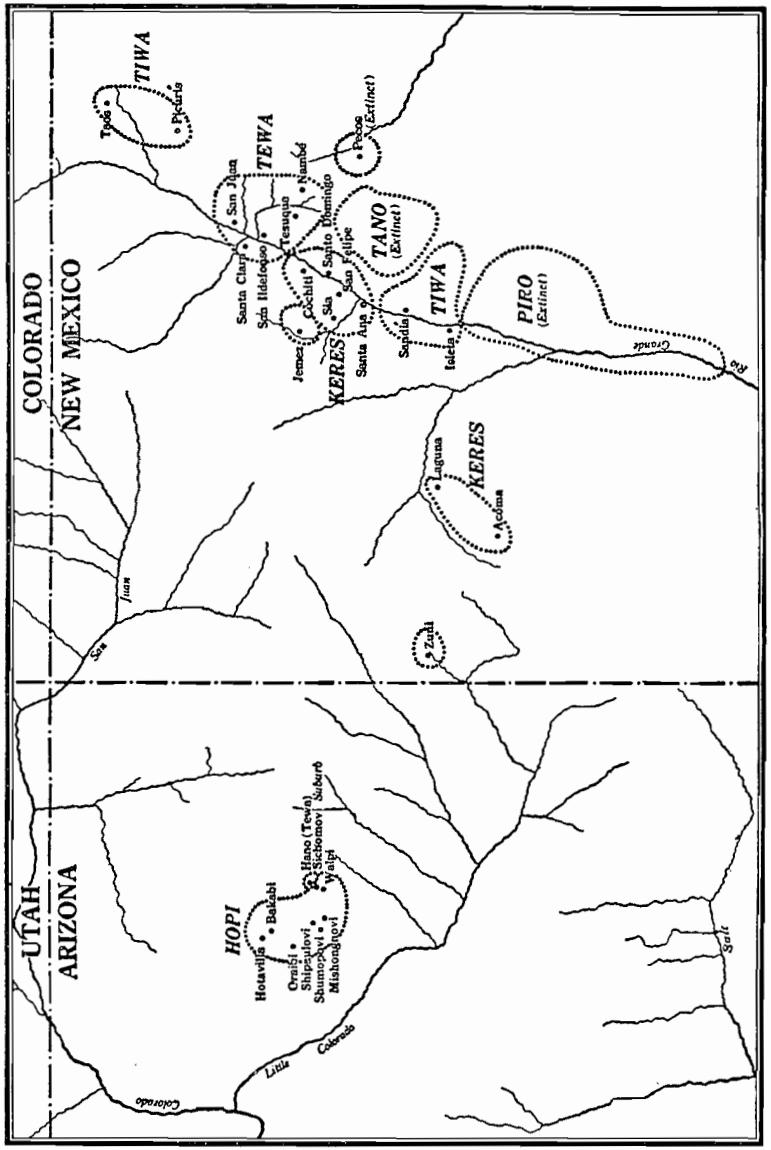

MAP OF THE PUEBLO REGION

(After Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*)

Social Organization *of the* Western Pueblos

By

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To R.-B.

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person does not die but merely changes residence, returning to the underworld from whence he came. Here his head is washed again, and from here he continues to aid his relatives and the Hopi generally.

Throughout the life-cycle, too, we see the continuing importance of the mother's and father's lineages and households, with the addition of the "ceremonial father's" lineage. On all important ritual occasions the father's sisters, whether own or ceremonial, play an important role in relation to ego and his lineage, and their efforts are repaid by the latter. The exchanges consequent upon initiations of various kinds furnish a goodly portion of the economic exchange of goods in Hopi society, and from each lineage and household there is a constant inflow and outgo of food, clothing, and other wealth.

SUMMARY

The kinship system may now be seen in larger perspective. The kinship system classifies relatives into groups, on the one hand, and regulates their social behavior, on the other. Toward each class of kindred there is a definite relationship, expressed in terms of duties, obligations, and privileges, which serves to order social life with a minimum of conflict. Within each class of relatives there are degrees of "closeness," and normally the intensity of the relationship varies accordingly.

The closest and most important set of relatives make up the lineage group, and within this group occur both the most varied obligations and ties and the greatest differentiations in terminology. The relation to the father's lineage and household is likewise important but socially simpler; the terminology, too, is much simpler. This relation also serves as a pattern for the various ceremonial relationships which are possible in Hopi society. The relation with the mother's father's lineage is still simpler in both behavior and terminology. The further extensions of kinship relations on the basis of marriage follow the pattern of one's own lineage and household.

While the elementary bilateral family can be isolated, the matrilineal lineage serves to organize these family relatives in a

definite way, linking them together into a structure and giving them a continuity they lack by themselves. Such families stretch back into the past and prospectively forward into the future. The kinship system similarly is organized on a "vertical" plan, and even the "life-structure" of the individual reaches back into the past and prospectively forward into the afterworld.

The basic reciprocity in Hopi kinship terminology is reflected in the reciprocal or complementary behavior patterns between most pairs of relatives. When the relations are "nonreciprocal" in character, the terminology is likewise nonreciprocal. Only in the case of such genealogically distant relatives as "grandparents" have the Hopi classed groups of relatives with somewhat different positions under one set of terms.

In regard to the kinship system it may be said that there is a rather precise correlation between the present kinship terminology and the present social behavior of relatives. There is little reason to interpret the kinship system in terms of previous conditions, nor is it necessary or desirable to restrict the analysis to linguistic and psychological factors. We will see, however, that earlier conditions have left their mark.

The Clan System

We are now in a better position to investigate the Hopi clan and phratry structure and its relations to the kinship system, on the one hand, and the ceremonial organization, on the other. Hopi social organization has been approached largely from the standpoint of the clan and phratry, so that there is a considerable literature available, covering a span of almost sixty years.[52] The older writers were content to take Hopi statements about the historical movements and relationships of clans at their face value and, largely on the basis of First Mesa data, constructed "histories" of the Hopi villages based upon purported migrations and mythical events. The important kernel of truth in these accounts was lost in the attempts to reconcile contradictory data. A comparative analysis of the data for all the main villages makes it possible to determine the main patterns of clan or-

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ganization and to see the mechanisms of conservation and change.

The clan is the outstanding feature of social life, in Hopi eyes. It is, as we have pointed out, a group of people united through the female line, with a name and definite functions. Each clan is composed of one or more matrilineal lineages which are not formally distinguished by the Hopi, who consider them all descended from a common ancestor. The clans, which are "totemically" named after some object or aspect of nature, are first of all kinship units. The members of the same clan are considered to be genealogically related, and kinship terms and behavior patterns, based on the relations existing within the lineage, are extended to them. The clans are also land-owning groups, each clan normally having certain lands reserved for the use of its members, lands traditionally given in exchange for services rendered to the village. The clan is likewise the basic ritual unit in that the control of ceremonies and ritual paraphernalia is in the keeping of certain clans. Each clan in the village has a main "clanhouse" which is regarded as the main home of the clan in that village. Here the head woman of the clan normally resides and the ritual objects pertaining to the clan are kept.

Each clan is also part of a larger grouping of "linked" or associated clans which may be called a "phratry." The phratry has no separate name, but it is nevertheless an important institution in Hopi life. The constituent clans are normally not considered to be descendants from a common ancestor but to have become "partners" as the result of common experiences during the mythical wanderings following the Emergence. Kinship is extended to all the clans comprising the phratry—it is thus the largest unit in kinship extension. The phratry is also the largest exogamic unit, marriage being forbidden with all clans in the phratry group. The phratry, on the other hand, has no economic functions and does not act as a ritual unit, nor does it have any political duties. It does serve to tie clan units together into larger structures and furnishes a mechanism for dealing with clan extinction, since "partner" clans normally take over the ceremonial obligations. There also develop rivalries between clans within

the phratry which may cause serious trouble and even disorganization.

A similar phratry organization is found in all the major Hopi villages, and the Hopi themselves ignore the variations from village to village which actually exist in favor of a common plan. These variations are nevertheless important, since they show us something of the character of the changes taking place. The features common to all the villages also serve as a basis both for historical studies and for comparative studies. Many conclusions arrived at on the basis of First Mesa data are invalid for the Hopi as a whole, because these villages are in certain respects atypical.

One difficulty which has bothered every investigator of the Hopi phratry system is the large number of clan names which individuals will give for each phratry group. Sixty to one hundred or more names may be furnished by informants living in villages in which only a handful of clans actually exist. Some of these are actually existing clans, some of them belong to clans recently or long extinct, and some belong to "clans" which probably never existed. The genealogical approach is thus essential to a preliminary investigation of the clan-phratry problem, but, as Titiev points out, it is not in itself sufficient to solve the problems presented.[53]

The multiplicity of clan names and the changing patterns from village to village have confused the clan-phratry situation among the Hopi to such an extent that Parsons, for example, feels that "between clan naming and clan organization there is no consistent, uniform system whatsoever."[54] In every village, however, there is a conceptual grouping of clan names into phratries which is remarkably consistent, regardless of the actual clans now present. This conceptual grouping has two main aspects: it represents, on the one hand, a grouping of the population into segmental units and, on the other, a grouping of objects or aspects of nature which have some reference to Hopi life. Only from this dual standpoint do the clan-phratry groupings make complete sense.

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PHRATRY GROUPINGS

The following summary of the clan-phratry situation in the major villages is presented as a basis for further discussion and analysis. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, but most of the relevant literature has been examined. There are many contradictions and variations in the accounts of different investigators for the same village—indeed, this was the experience of the Laboratory Field Party in 1932, when it devoted a good portion of its efforts to untangling the clan-lineage-phratry situation for one village. Table 2 is designed to summarize briefly the discussion.[55]

In all the major villages except Walpi the Bear clan is pre-eminent, furnishing the village chief and controlling the Soyal ceremony. In the myths, the Bear clan arrived first at the village site, and the chief allowed other clans to enter and gave them land in exchange for various services. Associated with the Bear clan in Hopi thinking are such clans as Carrying Strap, Spider, Bluebird, and possibly others. At Walpi in the 1880's the Bear clan was apparently long extinct, the last survivor who called himself "Bear" belonging to the linked Spider clan, which in itself was rapidly approaching extinction.[56] With the extinction of the Bear clan, the related Spider clan probably took over its main functions as well as its more important name, but with its own approaching extinction there were no further phratry representatives, and other clans in other phratries, notably the Horn and Snake clans, took over the position formerly occupied by the Bear clan.[57] The origin myths were modified to fit the new situation, and the shift in authority is dramatized and rationalized in the Blue Flute ceremony.

The Second Mesa villages have a somewhat different pattern of existing clans within the "Bear phratry." In all of them the Bear clan is flourishing and pre-eminent, but the Spider clan is not represented in any of them.[58] The Carrying Strap and Bluebird clans have representatives in Shongopavi and Mishongnovi, with similar legends, and possibly the Bear clan at Shipaulovi was originally Carrying Strap, in part at least. In Mishongnovi,

TABLE 2*

THE HOPI CLAN SYSTEM

Phratry and Clan	First Mesa	Second Mesa		Third Mesa
	Walpi	Mishongnovi	Shongopavi	Oraibi
I. (BEAR)				
Bear	†	×	×	×
Spider	×	...	†	×
Carrying Strap	...	×	×	...
Bluebird	...	×	×	...
II. (KATCINA)				
Parrot	†	×	†	×
Katcina	×	×	×	×
Crow	†	†	†	†
(Rabbit-Tobacco)	...	...	...	×
III. (SNAKE)				
Snake	×	†?	†?	×
Lizard	×	×	†	×
Sand	†	†	†?	×
Cactus	†	...	...	...
Dove	†	...	...	...
IV. (SUN)				
Sun	×	†	×	×
Sun's Forehead	...	...	×	...
Eagle	†	×	†	×
Gray Hawk	...	×	†?	†
Owl	†	...	...	...
V. (REED)				
Reed	×	...	[×]	×
Greasewood	†?	...	...	×
Bow	...	...	...	×
VI. (KOKOP)				
Masau'u	†	†	...	×
Kokop	†	×	...	×
Coyote	×	†	...	×
Water Coyote	...	...	...	×
Millet (Lehu)	(×; see XI)	...	...	×
Cedar (Kwan)	...	...	...	×
VII. (BADGER)				
Badger	×	×	...	×
Gray Badger	...	...	...	×
Navaho Badger	...	...	...	×
Butterfly	×	×	...	×
Moth	...	...	...	†
VIII. (RABBIT)				
Rabbit	×	†	†	(×; see II)
Tobacco	†	†	...	†

* Based primarily on Stephen, Fewkes, Parsons, Lowie, Forde, Titiev, and the writer's field notes. × = present or recently present; daggers (†) = recently extinct; square brackets ([ ]) = recent migrants via marriage; interrogation marks (?) = conflicting evidence for former presence.

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TABLE 2—*Continued*

Phratry and Clan	First Mesa	Second Mesa		Third Mesa
	Walpi	Mishongnovi	Shongopavi	Oraibi
IX. (Patki)				
Patki	×	×	×	×
Pikyas	.....	×	×	×
Corn	×	.....	.....	.....
Cloud	†?	.....	.....	.....
Fog	.....	.....	[×]	.....
Snow	.....	.....	×	.....
Sivapi	†	.....	.....	×
X. (Squash)				
Squash	†	×	.....	×
Chicken Hawk (kele)	.....	.....	.....	×
Crane	.....	†?	.....	×
Tubish	†	.....	.....	.....
XI. (Horn-Flute)				
Horn	×	.....	.....	.....
Deer	×	.....	.....	.....
Millet	×	.....	.....	(×; see VI)
Mountain Sheep	†	.....	.....	.....
Red Ant	†	.....	.....	.....
XII. (Mustard)				
Mustard	×	.....	.....	.....
Chakwaina	†	.....	.....	.....
Roadrunner	†?	.....	.....	(†? in V)

Forde reported these three clans—Bear, Strap, and Bluebird—as a single clan recently formed by merging, but Bear and Bluebird, at least, maintain separate identities.[59]

On Third Mesa, on the other hand, only Bear and Spider are actually represented. At Oraibi a long-standing quarrel between the leaders of these two clans over ceremonial privileges, adoption of white ways, and land led in 1906 to a splitting of the village into two almost equal halves and the secession of the Spider clan and its faction to the new village of Hotevilla. Here the relations between the "partner" clans have shifted radically, and the mythology has been partly modified to fit the changed situation and "explain" the events which took place. The approaching extinction of the Bear clan at Old Oraibi will bring about further complications.[60]

The Parrot-Katcina-Crow phratry is represented in the early surveys of First Mesa by a Katcina or Crow lineage and is listed by Lowie as Katcina, though, since no names are recorded in the census list for this clan, it was perhaps extinct by 1915.[61] Parsons lists Katcina-Parrot as one clan with two names. The Hano Cottonwood clan is also considered as belonging to this phratry on First Mesa.

At Mishongnovi both the Parrot and the Katcina clans are represented, but the Katcina clan is practically extinct at present. Lowie reported only five Katcina people left in 1916; the Ravens (or Crow) are said to have formerly lived at Mishongnovi, the Katcina taking their land when they died out. Forde in 1929 found them regarded as a single clan recently merged, though their lands were still distinguished. Five years later Beaglehole reported that "the Parrot and Katsina clans are definitely dying out; there is no longer a woman in the Katsina clan and only two old women without daughters in the Parrot clan."[62] The Katcina clan is listed in all the reports available for Shongopavi.[63] The Parrots ("who arrived perched on the head of the Bears") are considered extinct; the Ravens are also listed as extinct, but the probability of their having existed as a group at Shongopavi is enhanced by the legend that many years ago they furnished the town chiefs, the chieftaincy passing to the Bear clan. Parsons listed Katcina-Parrot as a separate clan in 1920, but Forde later reports it as grouped with Corn-Water-Snow as a linked exogamous unit.

Both Parrot and Katcina families are represented in the surveys of Oraibi clans, with the further probability that a Crow clan existed in recent times, finally merging with Parrot. This grouping is an important one at Oraibi, and the Rabbit-Tobacco phratry has become attached to it, forming one enlarged phratry grouping. This combination is fairly old and may be in part the result of the reduction of the Tobacco clan and the lack of ceremonial standing of the Rabbits. These two subgroups are clearly distinguishable—they are separate but yet are "partners" and have a mythological sanction for their union.

The Snake-Lizard-Sand phratry is seen in most expanded

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group, though the Eagle lands were still distinguished; in 1934 the name "Eagle" was given for this group to Mrs. Beaglehole. Shongopavi and Shipaulovi share the Sun and Sun's Forehead clans, though the former is predominant in Shongopavi, and the latter makes up the bulk of the population in Shipaulovi. In Shongopavi the Eagle clan is mentioned as one of the clans merged with the Bear phratry and credited with one clan land; the Hawk clan is reported as extinct; the Sun and Sun's Forehead are merged into a single exogamous unit, though separate lands are listed for each.[64]

At Oraibi, Stephen lists Sun, Eagle, and Gray Hawk families. The one Gray Hawk family may have come from Second Mesa, but a clanhouse is recognized for it on Third Mesa, though it has not survived as a separate clan down to the present. Sun and Eagle lineages are still present, but no Turkey people are remembered.

The Reed-Greasewood-Bow phratry, which on First Mesa is merged inextricably with the Sun-Eagle-Hawk group, is on Third Mesa a separate phratry. Stephen's early survey listed some twenty-four Reed families and four Bow families but no Greasewood members; the investigations of White and Titiev, however, indicate that all these clans are, and were, represented on Third Mesa. The Bow clan on First Mesa is listed by Stephen as one of the clan names in the Kokop group. The Reed phratry is not represented in any of the Second Mesa villages, except for the anomalous situation reported recently for Shipaulovi by Mrs. Beaglehole where a woman of the Sun's Forehead clan quarreled with her clanmates and started calling herself "Reed," a shift which is intelligible only in terms of the First Mesa groupings. The Bow clan at Oraibi is felt to be somewhat "distant" from the other clans in the phratry because of the behavior of recent clan heads toward the village chief.

The Kokop[65]-Coyote-Masau'u phratry on First Mesa includes, as names, various kinds of foxes, as well as Piñon, Juniper, and Bow. Stephen's survey shows only Coyote people, though the lineage is variously called Cedarwood (Masau'u) or Cedarwood-Eototo, the latter deity being considered similar to Masau'u on

First Mesa. Lowie lists the Charcoal-Coyote clan, as "one clan with two names"; Parsons lists Coyote-Cedarwood-Fire-Masöwö as one clan with several names; while Forde groups these clans as merged under "Coyote," with three lands. While the Kokops figure in the traditional history, they have apparently been long extinct, along with the Masau'u clan, if it ever actually existed on First Mesa. An Eototo clan is also reported, but this is probably the reflection of the impersonation of Eototo by the Cedarwood-Coyote clan chief in certain ceremonies.

At Mishongnovi, Stephen reported three Firewood families and one Coyote family but no Masau'u clanspeople. In 1916 Lowie notes that the one surviving Coyote clansman joined the Kokop, along with a large family of Oraibi Coyotes. Forde, on the other hand, reports that, while "Fire" is the more usual name now (1929), most of the clanspeople are descended from Coyotes. In 1934 this group was called "Coyote," according to Mrs. Beaglehole. No members of this group are mentioned for Shongopavi or Shipaulovi.

On Third Mesa this phratry group has a more complete representation. Stephen recorded seventeen Coyote families and one Mescal Cake ("Kwan"), but later research has broken this grouping up into Masau'u, Real Coyote, Water Coyote, Kokop, Millet, and Kwan-Cedar-Hovakop, each group with separate lineages and clanhouses. One woman in a Coyote lineage insisted that she was Yellow Fox as a result of quarrels with her clansmates.

The Badger-Butterfly phratry is represented on all the mesas. On First Mesa the phratry theoretically includes Badger, all kinds of butterflies and moths, Porcupine, Turkey Buzzard, and Medicine. The early surveys report both Badger and Butterfly lineages here, but by 1915 the Badger survivors are said to have joined the Butterfly clan, using the latter name. Parsons reports Butterfly-Badger-Porcupine as one clan in 1920, but nine years later Forde found them being called "Badger," with no reference to merging or even to Butterfly lands.

On Second Mesa at Mishongnovi, we find eight Badger families in Stephen's survey but no Butterfly or Porcupine peoples.

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Here, too, are grouped Tobacco and Rabbit, but without any representatives listed. Lowie has a dual division in this phratry in 1916—Badger with Tobacco and Rabbit and Butterfly with Porcupine—the two linked as an exogamous unit. Forde in 1929 listed the whole group under "Badger," with, however, the Butterfly lands separately recognized. In 1934 Mrs. Beaglehole listed six Badger and thirty-eight Butterfly clanspeople resident in Mishongnovi. None of these clans is listed for either Shongopavi or Shipaulovi, though one Butterfly woman has moved to the latter village from Mishongnovi recently, according to Mrs. Beaglehole.

Stephen's survey of Third Mesa clans noted thirteen Badger families and one Moth family, the latter equatable with "Butterfly." The Badger clan at present is divisible into Real Badger, Gray Badger, and Navaho Badger. The division between Real Badger and Gray Badger may be an old one, as both have clanhouses in Oraibi, but the Navaho Badger is a recent group which started with the adoption of an orphan Navaho girl by a Badger woman, the descendants of the girl being distinguished as Navaho Badgers. No Porcupine families are listed or remembered, though Porcupine is recognized as belonging to this lineage.

The Rabbit-Tobacco phratry has been mentioned above in connection with other phratry groups. On First Mesa it traditionally included the following clans: Tobacco, Jack Rabbit, Cottontail Rabbit, and Pipe. The early surveys show Tobacco and Cottontail Rabbit lineages at Walpi and Sichomovi, but by 1915 the former clan was reduced to a single male survivor who joined the Rabbit clan. In 1920 Parsons lists Rabbit-Tobacco as one clan, and by 1929 "Tobacco" was used as frequently as "Rabbit" and was considered the more proper name.

At Second Mesa we have noted that Rabbit and Tobacco are extinct but are linked with the Badger clan at Mishongnovi. In Shongopavi there are likewise no Rabbit or Tobacco people at present, but Rabbit is said to have merged with the Bear clan, and one Rabbit clan land is remembered.[66]

On Third Mesa, Stephen lists a dozen Rabbit families but no

Tobacco families. The latter is considered to be an extinct group merged with the Cottontail Rabbit clan. The Rabbit-Tobacco group here is attached to the Parrot-Katcina phratry to form an enlarged group, though the two subdivisions are distinguishable from one another.

The Patki-Pikyas-Corn-Cloud-Snow phratry group is well represented on all the mesas. This group is indefinitely expandable, as far as clan names are concerned, everything connected with rain or water or corn, as well as useful plants such as *sivapi* (rabbit brush), being considered to belong to this phratry. On First Mesa the early surveys indicate Patki ("Water House?"), Corn, Cloud, Snow, and Sivapi families, though there was a tendency to refer to them all as "Patki." Lowie lists "Cloud (Patki)-Corn" as one clan with two names,[67] and Parsons indicates only one clan for the entire group. Forde groups them under "Water" clan as plural names or merged clans.

At Mishongnovi, Stephen's survey lists five Pikyas ("Young Corn-Ear" or "Sprouting Corn"), four Patki, and no Sivapi families. Lowie groups Water Cloud (Patki) and Sivapi under Sprouting Corn, with the note that there is no remembrance of Sivapi. Forde lists two separate clan groups—Sprouting Corn, with Corn subsidiary, and Water, including Cloud, Snow, Frog, etc., each group with a set of lands. In 1934 Mrs. Beaglehole lists simply "Corn" and "Water." Presumably these are linked in a larger exogamous grouping, since they do not intermarry according to marriage data presented. This phratry is well represented at Shongopavi, where Corn, Water, and Snow clans are listed in Stephen's survey. Parsons recorded a Snow–Patki–Young Corn-Ear grouping in 1920; Forde's data (1929) indicate that Corn, Water, and Snow clans have separate lands but are linked—with Katcina—into a larger exogamous unit or phratry.[68] A Water (Cloud) family is also listed in the early reports on Shipaulovi; this group was extinct in 1916 but remembered by Lowie's informants.

Stephen's survey for Third Mesa indicated some nine families classed as Corn or Pikyas clan but was uncertain as to possible Patki families. Titiev's more recent investigations indicate that

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there were both Pikyas and Patki peoples at Oraibi, and even a few Sivapi, with clanhouses for all three. The latter are now extinct, but the former two are quite separate, perhaps even more so than formerly, since they have engaged in several quarrels.

The Kele-Squash-Crane phratry group has long been extinct on First Mesa. No families are listed, even in the early surveys, but the Squash clan is remembered as having owned the Wuwutcim and Marau ceremonies. One of the clans of this group, the Tubish or "Sorrow-making" clan, is also said to have owned the Drab Flute ceremony. Lowie lists a Squash (Pumpkin) clan without any phratral associates, while Ford lists the Squash clan as extinct but with its clan land still remembered.

At Mishongnovi, Stephen lists three Squash families, with some question as to Kele families. The Cranes are extinct but reported by Lowie to have been once numerous according to tradition. The Kele (here translated as "pigeon hawks" but, better, "chicken hawk") are not known to have lived in Mishongnovi, but there was one lineage of Squash in 1916. Forde lists only the Squash clan, which Mrs. Beaglehole's informant refers to as "Pumpkin." No members of this phratry are known for Shongopavi,[69] but Forde lists one Squash family which was said to have come recently from Shongopavi to Shipaulovi. Mrs. Beaglehole also notes a Pumpkin clanswoman who moved from Mishongnovi to Shipaulovi; this may be the family to which Forde's informants were referring.

On Third Mesa, Stephen found one family each for Kele, Squash, and Crane but none for Duck, which is associated with this group at Oraibi. Titiev has confirmed the presence of all three clans in the period before 1906, though at present they seem to have largely merged into one lineage. Here also, as on First Mesa, this phratry group controls the Wuwutcim ceremony.

There are, in addition, two phratry groups which are represented on First Mesa only. The most important of these is the Horn-Flute phratry, including such clan names as Horn, Antelope, Mountain Sheep, Deer, Millet, Red Ant, Black Ant, Flute, etc. The early accounts differ somewhat. Stephen's genealogies

in his *Hopi Journal* list Horn, Deer, Millet, and Mountain Sheep lineages, but his survey for Mindeleff indicates five Horn families, two Flute families, and seven Red Ant families in Walpi. Fewkes later lists two Horn lineages and six Flute lineages, though this is, in part, a condensation of Stephen's lineages. With the extinction of the Bear clan, this phratry ultimately acquired the village chieftaincy which became lodged in the Millet lineage. Since this lineage also controlled the Blue Flute ceremony, the chieftainship became associated with control of this ceremony, and the term "Flute" was applied to the clan and associated clans. This shift is recorded symbolically in the mythology and dramatized in the Flute ritual where the chief is received by the representatives of the Bear and Snake clans and invited to enter and take over the leadership of the village.

In 1915 Lowie reports Horn-Flute as one clan and notes that Snake, Horn, and Flute are said to have come from different places, but at the same time, so that they join together for ceremonies. As a result the Flutes are supposed to call the Snake clanspeople by kinship terms because of their early ceremonial relations, some informants even feeling they should not intermarry. Parsons lists Millet-Horn as one clan with two names, while Forde lists Deer as the main clan, with Horn, Flute, and Ant as subsidiary names or merged clans.

These names do not occur in Second and Third Mesa phratry groups for the most part, though Millet is listed as one of the Kokop-Coyote-Masau'u clans at Oraibi. When pressed, informants will say that they were formerly present but have died out, though this is unlikely in view of the distributions of the other phratries.

The last phratry to be considered is the Mustard phratry, in which is found such clan names as Chakwaina, Roadrunner, Magpie, Oak, and Throwing Stick. Both Mustard and Chakwaina clans seem to be present, though there is some doubt about the latter, which refers to the custody of the Chakwaina Katcina. The Mustard people live partly in Sichomovi and are thought to be latecomers, possibly from the Rio Grande region or from Zuni. Lowie reported this group as the Grass clan in 1915 with one

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lineage; Parsons reported the whole group as one clan or maternal family; while Forde found six separate lineages classed as Mustard, with Chakwaina, Acorn, and Rabbit Stick as subsidiary names. These names are likewise absent from the phratry groupings of Second and Third mesas, though the Roadrunner is listed as one of the Reed-Greasewood-Bow clan names at Oraibi.

If we now look beneath the variations resulting from the play of historical factors, we can discern a basic clan-phratry pattern for the Hopi, the definition of which is essential to the recognition and explanation of the variations themselves. This pattern is only partially represented in any one village but is more completely realized when all the major villages are considered. Out of the hundreds of clan names, some fifty clans are actually represented, or can be inferred to have existed recently, in the various Hopi villages. These clans, listed in Table 2 above, are grouped into some twelve phratries, two of which are restricted to First Mesa villages. Some of these phratry groups have recombined into larger groupings in certain villages, but, even so, they often retain a degree of separateness; others are completely absent from certain villages, suggesting either that they were never there or that they have died out. This clan-phratry pattern has had a long period to develop; in view of the relatively rapid changes noted in the last fifty years, it is very remarkable that there is any pattern left to define.

One answer lies in the analysis of the relations between lineage, clan, and phratry. Parsons notes that Stephen was confused in regard to clan classification "largely because he failed to grasp completely the importance of the maternal family, the group of blood kin, in the construction of the clan; because he did not analyze fully the relations, ceremonial and otherwise within the clan, or between the clans; and because the terminology he favored, phratry and gens, was misleading."[70] Her solution of the terminological difficulty is to substitute "clan" for phratry and "maternal family" for clan [gens], a solution which involves her in a greater confusion than Stephen's.

The structural composition of the Hopi clan is important from a number of standpoints. Parsons has advanced the theory that

each named clan represents a matrilineal lineage of real blood kindred, and Lowie is inclined to agree with her, though he prefers to retain the term "clan" in his descriptive account. She is apparently basing her argument on the fact that the Hopi do not distinguish separate lineages within the clan terminologically (though they distinguish them in other ways) and on the hypothesis that Hopi clans have developed from lineages originally. My own feeling is that three terms are needed for an adequate analysis. Genealogical investigations by Fewkes, Lowie, Forde, White, and Titiev[71] leave no doubt that, of the totemically named clans represented in the various villages, at least half have more than one lineage, and the number of separate lineages may range as high as six. White's field party found thirty-nine lineages for twenty-one clans, and Lowie's data for Second Mesa are similar, only seven clans out of fifteen coinciding with single lineages.[72] It may be granted that there are a variety of mechanisms by which separate lineages arise, but unless it is assumed that Hopi clans originated recently, or did not begin to suffer change until a few years ago, this argument has little point. What is important is that where there are separate lineages within a named clan they are discriminated in regard to ownership and control of land, ceremonies, and ceremonial position, though they may be considered to be related ultimately by genealogical descent.

In some cases individual clans may have two or more names owing to merging of survivors of dying clans, the taking-over of ceremonial duties of extinct clans, or conceptual identifications based on Hopi logic. This situation is particularly true at First Mesa, where a relatively small population supports an extensive clan structure, but was less true of Old Oraibi, where the population was larger. This has led Parsons to state that "there are no facts to warrant anything but classification by clan" and to consider that there are no real phratries. Her basis seems to be exogamy: "Pity the anthropologist! His only safe criterion is exogamy. Let him count groups or lineages which do not intermarry as belonging to the same clan and let it go at that!"[73]

But this ignores the larger groupings which our comparative

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survey indicates actually exist, and which are made up of separate clans or clan groups. This larger group is nameless, and the clans forming it are not considered to be genealogically connected but to be related because of common experiences in early times. Kinship relations are extended on the basis of "partnership" rather than on the basis of common descent, and exogamy is extended to this larger group; but to call it a "clan" is to ignore its structure and functions. On First Mesa the Bear phratry may be so reduced that it represents a single merged clan group, but that is not true on Second Mesa or on Third; in fact, the Bear and Spider clans on Third Mesa are so sharply separated that there is no possible confusion of the two at present, and the same thing is true of the Bear and Bluebird groups on Second Mesa. Similarly, while Tobacco-Rabbit have merged into a single clan on First Mesa but retain their "phratry identity," on Second Mesa they have been pretty completely incorporated as "names" with Badger-Butterfly, while on Third Mesa they have merged into one clan group but have affiliated with Parrot-Katcina as a definitely recognizable subdivision of this larger exogamous phratry group. To call these larger groups "clans" ignores the comparative facts and hamstrings historical as well as structural and functional analyses.

The basic phratry pattern is more clearly delimited for the Hopi than are the constituent clan patterns. Titiev, for example, has found that it is possible to reproduce Stephen's clan and phratry census of 1883 with a considerable degree of accuracy. It is evident that the phratry grouping has exerted an enormous stabilizing influence in Hopi society. Individual clans are subject to extinction from failure of the line or lines of women. This can happen rather rapidly, as the data for the last three generations indicate, particularly where the average population per clan group is small. The Hopi villages have been in existence since before 1540, and Oraibi at least probably before 1200. With our present knowledge of the mechanisms for clan change, the basic pattern presented can only be due to the importance and conservatism of the phratry pattern, unless we are willing to assume that the clan-phratry pattern is recent among the Hopi. This is

denied by the central importance of the clan and the uniqueness of the phratry pattern for the Hopi—and Parsons assumes that the Hopi developed clanship and spread it to the other Pueblos.[74]

The history of clan-phratry groupings among the Hopi is tied up with an interpretation of the origin legends, the findings of archeology, and a comparative study of other Shoshonean-speaking communities. The origin legends of the Hopi follow a characteristic pattern. After the emergence of the various clans from the underworld they set out in various directions, ultimately arriving at one or another of the Hopi villages. During their migrations they met other clans with whom they became associated and lived at various of the ruins which dot the Southwest. The early ethnologists, particularly Fewkes,[75] accepted these legends at their face value and attempted to reconstruct Hopi history in accordance with them. But it soon became apparent that the origin legends of the same clan from different villages showed major contradictions and that even within the same village the stories of associated clans did not always correspond. And later research has suggested that the *order* of arrival of clans at various villages parallels their present ceremonial precedence.

It seems clear that the Hopi have accounted for their present social structure by projecting it back into the mythological past. It is not possible for clans to exist as independent units, the "unit-clan" houses of the archeologists notwithstanding, since a clan is made up of real (or assumed) blood relatives who are normally not allowed to intermarry. To the extent that local groups were clan (or lineage) organized, therefore, they would have to have at least two clan groups. Mindeleff, in attempting to account for the enormous number of small ruins scattered over the country, studied the development of farming villages in the historic period and concluded that they played an important role in earlier times. He assumed a long period of migration by small bands, as well as occasional aggregations into larger units for protection.[76]

The ancestors of the present inhabitants of the villages reached Tusayan in little bands at various times and from different directions. Their migrations occupied very many years, although there were a few

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movements in which the people came all together from some distant point. Related clans commonly built together, the newcomers seeking and usually obtaining permission to build with their kindred; thus clusters of rooms were formed, each inhabited by a clan or phratry.[77]

It is Mindeleff's reconstruction, rather than Fewkes's, which modern archeological and ethnological studies support. These latter will be summarized in a later section; here it may be suggested that the groups moving into the Hopi country may well have been organized around matrilocal households and matrilineal lineages as a base and that the more elaborated clan and phratry organization was developed to integrate the larger populations.[78]

CLASSIFICATION OF NATURE

Turning now to the classification of nature represented in the Hopi clan-phratry system, we can get some additional insight into the bases for phratral groupings. The application of the term "totemism" to Hopi clans has been resisted by most investigators. Thus Lowie states: "The relationship of a clan to the eponymous animal was so irregular as hardly to merit the term 'totemic.' Thus while the Butterfly people refrain from killing butterflies, the Rabbit people always kill rabbits and the Bear clan kill bears."[79]

But this is an exceedingly narrow and one-sided view of totemism; more useful in my opinion is Radcliffe-Brown's suggestion that "the problem of totemism is part of the wider problem of the relation of man to nature in ritual and myth, and must always be studied in reference to the larger problem."[80] Regardless of what term is used for the Hopi system, one of the important bases for clan-phratry unity lies in the relations of this social classification to the classification of natural phenomena.

Each Hopi clan is named after some object, personage, or aspect of nature. Titiev has summarized the situation as follows:

> The great majority of names on any clan list are those of plants, animals, or supernatural personages. These eponyms the Hopi call *wuya* or *n'atöla*, terms which seem to refer to ancestors or ancients. Some of them are represented by masks, figurines, or fetishes of various sorts, others have no tangible representation; but in either case there is a strong feeling of empathy and kinship between each group and its *wuya*.[81]

Between the clan group and the *wuya* a definite relationship exists—the *wuya* is personified in part and kinship terms extended to it. The *wuya* protects a Hopi; he will pray to it for strength and good crops. Some informants evince a belief in descent of the clan from its *wuya*, but the mythological explanations generally refer to the securing of *wuya* and clan names as a result of events occurring after the emergence of the clans from the underworld. Where the *wuya* are represented by masks, they are stored in the clanhouse and are regarded as the heart of the clan.[82]

There are no taboos on the utilization of *wuya* for necessary purposes, although they must always be treated with respect and with a certain amount of ritual.[83] During the Soyal ceremony each clan makes prayer sticks for its own, and associated, *wuya* and *natoila;* this is one of the major ritual duties of a clan head. When an animal or bird is killed for food or feathers by any Hopi, it is ritually treated so that the spirit will return again—eagles have a special ritual in which they are treated as if they were persons.

Titiev has discussed the dynamics of clan segmentation and union among the Hopi as a basis for phratral groupings.[84] He assumes that phratries arise chiefly from the splitting of lineages or clans which acquire a separate status but continue their interest in one another. Such a hypothesis accounts for the multiple clan *wuya* (it is probable that "each clan has one primary and several secondary *wuya*"), the common stock of names, and the exercise of phratral exogamy. But it does not explain the variations in phratry groupings from mesa to mesa; nor is it clear why the clan legends do not refer to common origins except in terms of common experiences.

The clan legends are of two general types: (1) after emergence a clan has a series of adventures which account for the several objects with which it is associated[85] or (2) a series of clans have somewhat different adventures with the same object which accounts for the clan groups in a particular phratry and for the relations between particular *wuya*.[86] There are no cases of legendary origins of phratry groupings in the underworld or by splitting of clan groups. Hence it may be useful to examine the nature of

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