ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOLUME XXX, PART VI

NOTES ON HOPI CLANS

By Robert H. Lowie

By Order of the Trustees
Of
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
New York City
1929
PUBLICATIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

In 1906 the present series of Anthropological Papers was authorized by the Trustees of the Museum to record the results of research conducted by the Department of Anthropology. The series comprises octavo volumes of about 350 pages each, issued in parts at irregular intervals. Previous to 1906 articles devoted to anthropological subjects appeared as occasional papers in the Bulletin and also in the Memoir series of the Museum. Of the Anthropological Papers 27 volumes have been completed and 4 volumes have been issued in part. A complete list of these publications with prices will be furnished when requested. All communications should be addressed to the Librarian of the Museum.

The current issue is:

VOLUME XXX


ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOLUME XXX, PART VI

NOTES ON HOPI CLANS

By Robert H. Lowie

By Order of the Trustees
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
New York City
1929
NOTES ON HOPI CLANS

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHONETIC NOTE</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CLAN SYSTEM</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hopi Clans of First Mesa</strong></td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>census of Walpi and Sichumovi</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mishongnovi Clans</strong></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>census of Mishongnovi</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>census of Shipaulovi</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clan and Maternal Lineage</strong></td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linked Clans</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totemism</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Clan Functions</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clans and Ceremonial Associations</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX</strong></td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 1915 I visited the First Mesa on the Hopi Reservation for the purpose of determining the kinship terminology and correlated clan phenomena. No attempt was made to study the Tewa. In 1916 these researches were extended to two villages of the Second Mesa, Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi, and some further information was obtained on the First. I hoped to continue along similar lines in the remaining Hopi villages and finally to prepare a general paper on the Hopi clan system. Since circumstances prevented the prosecution of my investigations and these are not likely to be resumed, the following data are presented as an unpretentious set of field-notes, with such interpretation as inevitably obtruded itself on the recorder. Doctor Elsie Clews Parsons was kind enough to read a typescript of this material years ago and to append valuable comments. If only a few of them—mostly corrections of manifest errors—are incorporated here, it is partly in order to preserve the character of the paper as essentially a set of independent field notes, partly because the wealth of additional information since accumulated by Doctor Parsons herself and other workers in the Southwest must inevitably render suggestions offered in 1921 somewhat superannuated.

Some disparity will be noted between the genealogies and the clan lists as regards the actual blood-relationship of members listed. The most usual reason for this lies in the classificatory sense attached to such words as "brother" or "son" by the informants who aided in the census. The genealogies are more accurate, since I plotted pedigrees on the basis of the census and then submitted them to informants for criticism.

PHONETIC NOTE

While the transcription of native names and words generally follows accepted American usage, the attempt to standardize in accordance with present custom has not been consistently carried out and it is now impracticable to make requisite changes. Thus, k- and ky both represent the palatalized k, b and v both represent bilabial v. The letter q is used to designate a k sound that seemed to me definitely further back than the stop usually so written, though I do not suppose it to correspond in position to the Eskimo q. Where f occurs, I think it is bilabial.

307
THE CLAN SYSTEM

In each of the four villages studied I instituted a clan census for the purpose of determining the numerical size of clans, the relationship of clan members, and the clan intermarriages that had occurred. For the latter purpose I invariably asked for the clan of a given adult Hopi’s spouse, whether still married or divorced, living or dead. In this way data were obtained as to intermarrying clans. I premise these censuses, merging those for Walpi and Sichumovi, which could not profitably be kept separate on account of the close relations between the residents of these neighboring First Mesa villages.

In designating a single member of the clan the Hopi suffix the term wū́wa to the stem for the clan name, which suffix is changed to nyamō, or ņyamö (presumably equivalent to Shoshoni nōmō, people) when the whole membership of the clan is to be designated. Thus, Lewis spoke of his father as an āsawū́wa, but of the āsnyamō collectively. This explains the dual nomenclature that has puzzled Professor Kroeber.1

HOPI CLANS OF FIRST MESA

The Cloud-Corn people do not represent two originally distinct clans that have become joined, but one clan with two names; the same applies to the Charcoal-Coyote people.2 In other instances there has been a union of two or more clans, either because of the paucity of their numbers or for ceremonial purposes. This has apparently led, however, to a complete merging of the identity of the clans at the present time. The following list applies only to Sichumovi and Walpi, but includes clans that have recently become extinct.

1. Snake clan, tcō’ińyamō’
2. Sand-Lizard clan, tōwańyamō, qō’qōtsińyamō
3. Cloud-Corn clan, pātiqį́ńyamō, qɑńyamō
4. Horn-Flute clan, álǐńyamō, lfǔyamā
5. Charcoal-Coyote clan, qōquipnyamō, fsnyamō
6. Rabbit clan, tąpnyamō
7. Tobacco clan, plipiińyamō
8. Butterfly clan,3 pulińyamō
9. Badger clan, ħunáńińyamō
10. Bear clan,4 hůńińyamō’
11. Sun clan, tįwawįńyamō’
12. Reed clan, pąqapnōmō

1This series, vol. 18, 147, footnote.
2This is the native conception of the matter as repeatedly impressed on me on the First Mesa. At Mishongnovi, however, Cloud and Corn clan were considered distinct.
3Butterfly and Badger people seem to have merged into one clan.
4Qūtqa, the only survivor, joined the Bear clan of Tewa.
13. Eagle clan, qwânyamô
14. ————bush clan, tâpnamô
15. Katcina clan, qatcñamô
16. Grass clan, âsnyamô
17. Squash (Pumpkin) clan, pâtañyamô

CENSUS OF WALPI AND SICHUMOVI

Snake Clan

1. Hhäni, own son of Cälakhu; wife, Cottonwood (=qatcna) clan of Tewa
2. Harry Qoyáwaiima, own son of Cälakhu; wife, Nâkvik'i, Rabbit
3. Loriño, a younger brother of 1 and 2; wife, Nö'wa, âsnömô
4. Elmo, Puvûnuhi, younger brother of 3; wife, a Pima woman
5. Hónau, “son” of Cälakhu; wife, Tövéwaiici, Coyote; first wife, Tewa of qatcna clan
6. Sânya, brother of 5; wife, Yûña, Cloud-Corn
7. Mûmi; wife, Û'ma'ö'âsnömô (divorced)
8. Tom, son of Hâaco; wife, dead, of Pöwûli’s clan (âsnömô)
9. Stephen = Yë’i, own brother of 8; single
10. Pâhôna, own brother of 8 and 9; single
11. Pö’ôma (Clyde), Hâaco’s sister’s son; single
12. Àlocakå, Növâ’oi’s younger brother; wife, dead, Charcoal-Coyote
13. Qa’woja, Hâaco’s sister; husband, Të’ötcı, Rabbit
14. Cöwîmönö’ma, 13’s own daughter; single
15. Pâla, brother of 14, own son of 13; single
16. Cûnowaimânå, own daughter of 13; single
17. Näsñwânö’ma, own sister of 16; single
18. Nöwâwana, own younger brother of 17; single
19. Hâaco, own daughter of Cälakhu; husband, Grover Û’va, Cloud Clan of Tewa
20. Nöwâwisnö’ma, own daughter of 19; single
21. Cälakhu, oldest woman of clan, said to belong really to Lizard clan; husband, Cûpela (dead in 1916)—Cloud-Corn
22. Nánîte, own younger brother of 8 and 9; single
23. Hömf tiwa, own younger brother of 22; single
24. Harold Yû’to, brother of 19; wife, Frances Nöwâhûsunö’ma; âsnömô
25. Qömai icwa Mack, brother of 24; wife, Freda, Oraibi Katcina clan
26. Növâ’oi, uncle of 24 and 25; wife, dead, Cloud-Corn

The Lizard clan joined the Snake clan for ceremonial purposes. Cälakhu knows of no Snake-Lizard marriage. Lizard people call Cälakhu “mother.”

Sand-Lizard Clan

1. Skyâhonañ, u; wife, divorced, Pöwûlf, âsnömô
2. Qáqaqti, nephew of 1; wife, dead, Horn
3. Mâmö’i, nephew of 1; wife, first, Horn, dead; second, Maggie, Cloud
4. Taqâla, nephew of 1; wife, first, dead; second, Ruth, âsnömô
5. Sâmmiya, nephew of 1; wife, Tawâkwâ’i; Horn
6. Pö"öya, nephew of 1; wife, dead, Coyote
7. Douglas, nephew of 1; wife, Cloud clan of Tewa
8. Jackson, nephew of 1; single
9. Téávi, nephew of 1; wife, Susie, Weasel
10. Téa"ak, nephew of 1; wife, Homéci; Horn
11. Ná'pi, mother of 3; husband, dead, Asnómo
12. TéA'ak, nephew of 1; wife, Homéci; Horn
13. Talácwavi, daughter of 12; husband, first, Rabbit of Tewa; second, Silas,
    Qateina, divorced; third, Charlie, Rabbit
14. Rose, sister of 13
15. Emma, sister of 14; husband, Rio Grande Indian
16. Nacwámö'ci, sister of 7; husband, Cyrus, Horn-Flute
17. NápAmaw'ci, sister of 7; husband, Cyrus, Horn-Flute
18. Lóla, daughter of 12

Cloud-Corn Clan

1. NacÁlainb'ma, oldest woman; husband, dead, Talchoya, Asnómo
2. NábÁlainb'ma, sister of 1; husband, dead, Cöhöma, Flute
3. Sikyámici, sister of 1; husband, Náhaás, dead; present husband, Tcálá;
    Flute
4. Ven(i)ci, sister of 1; husband, dead, Önwc'i; Ásnómö
5. Lánámána, daughter of 4; husband, Ásámuqi, Rabbit
6. Yúña, "daughter" of 4, i.e., of 4's dead sister; husband, Sánna, Snake
7. Nómá'pi, daughter of 6; husband, Taláyamtlwa, Coyote
8. Qó'ya, daughter of 4; husband, divorced, Qútqa, Bear; second, Mahu,
    Coyote
9. Nacíámici, younger sister of 1; husband, dead, Cifó, Ásnómö
10. Quyúña, younger sister of 9; husband, Tóqya, Ásnómö
11. Lóse, sister of Lewis, daughter of 4; husband, L'elo; Tewa Cottonwood,
    now Bear
12. Puñ'n'alamqa, sister of Lewis; husband, Púteca, Páqapn'ómö
13. Qó'tshainema, sister of Lewis; husband, Nát'o, Bear of Tewa
14. Tc'í, mother of Lewis; husband, Tifnavi, Rabbit
15. Maggie Nápíwa, daughter of 14; husband, Mómó'yi, Lizard
16. Táli, a Tewa woman; husband, Puñicóyo, dead, Cloud of Tewa
17. Mahówö'te, daughter of 16; husband, Wó'ño'te, Páqapnömö
18. Sq'ai'Yomqa, daughter of 16; husband, Tawañyoama, Cottonwood-Bear of
    Tewa
19. Ethel Sáya, daughter of 16; husband, Wilfred Tiwániaqiwa, Butterfly
20. CúpeIa, oldest man, uncle of 1; wife, Cálak'u, Snake
21. Sáqwistlwa, nephew of 20; wife, Ciwi'fyá, dead, Flute
22. Mágiwa, nephew of 20; wife, Puti.io, Ásnómö, divorced
23. Tcú'uwé, nephew of 20, eldest brother of Lewis; wife, dead, Bear of Tewa
24. Cítaíimá, brother of 23; wife, Pullvéftqa, qáló clan of Second Mesa, own
    sister of Pentima's mother
25. Áña, brother of 24; wife, Talávénci, Lizard of Tewa
26. Máwa, brother of 25; wife, Á'ño, Coyote
27. Nash = Nācanohoya, son of 4\(^1\); wife, Palāawatia, ʔsnōmō
28. Cfu, nephew of 27, son of 6; single
29. Na"qala, brother of 28, son of 10; wife Tāyo, Flute
30. Earl Mōmō wa, son of 10, new name = Qōteyoway; single
31. Joe Qwajō', son of Nōmqaa, deceased, brother of 30; wife, Qōyānainō'ma, Rabbit
32. Jesse = Pūla, brother of 31; wife, Tōvāini, Flute
33. Lewis Lehuñwa, son of 4; wife, Jettie, Qotchina
34. Qwute, brother of 33, son of Tali; wife, first, dead, ʔsnōmō; second, Tewé, Tewa qotchina
35. Pōflanōma, son, of Tali; wife, dead, Hűspumana; Qotchina
36. Pūsta, brother of 4; wife, Hahafi', Coyote

' Horn-Flute Clan

1. Talāpije, oldest man
2. Tō'nu, nephew of 1; wife, Qōtcamona, Coyote clan of Oraibi
3. Nō'fas, younger brother of 2; wife, Nōqwānnō'ma, Coyote-Charcoal
4. Pāqavi, nephew of 3; wife, Pumpkin of Mishongnovi
5. Pūqumina, nephew of 3; wife, dead, Cloud-Corn
6. Sāmmi, younger brother of 4; wife, divorced, Tōlō, Bear clan of Tewa
7. Māquito, uncle of 6, nephew of 1; wife, Zufi, Qotchina
8. Tefs'la, brother of Māquito; wife, Sikya'amicī, Cloud-Corn
9. N'i'tūma, nephew of Māquito; wife, Second Mesa, ?
10. Tā'tcnc, nephew of 9; wife, Tali, Bear clan of Tewa
11. Sshuy'ā, younger brother of 10, single
12. Te'nu'a, uncle of Māquito; wife, dead, Cloud-Corn
13. Herbert Cō'añqayia, nephew of Māquito; wife, Edna, qotchina
14. Talqim, son of 'wisti, nephew of Māquito; wife, Tō'ne, Rabbit
15. Roscoe, brother of 14, (Nawacc); wife, Puli'ini, Cloud-Corn
16. Lomāventiva, elder brother of Sāmmi; wife, Bear, used to be Sun clan, is Tali's mother
17. Hēka, nephew of Māquito; single
18. Nōwāqak, nephew of Māquito; single
19. Alfred, Lōlō, nephew of Māquito; single
20. Joseph Pō'eqane, brother of 19; single
21. Qōlō, brother of 19; single
22. Wō'pa, uncle of Māquito; wife, from Shipaulovi, ?clan
23. Ned, nephew of Māquito; single
24. Richard Jinya, brother of 23; single
25. Qāca, nephew of Māquito; single
26. Cimauitawa, brother of 25 and 14; wife, dead, from Tewa
27. Punũtcqa, brother of 10; single
28. Omfau'ma, nephew of Māquito; single
29. Edgar, uncle of 28; single
30. Tō'qwi, younger brother of Māquito; lives with Zuñi Indian
31. Yāma, nephew of 30; lives with Pueblo Indians (i.e., Rio Grande)

\(^1\)Nash (27), Lewis (33), Lēnămāna (5) are Vēnici's (4) own children.
32. Wáu+una, nephew of Máqto, brother of 8, own son of 7.
33. Sák’vènci, sister of 8; husband, Sikyáhun¿o’, Lizard
34. Macánòpqa, sister of 33; husband, dead, Navajo
35. Sqáya.ici, daughter of 34; husband, Tóvéñaña, Lizard, dead; second, Bear of Tewa
36. Hò’wmmanas, sister of Tòqwi, own daughter of Macánòpqa; husband, Mishongnovi, ?, formerly: Oraibi Rabbit
37. Sikyáletci; own daughter of 35; first husband, Tewa; second, Silas Tilawa, Qatcfna
38. Qáhaya, elder sister of 35?; husband, Létayo, Rabbit
39. Qóyáletsnömè, own daughter of 38; husband, Qéhí, Cloud-Corn
40. Newáyaunò’mé, daughter of 39; single
41. Cúnuawi’ò, younger sister of 39; husband, Tòqpö, Cloud-Corn
42. Lucile, own daughter of 41, Lucile = Nowáqwavi, single
43. Hò’ngà, sister of 41; husband, ‘wisti, Rabbit
44. Lily Tawáqwawi, daughter of 41; husband, Cámmi.ta, Lizard
45. Talawúnò’qa, younger sister of 41; husband, Lumanañqwírsa, ásnömö
46. Taláyaunò’ma, daughter of 45; single
47. Jennie Qwáomó, sister of 46; single
48. Hó’mcí, daughter of 41; husband, Tc’aqa, Lizard
49. Hó’múa, sister of 48; first husband, Rabbit; now, Ámmí, Weasel
50. Barbara, Qoya’qunó’má, own daughter of 49; husband, Clyde, Rabbit
51. Rita Qáwi, sister of 50; husband, Leslie Agáyo, Cloud clan of Tewa
52. Váña Táho, sister of 51; husband, Qóqáletsíwa, Cloud clan of Tewa
53. Tò’ówe, daughter of Qaqapíti and sister of Barbara; husband, Ò’yé, Rabbit
54. Marietta Saff Letsnò’ma, daughter of 53; single
55. Qà’le, sister of 53; husband, Máfpi, now Bear clan of Tewa

Snake, Flute, and Horn clan came from different places, but at the same time, so they join together for ceremonies.

Charcoal-Coyote Clan

1. Leñací, own daughter of 2; husband, Wáji, ásnömö
2. Tawávenicí, mother of 1; husband, dead, Nówáwunó
3. Tsòóirminghama, own sister of 1; husband, divorced, Charlie, Rabbit; present, Táci, Qatcfna
4. Tòvítwa.ici, own sister of 3; husband, Hónau’ò’, Snake
5. Haf’i, own sister of 4; husband, Pásta Hunuwlístiwa, Cloud
6. Anna, own daughter of 4; husband, Máwa, Cloud
7. Nóqwáñanñoñama, sister of 6; husband, Nóña; ásnömö
8. Jane, own daughter of 4; husband, Clyde = Púhuma, Rabbit
9. Héa, own brother of 5; wife, dead, Flute; present, Qétñowá, Oraibi, Rabbit
10. Måho, own brother of 9; wife, Qó’yá, Cloud
11. Sámmi, nephew of 9 and 10, own son of 5; wife, divorced, págáp’nòmö; present, Iváshikáci, Rabbit
12. Lá’aci, nephew of 9 and 10, son of 2, brother of 11; wife, dead, Qótcowáici, Cloud-Corn
13. Story, Qō’tc’ufwa, own son of 1; single
14. Qō’tc’uwuna, son of 2; single, died since summer of 1915

**Rabbit Clan**

1. Hání, oldest man, really of Tobacco clan, but only surviving member, hence reckoned Rabbit; wife, first, Qáč’o, Cloud; second, āsnōmō; third, Snake
2. Tcāhna, nephew of 1; wife, second, Qomáletci, qatefna clan; first, Cactus, Snake
3. Letayo, brother of 2; wife, Qáhaya, Horn
4. ‘wisti, nephew of 2 and 3; wife, Húňqa, Horn
5. Perry, nephew of 4; wife, dead, Cloud
6. Willie, nephew of 4; wife, Qwe’tcāwe, Cloud of Tewa
7. Charlie, nephew of 2; first, divorced, Tcō’ōmana, Coyote; second, Talásq-wavi, Lizard
8. Tfnāvi, nephew of 7; wife, first, Hómñta, Horn; second, Cloud
9. Talācí, brother of 8; wife, Lénohō; originally Pumpkin, pāqap nōmō
10. Nāmuqi, brother of 7; wife, Cé’namāna; Cloud
11. Lápō, uncle of 7; wife, Qō’tsowa.ici, Bear of Tewa
12. Cúmē, brother of 11; wife, Tō’ōwa, Flute
13. Dave Tcāōhoyā, brother of 12; single
14. Andrew Cītēume, brother of 13; single
15. Claude Cīkya’wicīnema, brother of 12; wife, Jane Mītata, Coyote
16. Samuel, brother of 15; single
17. Cīkya’waiima, brother of 15; wife, Emma, Talámōnōmā, āsnōmō
18. Masāhuiniva, brother of 2; wife, Ciwf qwavi, Butterfly
19. Tcō’uwō’té, oldest woman; husband, first, Pawu’qu, āsnōmō; second, Hāhawi, Flute
20. Uqān, younger sister of 19; wife, first, Polāqa, Cloud of Tewa; second, Tcō’ōwe, Cloud
21. Háuwila, son of 20
22. Nelson, brother of 21
23. Stāli, brother of 22; wife, Elsie, āsnōmō
24. Clyde, brother of 23; wife, Qōyáhufunō’ma, Flute
25. Calvary, nephew of 21–24
26. Puνyāwenqá, daughter of 19; husband Toqw’naño, as (brother of Holla)
27. Qōyāsainōmā, eldest daughter of 19, sister of 8; husband, Qwāco, Corn-Cloud
28. Tōtoya’m’ya, sister of 27
29. Qwān, Tom’s wife, sister of 28; husband, Tom Pavatya, Lizard
30. Náqvtki, Harry’s wife, younger sister of 29; husband, Harry Cupela, Snake
31. Cīyamqsa, sister of 28; wife, Mō’ná, as
32. Įvasakātci, daughter of 31; husband, first, Zuñi; second, Sāmmi, Coyote
33. Tō’ve, sister of 32; husband, Talásatima, Flute
34. C’hāpnomā, sister of 33; husband, Jack Talasamtiwa, Lizard of Tewa
35. Wāqole, sister of 15; husband, Hicks Tcē’tite, Cloud-Corn of Tewa
36. Mary Qōtcuwa, sister of 35; single
37. A sister of 36
38. Paláqa'ö, daughter of 20; husband, Taylor, Butterfly

Butterfly Clan
1. Sowfqwavi, oldest woman; husband, Macahuinla, Rabbit
2. Qo'te'uncios, daughter of 1; husband, Lomafamtlva, qatchna
3. Qotecamane, daughter of 2; husband, Hale = Cuñqi = Taqaspokya, ñanomó
4. Qo'yaq'a'amó, sister of 3; husband, Qatec, Coyote
5. Susie Siwfnflomo, sister of 3; husband, Tcawi, Lizard
6. Tc6tqi, uncle of 1; wife, dead, Siskyamoci, pãqapnomó
7. Ciàqalé, brother of 1, uncle of 2 and 3; wife, Towamoci, ñanomó
8. Ammi, brother of 3's mother; wife, first, ñanomó; second, Hómita, Horn
9. Mãutiwa, younger brother of 8; wife, pãqapnomó clan
10. Taylor Daibo, younger brother of 9; wife, Paláqa'i, Rabbit
11. Yàqwa, uncle of 1; wife, Tc6jo, pãqapnomó

Yàqwa and his relatives were originally Badger, but his family died, so he joined the Butterfly clan.
Compare with Badger clan list.

Badger Clan
1. Yàyowalya, oldest man; wife, dead, Bear clan of Tewa
2. Claqalé, nephew of 1; see Butterfly list
3. Tc6tqi, nephew of 1 and 2; see Butterfly list
4. Ammi, nephew of 3; see Butterfly list
5. Mañalwa, brother of 4; see Butterfly list
6. Taylor, brother of 4 and 5; see Butterfly list
7. Willie Awátchoya, nephew of 6; wife, Tcawiwa, Corn-Cloud clan
8. Múñwi, brother of 3; wife, Tc6húfúnamá, Rabbit clan of Oraibi, now divorced
9. Yàqwa, brother of 8; see Butterfly list
10. Susieta, brother of 9; single
11. Ciwqiwavi, own mother of Ammi; see Butterfly list
12. Qo'te'uncios, daughter of 11; see Butterfly list
13. Qotecamana, daughter of 12; see Butterfly list
14. Qo'yo'qa'amá', daughter of 12, sister of 13; see Butterfly list
15. Susie Cowi'ufiufloma, daughter of 12; see Butterfly list

Reed Clan
1. Wónóto, oldest man; wife, Mahòwó'ti, Cloud-Corn clan of Tewa
2. Ná'i, nephew of 1; wife, Tówíya'qa Rabbit
3. Pátsa, nephew of 1; wife, Puñayayamqa, Cloud-Corn
4. Tálwu'pi, nephew of 1; wife, Qatefnamána, Bear of Tewa
5. Qo'yaqwapilwa, nephew of 1, (Ray); wife, Bear clan of Tewa

On the First Mesa this clan is restricted to Sichumovi.

Died in the winter of 1915–1916.
6. Lumáwlsi, brother of 5; wife, divorced, Lena Telájo, qatcná of Tewa
7. Walter Lumátcwó'kya, brother of 6; single
8. Stuart Tóvéñotiwá, brother of 7; single
9. Ole Àñwó, nephew of 5; single
10. Ole Patánaháto, nephew of 5; single
11. Milton Tó'wa, brother of 10; single
12. Qáñya, sister of Ray's mother; husband, Péesma, dead, Horn
13. Telájo, Ray's mother; husband, Yáqwa, Badger
15. Lanehó, daughter of 13; husband, Taláci, Rabbit
16. Qótçqwavi, sister of 15; husband, first, Sámmi, Coyote; second, Conner Qáinele, Lizard of Tewa
17. Rose Qóyámó, daughter of 12; husband, Pollala (Kyájo), Badger
18. Ququíma, sister of 17; husband, Mau'tiwa, Butterfly
19. Smilie Tó'gma, son of 12; single
20. Walter Qátopti, son of 18; single
21. Dean Tó'wéya.omo, brother of 20; single
22. Dewey Alqwaptiwa, son of 23; single
23. Qómáyoníci, mother of 22, sister of 12; husband, divorced, Edjá, Badger (a Zuni man)
24. Teresa Páymamqa, daughter of 16; single
25. Qómáyamqa, sister of 24; single
26. Mabel Qoteátawa, daughter of 15; single
27. Sáala'hu, sister of 26; single
28. Viola Qótoñalsi, sister of 18, daughter of 12; single

Eagle Clan

All from First Mesa died with Adam last summer (i.e., in 1914).

tépnamó Clan

Qō'ya, the sole survivor, was brought up by her father's second wife, a Cloud-Corn woman; hence, is now reckoned a member of that clan.

asnómó Clan

1. Sikýátala; wife, dead, Nóqwáim'qa, qatcná
2. Món'na, nephew of 1; wife, Sfamqa, Rabbit
3. Toqwó'nañó', brother of 2; wife, Puñyáwónqa, Rabbit
4. Tówáñogóqó, nephew of 1, 2, 3; wife, Höqwanó, Bear clan of Tewa
5. Wáji, brother of 4; wife, Lenaici, Coyote
6. Albert Náhi, brother of 5; wife, Páqwa, qatcná of Tewa
7. George Náhi, brother of 6; wife, Qómáwóenóma, Sun clan of Oraibi
8. Hale Cúñiqi, nephew of 6 and 7; wife, Qóteámana, Butterfly
9. Powult, own sister of 1; husband, Sikya'ha'noá.o, Lizard, divorced
10. Tówámócí, daughter of 9; husband, Ciáqaló, Butterfly
11. Tówáñainómó, daughter of 10; husband, Namiñ'rá; Cloud clan of Second Mesa
12. Skyá vêñqa, daughter of 10; husband, George Qotcâci; Bear clan of Tewa
13. Emma Talámônôma, daughter of 10; husband, Albert Cikyâwaiima, Rabbit
14. Evelyn Skyáhuñexi, daughter of 12; single
15. Joy, daughter of 12; single
16. Dorice, daughter of 12; single
17. Pôli.icci, sister of 10; husband, dead, Ala, Horn
18. Frances Nôwáhuñonôma, daughter of 17; husband, Harold Yûò'tó, Snake
19. Miltona Pôcfmana, daughter of 17, dead; husband, Tom, son of Háaco, Snake
20. Hânakyô, mother of 17; husband, Tlé è(dead), Cloud
21. Taláwa, daughter of 20; husband, Albert CiunAheptlwa; Badger clan of Second Mesa
22. Úmau’tô, sister of 17; husband, Mûmi, Snake, divorced
23. Paláaiwatca, younger sister of 22; husband, Nash, Cloud-Corn
24. Nô’wa, sister of 7; husband, Lumá voya, Snake
25. Norma Naqwâñainôma, sister of 23; single
26. Annette Hûnuwísíomà, daughter of 22; single
27. Sam Pâvac’hîya, son of 20; wife, Tiny, Nanâ’t’mana, Bear clan of Tewa
28. Lômanañqucà, brother of 1; wife, Talâwañqa, Horn
29. Ed, Hûntotci, own son of 22
30. Dick, Hûntotci, own son of 22

MISHONGNOVI CLANS
1. Parrot clan, kyáciuyâmô
2. Kateina clan, qateñiñyâmô
3. Bear clan, hûniñyâmô
4. Carrying-strap clan, piaqôsñiñyâmô
5. ——bird clan, ñòçiñiñyâmô
6. Cedarwood-Fire clan, qôqopñyâmô
7. Badger clan, honâñiñyâmô
8. Butterfly clan, pôwuliniñyâmô
9. Squash clan, pâtañiñyâmô

**CENSUS OF MISHONGNOVI**

**Parrot Clan**

1. Nasñaiyapqa; divorced from Bear man of Shungopavi
2. Hômsiíima, brother of 1; wife, dead, Corn
3. Hûnuwisioñà, son of 1
4. Savô’k’a, son of 1
5. Taláññufunô’mà; husband, Qô’tsqwatiwa, Corn
6. Háyi, sister's son of 5
7. Qwáwíoma; wife, Bear of Shipaulovi (dead)
8. Lomáñówa, younger brother of 7; wife, Wiqtó, Butterfly
9. Robert Qóyánömtiwa; wife, Sallávi, tchó
10. Mánko Lomáviciomá, brother of 9; wife, Cikýayonicl, Corn
11. Hómfho.iníva, brother to 2; wife Carrying-strap
12. Abraham Talác'úfoniwá, brother to 11
13. Dinah Tóiwów'íma; husband, foreigner
14. Brown Siwó'yoqa'ó', baby boy of 13
15. Dick Qwádóhóyá, own brother of 13; away from Reservation
16. Óoyówá, brother of 5

**Katcina Clan**

1. Talásfónici, husband, Qówánicúwá, qáló clan of Shipaulovi
2. Tawáyunici, daughter of 1; husband, divorced, Chicken-hawk
3. Pofíyíyama, son of 1; wife, divorced, Chicken-hawk
4. Je.i.úuuma, son of 1; wife, foreigner
5. St'qósá, brother of 1; wife, Qóyuwainó'úma, qáló

**Bear Clan**

1. Tóvé weňqa; husband, dead, Corn
2. Sáki'ventiwa, son of 1
3. Kác'nómiqa, granddaughter of 1; husband, Masésvé, Badger
4. Qót'si weňqa, daughter of 3
5. ? , daughter of 3
6. ? , daughter of 3
7. Taláhoymá, son of 3
8. Qówányócnó'úma, sister of 3; husband, divorced, qáló clan
9. Qowánowó'ónóma, sister of 3; husband, Naqwáwai'tlwa, Reed
10. Masáfamisi, sister of 3
11. Pfkí; husband, Hómfvesúmá, Eagle
12. Pávéňqa, granddaughter of 11; husband, Qómawaimá, qáló
13. 'Tówá qoq', son of 12
14. Tcavátavá, son of 12
15. Tocívókiviá, son of 12
16. Qwávenisi, mother of 12; husband, Lománaqúiomá, Cloud
17. Páqójiqiomá, son of 16
18. Lomá'vi, son of 16
19. Yul'tsiomh, son of 16
20. Pfáktsnó'úma, daughter of 16
21. Lomáviva, son of 16
22. Sáki'móniwá; wife, dead, Cedarwood-fire
23. Stt'químá, brother of 22
24. Qómáło'tlwa, uncle of 22;1 wife, K'áciyaunó'úma, Butterfly
25. Qómánömtiwa, "brother" of 22; wife, Qóywamisił, Chicken-hawk
26. Qówándóhóyá, brother of 25; wife, Naqwásonó'má, Chicken-hawk

---

1The genealogies assign 22 to a distinct lineage.
27. Sákiwisiomà, “brother” of 22; wife, Húnufainömà, qáló
28. Talowiptima, nephew of 27; wife, qáló
29. Pátala, brother of 28; wife, Qótsowisnömà, Corn
30. Síyoyamà, brother of 29; wife, Síkyá veña, Corn
31. Síkyá yoomà, nephew of 30
32. Qó’tsiyesiwa, “brother” of 22; wife, Qómañósi, qáló
33. Pólió’ó; husband, Talásyöwusiyà, Chicken-hawk
34. Masafayahunó’mà, daughter of 33
35. Qwámiö’si, daughter of 33
36. Qómáyaanömà, husband, Kyácta, Badger
37. Há laihoyà, son of 36
38. Daughter of 36, name not known to informant
39. Cik-añóñöma; husband Hállaivi, Chicken-hawk
40. Qwáwisnìma, daughter of 39
41. Qwáhuñivá, son of 40
42. Daughter of 40, name not known to informant

Carrying-Strap Clan

1. Kyácwainömà; husband, Hómfhoiniva, Parrot
2. Cósinvà, son of 1
3. Cwúññónci, daughter of 1
4. Kyác’uyà, daughter of 1
5. Hónanhoinímà, daughter of 1; husband, Tówe’yaumìma, Corn
6. Yóyovellé, son of 5
7. Qó’tsuñqa, daughter of 1; husband, Ned Lomáiaístìwa, qáló
8. Tawá hoin íma, daughter of 7
9. Tóváhevinímà, sister’s daughter of 1; husband, Namόstiwa, Cloud
10. Qótsásiimà, uncle of 9; wife, dead, Parrot

Tcòcu (= a Small Purple Bird) Clan

1. Sàalak’ó; husband, Cikyá veema, qáló clan
2. Póleñoisì, daughter of 1; husband unknown
3. Simútsò’oma, son of 2
4. Pítvøñonö’mà, daughter of 2
5. Polívai’tìva, son of 1
6. Námqina, son of 1
7. TòwáñóyuñóÑòma, daughter of 1
8. Tawáñómòsì, daughter of 1
9. Tálaimána, daughter of 1
10. Qatehna, brother of 1
11. Sàllávi, sister of 1; husband, Robert Qóyanömítiwa, Parrot
12. Láqónomàna, daughter of 11
13. Kyá còzò, son of 11
14. Kyáci’estivá, son of 11
15. Lomatóqóma, son of 11
17. May Qwitchoinímà, daughter of 16
18. Sikyá wöli, son of 16
19. Tówi hóyomá, brother of 16
20. Lomátóna; wife, Qwá’ó’, Cloud
21. Nacitestíwa, brother of 20, uncle of 16; wife (dead) Chicken-hawk
22. Na bó’ttíwa, nephew of 20; wife, dead, Butterfly

Cedarwood-Fire Clan

1. Qwámama; husband, Yóto, Bear
2. Húnumóisí, daughter of 1
3. Tawáhuñuyá, son of sister of 1
4. Sák’úñá, brother of 1; wife, (dead), Butterfly
5. Talafunicí, sister of 1; husband, Hómi’íñainíwa, Chicken-hawk
6. Ô’iveñqá, daughter of 5
7. Qotsóñánómesí, daughter of 5
8. Qwáwaísí, daughter of 5
9. Qotsó’imó’ma, daughter of 5
10. Qoityávenqá, daughter of 5
11. Qotsqwaponó’ma, sister of 5; husband, Qótsowátiwa, qáló
12. Masáqwópnó’ma, daughter of 11
13. Tawá waí.isí, daughter of 11
14. Son of 11, name not known to informants
15. Tawá haiyomá, brother of 11, away at school (1916)
16. Qóts’évtíwa, brother of 11; wife (divorced), qáló
17. Qówáño’wójóqiomá, brother of 11, wife (divorced), Cloud
18. Qóyáhuñiuci, Sák’móniwa’s daughter
19. Hómnómisí, sister of 18
20. Sáqamásá, uncle of 18; wife, Tówánómoqá, Corn
21. Qótsoviyó’íma, brother of 1; wife, Qówáño’ó’tínóma, Corn
22. Mó’fya’ó’, uncle of 1; wife, Qá’ó, qáló

The last-named man really belongs to the tsiñyámö, Coyote clan, but being the only man left, he joined the qóqopn’álmó, this being a linked clan. According to Luke and his wife only Qwámama and her blood-kin are Qóqop people; all the rest are Coyote clansfolk who have emigrated from Oraibi.

Badger Clan

1. Qwáweñqá, Luke’s own sister; husband, Rudolf Tówéyoosla, Squash
2. Tečucuwisíma, daughter of 1
3. Sónowalsí, daughter of 1
4. Daughter of 1, whose name is not known to informant
5. Qó’tsáya.unó’ma, daughter of sister of mother of 1; husband, Sf.estiwá, Chicken-hawk
6. Qwáncunó’má, daughter of 5
7. Qatsfnamána, daughter of 51
8. Tallásmána, daughter of Qóyáwóiníci, who is dead

1 Also given in pedigree as daughter of sister of 9.
9. Luke Qōwánynōsiyà, brother of 1; wife, Tiwáñainòma, Bluebird
10. Sikyáhu'iýóma, own uncle of 9; wife, Tallási, qáłó
11. Mas'áva; wife, Kyásínómqà, Bear
12. Sunáhevitiwà, own brother of 11; wife, Talláwainòma, as clan of Sichumovi
13. Hōmi'nnóvtiwa, wife (dead), Bear
14. K'íaacta, own brother to 13; wife, Qōmáyaunòmà, Bear
15. Kyélílahuñwa, own brother to 13 and 14; wife, Yámisi, qáłó

The three last-named were own brothers of the grandmother of Qōyáwōinici, 16.

Butterfly Clan

1. Wi'q'tó, husband, Lomáñòwa, Parrot
2. Kyásiaunò'ma, daughter of 1; husband, Qōmáléstiwiwà, Bear
3. An'nsé, son of 2
4. Húnömutsowo', son of 2
5. Tsësiyamqa, daughter of 2
6. Tëcgómica, son of 2
7. Tòw'kahainòmà, daughter of 2
8. Qōwáyu'inò'ma, daughter1 of 1; husband, Nòváñainiwà, qáłó
9. Talláhoceñò'ma, daughter of 8
10. Tawáoyo.imà, son of 8
11. Tawáweñqa, daughter of 8
12. Qōyáveéma, son of 8
13. Yovvéñqa, own sister of 8; husband, Tövénetiwiwà, qáłó
14. Tawáyu.unò'ma, daughter of 13; husband, Òt'ma, Chicken-hawk
15. Baby boy of 14, name unknown to informants
16. Tallávéñqa, daughter of 13
17. Sôhó', son of 13
18. Qwávó'hó, son of 13
19. Póyalti, son of 13
20. Tawássóimà, son of 13
21. Tëcõcuñai.isi', daughter of 13; husband, Hōmi'ventiwiwà, qáłó
22. Qiyau.unò'ma, sister of 21; husband, Návenema, qáłó
23. Mi'lešlitiwà, brother of 1; wife (dead), Bear
24. Sákulestiwiwà, nephew of 23; wife, Polliqwáí, Chicken-hawk
25. Qivánöhëvtiwiwà, brother of 24; wife, Puñayai'yamqa, Carrying-Strap
26. Siwłamitiwà; wife, Nacòhömàna, qáłó

Squash Clan

1. Masáwai.isi; husband, Qōyáwai'tiwiwa, qáłó
2. Qōyáhoiñò'ma, daughter of 1; husband, Qōwánowaiimà, Sun clan of Shungopavi
3. K'íaçiyésiwa, son of 2
4. Qōtsiyammiś, sister of 2; husband, Páqavi, Horn clan of First Mesa
5. Qwáhoiñò'ma, daughter of 4
6. Qwáve éma, son of 4

1In the genealogies she is given as of a different lineage.
7. Tawá lletsno'ma, own daughter of 1; husband, Pulli‘waiimá, Lizard
8. Punióma, son of 7
9. Hóqonomána, daughter of 7
10. Óiwlsa, brother1 of 1; wife, dead, Parrot
11. Tallácowöhiamá, nephew of 10; wife, Tawámönömá, Corn
12. Tówiéyousiya, nephew of 11; wife, Qwávenqqa, Badger
13. Nóváová, brother of 12; wife, Qóyáñainöma, qálō

Chicken-Hawk Clan

1. Qówányamisí; husband, Hómnönmitwa, Bear
2. Síñqwa, son of 1
3. Lizzie, daughter 1
4. Húnhe vtiwa, son of 1
5. Yóyowisnõ'ma, daughter of 1
6. Táv hóyá, son of 1
7. Nóvhointwa, uncle of 1
8. Nóvävenisi, sister of 1; husband, Tówiényaqiomá, Corn
9. Mâ’tqwaiya, son of 8
10. e’petawi, son of 8
11. Qówánowisnõ’má, sister of 8; husband, dead, Badger
12. Húnhuñivá, grandson of 11
13. Húnwuñönömá, grandaughter of 11
14. Naqwai’snõ’má, “daughter” of 1; husband, Qowánönövä, Bear
15. Húnuveñqqa, daughter of 14
16. Tcócuwonisi, sister of 14; husband, divorced, qatcfna
17. Qá’ó, daughter of 16; husband, Tówáhoyo.imá, tóceu
18. Tcóyómaná, daughter of 17
19. O’poqiomá, son of 16
20. K’achowo.imá, son of 16
21. Pollí’qwavl, mother of 16; husband, Sákoletstiwá, Butterfly
22. K’áchönõ’má, daughter of 21
23. Lómávoli, son of 22
24. Baby girl of 22, not yet named
25. Cówi, son of 21
26. Yó’ó.usí, son of 21
27. Cucuíqiva, brother of 1; wife, K’éléñooci
28. Tallásyöösìá, brother of 27; wife, Póleo’ó, Bear
29. Hálalívi, brother of 28; wife, Sikyáñainõma’, Bear
30. Hómi’ñainíva, brother of 29; wife, Tallai.unici, Cedarwood-Fire
31. Honáncójó, nephew of 29; wife, Tówiñönömá, Lizard
32. Nóqevó, brother of 31; wife, Tówiñañayamqà, Snow clan of Shungopavi
33. Tcósnömultiwa, brother of 32; wife, a Pima Indian
34. Lomalk’ajó, brother of 33; wife, Bear
35. Sfyestiwa; wife, Qó’tsyahunówá, Badger
36. Henry Yóyañwó
37. Óiiimá; wife, Tawáiunõ’ma, Butterfly

7 appears in an older generation than 1 in the genealogy
Eagle Clan

1. Hōmi‘vèema; wife, Pfki, Bear
2. Sikya yamtiva, nephew of 1; wife, Tawai‘ yamisi, Bear clan of Shungopavi
3. Húncózö, nephew of 2; is away at school

2, having gone to Shungopavi to live with his wife there, told another man to occupy the Eagle house of the village, viz., Naqwá wai‘tiva, an Oraibi of the Reed clan, whose wife, Qōwánow‘nòna, is of the Bear clan.

Corn Clan

1. Tōwánömqa, husband; Saq‘masá, Cedarwood-Fire
2. Qōyá wai.imà, son of 1
3. Cikyá tai.i, son of 1
4. Naqwá ya.oma, son of 1
5. Nasf qwai.o, son of 1
6. Sikyafonicl, daughter of 12; husband, Lomáwiciawá, Parrot
7. Polliwisnö‘ma, daughter of 6
8. Lomaístiwa, son of 6
9. Daughter of 6, name not known to informants
10. A’tó qōqō, brother of 6; now away at school
11. Tcāmi‘imà, brother of 6
12. Qōwánöö’nöma, mother of 6; husband, Qōts‘öwëyaomà, Cedarwood-Fire
13. Ó’sawa, son of 12
14. Cikyávéñqà, daughter of 12; husband, Cifioyàoma, Bear
15. Húnnyamà, daughter of 14
16. Baby boy of 14, name not known to informants
17. Lottie Tawa mänöma, sister of 14; husband, Tálácowöhöømà, Squash
18. Húnvøemà, son of 17
19. Hā‘imà, brother of 14
20. Lomá wönóyà, uncle of 14
21. Qō’tsůwisnöma, sister of 14; husband, Pátala, Bear
22. Húnhoyiomà, son of 21
23. Húnnumo‘ma, daughter of 21
24. Qō’tsqwałtwá; wife, Tálás‘uñunö‘ma, Parrot
25. Tőveñyaiqiomá, brother of 24; wife, Nővávennisi, Chicken-hawk

Cloud Clan

1. Qwähö; husband, Nomátöna, toču
2. Tcéócvenniel (albino), daughter of 1; husband, (divorced) Cedarwood-Fire
3. Mávcí, son of 2
4. Qōyátaio, son of 2
5. Sikyáwiciomà, son of 2
6. Cifiohununö‘ma, daughter of 2
7. Plaqó‘ca, son of 2
8. Tcéówȯaŋqua, daughter of 1
9. Talláqwavenóma, granddaughter of 1
10. Tafíma, grandson of 1
11. Penema, grandson of 1
12. Qwålňunóma; husband, dead, Badger
13. Tawání, own sister of 9, 10, 11
14. Sikýá naqvó, uncle of 12
15. Cfwínó, brother of 12
16. Namústíwa, brother of 1; wife, Tóváhevnóma, Carrying-strap
17. Naqwá huňuwa, brother of 16; wife, Tóváchuňust, qáló

Lizard Clan

1. Qómáqmanqa; husband, Lómá qóiva, Carrying-strap of other village
2. Kélleféicí, daughter of 1; husband, Cucúnqiwa, Chicken-hawk
3. Naqwáhóma, daughter of 2
4. Son of 2, name not known to informant
5. Naqwafesiwá, son of 1
6. Óqóto, grandson of 12
7. Máwiqi, grandson of 1
8. Tówá ciwaiá, grandson of 1
9. Tóvé'ónóma, daughter of 1; husband, Humánició, Chicken-hawk
10. Puliwaiíma, son of 1; wife, Tawálteqánóma, Squash
11. Lómánaqecó, brother of 10; wife (dead) tcšcu

CENSUS OF SHIPAULOVI

The village of Shipaulovi presents the peculiarity of comprising only two clans, in other words, of having a moiety organization. Or, to be more precise, its organization would have conformed to the ordinary moiety type were it not for the fact that marriages were open with individuals from other villages, so that a considerable number of men resident in Shipaulovi in 1916 came from Mishongnovi, Shungopavi, Oraibi, and the First Mesa, while of course Shipaulovi men have emigrated to other villages in accordance with the rules of matrilocal residence. According to one statement, the preponderance of Qdló people was not always so great and there was consequently less tendency to seek mates from other villages, whence the informant derived the once greater frequency of cross-cousin marriages or, at all events, of marriage between a man and a woman classed with his father's sister.

On the other hand, two old women noted the former existence of a third clan, the Cloud clan, to which Qómáqwaqenóma's father was said to have belonged. These informants at first said they knew of no other clan ever regarded as native to Shipaulovi. Later, however, they spoke

---

9, 10, and 11 are children of a deceased daughter of 1.
12, 7, and 8 are children of the daughter of 9, who lives in another house.
of Naqwaíamqa’s father as having been a Shipaulovi man of the Carry-
ing-strap clan. They explained that this clan had existed at Shipaulovi long ago, but that all the women had died and that the men had joined the Bear clan. The census gives independent evidence of the former existence of a Carrying-strap clan at Shipaulovi (see Qålō clan, no. 52). It would thus seem that at Shipaulovi the dual division, such as it is, resulted from a secondary reduction in the number of clans, a theoretically interesting fact.1

Of the forty-eight marriages outside Shipaulovi, twenty-six are definitely known to have been with Mishongnovi individuals and this number would probably be increased by three if I had not failed to ascertain the clan affiliations of dead spouses in these cases. Shungopavi ranks next with thirteen cases, the First Mesa furnishes four, Oraibi, and an unspecified foreign tribe, one each.

Ignoring local affiliations and including the two cases of Qōmāqwa-
fenôma’s husband and father, we can tabulate the data for unions between clans as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bear</th>
<th>Qålō</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qålō</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken-hawk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squash</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachina</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterfly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying-strap</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedarwood</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluebird</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this tabulation the unions between Bear and Qålō people are not duplicated, so that the record indicates a total of fifteen such unions. Owing to the depletion of the Bear people their potential preference cannot be determined from the data. With regard to the Qålō clan it would be rash to infer any disinclination on the part of its members to mate with any particular clan. Of the Mishongnovi clans only the Eagle, Parrot, Lizard, and Chicken-hawk people are wholly unrepresented; and of these the Eagles are practically extinct, and the Parrots and Lizards form small groups. On the other hand, it is possible that the

---

absence of marriages between Chicken-hawks and Qálö is significant, for the latter clan is associated with the sun and in Fewkes’s classification the Sun and Chicken-hawk are linked. The figures tabulated above may be combined so as to indicate the extent to which the Qálö married into those “phratic” associations of clans now recognized as linked on the Second Mesa (see p. 332). Then we find that unions with phratries VI and VIII are not represented, while those with the remaining groups are as follows: I—3; II—19; III—2; IV—7; VII—11.

Bear Clan (hunińyamö)

1. Qówánnevenisł (Sophy); husband (divorced), e’petāvi, Chicken-hawk clan of Mishongnovi
2. Qwáyecnōma, daughter of 1
3. Qówánhuhunōma; husband, Lomaśkyajo, Chicken-hawk clan of Mishongnovi
4. Tsē'ōmāna
5. Cikyáneyamqā (Elsie), sister of 4
6. A daughter of 3
7. Cikyáqóqō, brother of 4
8. Cōnniavā, brother of 4
9. Tála, brother of 4
10. Talláwaiómá, brother of 4
11. Hómbohoñova, brother of 3; wife (dead), Chicken-hawk
12. Tallásamōñivā, brother of 11; wife, Qótsásavatas, qálō
13. Macáqwativā, parallel cousin of 1 and 3; wife, Tówa’qabənōma, qálō of Oraibi clan
14. Cikyalletstivā, uncle of 13; wife, Pávünènmaná, qálō
15. Lómánentoñi; wife (dead), qálō
16. Qówánnahuńivá, nephew of 15; wife, Squash clan of Mishongnovi

Qálō Clan

1. Svéña, daughter of Hunávisi (dead); husband, Wō’pa, Flute clan,² of First Mesa
2. Qóyáwainṓma, sister of 1; husband, Sʰ’qóvá, Kachina clan of Mishongnovi
3. Qoqúsojé, son of 2
4. Tsáyaomá, son of 2
5. Puñyáñomoqą́, daughter of 2
6. Katel’námama, daughter of 2
7. Qómáwai’má, brother of 1; wife, Pávenqa, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
8. Sáqwiesnōma, maternal grandmother of 1; husband (dead), Corn clan of Mishongnovi
9. Cikya’p’ki, brother of 8; wife (dead), Cloud clan of Hano

²He was designated as a lítünwa, which my interpreter this time translated “Grass clan.”
10. Talássi, daughter of 8; husband, Sikyáho’ta’ima, Badger clan of Mishongnovi
11. Qó’tsiyóso’ma (Jessie), daughter of 10
12. Návenné, son of 10; wife, Sñuunó’ma, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
13. Qóya’ño’ma, daughter of 10; husband, Nóváova, Squash clan of Mishongnovi
14. Shloanó’ma (Catherine), daughter of 13
15. Yó’ucimá, brother of 10
16. Teécoqtó, grandson of 10 by deceased daughter
17. Hágsye, grandson of 10 by another deceased daughter
18. Hóji’sqwapó, daughter of 8; husband (dead), Bear clan of Shungopavi
19. Qóma’ttósí, daughter of 18; husband, Qó’tciyesva, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
20. Paló’oñhauoyá, son of 19
21. Pulli’wainó’ma, daughter of 19
22. A baby daughter of 19
23. Lomáfaitává, son of 18; wife, (divorced, living in Shungopavi), Carrying-strap
24. Nasi’yaam’tiva, son of 18
25. Tóvëhuñusi, daughter of 18; husband, Naqwáhuñuva, Cloud clan of Mishongnovi
26. Páqhuyá, son of 25
27. Páñojwa, son of 25
28. Masáhuñusi, granddaughter of 18
29. Pulli’wòńqá, granddaughter of 18
30. Qó’tsówal’tiwá, son of 18; wife, Qó’tsqwanó’ma, Cedarwood-fire clan of Mishongnovi
31. Húñyaquha, granddaughter of 18; husband, Tálówitávimá, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
32. Máq’tsaaluá, brother of 31
33. Qó’mábi, brother of 31
34. Yámsi; husband, Kélehuñvá, Badger clan of Mishongnovi
35. Nas’ó’, daughter of 34; husband, Sívlyamti’va, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
36. Sikyáhuñunó’ma, daughter of 35
37. Húnuwa’ó, son of 35
38. Kyácwóñqa, granddaughter of 34
39. Péntima, grandson of 34\(^1\)
40. Húnuñainó’ma, daughter of 34; husband, Sák’wisiomá, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
41. Kyájo, daughter of 40
42. Kyáciyavítává, son of 40
43. Cínó’tivá, brother of 40; wife (divorced), Bear clan of Hano
44. Hómi’ventivá, brother of 40; wife, Teóchuñaisi’, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
45. Húnuwai’tiva, son of sister of mother of 34; wife, Cloud clan of Shungopavi
46. Teócuñvá, brother of 45; wife, Nówañnó’ma, Carrying-strap clan of Shungopavi
47. Qóma’tétiva, brother of 46; lives in foreign tribe

\(^1\)Also given as the son of a dead sister of 34.
48. Pávütsnöňá; husband, Tö'fuwa, Carrying-strap clan of Shungopavi
49. Maci'wól, daughter of 48
50. Tóvéñočtiwa, brother of 48; wife, Yovi'vaqa, Butterfly
51. Loma'hiyínwá, brother of 48; wife, Qówánwenéquina, Cloud
52. Qómáqwañosnéma; husband (dead), Carrying-strap clan of Shipaulovi
53. Qóyáwai'tiwa, son of 52; wife, Masáwaisi, Squash clan of Mishongnovi
54. Sik'ávefa, son of 52; wife, Sá'alakó, Bluebird clan of Mishongnovi
55. Qá'ó, sister of 52; husband, Mó'ya'ó, Coyote clan of Mishongnovi
56. Súnwáwá', daughter of 55; husband, Táwáñootiwa, Cloud clan of Shungopavi
57. Qó'tsúyínóma, daughter of 56
58. Yo'qwyima, son of 56
59. O'mau'ó, daughter of 56; husband, Qwámóniva, Snow (nóvá) clan of Shungopavi
60. Nówáhuńwá, son of 59
61. Nówáyeswá, son of 59
62. Nówáyesnöma, daughter of 59
63. Páhuńnöma, sister of 59; husband, Qómáletstívá, Cloud clan of Shungopavi
64. Naqwái'ama; husband (dead), Bear
65. Hómai'amici, daughter of 64; husband, Nl'tioma, Flute clan of First Mesa
66. Sí'ñainóma, daughter of 65; husband, Nówávai'tiwa, Bear clan of Shungopavi
67. Táwa'máná, daughter of 66
68. Tó'qwáwa, son of 66
69. Caqwápó', daughter of 66; husband, Tawávónó, Bluebird clan of Shungopavi
70. Qówándísíma, son of 66; wife, Talláshóníci, Kachina clan of Mishongnovi
71. Hahá', daughter of own sister of 64; husband, Qówánnyéstíwa, Bear clan of Shipaulovi
72. Hómyámítíva, brother of 71; wife (dead), Bear clan of Shipaulovi
73. Húnyóisí, son of 71
74. Tećójómaníci, daughter of 71
75. Húnúwisnö'ma, daughter of 71
76. Qóyánhumúmana, daughter of 71
77. Tsojónoqwa, son of 71
78. Qówánañainóma
79. Tećúnőísi, daughter of 78; husband, Masáëmivá, Corn clan of Mishongnovi
80. Masávéñga, daughter of 79; husband, Pásiivaiyá, Kachina clan of Shungopavi
81. K'éllowisnöma, daughter of 80
82. Síqwátiwá, son of sister of 80
83. Páqwa, sister of 82
84. Páesíva, brother of 83
85. Pulíhuńqá, sister of 84

1According to the genealogy, a daughter of 65's sister.
2Living at the Mission in 1916.
86. Qōtsávat'sa (Bertha), daughter of 79; husband, Tallásmōniva, Bear clan of Shipaulovi
87. Yōyovennsi, daughter of sister of 86
88. Qōmát'iva, brother of 80; wife, Talláwisnómá, Carrying-strap clan of Shungopavi
89. Lomá'istívá, brother of 88; wife, Qōítshuñqá, Carrying-strap clan of Mishongnovi
90. Qōmá'amtívá, son of sister of mother of 34
91. Pavú'nemaná, sister of 78; husband, Ciyállétstívá, Bear clan of Shipaulovi
92. Nóváhoyomá, son of 91; wife, (divorced), Bear clan of Mishongnovi
93. Nóváñainíwa, son of 91; wife, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
94. Qōmáwisíomá, son of sister of 91, wife, (divorced), Corn clan of Mishongnovi
95. Húncoho, brother of 8; wife, Cloud clan of Shungopavi

CLAN AND MATERNAL LINEAGE

Doctor A. A. Goldenweiser has drawn a useful distinction between the maternal family and the clan of the Iroquois.1 In aboriginal theory no distinction is drawn, i.e., the clan members are conceived as the descendants of a single ancestress, as blood-kin. However, it is not possible to prove the actual kinship of clan-mates except in a limited number of clans, and according to Doctor Goldenweiser's estimate the Iroquois clan of the seventeenth century embraced from two to five maternal families, i.e., distinct matrilineal stocks. These units were nameless, yet functioned none the less clearly in Iroquois life. Though in native theory offices were associated with clans, an objective investigation shows that they were primarily connected with the maternal family, and only when the list of blood-kindred through the same ancestress was exhausted did the title pass to one of the other maternal families of the clan.

On my first visit to the Hopi in 1915 I arrived at the conclusion that the clans of the First Mesa were in reality maternal families differing from those of the Iroquois mainly in bearing names. This impression I conveyed in my reports from the field to Doctors Wissler and Goddard. For example, I wrote as follows:

I have two nascent ideas. One is that the clans are really what Goldenweiser among the Iroquois calls a “maternal family.” The number of members in those clans of which I have so far attempted a census is surprisingly small and all seem to be related. Now this obviously differs widely from a clan in which many members cannot trace blood-kinship. Secondly, certain statements seem to indicate that clanship depends somewhat on ownership of certain houses, but on that point I am less positive.2

1Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Canada, for the Calendar Year 1913, 368 seq.
The following summer, however, I re-visited the First Mesa and also took a careful census of Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi, which led me to reject the hypothesis formed. I then wrote:—

My last year's impression that a clan represents a single maternal family is only partly borne out. I have just constructed some genealogical tables, which in a number of instances reveal two distinct families, i.e., families whose informants can no longer trace blood kinship though insisting on the clan bond.¹

Since then Doctor Elsie Clews Parsons has independently arrived at the conclusion that the Hopi clans are matrilineal groups of real blood-kindred.

My present attitude may be summarized as follows. Of the existence and the importance of the maternal lineage² among the Hopi there can be no doubt. Whenever the statement is made that a certain office or ceremonial privilege belongs to a clan, concrete data always show that transmission is, above all, within the narrow circle of actual blood-kin and only secondarily extends to unrelated clansmen. The question remains, however, to what extent the clans as now constituted among the Hopi coincide with the maternal family and here the evidence varies for different clans. I prefer to discuss the problem only for Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi because there I took special pains to discriminate between actual and mere clan relationship. The results are as follows, the figure after each clan name indicating the number of distinct matrilineal lineages, i.e., lineages between which my informants fail to discover any bond of blood-kinship:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Mishongnovi Maternal Lineages</th>
<th>Shipaulovi Maternal Lineages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parrot</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Qálok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluebird</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterfly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedarwood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken-hawk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squash</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying-strap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the thirteen Mishongnovi clans, there are thus seven which coincide with single lineages and of the remainder the majority are composed of

¹Letter of September 17, 1916.
²Since “family” has definite connotations, Gifford’s term “lineage” seems preferable for a unilateral group of real blood-kin.
only two lineages. I have here cited the Cedarwood clan as in the former category, though in my census no less than three lineages are represented. However, only one of these groups properly represents the Mishongnovi clan of that name, a second is represented by a sole survivor of the linked Coyote clan of Mishongnovi, the third by Coyote immigrants from Oraibi. Cases of this sort are not isolated among the Hopi; that is to say, in a number of cases the union of two or more matrilineal lineages in one clan is demonstrably due to similar factors. I am therefore inclined to assume with Dr. Parsons that basically the Hopi clans are maternal lineages. If I nevertheless retain the term “clans,” it is because it is preferable not to inject hypothetical elements into mere description.

The several lineages are presented in the Appendix in genealogical form (see p. 347 seq.).

**Linked Clans**

As appears likewise from earlier accounts, the Hopi clans are linked into larger units, which have sometimes been designated as phratries. In this connection it is essential to distinguish between actual clans, present or known to have become extinct within the memory of men still living, and mere clan names associated together by native theorists. Professor Kroeber has shown1 that distinct clans corresponding to each and every one of the names recorded are inconceivable since such an hypothesis would reduce the average clan to a membership of four individuals. It seems that for different reasons pairs or whole series of designations are linked by the Hopi: sometimes the associated names really correspond to distinct, but linked, clans; sometimes they are regarded as distinct names for the same clan; sometimes there is no pretense that certain of the names were ever in historic times borne by any Hopi group, yet they are given in an enumeration of clans in association with the names of certain definite clans now extant. My own data would suggest a considerably greater tendency to link clan names at Mishongnovi than on the First Mesa, but Doctor Fewkes’s lists prove that the inclination is by no means less developed at Walpi and Sichumovi. In the little village of Shipaulovi, with its two clans, of course no linkage was to be expected.

I present herewith the lists secured at Mishongnovi and on the First Mesa.2

---

1This series, vol. 18, 137.

2I accept several names of Doctor Fewkes’s list, on the assumption that as a zoologist he was able to make a determination of species. Thus, my interpreter gave merely Hawk for pigeon-hawk and Chicken-hawk, Stork for Crane, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mishongnovi</th>
<th>First Mesa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Parrot</td>
<td>kyáciñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kachina</td>
<td>qatchñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Raven</td>
<td>ańwo'cñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bear</td>
<td>hunitàñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Carrying-strap</td>
<td>piaqó'sñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Spider</td>
<td>qú'kyañyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bluebird</td>
<td>teñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A Digging Animal</td>
<td>mō'ñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bear's Eye</td>
<td>(wñosíñyamó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Cedarwood-Fire</td>
<td>qúqopnyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Red-headed Men</td>
<td>mácìñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Coyote</td>
<td>fciñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Badger</td>
<td>honáñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Butterfly</td>
<td>půwuliñyamó, puliñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Tobacco</td>
<td>þñàñyamó, þñíñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Cottontail Rabbit</td>
<td>táñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Porcupine</td>
<td>mōñyáñññyanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Squash</td>
<td>pátàññyanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pigeon-hawk</td>
<td>qéliñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Crane</td>
<td>atů'ñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Chicken-hawk</td>
<td>mañqwaiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Eagle</td>
<td>qwiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Wild Turkey</td>
<td>qoyúñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Corn</td>
<td>þk'ecñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Cloud</td>
<td>þñkñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Plant with yellow blossom</td>
<td>sivñäññyanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Lizard</td>
<td>qő'qótiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Sand</td>
<td>təvññyanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Snake</td>
<td>tcñiñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Snake</td>
<td>liñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Horse</td>
<td>lñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Reed</td>
<td>pñqapnynamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Greasewood</td>
<td>tñpñyamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Mustard</td>
<td>ññyamó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the names secured on the two Mesas coincide only in part and though certain clans represented on one are wholly lacking on the other, there is little positive disagreement regarding the arrangement.

\(^1\) The native name given to the Corn clan at the First Mesa was qa'ñyamó. The Mishongnovi term given above is translated "Young Corn Ear" by Mr. Voth: Dorsey, George A. and Voth, H. R., "The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities" (Anthropological Series, Field Columbian Museum, vol. 3, no. 3, 1902), 175.

\(^2\) This properly means Water-house (Dorsey and Voth, ibid., 175).
of names common to both. In Walpi, no less than at Mishongnovi Charcoal and Coyote, Tobacco and Cottontail, Cloud and Corn, Lizard and Snake, Badger and Butterfly are united. The only significant difference lies in the fact that my Walpi informant separated Badger and Butterfly from Tobacco and Cottontail, while the Mishongnovi list groups all four together.

As regards the connection of clans the following information was given at Mishongnovi:

An old Parrot man said he could not explain why the Parrot and Kachina people belong together, but made an obscure remark about a quarrel and consequent division. He could recall no case of intermarriage between these two clans. He regards the old Kachina people as his brothers and sisters, the younger men and women as his sister's children. The sense of relationship extends to Kachina clansfolk of the First Mesa. The Raven (Crow) people are said to have once lived in Mishongnovi, but they became extinct and the Kachina clan got their land. Dorsey and Voth assign one of their Antelope fraternity members to three clans at the same time, viz., the Crow, Kachina, and Cooyoko.

Concerning the second group of names it is important to note that only the Bear, Carrying-strap, and Bluebird clans occur in the census. The Spider and Bear's-eye clans were said to be extinct in Mishongnovi, but still to be found in Oraibi, while the mō'yiñamo were not represented in either village. It is interesting to find that Dorsey and Voth list one member of the Snake fraternity as belonging to both the Carrying-strap and the Bluebird clan.1

Concerning the combination of names associated in this group I was told that the subsequent Bear clan people encountered a dead bear lying down and made a carrying-strap from its skin. From its sinews the Spider made its web, while the tcō'jo developed from the bones when the corpse had been reduced to a skeleton. Up one of the bones climbed the mō'yi, a corn-eating burrowing animal smaller than the rat. Finally the bear's eyes came out of their sockets. In consequence the people adopted all of these names. The present Hopi do not know where this happened, but the older people talk about it.

In the third group the Red-headed Men occur neither in Mishongnovi nor in Oraibi. Dorsey and Voth assign one of their Antelope fraternity men to both the Wood and Fire (tovu) clans at the same time. They also list a man of the Yellow Fox clan, which according to Fewkes's

1Dorsey and Voth, ibid., 175.
2Described as a purple bird, translated “bluebird” by Mr. Voth and Doctor Fewkes.
data, is linked with the Qóqop. Of the Mishongnovi Coyote people the solitary survivor in 1916, Mó'ñya'ñ, had joined the Cedarwood-Fire clan. It is apparently one of the functions of a clan to absorb remnants of a linked clan. As stated in the census, the qó'qopnyamo of today include not only the surviving Mishongnovi Coyote man, but also a large family of Oraibi immigrants originally reckoned as Coyote people.

With respect to the fourth combination of names I learned that no Porcupine people are known to have ever lived in Mishongnovi, and that no members of the Tobacco or Cottontail clan are now living. Luke thus explained why he functioned in the qwáquantó ceremony (performed at the time of the wó'wótcúmetó), which is the property of the Cedarwood-Fire clan: as a Badger person he is connected with tobacco and has the privilege, inherited from a superannuated mother’s brother, of offering smoke in this ritual. If he had no clansman to transmit the prerogative to, he would look for a successor among his “nephews” of the surviving linked Butterfly clan. Another point of interest is that the name given to Luke’s daughter, Qwítchoinima, by her father’s mother’s mother refers to smoke from Indian tobacco. That is to say, the name-giver could select a name associated not with her own clan but one linked with it.

Of the clans associated with the Squash the Crane people had never been seen here by my informant, but according to tradition they were once numerous, while the Pigeon-hawks are not known to have ever dwelt in Mishongnovi.1

In the group headed by the Chicken-hawk clan the Wild Turkey people were quite extinct and according to another man never residents, while the Eagles were reduced to three male survivors, of whom one had moved to Shungopavi, leaving the clan house in the custody of an Oraibi Reed man. It is important to note that in Fewkes’s list Eagle and Reed are linked.

My informants did not know of any of the sivávíniyamó associated with the Corn and Cloud people ever living in Mishongnovi. Two of Dorsey and Voth’s Antelope members are assigned to the Water House (Batki) and Cloud (Omawwu) clans simultaneously.

Of the last group the Sand people were said to be extinct, though once represented here; but the Snake clan found on other Mesas, while considered related to the Lizards, never existed at Mishongnovi.

The Mustard people never existed at Mishongnovi, so far as my informant knows.

On the first Mesa I obtained the following information:—

The Kachina clan is not linked in the Hopi villages but the Hano people of the First Mesa combine the Cottonwood with the Kachina people. Fewkes, however, links with the Kachina the Cottonwood, Spruce, Blackbird, Yellow Bird, Raven, and Parrot people.

The Horn and Flute people, though not separated in my census (they are by Fewkes), were once distinct groups that met and joined on their way to the Mesa. The same likewise applies to the relations of the Badger and Butterfly people.

The Snake clan was at Walpi first, next came the Horn and Flute people. The Snake clan did not want these to settle for fear of trouble with the newcomers, but these promised to make rain if allowed to settle. Accordingly they were permitted to dwell at Walpi and the Flute ceremony in part dramatizes this legendary occurrence. The Snake and Flute people call each other by kinship terms although they are distinct.

On the other hand, Lewis Léhungwa insisted that his own clan was at once the Corn and Cloud clan; that, in other words, these were merely two designations for one group of people that had never been anything but a homogeneous body. Informants of the Second Mesa, however, declared with equal vigor that the "Corn-Cloud" folk of the First Mesa embraced three distinct lineages; Yúñai and Nasíñainóma are real Corn people who emigrated from Mishongnovi; Sikyañamici and Vénci, as well as some others, are Cloud people; and the remainder are properly síwáñiyamó. Luke says that when Sikyañamici and Vénci come to visit on the Second Mesa they go to Namústiwa of the Cloud (Water-house) people; on the other hand, Yúñai and Nasíñainóma visit Tówánómqa, a Corn man. He does not recall that any of the síwáñiyamó have visited the Second Mesa. This information is certainly most suggestive and shows how desirable it is to check up data obtained in one village with comments from natives of another.

The following remarks were made about linked clans.

The Sand-Lizard people are related to the Snake clan because on their way to the First Mesa their children played with a snake, while the older people made prayer offerings to it and got rain thereby. Hence the Snake and Lizard people regard themselves as related to each other and use kinship terms in mutual address. A Snake man would not marry a Lizard woman. This statement was confirmed by Cálak'ú, but see below.
Yaqwà, on the extinction of his own clan (given as Badger, but also on another occasion as Grizzly which is almost certainly wrong) joined the Butterfly people, because the Badger and the Butterfly people met in traveling to the Hopi country.

In first speaking of his clan affiliation, Lewis described himself as an u'ma'ô' (Cloud) and a qaô (Corn) individual, but subsequently he preferred to use the term pátka (Water-house) in preference to the former. In Fewkes's list these names, among others, appear as designations of separate linked clans. In referring to his father, Lewis spoke of him as an ãsawûnwa (Mustard individual) but also as a hûcuwuûnwa (Chapparal Cock, Fewkes). Lewis's father-in-law is both a Rabbit and a Tobacco man.

Lewis once spoke of a Pumpkin clan (bahâtiyamô) linked with a Cotton clan (pûcûpnyamô).

Mûmi made the following statement.

Long ago the people did not live on the Mesa. When some distance from it, the Snake and Horn people were separated from the Flutes; hence, they did not all arrive simultaneously, the Snakes and Horns being the first clans to get here.1 The children were crying, so in order to make them cease crying their elders gave them objects they saw on the way to play with, e.g., cactus blossoms. Câlak'u told the identical story. Thus the cactus blossom became associated with this clan ("the cactus blossom would become a clan"). In recent times many people have died so that only a few of Mûmi's clan (snake) remain, wherefore the Snakes, Horns and Flutes have joined the Lizards and Pumpkins. This happened about fifty years ago.

The Water-plant and Frog people joined the Cloud and Corn people, making four clans in all.2 There being only one Bear man left, viz., Qâtqa, he joined the Sun people3 of Hano. The Snake, Flute, and Horn people intermarry "because a snake always goes into the same hole," but the Corn and Cloud people do not regard it as proper to intermarry. However, Mâqto contradicted Mû'ni, saying that the Snake, Flute, and Horn people did not intermarry.

Hâaco, Qâwoco, and their grandmother, Câlak'u, were really Lizard-Sand women but the Snake men had no women to keep their houses for them, so the people told these women to keep house for them. Thus

1Another informant said the three clans came from different places but arrived about the same time, hence, joined for ceremonies.
2Thus Mûmi, like Luke but in opposition to Lewis, regards Clouds and Corn people as distinct; though related.
3Doctor Parsons explains that there is no such clan at Hano, but that the Hano Bear clan conducts the Solstice ceremonies, whence obviously my informant's statement.
they became Snake women and carried water for the Snake men during the Snake ceremony. Cálik’u spoke of herself as a Snake woman and is so classed by Fewkes. According to another informant she was a survivor of the Cactus clan and joined the Snakes.

Cupela said that his father’s mother, Qoyatayo, was of the Spider (q’a’qañ) clan, which is now quite extinct. Qútqa’s sister by another mother was the last representative of this clan. According to Fewkes, Qútqa himself is really of the Spider clan and of the Bear phratry, but this is not in agreement with my information.

Taláci’s wife belonged to the Pumpkin clan originally but there were some old Sun people who died, so the people gave her their house and she became a Sun person, her children likewise being reckoned as Sun people. Adam was alone and gave his house to Taláci’s wife; he was no relative of hers, only a friend.2

Most of the Tewa people are Tobacco people. The Rabbit and Tobacco people met long ago; hence, the linking of these clans.

Cálik’u said the Lizard people had no ceremonies, for this reason they joined the Snakes. She linked the Reed, Eagle, Greasewood, Butterfly, and Badger clans. Of these Fewkes includes the first three (together with others) in one phratry, and the last two (with others) in another phratry. She also linked Bear and Sun people, who were not connected by Fewkes’s informants.

**TOTEMISM**

As among the Zuñi, the clans are associated with certain sacred objects, corresponding to Kroeber’s “fetiches.” Thus, the Butterfly clan was said to have a winged idol of cottonwood bark, the Cloud clan masks, the Horn clan horned masks, the Snake clan a bow with a skin tied to it, the Bear clan a small bear effigy fashioned from a hard rock, the Kachina clan masks and idols of cottonwood in the semblance of little children.

However, 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 kills bears. Except at the time of the Snake dance the Snake people kill snakes, but a contrary statement was also noted. When the Hopi were engaged in hunting coyotes, the Coyote


2The informant apparently identifies Sun and Eagle clan, for Adam is usually referred to as an Eagle person.
clan at first do not participate, saying, "I must not hit him, he is my uncle," but later they do not scruple about it. Men from other clans make fun of the Coyote clan by throwing coyotes up into the air.

As noted elsewhere, the Rabbit clan has the privilege of heralding a rabbit hunt because the Rabbit people own the rabbits. But they were also considered owners of the deer and accordingly heralded a deer hunt also.

**Political Clan Functions**

Offices, both ceremonial and political—the two concepts are not strictly separable among the Hopi—, are associated with clans through the principle of matrilineal descent. That is to say, primarily an office descends from brother to brother or maternal uncle to sister's son within what Doctor Goldenweiser calls a maternal family, or what is in this paper designated as a lineage; in the absence of matrilineal kin the privilege devolves on an unrelated clansman; and if none such exists, some member of a linked clan is substituted.

At Shipaulovi the chief told me that his office had always been held by a Bear man. In Mishongnovi there was rotation of office, representatives of the Bear, Cloud, and Parrot clans taking turns for about four years each. The crier was always taken from the Cedarwood-Fire clan; the present incumbent had been preceded by his brother. In Walpi the herald announcing a rabbit hunt belongs to the Rabbit clan, but in Mishongnovi I was told that the clan affiliations of this functionary are immaterial. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the herald who acted on September fourteenth, 1916, was a Badger man, i.e., belonged to a clan linked with the Rabbit clan, which is not now represented in this village. On the First Mesa Tóno'a, Flute clan, was chief in 1915 and 1916, and, according to Lewis, the office had always been held by a member of that clan.

**Clans and Ceremonial Associations**

On the basis of Doctor Fewkes's concrete data Professor Kroeber has arrived at the conclusion that there is no essential bond between any Hopi fraternity and the clan sharing its appellation or at least traditionally regarded as founder of the ceremonial organization in question. He shows, first, that in any one association the founders are far from numerically preponderant, all sorts of other clans being likewise represented; and, further, that the members of any particular clan largely belong to other associations than the one supposedly preferred.1

1Kroeber, *this series*, vol. 18, 150-152.
The data I obtained on the First and Second Mesa support Professor Kroeber's general conclusion, but with the important qualification that the preferential clan supplies the head priest and that in certain cases all clansmen are conceived as at least potential participants in a ceremony.

My record for the Mishongnovi Snake dance should be compared with Dorsey and Voth's,1 the latter relating to the ceremony of 1901, mine presumably to that of 1915. I obtained the following individual names of members: Lománaquci, Naqwafisiwa, Pullswaiimá, and Tówasiwa, Lizard clan; Lomáqöwa, Carrying-strap; Tövéñyaqiomà, Corn; Nahostiwa, Bluebird; Hómoñiima, Parrot; Sákmöniwa, Bear; Hőmfnainiwa, Síniqwa, O'poqiomá, Cucúñqiwa, Chicken-hawk; Sáktstwiwá, Butterfly, Qó'tsvoyatumá, Coyote; Luke Qöwányösiyà, Badger; Hómiveema, Eagle; Naqwáhuñuwa, Cloud.

The numerical results of the two lists are collated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1915</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Individuals</strong></td>
<td><strong>Clan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kachina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Carrying-strap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bluebird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Badger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Chicken-hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cloud (Water-house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lizard (Snake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Forehead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to Dorsey and Voth's clan names I may point out that they speak of a Snake clan instead of the Lizard clan, which represents that group at Mishongnovi. One individual (7) is assigned to the Carrying-strap (Head-burden band) and Bluebird clan at the same time, while the same individual figures as a member of only the former in my own list. The discrepancies are further reduced if we consider that one of my Chicken-hawks is listed by my predecessors as belonging to the linked Eagle clan (their no. 16). The "Forehead (Kahl)" of the older roster

---

1Dorsey and Voth, *ibid.*, 174 f.
(no. 19) is manifestly not a Mishongnovi but a Shipaulovi of the qóldó clan who took part in the Snake performance of 1901. Since the Sun (no. 14) clan is likewise unrepresented in Mishongnovi, the solitary Sun man given by Dorsey and Voth is evidently also a native of some other village. The paucity of Eagle and Carrying-strap dancers in 1915 is accounted for by the practical extinction of the former clan and the reduction of the latter, as indicated by my census.

Combining both lists, we discover that except for the Squash and Cedarwood-Fire people all the clans have been represented in the performance of the ceremony. As a matter of fact, the statement should be limited to the Squashes, for Dorsey and Voth's Coyote man (no. 4), who was also reckoned of that group by my informant in giving me the Snake dancers, appears in my census as a Cedarwood-Fire individual. Evidently the feeling of the equivalence of linked clans, especially in the case of numerically weak ones, is very strong. It may be that some special ceremonial function in the dance is associated with the Coyote people and that a man who is normally classed as a Cedarwood-Fire individual would be rather mentioned as a Coyote man in order to suggest his possession of some ritualistic privilege.

Comparing next the individuals in the two lists, we find that certainly nine and possibly ten of the performers in 1901 also participated in 1915. The doubtful instance is that of Dorsey and Voth's Ho-miwush-yo-ma, who may or may not correspond to my Hömfveetma of the Eagle clan. In all the other cases the differences in orthography fail to mask an obvious identity of names.

From the facts given me relating to entrance into the Snake association it is clear why members of all clans might be represented. According to Luke, who has been intimately associated with the fraternity for years, men joined because the Snake chief had cured them of a swelling of the stomach or a snake bite: their entrance was equivalent to a payment of fees. Sák'-móniwa, e.g., had been bitten by a snake and cured. The reason for membership is thus precisely that which Professor Kroeber found to operate in the case of the Zuñí medical fraternities.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that at Mishongnovi the performance of the Snake dance is in a preferential sense associated with the Lizard clan, i.e., the chief priesthood is held by Lománaquci and the ceremony is regarded as belonging to him by virtue of succession within his matrilineal kin. All the other dancers are not distinguished in point of rank.

---

1His Indian name appears in Dorsey and Voth's list (no. 20).
At Shipaulovi, where neither Snake nor Lizard clan exists, Cikyáletstiva of the Bear clan acted as head of the Snake fraternity and indeed as leader in all the men’s ceremonies except the wówólctó. Though Cikyáletstiva was a member of the wówólctimétó, the leadership in that organization belonged to a qałö man. In the mməxjau’tó a qałö woman took precedence.

The constitution of the Walpi Snake society was as follows: Qöyáwaima, Hóoni, Nóvá’oi’, Hónau’a, Sánna, Harold, Snake; Qákopti, Qávoítíma, Lizard; Háni, Màtcoma (from Oraibi), Rabbit; Yòyowaiyà, Àmmi, Taylor, Ciakale, Butterfly; Tsóyo, Lomafamtiwa, Ö’yi, Kachina; Cítaima, Leslie, Húnuwistiwa, Kwácö, Cloud-Corn; Story, Silas, Coyote; Héo, Sikyáltala, Lómá nukuca, Mustard; Àñovò, Reed; Tiwàñaiwa (Oraibi), Badger; Tökwí, Flute.

Combining these numerical results with Fewkes’s, we got the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1900</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kachina</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Firewood</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Butterfly</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Cloud-Corn</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sand</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Reed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mustard</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten individuals in Fewkes’s list are readily identified with my own. The shifting of the membership in point of clan relationship is readily intelligible from the mode of admission. It is, however, quite clear that the chief priesthood is vested in the Snake clan, descending in the maternal line.

The membership of the Antelope society comprised the following: Múmi, Ahólla, Yé’i, Hómihuníwa, Snake; Tsö’owe, Máwa, Cloud-Corn; Púntima, Horn; Héi’á, Firewood; Lálaito, Lizard. Only one

1Fewkes gives seven Cloud members of Hopi stock, one Tewa Cloud man, and one Tewa Corn member.
of the names in my list has an obvious equivalent in Fewkes's earlier roster, but the clans represented coincide completely if Lizard and Sand are equated. It should be noted that the present chief of this association (1916) is Mûmi, who succeeded his uncle Wiki, at the head of Fewkes's enumeration. Were Mûmi to die, I was told that the office would again devolve on a Snake man.¹ Cupela was a member of this fraternity and in 1916 the vacancy created by his death had not yet been filled. I was told that the Cloud-Corn people, assembling in the clan house (the one occupied by Vénci), would elect a successor. They wanted my interpreter Lewis to serve but he declined. This case illustrates, at all events, the tendency to inherit membership from a clan member.

I did not make a census of the Mishongnovi Antelope organization.

The Flute ceremony of the Second Mesa is performed by two distinct groups, the mastilelento and the saqwâlelento, i.e., the Drab Flute and the Blue Flute fraternities, to follow Doctor Fewkes's translation. Of these I was told that the Blue Flute association ranks higher. Both ceremonies are celebrated in the same year and during the same period.

With regard to the Drab Flute ceremony Luke said that any one who so wished might join, but that the ceremony belongs to the Squash clan. The head of the organization, Ô'iwisa is a Squash man, and all the men, women and children of the Squash clan belong to it. Further, the husbands of Squash women are expected to take part except Pâqavi, a Horn man from the First Mesa, who belongs to the Blue Flute organization; Pullîwaiima of the Lizard clan and Qôyawaitiwa of the Shipaulovi qaâ clan were mentioned specifically as performers because they had married Squash women. On the other hand, Qwâweñqa, a Badger woman, and her children seem to belong to the society because her husband Rudolf is of the Squash clan. The remaining members whose names were obtained are: Sâk'mônîwa, Masaïamisi, and Bear; Hômífainiwa and Sîniqwa, Chicken-hawk; Tawaïaunômá, Butterfly; Qôyáltayo and Sîwonô, Cloud; Hômívâema, Eagle.

The Blue Flute ceremony is associated with the Parrot clan: Qwâvioma of that clan is chief, and all the men, women, and children participate. On the other hand, Luke has not seen the Parrot women's husbands in the dance. Cîk'ânaqâvô and Namústiwa, both Cloud men, as well as Pâqavi, Horn clan of the First Mesa, are members. Though the people of Shipaulovi have a Flute ceremony of their own, they help in the performance of this ritual and the Blue Flute people of Mishong-
novi reciprocate. The Shipaulovi Blue Flute people who thus assisted
their Mishongnovi colleagues included Hōmfoňova and Lomāventiwa
of the Bear clan; K'ajo and K'acowönqa of the qalō clan; Yōciima,
whose name I do not find in my census list.

On the First Mesa there is only one Flute fraternity, of which (in
1916) Tōno'a is head priest. He is also chief of the First Mesa villages.
According to Lewis, the men who rank next to him in the fraternity are
Hūoñi, Snake clan; Qūtqa, Bear clan; Tcō'we and Lewis Le' hoñwa
himself, Cloud-Corn clan. On August fourteenth to sixteenth, 1916 I
was permitted to attend part of the secret ritual of the fraternity in the
presence of the above-named officials of the organization, Tcō’we being
away part of the time herding sheep and his nephew Lewis acting as a
substitute during his absence. On the evening of the fifteenth Hani
appeared in the Flute house. He formerly used to play the flute during
the last day’s ceremony, but is now too old to serve and instructed two
Flute men in the art. As a member of the Tobacco clan it would also
have been his duty to fill the pipes for the ceremonial smoking in the
afternoon of the same day, but he was not there and Lewis acted as a
substitute.

I was strongly impressed with the connection between office in the
fraternity and membership in certain clans. The only contradictory
evidence is that Tōno’a succeeded his father as chief priest. His father,
however, was said to have been of the linked Horn clan, which may
explain the anomaly.¹ All the other data are in harmony with the usual
Hopi conceptions. Thus, Cúpela, Corn-Cloud, who figures in Fewkes’s
earlier list was succeeded by his own brother, Māqiwa, or according to
another statement by Sțaima of the same clan; and it was quite clear
that Lewis was treated as a sort of apprentice or understudy of his
maternal uncle, Tcō’we. If Hūoñi had been away his place would have
been taken by another Snake man. Since Qūtqa is the sole survivor of
the Bear clan, Wōnō’tō, Reed clan, was spoken of as his successor because
of the affiliation of these clans, which, incidentally, is not otherwise
vouched for. On another occasion I was told that the Flute men, one
Flute boy² and two Flute girls would take part. Silas and his uncle,
Kachina clan, also belong to the fraternity. At the last day’s rite Mūmi,
Snake clan, and Wōnōtō, Reed clan, acted as guards, armed with bow
and arrow and whirled bull-roarers. In their absence Corn-Cloud men
would have acted as substitutes.

¹Another statement indicates that it was not his own father, but merely a man addressed by that
term, which might be applied to one’s sponsor in initiation.
²As a matter of fact, two small boys participated in the rite at the spring on August twenty-second.
Towards the end of the Flute ceremony a woman put something into Qúτqa's bower, presumably some food. This woman was of the Reed clan, to which this privilege properly belongs. Qúτqa had several offices in virtue of his being the sole living Bear man. Since it was impossible for him to fill all of them, he appointed delegates. Thus, a man sitting on a rock dominating the spring at which the Flute fraternity assembled on the last day was of the Badger clan. Formerly Qúτqa had appointed a Kachina man for this office, but since this individual was afflicted with sore eyes Qúτqa chose a new substitute. Snake people, such as "Harry Cupela" (Qóya'waima), participate in the Flute ceremony because the Flute and Snake people came from the same region, viz., the northeast.

Comparison with Fewkes's partial list does not reveal any fundamental differences in point of clan affiliation. Tó'no'(Flute), Múmi and Háloči (Snake), Háni (Tobacco), Wó'nóti (Reed) were members in 1900, Cupela (Cloud-Corn) has been succeeded by a clansman. The only discrepancy lies in the mention of two Mustard members by Fewkes, that clan being unrepresented in my list. The absence of the Bear clan in Fewkes's record cannot be taken as significant because it is avowedly incomplete.

On the wo'wo'tcimetō Voth makes the following statement:—

Every Hopi man or boy is at one time or other initiated into one of the following four fraternities: Agave (Kwan); Horn (Ahł); Singers (Tataokani); or Wowochimtu (meaning obscure); by this membership he becomes a member of the Soyal fraternity. He can belong to any two of the above named four fraternities, but his initiation into one of them is an absolute condition for his membership in the Soyal Society. To other societies, such as the Snake, Flute, Morau, etc., even to more than one he may belong, whether he is a member of one of those four fraternities or not.¹

However this may be, the wo'wo'tcimetō of Mishongnovi have two chiefs of equal rank,—Mó'ńya'ó' (Coyote) and Ôiwsa (Squash). These two have been leaders as far as Luke can recollect and the rule of succession is that the leaders appoint their successors from among members of their own clan. The remaining members in 1916 were given by Luke as follows: Hömfveema and Sikyafamtiwa, Eagle; Sák'moñiwa, Bear; Hömfñainiva, Talásyóusiya', Sì(y) estiwà, Chicken-hawk; Sak'olatstiwa, Qówanohtšiwà, Butterfly; Taláswóhiomà, Töveyousi, Squash; Kyellhuñawa, Sikyáhuyiomà, Luke, Badger; Masamñiwa, Qótsqwástiwa, Corn; Hömísñima, Parrot; Qòtsövöyau.umà, Cedarwood; Sì'wöni, Cloud (?); Masalisiwa, Butterfly (?); Homilatstiwa, ?.

On the First Mesa Hání is chief of this organization. He is commonly spoken of as the oldest Rabbit man, but was explained to be really the sole survivor of the linked Tobacco clan. Twenty years ago he does not seem to have been even an ordinary member from Doctor Fewkes's census, though the Tobacco and the Rabbit clan were represented by one and two men respectively.¹

The Lalaqónśa society of the First Mesa is associated with the Corn-Cloud clan, all of whose women are members. Though this is primarily a women’s association, men participate in some measure, joining in the songs and sleeping outside the Horn kiva to guard the female members who sleep in it during the period of the ceremony. The following male members were mentioned by name: Sfaïma, Hiinuwistiwa, Sákwistiwa (Cloud-Corn); Sánna, Nóváoi’ (Snake); Qwáco (Cloud-Corn); Talápojó, Ní’tiuma (Flute); Máwa (Cloud-Corn); Mónni (Mustard); Ná’i (Reed); Sámni (Coyote), Létayo (Rabbit). The following are the female members: Vénci, Yúña, Nómá’pi, Sikýá-aimici, Nasínainmó’a, Qó’ya, Lénamáña, Qótshainóma, Púlli, Lúsi, Puñyáyamqa, Nó’misi, Tfí’ó and her daughter Maggie, Máqiwa (Cloud-Corn); Hömfís, Talan’weñqa, Tó’wa² (Horn); Masánòmqa and her daughter Selma, Sikýáyansí, Sikýáletsí, Qáhaiya, Húñqa, Hómťa, Qóyáhuñúnóma (Flute); Nówáñainóma (Charcoal); Léñainó’ma, Tówiwamqa, Jane; Léñaisí, Cikýáatsí, Maciwoli (Coyote); Qówánomónóma, Qélé, Sówíhuñunóma, Ná’pi, Qó’iyavi, Talásqwavi (Lizard); Cíwó’te³, Lewis’s wife, (Kachina); Púlli ici, Tówiwainóma, Talláwa (Mustard); Tówiwamqa, Tówi’, Síhómnóma (Rabbit); Sówíqwavi, Sówíhuñunóma⁴ (Butterfly). To this enumeration was added the statement that all the Tewa (Hano) women participated. Vénci and Hömfís are the leaders of the society.

It is interesting to note that while in my census Horn and Flute people were merged, they were enumerated separately in this list of Lalaqónśa members.

Respecting other ceremonial functions connected with clan membership I learned that the chief of the Bean ceremony (powámú, powamaya) is Sí’qóva, Kachina clan, the office belonging to his clan. Luke, Badger clan, has the office of giving smoke to the Farewell (nimán) Kachina dancers. Since he has inherited it from a maternal uncle, the presumption is that the privilege is associated with their clan. On the First Mesa

¹Fewkes, Tusayan Migration Traditions, 628.
²His name was given as "Flute and Horn."
³A Zuñi woman.
⁴Given as "Butterfly and Weasel."
the *powámaya* was also said to be in the charge of a Kachina man as priest, the incumbent in 1916 being Lomafamtiwa. The privilege of whipping children at initiation properly belongs to the Rabbit and the Badger clan, but the incumbents may delegate their authority. In 1916 Qótcamóca (Rabbit) and Muñí (Badger) were Walpi whippers. At Walpi, Cupela was chief of the Soyal ceremony and was succeeded by his own brother, Mák'iwa. The position of the sun, on which the time of ceremonies depends, is determined by Sítaima of the Corn-Cloud clan.

At Walpi, Qútqá and his uncle (?) are in charge of the Horñ kiva; Sakwístiwa of the *qwotqvanta*, Hání of the *muñkiva*, Mömói of the *wótcima*. These four are chiefs of the Harvest ceremony and decide when it should be held. Only Hání and Mömói know how to cure and they differ from professional doctors in treating people only on this ceremonial occasion.
APPENDIX

The following genealogies from Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi bring out the actual blood relationships so far as I was able to determine them. Where the results conflict with statements in the clan census, the genealogies are more authentic, for reasons already indicated (p. 307). In the interests of clarity I have eliminated as many individuals as possible who are not clan members, e.g., all husbands when the unions are without issue. Members of the clan or lineage in question who were dead in 1916 or for some other reason were not listed in the census are designated by the initial letters of the alphabet; non-members appear as X with subscript.
Mishongnovi
Parrot Clan
Lineage 1

A = X₁

X₃ = D

B = X₂

C = X₅

F = X₇

Lineage 2

A = X₁

X₃ = 13

B = X₂

Kachina Clan

A = X₁

1 = X₂
BEAR CLAN
Lineage 1

\[ X_1 = 1 \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
2 \\
11 = X_3 \\
24 \\
B = X_4 \\
C = X_5 \\
D = X_6 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
X_9 = 16 \\
32 \\
X_{10} = 33 \\
G = X_{11} \\
36 = X_{12} \\
3 \\
8 \\
9 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
12 = X_{13} \\
17 \\
18 \\
19 \\
20 \\
28 \\
29 \\
21 \\
34 \\
35 \\
31 \\
37 \\
H \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
13 \\
14 \\
15 \\
\end{array} \]
According to the census there should be two children of 40. Possibly there has been some confusion of these with the unnumbered children of 39 in the above genealogy.
The genealogy was given separately from that for Lineage 1, but the distinctness of the two lines is not certain. The clan list gives 21 as a brother of 20 and makes 22 a nephew of 20. A's name was given as Kyacowonisi, B's as To'wa.

According to Luke and his wife, only 1 and her kin belong to the clan proper. The others in the clan list are Coyote people, 22 being the only Coyote survivor of Mishongnovi, the rest Coyote immigrants from Oraibi.

7 was originally given as daughter of 5, later as daughter of sister of 9. The latter seems more likely correct.
BADGER CLAN
Lineage 2

\[ X_1 = A \]

\[ B = X_2 \]

\[ C = X_3 \]

BUTTERFLY CLAN
Lineage 1

\[ A = X_1 \]

\[ X_5 = 8 \]

\[ 13 = X_2 \]

\[ B = X_3 \]

\[ 23 \]

352
**BUTTERFLY CLAN**

Lineage 2

\[ X_1 = 1 \]

\[ 26 \]

\[ 2 = X_2 \]

\[ 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \]

**SQUASH CLAN**

\[ A = X_1 \]

\[ X_2 = 1 \]

\[ 10 \]

\[ 12 \quad 13 \quad X_3 = 7 \]

\[ 8 \quad 9 \]

\[ B = X_3 \]

\[ 11 \]

\[ 4 \]

\[ 5 \quad 3 \quad 6 \]

\[ 2 = X_4 \]
HAWK CLAN

\[
\begin{align*}
7 & \quad A = X_1 \\
& \quad B = X_2 \\
X_{10} = 8 & \quad X_{11} = 11 \\
& \quad 1 = X_3 \\
& \quad C = X_4 \\
& \quad 14 = X_5 \\
& \quad 16 = X_6 \\
& \quad 22 = X_9 \\
& \quad X_7 = 17 \\
& \quad 18
\end{align*}
\]
The clan list affiliates this lineage with others, 21 being reckoned a sister of 14.

CORN CLAN
Lineage 2
The clan list assigns 5 to this lineage, making him a son of 1. Luke thinks there is no family bond.
Lineage 1

\[ X_1 = 8 \]

\[ X_2 = A \]

\[ X_3 = 18 \]

\[ X_4 = 10 \]

\[ X_5 = 2 = X_6 \]

\[ X_6 = 4 \]

\[ X_7 = 7 \]

\[ X_8 = B \]

\[ X_9 = C = X_{10} \]

\[ X_{11} = D = X_{12} \]

\[ X_{13} = 13 \]

\[ X_{14} = 14 \]

\[ X_{15} = 15 \]

\[ X_{16} = 16 \]

\[ X_{17} = 17 \]

\[ X_{18} = 18 \]

\[ X_{19} = 19 \]

\[ X_{20} = 20 \]

\[ X_{21} = 21 \]

\[ X_{22} = 22 \]

\[ X_{23} = 23 \]

\[ X_{24} = 24 \]

\[ X_{25} = 25 \]

\[ X_{26} = 26 \]

\[ X_{27} = 27 \]

\[ X_{28} = 28 \]

\[ X_{29} = 29 \]

\[ X_{30} = 30 \]

\[ X_{31} = 31 \]

\[ X_{32} = 32 \]

\[ X_{33} = 33 \]
QALO CLAN
Lineage 4

\[ X_1 = 55 \]
\[ A = X_2 \]
\[ X_3 = 52 \]
\[ X_4 = 56 \]
\[ X_5 = C \]
\[ X_7 = 48 \]
\[ 57 \ 58 \ 63 \ 59 = X_6 \]
\[ 61 \ 60 \ 62 \ 49 \]

QALO CLAN
Lineage 5

\[ 78 = X_1 \]
\[ 91 = X_2 \]
\[ A = X_3 \]
\[ 79 = X_4 \]
\[ 92 \ 93 \ 94 \]
\[ 80 = X_5 \]
\[ B = X_5 \]
\[ 86 \ 88 \ 89 \]
\[ 81 \ 82 \ 87 \ 84 \ 85 \]

360