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ZUÑI KIN AND CLAN

BY  
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## PREFACE.

This publication is the result of inquiries and observations made at the native town of Zuñi in New Mexico in June, July, and August, 1915, and during the summer months of 1916, as part of the Archer M. Huntington survey of Pueblo culture in the southwestern United States, under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History. The work began as a study of kinship, but the manifold contacts of kinship with other phases of culture soon led to an amplification of scope. A collection of specimens illustrating Zuñi civilization was also made for the Museum. During the summer of 1916 Mr. Leslie Spier was engaged in archaeological exploration on behalf of the Museum in and about Zuñi, and his coöperation made possible a number of inferences which appear toward the end of the paper; besides which many other passages have been influenced by daily association and discussion with him. During the same summer Zuñi was visited by Mr. N. C. Nelson, Dr. A. V. Kidder, Mr. C. E. Guthe, Mr. E. S. Handy, Dr. P. E. Goddard, and Dr. R. H. Lowie. The opportunity thus afforded for discussion of problems on the spot proved exceptionally stimulating. The same is true of previous conferences with Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, whose series of intensive ethnological and psychological studies of the Zuñi is well known. Finally, talks with several earlier students of the Pueblo proved helpful to one who was entering the Southwestern field as a novice; among whom Mr. F. W. Hodge and Dr. Herbert J. Spinden should be especially mentioned.

August 22, 1916.



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## INTRODUCTION.

The foundation of Zuñi society is the family. Life centers about the house. The clan is above all a ceremonial institution.

With the same steadfastness with which they adhere to their religion, the Zuñi cling with tenacity and warmth to their relatives. To every person allied to them by ties of blood, through either a male or a female relative, they are blindly loyal and instinctively affectionate. Only a degree less vigorous are the sentiments that attach them to the men and women married to their blood kin. Outside of this circle, all are but associates or acquaintances, near or remote, according to chance of circumstance. A daily companion, a sister's friend, a clan associate, a brother's house-mate, are friends who naturally support a Zuñi and whom he supports. All others, with but little distinction of speech, race, or nationality, are treated with unfailing affability, unless there be grave cause for the contrary; but they are regarded, as circumstances may dictate, with distrust, envy, or hate as readily as with the normal kindliness that is so pleasing a feature of Zuñi behavior. Toward the stranger, reserve is fitting, but also amiability; and if he reciprocate with both qualities, whose combination constitutes Zuñi politeness, he is as sure of favorable treatment, and of needed assistance, as a member of the tribe. As continued intercourse cements the association without disturbing happening, American, Mexican, Pueblo, or even Navaho is held in warmer esteem than many a Zuñi, to whom indeed common customs unite, but with whom long acquaintance has perhaps resulted only in resented grievance, continued opposition, or fear of harm. The normal and unshakable heart and kernel of all these widening and diffusing circles, however, are the blood kindred, the family of blood kin in the wider sense as we ourselves use the word. Without a realization of this fact, it is possible to know what a Zuñi may do, but impossible to understand the emotions that dictate his actions.

The house belongs to the women born of the family. There they come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die. As they grow up, their brothers leave them, each to abide in the house of his wife; but they and their children are constant visitors and intimate frequenters of the old home. Each woman, too, has her husband, or succession of husbands, sharing her blankets, and as her children begin to play about, their father's kin and household also resort to the house. So generation succeeds generation, the slow stream of mothers and daughters forming a current

that carried with it husbands, sons, and grandsons. Now and then a new dwelling may be built by all the inmates, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband; but in general the same walls, or re-erected ones on the same spot, compass the lives of woman after woman born within.

It is inevitable that life-long working, playing, eating, sleeping, and talking together should knit together with exceeding closeness the dwellers under one roof. In this sense the Zuñi may be said to follow maternal descent. The children of sisters, who have never known separation, must often stand nearer to one another in actual conduct than the children of brothers, who have grown up in separate homes and among distinct groups of associates. So far as Zuñi reckoning goes, however, the sentiments of kinship and affection are the same toward father and mother, toward the brothers and sisters of each, and toward the partners and children of son and daughter. A cousin on either the father's or mother's side is identically an older or younger brother, toward whom the same degree of oneness is felt. The house is basic in Zuñi life. Attached to her ownership of it is the Zuñi woman's position in her world. Upon her permanent occupancy of the house rests the matrilinear custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bilateral. Take away from the Zuñi woman her possession of the home, and her apparent preëminence in relationship vanishes.

The clan is maternal, totemically named, and terms of relationship are applied to all members of it. There is no belief in descent from or kinship or spiritual connection with the animal or object that names the clan; nor are there taboos of food or otherwise toward it, though such prohibitions are observed by the Zuñi in matters distinct from clanship. A person is of the mother's clan, but the child of the father's: I am Turkey-people, I am Tobacco-people their child, a Zuñi will say, and will feel a substantially equal relation to each. The occasions on which he is chosen for some office, dignity, or duty on account of being the child of his father's people are nearly as numerous as those which fall to him as a member of his mother's. He may not marry a girl of his mother's clan; but neither may he wed one of his father's, unless no actual blood kinship with her is clearly to be traced; and even then the practice is disapproved. Such and such a house is readily identified as of the Coyote-people or Dogwood-people or Badger-people. But there is no one or primary clan house, no clan council, no clan head. In daily life it is common residence, and known blood common to individuals, and even friendship and neighborliness, that count. The clan is not thought of in ordinary personal relations of man to man, or man to woman. It is sisterhood or second cousinship that unites two women, not the circumstance of both being Eagle-people. It is only when a Zuñi priest is to be made, an idiot god to be impersonated, food to be brought to the

dancers in a tribal ceremony, that custom requires the men or women charged with these privileges or obligations to be members or children, as the case may be, of this or that clan. Take away the clans, and the forms of Zuñi religion will be studded with vacancies, will even have to be made over in part; but the life and work of day to day, the contact of person with person, will go on unaltered. The clans give color, variety, and interest to the life of the tribe. They serve an artistic need of the community. But they are only an ornamental excrescence upon Zuñi society, whose warp is the family of actual blood relations and whose woof is the house.

In the face of a hundred conflicting possibilities, it would be idle to conjecture that the clans were once an essential element of the Zuñi social structure, and conformed to a prevalent ethnological theory which rests the society of the less civilized nations upon the clan and deprives it of the family and household. How far this theory may truly accord with the customs of other tribes, I cannot say, the Zuñi being the first people with a fully developed clan system with whom it has been my fortune to associate. It is well to remember intently that the practices of many nations are likely to be many, and may vary to an astonishing degree. Ethnology would be a barren science otherwise. But it is equally wise ever to keep in mind that those men whom we are wont to denominate savages are equally men with ourselves, with the same equipment of minds and feelings as we harbor; and that therefore they are likely to possess only such customs as are practised at least in some measure by ourselves, or as rest upon emotions which familiarity with the customs in question would cause to seem natural to us. A society in which the family as we know it is entirely replaced by the clan, is thinkable. Yet it may be suspected that the fantastic novelty of such a scheme has helped to stimulate interest in the plan which would not otherwise have been directed to the lowly lives of savages; until, this view of their mode of existence becoming orthodox, it grew the fashion often to look only for clans, and to overlook actual family life, among nations whose society after all conforms in many respects to ours. I venture to believe that in many another totemic and clan-divided tribe the family of true blood relatives is fundamental.

With the view that the present state of Zuñi society is an altered one, and that it was preceded by a condition of the predominance of clan over family, it is thus vain to quarrel. If any one finds it more profitable to demonstrate that such and such must have been the practices of this or that or all nations at some time before we have cognizance of them, rather than to understand and weigh in a just balance their manners within the historic period, that satisfaction cannot be denied him: provided he does not proclaim or assume that the rearing of such hypothetical dogmas is the justify-

ing purpose, or the ultimate goal, of ethnology and history. Yet, it is also justifiable that those not infected with such theories, should exact much and specific evidence before inclining any favor to the view that the fundamental organization of the society of the Zuñi and similarly constituted peoples was once on a clan basis.

## I. KINSHIP.

In the following pages the meaning and use of the several kinship terms are discussed first, after which follows an analysis of the general features and inherent principles of the Zuñi system. References by number are to individuals in the genealogical table accompanying this paper. This table contains few names. The Zuñi do not like to tell the names of their kinsmen; and while the matter is interesting in itself, it appears to have no direct bearing on relationship. This reluctance of my friends made the work of compiling the table much slower than it would have been with a free use of names; but I did not care to press their scruples, and while two or three genealogies would have been preferable to one, this one seems sufficient to establish practically every trait of the system accurately. The Zuñi talk readily of each other's and their own clan affiliations, so far as they know them. These were recorded in the table. A dash in first position therefore means nothing more than that the name of the individual was not secured; but a dash in second place signifies that the informant, who is number 1 in the genealogy, did not know the clan affiliation of the person in question. The italicized figures following some of the clan indications give the approximate age of the individual in 1915. With a system of the type of the Zuñi one, this is important information which should have been obtained in every possible case, and even with other peoples age is a factor that on analysis may prove to be of more significance, in many instances, than has generally been assumed. I must apologize to my readers for the random order in the table of the numbers designating individuals; they represent only the sequence of the recording. I should have altered them to conform with the spatial arrangement of the genealogy, but for the increased liability of error in altering the figures, particularly in transfer between table, notes, and text, and in cross reference. As the genealogy is not over extensive, it may be that no serious inconvenience will be caused.

I write *c* for a sound of the *sh* type, *tc* for *ch*, *l* for surd *l*, ' after a vowel for the glottal stop and after a consonant for glottalization of the consonant. Final vowels are normally slurred and often unvoiced. The accent is invariably on the first syllable, with a weaker accent on the third in long words. An accented syllable either contains a long vowel or is followed by a lengthened consonant or by two consonants. Doubled letters for consonants, or two different letters, after the first and third vowels of a word, therefore indicate that these vowels are short; single letters, that the vowel

is long. For the few personal names in the genealogy, as well as for the native names of clans and ceremonial institutions in certain connections, a somewhat more European spelling has been followed, which needs no explanation. The symbol > may be read: "calls and refers to."

#### SUMMARY LIST OF TERMS.

##### *Parent-child group*

tattcu	father; father's brother
tsitta	mother
inniha	stepmother

There are no kinship terms for son and daughter

##### *Grandparent-grandchild group*

nanna	grandfather; grandson
hotta	mother's mother; granddaughter
wowwo	father's mother; woman's son's daughter

##### *Brother group*

pappa	older brother
kyawwu	older sister
suwe	younger brother, of a male
ikyinna	younger sister, of a male
hanni	younger brother or sister, of a female

##### *Uncle-nephew group*

kyakkya	mother's brother
kyasse	sister's child, of a male
kukku	father's sister
talle	brother's son, of a female
eyye	brother's daughter, of a female
hacci	mother's oldest sister
tsillu	mother's younger sister

##### *Husband-wife group, non-vocative*

oyye	wife
oyyemci	husband

##### *Relations by marriage, collective*

talakyi	husband of female relative; kin of wife
ulani	wife of male relative; kin of husband

## THE INDIVIDUAL TERMS.

## TATTCU, FATHER.

Father; stepfather; father's brother; father-in-law; wife's stepfather; first or second cousin once or twice removed, of an older generation and actually older than oneself; sometimes, father's sister's son or mother's brother's son, that is, first cross cousin, but in the observed cases the "father" cousins were considerably older than the speakers. Like all Zuñi terms for which the contrary is not specified, tattcu is used by both males and females. The older or oldest brother of the father, or some similar relative, is often called tattcu-lacci, old father, if he is of an actual age that might naturally put him in the grandfather class; while a distinctly young tattcu, either the father's youngest brother, or a cousin who is called father, is likely to be denominated tattcu-ts'anna, little father.

35>1: husband's father.

5's husband>1: wife's stepfather.

101>1: mother's mother's younger sister's daughter's husband, *i. e.*, husband of first cousin once removed of older generation, also probably actually older than speaker. But while 101 calls 1 father and is called son by him, 101 and 7, the son of 1, are not older and younger brother, as might seem logically to follow, but 101 is kyakkya or mother's brother of 7. The difference of approximately twenty-five years between their ages seems to be felt as a barrier to their calling each other brothers; or possibly clan connection counts; for as older male of his mother's clan, 101 would be called kyakkya by 7.

110>7: father's father's mother's mother's younger sister's daughter's son, *i. e.*, second cousin twice removed and two generations older; also actually nearly twenty years older.

11>34: father's mother's younger brother, *i. e.*, great-uncle. By usual rule, 34 should be nanna, grandfather; but, either to emphasize that he is his sister's youngest brother, or because the actual difference of years between him and his grandniece is felt to be insufficient, he is termed father.

57>7: mother's older paternal half-brother's son, *i. e.*, first half-cousin. The difference in age is about ten years, the "father" being the older. 57 applies this term to 7 only when he is living in 7's house, where 7's children call him elder brother; when 57 lives in his own natal home, he calls 7 younger brother, suwe, *q. v.*

28, 29>7: tattcu-ts'anna: father's older sister's son. This instance in conjunction with the last indicates that the occasional parent terminology for first cross cousins springs from the actual age of the persons involved — 7 is considerably older than 28 or 29; for while the usage in this instance is reciprocal, 7 calling 28 and 29 his daughters, the "father" in the last example is mother's brother's son to his "child" but here he is father's sister's son. If the parent terminology were the result of any exogamous reckoning, one of the two kinds of cross cousin should always be the parent, and the other kind the child.

12>6: tattcu-lacci: father's older paternal half-brother.

11>27: tattcu-lacci: father's mother's younger brother, *i. e.*, great-uncle. 27 and 34 are brothers, but 34, who is only tattcu, not "old father," to 11, is perceptibly younger than 27.

#### TSITTA, MOTHER.

This term is applied to females standing in the same relationship to the speaker as the males called tattcu, except that it is not used to designate the stepmother, for whom there is a special word. There are also distinctive names for the mother's older and younger sister, hacci and tsillu, but these two terms do not replace tsitta, which is the more frequently employed.

7>3: mother; he speaks of her also as okkyatsi, the old woman.

57>35: mother's older paternal half-brother's son's wife, *i. e.*, first half-cousin's wife. As 57 calls 7, the husband of 35, tattcu only when living with him, it is probable that when he is at his natal home he refers to 35 as his ikkyinna, younger sister, because 7 then is his suwe, younger brother.

37>3: tsitta-lacci, old mother: mother's older sister.

11, 12>35's older sister (non-Zuñi): tsitta-lacci

7>19: tsitta-lacci: mother's mother's older sister's daughter, *i. e.*, first cousin once removed, of older generation.

41>5: tsitta-lacci: mother's father's older sister's daughter, *i. e.*, first cousin once removed, of older generation.

11, 12>35's younger sister (non-Zuñi): tsitta-ts'anna, little mother.

7>15: tsitta-ts'anna: mother's younger maternal half-sister.

3>19: tsitta-ts'anna: mother's older sister's daughter, *i. e.*, first "parallel" cousin. The standard terminology for this relationship is kyawwu, older sister. A possibly considerable difference in actual age is probably responsible for the "mother" designation in this particular case. A characteristic instance of Zuñi inconsistency on the side of pure logic is provided by the above-mentioned designation of 19 as tsitta-lacci by 7, the son of 3; parent and child both call 19 mother, *viz.*, little mother and old mother.

#### TERMS FOR CHILDREN.

There is no specific kinship term in Zuñi for son, daughter, or child. Instead is used, in generic or collective references, tca'le, child, offspring, plural tcawe. More frequent, when particular persons are designated, are aktsekyi, boy, and kyattsekyi, girl. As people grow older, they come to be called tsawwakyi, youth or young man up to middle age, and makkye or makkyonna, young matron; but the designations aktsekyi and kyattsekyi sometimes persist.

As might be expected, those who call other persons "father" and "mother," are called "child" by them. Thus it is that a man's brother's children, and a woman's sister's children, as well as cousins one generation younger, are denominated children; but the looseness that pervades all Zuñi kinship terminology causes frequent departures from schedule. When two persons are separated in actual age by an interval that is felt to be too great or too little to be characteristic of successive generations, the designation of the younger as child is often replaced by some other term; or the younger person will be called child, even though not of the next generation, if the difference in years between him and the speaker seems appropriate.

7>28, 29: kyattsekyi: mother's younger brother's daughters or cross cousins. They are considerably younger than 7. See the reciprocal designation under "father."

35>28, 29: kyattsekyi. What the husband calls his kin, the wife calls them also.

2>7: aktsekyi: former husband's subsequent son. He calls her inniha-lacci, old stepmother.

16>7: aktsekyi: mother's maternal half-sister's son, *i. e.*, first "parallel" half-cousin, of same generation but younger than self. This designation among parallel cousins deprives the occasional parent and child terminology between cross cousins, which has already been discussed, of the last possibility of being explained by exogamic influences. It is clearly only because 16 is notably older than 7 that she calls him her boy or son. The reciprocal designation of 16 by 7 was not obtained; it seems that he must call her mother; but I was told, in another connection, that he would call her husband nanna, grandfather. Perhaps there was implication in my informant's mind of a specific but unacknowledged or former husband, who was still older than 16, and therefore of possible grandfather age for 7.

52>1: aktsekyi or tsawwakyi: stepson by husband's former wife. He calls her inniha, stepmother. As 1 is well over sixty, his designation even as "young man" is literally as inappropriate as that of his nearly middle-aged son, in the last instance; as "boy." It is clear that the words denoting children are not used strictly with their ordinary non-kinship significance when they are applied to relatives.

5>41: kyattsekyi: mother's younger sister's daughter's daughter, *i. e.*, first cousin once removed, of younger generation and actually younger than the speaker. Reciprocal: tsitta-lacci.

1, 3>7, their son: aktsekyi, and 35, their son's wife: kyattsekyi, when 7 and 35 were first married; but as soon as a child was born, 7 was addressed and referred to only as an tattu, 'its father,' and 35 only as an tsitta, 'its mother.'

1>the writer: tsawwakyi, and added: ho tomm tattu, I am your father, when told that his nanna or grandson called the guest kyakkya, mother's brother.

1 spoke of Diki an makyonna, Dick's young matron, when referring to a woman whose father's American name is Dick.

## INNIHA, STEPMOTHER.

A Zuñi stepfather is a father, but a stepmother is called inniha instead of tsitta. The same term is sometimes applied to the wife of a cousin of older generation, though in other instances such an older cousin-in-law is called mother, just as the wife of a cousin of one's own generation is a sister. There may be a principle that controls the choice between the appellations mother and stepmother in such cases; but it has not become apparent, and it is likely that we are dealing with another instance of Zuñi indifference to consistently detailed system. It is not known whether inniha is used only in reference or vocatively also.

1>52: father's second wife. Reciprocal: child.

7>2: inniha-lacci, old stepmother: father's first wife. Reciprocal: child.

110>35: father's father's mother's mother's younger sister's daughter's son's wife, *i. e.*, wife of second cousin twice removed and two generations older. 35 is of an age that she might have been 110's mother. As she is the only wife her husband has had, her designation as stepmother is the harder to understand.

11, 12>25: father's mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son's wife, *i. e.*, wife of second cousin once removed of older generation. The husband of 25 may have been married before. It is conceivable that 11 and 12 knew the first wife as mother, and therefore look upon her successor as stepmother.

## NANNA, GRANDFATHER, GRANDSON.

Grandfather; grandfather's brother or half-brother; collateral blood relative two generations older than the speaker, or sometimes one or three generations removed but of approximately a grandfather's natural age; greatgrandfather; subsequent or former husband of a grandmother; brother or half-brother of a grandmother, at least on the paternal side;<sup>1</sup> presumably, a grandparent's brother-in-law; and, in general, the relatives standing in any of these relations to one's wife or husband; conversely, grandson, whether born of a son or a daughter, and whether a man or a woman is speaking; brother's or half brother's grandson, at least for a man speaking; collateral male blood relatives two generations younger or of approximate grandchild age; any greatgrandson; husband of a granddaughter; husband of a woman's sister's granddaughter; and, in general, the persons standing in any of these relations to one's wife or husband, and

<sup>1</sup> Terms for mother's mother's brother, and for a man's sister's grandson were not obtained. It is conceivable that they might be nanna, or respectively kyakkya (-lacci) and kyasse (-ts'anna).

the husband of any younger blood relative called *hotta* or granddaughter. *Nanna* is one of the two Zuñi kinship terms that are verbally reciprocal. It is often, but not exclusively, used with the additions *-lacci*, old, and *-ts'anna*, small, when it denotes persons respectively of greatgrandfather and greatgrandson generation.

52>57: woman's daughter's son.

12 would >16's husband *nanna*: husband of father's mother's older maternal half-sister's daughter, *i. e.*, husband of his first half cousin once removed. As this man would be of his father's generation, the terminology may spring from the fact that 12's father, 7, calls 16 *tsillu*, mother's younger sister, though she is of his own generation.

7>17: mother's older maternal half-sister's husband, *i. e.*, maternal aunt's husband. As 17 is the father of 16, 7's calling him grandfather is consistent with his calling her aunt. The source of both designations is to be found in the appellation which 1, the father of 7, has for 17: he calls him *kyakkya*, mother's brother, either because he is his wife's older sister's husband and is actually the senior; or because they are members of the same clan, though not blood kin.

12>17: *nanna-lacci*; this follows from his father 7 calling 17 *nanna*.

A son of 11 would call 1, his mother's father's father: *nanna-lacci*.

1 would call a son of 11, *i. e.*, his son's daughter's son: *nanna-ts'anna*.

52>12: *nanna-ts'anna*: stepson's son's son.

1>14: *nanna-ts'anna*: son's son, 14 being an infant. This is one of two recorded cases where grandparent-grandchild terms with the suffix *-lacci* or *-ts'anna* denote a grandparent or grandchild; in all other instances actually observed, the enlarged appellations applied to greatgrandparents or greatgrandchildren or collateral relatives of their class. The *-lacci* and *-ts'anna* words seem therefore to have some specific implication to kindred removed from the speaker by three generations; but as always the Zuñi are inaccurate, and sometimes think of actual age instead of generations.

#### HOTTA, MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER, GRANDDAUGHTER.

*Hotta* is the second Zuñi kinship term which is verbally exactly reciprocal. It is used for females, by speakers of both sexes, exactly as *nanna* is for males; except that there is a special term, *wowwo*, for the father's mother and her collateral or ancestral female relatives. A woman's granddaughter is *hotta* when she is her daughter's daughter, *wowwo* when she is her son's daughter; but a man calls all his granddaughters *hotta*. It is curious that a verbally reciprocal term like *hotta* should be so flagrantly imperfect in its conceptual reciprocity; but there is of course a logical though less offensive lack of reciprocity in the two central meanings of *nanna* also.

57>52: mother's mother.

41>3: mother's mother's older sister.

3>41: younger sister's daughter's daughter.

15>37: younger maternal half-sister's daughter, *i. e.*, niece. There may be an error in my notes here, since 37 was said to call 15 hacci, mother's oldest sister. If the record is correct, this is one of the rare instances of a pair of Zuni relatives applying terms to each other which do not involve the same interval of generations.

#### WOWWO, PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER, WOMAN'S SON'S DAUGHTER.

This term denotes the father's mother; her mother; her sisters; her female cousins; presumably her brother's wives; presumably the former or subsequent wife of the father's father; and in general any female relative on the father's side older by two generations or the corresponding age than the speaker; also, presumably, the same relatives of one's wife or husband. It also denotes a woman's son's daughter, thus being a verbally exactly reciprocal term.

7>52: father's stepmother.

11, 12>52: wo-lacci (children's abbreviation for wowwo-lacci): father's father's stepmother, *i. e.*, paternal greatgrandmother.

11, 12>15: wowwo-lacci: father's mother's older maternal half-sister, *i. e.*, great-aunt.

52>11: wowwo-ts'anna; stepson's son's daughter.

#### BROTHER AND SISTER RELATIONSHIPS.

The same lack of symmetry that appears in the three Zuni terms for four or eight kinds of grandparents, crops out in their brother-sister nomenclature; eight possible relationships and five words. A man uses four of these, a woman three. Of the three usually recognized factors involved in this class of kinship, sex, sex of the speaker, and relative age, all three find expression, but only one, age, is expressed in all of the terms.

All five of the names for brothers and sisters denote: —

1. Children of the same father and mother.
2. Half-brothers and sisters.
3. Presumably also stepbrothers and sisters, that is, persons one of whose parents married a parent of the other.
4. First, second, or third cousins, or any collateral blood relatives, either on the father's or mother's side, of the same generation as the speaker; or, if of an actual age that would be normally compatible with their being full brothers or sisters to each other, even of a generation older or younger. There are some instances of cousins calling each other by terms not of the brother-sister class, but in these cases there is

an intruding factor, such as a marked difference of age between the cousins, or between their parents or ancestors who first disregarded the equality of generations.

5. The husband of any "sister," or wife of any "brother," according to the preceding four definitions.

6. There is also application of the terms to non-kindred clan members of an age approximating that of the speaker.

The fourth and fifth of these classes of "brothers" and "sisters" allow theoretically of several applications of the age factor which the Zuñi by his terminology shows to be uppermost in his mental processes.

As for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, the rule is to consider not the age, compared to one's own, of the acquired affinity, but of the relative married to the affinity. The wife of an older brother may be younger than oneself, but she is an older sister nevertheless.

As for cousins and the like, it is clear from the examples, as well as from the statements of the Zuñi, that in the case of the descendants of a brother and sister, actual age is again not regarded, but the woman's offspring is reckoned as the older. The priority of the female line finds expression in attributed seniority.

It would be illuminating to know definitely what the Zuñi would do if the sex of successive generations alternated in the line of descent; which of two second cousins, for instance, would be the older if one were sprung from the son of a sister and the other from the daughter of a brother. In the absence of evidence, it may be conjectured that the seniority assumed between the first cousins would be handed down to and repeated by their children, and so on for succeeding generations; until the original brother and sister being forgotten, a reversal of terminology might ensue to accord with the more recent part of the genealogy. Moreover, if in the lapse of time there came to be persons of quite different age within the same generation, the brother-sister seniority between them would certainly be replaced by one of the parent or uncle or even grandfather class. It would be interesting to follow out a few such cases in full detail. An ideal scheme is as important as it is easy to grasp, but its true place in the life of a people becomes intelligible only in the light of the complications, difficulties, and exceptions it encounters. It would be fascinating if the Zuñi had been better able than we to devise systems that met all conditions logically; but there is no reason to believe it.

As between collateral relatives into whose kinship status the sex of their ancestors does not enter, such as cousins descended from two brothers, or from two sisters, absolute age and not seniority of the parents is normally the deciding factor in the names they give each other; but the degree of actual adherence to this plan is also not known.

## PAPPA, OLDER BROTHER.

7>34: mother's younger brother, *i. e.*, uncle. Strictly, this man should be called *kyakkyä*. He is perhaps ten or more years younger than his sister, but probably twenty years older than his nephew. Possibly a difference of age between him and an older brother (number 27) was sufficiently felt to make one designation for them seem inappropriate; or there may be some unknown personal factor.

7>18: mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son, or second cousin, older than the speaker. The explanation rendered was that of their two maternal grandmothers, that of 18 was the older sister.

34>32: father's younger sister's son, or first cross cousin. This is an interesting case because the "older brother" is twenty-five or thirty years the junior, and his mother is also younger than 34's father. The reason given was that "the father of 34 came out of the house of 32," which is of course the house of 32's mother and of the mother of 34 himself. In other words, the determining factor to the native mind in this instance is the house, the concrete expression of the female element in blood kinship: the clan is not even thought of.

7>6: older paternal half-brother.

12>9, 10: father's older paternal half-brother's sons, or first half-cousins. The reason given was that the father of 9 and 10 is older than the father of 12. This is a more convincing case than the above relationship of 7 and 18, because 12 appears to be intermediate in age between 9 and 10.

7 calls the husband of 5, his older maternal half-sister, *pappa*, in addressing him "because 5 is older than 7." In referring to 5's husband in his absence, 7 speaks of him either as *pappa* or *honawan talakyi*, our son-in-law.

37>18: mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son, or second "parallel" cousin. 18's grandmother was older than 37's, but he himself is also older.

30>1: older brother's daughter's husband, *i. e.*, nephew-in-law. But as 1 is older than 30, the latter may feel it inconsistent to call him child or woman's brother's son according to rule. Also, 1 and 30 are *hamme* or members of the same clan, though they deny being *iannikynnawe* or blood kindred; and it is therefore still more likely that 30 called 1 her older clan brother long before they became connected by marriage. Reciprocal, *kyasse, q. v.*

7>32: *pappa* or *pappa-ts'anna*, little older brother: mother's father's younger sister's son, or first cross cousin once removed. Actually the speaker is the senior by a dozen years. The *-ts'anna* probably indicates to the Zuni that 32 is in fact the younger. His being the *pappa* would be in accord with his being descended from the sister and 7 from the brother; but in addition he is a generation older. The father of 7, 1, calls 30, the mother of 32, *kyasse*, sister's child, on the basis of their being members of the same clan.

11 and 12, the children of 7, call 32 by two terms. Sometimes he is their *tattu* or father, which is logical in view of the fact that he is reckoned their own father's brother. Sometimes they call him *pappa*, which accords nicely with the real ages of all concerned. As this varying terminology for the same person reveals the complete Zuni indifference to the factor of generation when there are other considerations, it is not surprising that these children do not dream of calling their playmate *nanna* merely because there is a generic underlying principle that any male two generations older is a grandfather.

7>57: *pappa-ts'anna*, little or younger older brother: father's younger paternal half-sister's son, or first half-cousin. The older brother is about ten years younger, but again he is in the female line of descent. It must be added that 7 uses this designation only in 57's house; when 57 lives with 7, as often happens, 7 becomes the father instead of the younger brother.

11 and 12, the children of 7, call 57 *pappa*, and he reciprocates by calling them younger sister and younger brother; apparently because in their house their father is also his father. The actual ages also accord well with this designation.

11 and 12 call 58 and 59, the half-brothers of 57: *pappa*. The simplest explanation is that if 57 is their brother, his brothers must also be their brothers. Again the ages fit. Actually 58 and 59 are the father's father's younger paternal half-sister's sons, or first half-cousins once removed, of 11 and 12.

57>6: *pappa-ts'anna*: mother's older paternal half-brother's son, or first half cousin. Here the principle of seniority being attributed to the female line is violated. As according to this principle 57 should call 6 his *suwe* or younger brother, we may conclude that he calls him *pappa* instead because 6 is in fact considerably older, or because he is the older brother of 7 with whom 57 stands in a personal relation of especial intimacy; and that he adds the toning down *-ts'anna* in consequence of a compromising concession to the principle he has just violated. If this inference is correct, *-ts'anna* would in this instance not denote, as is customary, actual juniority, but would represent the fictitious juniority of the male line.

The term *pappa-lacci* was stated to be applied to the oldest brother, as distinct from any older brother; but no examples of its use were obtained.

#### KYAWWU, OLDER SISTER.

18>16: mother's mother's younger sister's daughter's daughter, *i. e.*, second parallel cousin. 16's grandmother was younger than 18's, but 16 is older than 18; in fact he sometimes calls her *tsitta*, mother, instead of elder sister.

7>25: mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son's wife, *i. e.*, second cousin's wife. The simplest explanation is that 7 calls 18, who is his blood kinsman, older brother, and therefore regards 18's wife 25 as his older sister.

11>28: father's mother's younger brother's daughter, or father's first cross cousin. The father, 7, calls 28 his daughter; starting from this fact, it is only logical that his real daughter 11 should call 28 sister; and as 28 is the older, that she should call her older sister.

7>37: mother's younger sister's daughter, or first parallel cousin. As 37 has the younger mother, she must be *kyawwu* because she herself is older than 7.

37>5: mother's older sister's son, or first parallel cousin. This relationship is the opposite of the last, and the identical terminology establishes that for parallel cousins the Zuñi consider the seniority of the cousins themselves and not that of their parents. 5 is older than 37.

7>5: older maternal half-sister. In referring to her, he sometimes calls her *okkya*, *q. v.*

35 called 5 *kyawwu* when she was first married to 5's younger half-brother 7. After the birth of their first child, 11, both 7 and 35 ceased calling her *kyawwu* and addressed her as an *kukku*, 'its father's sister.'

A man married to a girl will call her, before the birth of his first child, *awan kyawwu*, 'their older sister,' that is, older sister of the children in the natal home, her younger brothers or sisters.

#### SUWE, YOUNGER BROTHER OF A MAN.

34>7: older sister's son. Reciprocal, *pappa, q. v.*

32>7: mother's older brother's daughter's son. Reciprocal, *pappa, q. v.*

32>34: mother's older brother's son. Reciprocal, *pappa, q. v.*

57>7: mother's older paternal half-brother's son. Reciprocal, *pappa, q. v.*  
57 also calls 7 *tattu*, *q. v.*

57>12: mother's older paternal half-brother's son, *i. e.*, child of 7 in the last example. Reciprocal *pappa, q. v.*

1>36's husband: wife's younger sister's husband.

12>13: younger brother.

18>7: mother's mother's younger sister's daughter's son. Reciprocal, *pappa, q. v.*

13>111: father's mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son's son's son, *i. e.*, third cousin once removed of younger generation but older than the speaker. Actually, the two boys appear to address each other by their American names, but it was stated that if they employed kinship terms, 13, though younger, would call 111 younger brother "because the father of 111 calls the father of 13 older brother or father." This explanation is of interest as another instance of the fact that the Zuni has his own interpretation of his rules of kinship as well as his own rules, and that we cannot understand or even know his practices through merely learning his avowed formal principles of society and then applying them.

#### IKKYINNA, YOUNGER SISTER OF A MAN.

1>36: wife's younger sister.

57>11: mother's paternal half-brother's son's daughter, *i. e.* first half-cousin once removed, younger than self. He calls her father either younger brother or father.

12, 13>24: father's mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son's daughter, or third cousin. The reason given was that 12 and 13 are themselves older than 24. On the other hand, their father is younger brother to 24's father.

#### HANNI, YOUNGER BROTHER OR SISTER OF A WOMAN.

11>13: younger full brother. Used both in address and in reference.

15>19: mother's older sister's daughter, or first parallel cousin.

37>7: mother's older sister's son, or first parallel cousin. In both this case and the last, the reason for the terminology must be that the speaker herself is older, since her mother is younger.

5>37: mother's younger sister's daughter, or first parallel cousin younger than self and born of a younger mother.

11 > 111: compare 13, the younger brother of 11, calling 111 suwe.

110 "would" call 11: father's father's mother's mother's younger sister's daughter's son's daughter, or third cousin once removed of older generation than the speaker. The reason given was that 110 is older than 11.

#### KYAKKYA, MOTHER'S BROTHER.

This term covers not only the mother's brother but a variety of collateral relationships. In all cases, however, it refers to a male relative of the mother older than the speaker. It is also used for older unrelated males of the mother's, that is, of one's own clan.

7 > 27: mother's younger brother.

29, 41 > 7: mother's father's older sister's son, *i. e.*, first cousin once removed, of an older generation and older than the speaker.

39, 41 > 18: mother's father's mother's older sister's daughter's son, *i. e.*, second cousin once removed, of an older generation and actually older.

7 > 101: mother's mother's older sister's daughter's son, or second cousin. 101 is at least twenty-five years older than 7. The connection between them is entirely through female relatives. This makes them members of the same clan. Those addicted to thinking of primitive people in terms of clan status, will recognize in this terminology a reflection of clan fellowship. I do not see any need of going beyond kinship in the search for an explanation. 101 is an actually older relative of 7 through 7's mother. This is enough to make him 7's *kyakky*a for the Zuñi, who care little, in their nomenclature, about nearness and remoteness of collaterality or the exact number of generations by which each of two kinsmen is descended from their common ancestor.

1 > 17. Here, on the other hand, is an instance of a term applied because of clan membership. 17 is the husband of 1's wife's older half-sister; but this, according to Zuñi rule, would make him 1's older brother, if it made him anything, and not his mother's brother. They both belong, however, to the Badger clan; and there can be little doubt that it was on account of this clan fellowship, and this alone — for 1 specifically denies any traceable blood kinship — that 1 was in the habit of denominating 17, his presumably older clan mate, *kyakky*a before they became married to sisters, and that he continued this appellation subsequently. But the point that obtrudes is that 1 and 17 reject consanguinity, while 7 and 101, who are also clan mates, avow and specify it. As long as the simpler and more commonly applicable explanation by kinship is available, it seems strained, accordingly, to extend the clan principle of interpretation to such cases. This contention will no doubt be readily admitted for the particular case in question, and perhaps for Zuñi kinship terms in general; but it is just as valid as a general working method, though it is a method that has frequently not been followed. It seems a fair requirement that the burden of proof should *a priori* always be on him who interprets so near and universal a phenomenon as kinship recognition in terms of so rare, variable, remote, and peculiar an institution as the clan or exogamous subdivision of a community. If it had not been the prevalent fashion to look upon ethnological facts primarily as a field in which an inclination to formulate theories could find easy exercise, this

principle would not only have been long ago conceded, but more frequently lived up to.

13>the writer: mekkyekkye, for me-kyakkyā, that is, "American mother's brother." As a member of the household not married into it, my status was clear; I could only be blood kin of the woman of the house. The choice therefore lay between grandfather, mother's brother, and brother; and the middle term was obviously the most appropriate in view of our ages. The boy of six who seems to have spontaneously originated this appellation, certainly was not concerning himself with my clan membership, in fact probably had never thought of it; but he was thinking in terms of my relation to the inmates of the house. On the other hand, my actual ikkyinna, who should therefore have been his "mother's younger sister," tsittats'anna or tsillu, was very inconsistently called kyawwu or older sister by him and his brother and sister.

#### KYASSE, MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD.

Kyasse and kyakkyā are the only kinship terms in Zuñi which are conceptually exactly reciprocal. As they are both derived from the stem *kyā-*, the one by reduplication like *nanna*, *wowwo*, *pappa*, the other by an unexplained suffix *-se* which can hardly be much else than a diminutive in force, whatever its origin, their verbal reciprocity also is at least substantially complete. It is possible that their common stem is the same as that of *kyawwu*, older sister.

101>7: reciprocal, *kyakkyā*, *q. v.*

27>7: reciprocal, *kyakkyā*, *q. v.*

27>37: man's younger sister's daughter.

1>30: the reason given was that "he is older than she." As they are not blood kin, the unexpressed part of the explanation is that they belong to the same clan. That she happens also to be his wife's father's younger sister is a subsequent accident that can hardly have been the cause of the nomenclature, since *kyasse*, so far as it refers to generation, denotes a person of younger generation, whereas the woman in question, though junior in years, is of the generation older than the speaker. Reciprocal *pappa*, *q. v.*

#### KUKKU, FATHER'S SISTER.

Besides the actual sister of the father, the term *kukku* applies also to the father's first or second cousin, or his niece, or cousin of a younger generation. It does not always refer to persons older than the speaker; but it does always denote a female relative of the father. *Talle* and *eyye* taken together are the conceptual reciprocal of *kukku*. *Kukku* is also applied to any woman considerably older than oneself who is a member of one's father's clan.

12>5: father's older maternal half-sister.

3>30: father's younger sister; younger than the speaker.

7>30: 7 is the son of 3. He presumably does not call 30 kukku because of his blood relationship to her, but because his father 1, is a clan mate though not blood kin of 30. On this basis of membership in the same clan, 1 is the older brother of 30; and a following out of this terminology makes 30 the kukku of 7. On the basis of true consanguinity, 30, as a female two generations older than 7 and related to him through his mother, would apparently be his hotta or maternal grandmother. It may be conjectured that the terminology based on clan connection with the father was in this instance given precedence over the blood relationship through the mother, because of the ages of the parties: 30 does not seem very much older than 7, and is obviously not his senior by the normal interval of a grandmother.

11, 12>16: father's mother's maternal half-sister's daughter, or father's first cousin.

28>37: father's younger sister's daughter, or first cross cousin, older than self. The usual term in such cases seems to be older sister.

11>37: father's mother's younger sister's daughter, or father's first parallel cousin.

11>41, the daughter of 37: kukku-ts'anna, "little kukku": father's mother's younger sister's daughter's daughter, or second cousin, actually younger than the speaker. The theoretical nomenclature would be "sister" — either "older" because 11 is related through her father and 41 through her mother, or "younger" because 41 is younger than 11. The term really used seems to have been transferred by 11 from 41's mother to 41 herself, with a characteristic qualification in the appended "little." Once the shock to consistency is eased by such devices as this suffix, a wide range of terms becomes about equally suitable for any given type of relationship according to a variety of considerations.

#### TALLE, WOMAN'S BROTHER'S SON.

This term is the male, as eyye is the female, reciprocal of kukku, father's sister. In ceremonial usage it is reciprocal to tattcu, father. When a gift is made to an old man, he says: "tallemo," and is answered "tattcumo." It is curious that the stem talle should be used ceremonially by males, and in daily life only by females. A possible connection of the terms talle and talakyi is commented on under the latter head. It is also not unlikely that talle is etymologically connected with tattcu, father: in this case its original meaning would probably have been son or possibly man's child, and the ceremonial tallemo would be a survival.

5>12: woman's younger maternal half-brother's son.

#### EYYE, WOMAN'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

Eyye is the female reciprocal of kukku, whether the latter denotes the father's own sister, a collateral female relative of the father, or the daughter of the father's own sister.

5>11: woman's younger maternal half-brother's daughter. Reciprocal, kukku.

The sister of the father of 32 calls the sister of 32 eyye and is called kukku by her.

41>11: woman's mother's mother's older sister's son's daughter, *i. e.*, second cousin of speaker's generation but older in years. Reciprocal, kukku-ts'anna, *q. v.*

It was stated that a girl called her mother's brother's daughter either eyye or hanni, younger sister. The former would obviously be an extension of her mother's own designation for the young woman in question.

#### HACCI AND TSILLU, MOTHER'S SISTERS.

The sisters of one's mother are mothers in Zūñi: tsitta-Lacci, old mother, and tsitta-ts'anna, little mother, are often used to designate the sisters older and younger than the own mother. In addition, there are two terms, hacci and tsillu, which have the same meaning, but are not very frequently employed. Hacci in particular was not heard used: informants volunteered the term and stated that it meant the same as tsitta-Lacci, except that it was restricted to the oldest one of all the mother's sisters. Tsillu perhaps is any younger sister of the mother; it is also applied to the tsillu's daughter, at least if her youth is not too discordant — much as kukku is.

The status of these two terms, especially hacci, appears to be analogous to the condition of Hano Tewa tutu'<sup>u</sup>η, father's brother, which "may be" used in place of tada, father or father's brother. Similarly, just as the reciprocal of Hano tutu'<sup>u</sup>η is "obsolescent" or rarely employed, so Zūñi hacci and tsillu have no reciprocals of their own, but call their sister's children simply children.

Tsillu is probably from the same stem as tsitta, mother.

37>15: hacci: mother's older (and oldest) maternal half-sister. The reciprocal in this case was said to be hotta, granddaughter.

37>16: tsillu: the daughter of this hacci 15. 16 is older than 37. The difference in years between the oldest and the youngest child of a Zūñi mother is likely to approximate a generation, a consideration which may be suspected to have been of influence upon the terminology in this and similar cases.

7>16: tsillu: mother's older maternal half-sister's daughter, or first half-cousin older than the speaker. The relationship is the same as that of 37 to 16. This is 7's only tsillu, at present; presumably he called 36, his mother's younger full sister, tsillu while she lived.

#### TALAKYI.

The inmates of a house, apparently the men married into as well as the men born and the women living in it, call a young man married to a girl inmate: talakyi. He in turn calls them his talakwe, -kwe meaning people. He also speaks of their home which he has entered as his talawa; -wa is a

locative ending. The term *talakyi* is really generic, since even house mates younger than the bridegroom, and his father-in-law, who originally himself was, and to his elders still is, a *talakyi* in the same house, call the newcomer *talakyi*. The term therefore transcends both the matrilinear principle and the kinship factors most important in the Zuñi mind, and illustrates pregnantly the influence of the house. At the same time the word may be a true kinship term in origin. It is probably connected with *talle*, denoting a woman's brother's son, which in turn appears to be from the stem of *tattu*, father, used in the quasi-reciprocal sense of son. The *talakyi* was therefore in the first place the new son of the household; and, after the word had crystallized into this significance, the inclination toward reciprocity, which in spite of its formal looseness is so deep set in the Zuñi mind, began to operate, until the "son" named the members of his new home by a collective form of the same term. A derivative of the same stem, *takkyikwe*, has come to mean an entirely different thing, the people of one's father's natal home.

As *talle*<sup>1</sup> is a woman's brother's son, and *talakyi* a son-in-law or bridegroom, the similarity of the terms might be interpreted as indicative of a present or former identity of the persons. This would mean that a woman's brother's son came into her home to marry her daughter, his cross cousin. The Hopi are said to recognize and practice cross cousin marriage, and the Hano have customs which on their face can be interpreted equally well as surviving vestiges or incipient rudiments of the same institution.<sup>2</sup> The Zuñi, however, like the Acoma, scorn the imputation of this practice; and the interpretation first given of the history of the meaning of *talle* and *talakyi* seems far more consonant with their customs and sentiments. As regards the Hopi and their neighbors the Hano, it will require much more information than is now available to determine whether their traces of cross cousin marriage represent a sporadic, secondary, and perhaps recent influence, or are remnants of an old and fundamental set of institutions.

1 > 5's husband, his wife's daughter's husband: *talakyi*. The vocative reciprocal is *tattu*, father.

7, the son of 1, might also call<sup>3</sup> the husband of 5, his older maternal half-sister: *talakyi*, though both 7 and 5 have left their natal home and the husband of 5 would presumably be considerably the senior of 7.

The husband of 5 calls her natal house,<sup>4</sup> in which her mother 3 still lives, though 5 herself maintains a separate establishment, *talakwe*.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *talla*: Zuñi final *e* usually proves to be a *a* when carefully pronounced.

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Freire-Marreco, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. xvi, 286, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> In reference only; vocatively he would say *pappa*, older brother.

<sup>4</sup> This probably means the inmates of the house.

26 > 17, his wife's daughter's husband: talakyi.

1, to explain why he did not know more about 20, his wife's mother's older sister, and her husband 120, said: tommt ho awan talakyi, I am only their son-in-law.

This old couple, 20 and 120, he further stated, would call him k'oloktakwe awan talakyi, Crane-people's son-in-law, on account of his marriage to their daughter 3 of the Crane clan. This expression is exactly parallel to the commoner one by which a person calls himself the child of his father's clan: ho tonnacikwe, ho piktcikwe awan tea'le, I am Badger-person, I am Dogwood-people their child, 1 would say of himself in Zuni usage.

yam talawe ime means that a man is living, or that he is momentarily, at the house which he joined at marriage, literally: "his-own at-place-of-relatives-by-marriage he-sits."

Talekyanna was once recorded with the usual meaning of talakyi. It appears to be an objective case form.

#### ULANI.

Correlative with talakyi is ulani, specifically the son's wife, or the wife of a man who was born and reared in one's home but has married out; and reciprocally, in its collective form ulakwe, the term is used by the girl for the relatives or former house mates of her husband.

1 > 35: ulani. Reciprocal, tattcu.

35 calls the house of 3, or its inmates: ulakwe.

ula ime, "in-the-house-of-her-parents-in-law she-sits," is said of a woman who contrary to custom abandons her own home to follow her husband to his. There are a number of such marriages in Zuni at present: family quarrels, jealousy on the husband's part, and perhaps other causes, are cited as motives. It is said that the number of women living in their husband's house is increasing. This may be so; but the practice, though irregular, is old. It is discussed again in the section dealing with the clan.

#### TAKKYIKWE.

The takkyikwe are the people of the father's house, on whom devolves the washing and burial of the corpse, though scarcely any one ever dies in his takyinna or father's residence: men live in their talawa or wife's home, women and children in their kyakkwe or mother's house, literally simply house. Takkyikwe must of course be derived from the stem of tattcu, father.

#### OTTSI-NAWA.

Ottsi-nawa is a term used by any sister for her full, half, or collateral brothers, irrespective of seniority or juniority. The form is plural or collective; the specific singular is ottsi, which means literally "male."

Ottsi is supplementary to pappa and hanni, never excluding persons so called; and it is used only in reference, not vocatively.

12 is 11 an ottsi, "11 her brother"; 13 is the same.

5, 37 > 7, 18: ottsinawa. Here are included a half-brother, a cousin, and two second cousins. The estimated ages are: 5, 45; 37, 35; 7, 35; 18, 45.

#### OKKYA-NAWA.

Reciprocal with ottsi, ottsinawa, is okkya, collective okkyanawa, denoting any sister of any brother. This is nothing but the common word for old woman, okkya, also okkya-tsi, okkya-tsi-kyi, okkya-Lacci. As a pseudo-designation of kinship it is perhaps not entirely restricted to sisters.

7 addresses 5, his older maternal half-sister, as kyawwu; he refers to her either as kyawwu or as okkya.

7 refers to 37, his mother's younger sister's daughter, of about the same age as himself, as okkya.

He speaks of 5 and 37 as his okkyanawa.

He also may speak of his mother, 3, as okkyatsi, "the old lady."

11, age 13, is the okkya of 12, Chipai'u an okkya.

#### LACCI-NAWA.

Lacci is an old man: Lacci-nawa are one's "old folks." One would not think of addressing his elders thus; but one sometimes designates them so.

7 and his wife 35 would include under Lacci-nawa 1, the father of 7; 3, the mother of 7; 27, her younger brother; 34, her youngest brother; and, as occasion required, other senior relatives.

#### IANNIKYINNA, HAMME.

The Zuñi say: —

hom iannikynnawe, all my relatives

ho'nawan iannikyinna, we are blood kin

ho'nawan hamme, we are of the same clan

*Annikyi* is a verb meaning "to address by a term of relationship"; *i-*, a reflexive and reciprocal prefix. When a Zuñi wishes to specify a blood relative as opposed to a co-member of his clan, he employs this particular term; but he will refer to his clan mates by designations of relationship exactly as he refers to his blood kin. It is a curious linguistic contradiction.

Similarly, when a Zuñi is asked the meaning of *hamme*, he does not

answer "alike," as we should expect, but "another." The denotation of the word seems to be "another one of the same kind."

#### HUSBAND AND WIFE TERMS.

Oyye is wife and oyyemci husband. These are however explanatory or descriptive terms. A Zuñi woman appears to call her spouse "oyyemci" to his face as rarely as an American wife addresses her mate as "husband." Occasionally husband and wife will call each other okkyatsi or okkyatsiky, old woman, and lacciky, old man, especially if their first child has not yet been born. In conformity with the prevalent teknonymic practices of the Zuñi, the universal form of address, and apparently of reference also, after the birth of a child is: an tsitta, its mother, and an tattcu, its father; and the house mates know the couple by the same term. One informant, asked how a childless husband addressed his wife, replied that he "does not call her anything."

#### CEREMONIAL KINSHIP TERMS.

Mrs. Stevenson<sup>1</sup> mentions several kinship terms uttered reciprocally by the recipient and the donor of prayer plumes at a certain point of the winter solstice ceremonies. Informants stated that this usage appertained to the kokko, that is, the gods or the dancers impersonating them, in other words, that it was ritualistic. I found that many old men were wont to say tallemo when a gift of tobacco was made to them even on a profane occasion, and to expect the answer tattcumo. The suffix -mo seems regular under the circumstances. These ritualistic and semi-ceremonial terms are of interest because they comprise several that do not occur in ordinary life, or are used then with different meaning. The following information was recorded on the terms cited by Mrs. Stevenson.

"tā'chumo, father": tattcu, father.

"tālemo, father's brother's son": in ordinary usage, talle is brother's son, a woman speaking; ceremonially, tallemo is the reciprocal of tattcumo. This probable original significance of this word has been discussed under talakyi.

"papamo, older brother": pappa, older brother.

"suemo, younger brother": suwe, younger brother of a man.

"kākiamo, mother's elder brother": kyakkya, mother's brother, older or younger.

"kāsimmo, mother's younger brother": kyasse, sister's son or daughter, man speaking.

<sup>1</sup> Bur. Amer. Ethn., Ann. Rep. xxiii, 132, 1904.

"nanamo, grandfather": nanna, grandfather.

"toshlimo, grandson": ceremonial, tocle-mo.

"ällimo, greatgrandfather": ceremonial, alle-mo.

"uwaikiämi, greatgrandson": ceremonial uwakya-mo.

The last three terms have only a ceremonial usage. Two of them contain the same ending as ta-lle. Several of Mrs. Stevenson's definitions do not agree with the usual meanings of the terms. The nature of the differences is such that her variants seem more likely to be inaccuracies than distinctive ritualistic usages, but a religious survival of ancient denotations is possible.

The following is an instance of ceremonial employment of kinship terms apart from the presentation of gifts. Lamicio, age about 40, is of Pikchikwe clan, child of the Badger clan. He is on terms of close friendship with the present governor. There appears to be no kinship between them; but Lamicio's father is a clan mate of the governor's father, and a remote consanguinity may possibly still be traced. Lamicio manifested an interest in the governor's son Chipai'u, now eleven years old. They washed each other's heads and gave each other presents. This made them pappa and suwe, older and younger brother; and Lamicio was also the boy's kihhe. When Chipai'u was to be made ko-tikkyilli, a member of the Zuñi tribal religious organization or ko-tikkyanne, native custom required adaptation; for this provides that the initiate "must join the ki'wi'sinë (kiva, estufa) of the husband of the doctress who receives him at his nativity,"<sup>1</sup> and Chipai'u had been brought into the world by the government physician. Choice of a godfather was accordingly necessary; and Lamicio was selected. This made him tattcu, father, to Chipai'u.

Lamicio's mother being dead, he lives at his father's house; at least this was the reason given. In this house lives also an older man, Wallella, who is married to Lamicio's kukku, his father's sister. This kukku assisted Lamicio in his initiation of Chipai'u into the ko-tikkyanne; therefore her husband Wallella is Chipai'u's nanna, grandfather, or tattcu, father; he seems to call him both.

#### ABBREVIATIONS.

A number of the kinship terms for elders are often abbreviated, or more exactly, altered, in the mouths of children by the substitution of -mme for the final syllable. Thus namme, womme, kumme, tamme, for nanna, wowwo, kukku, tattcu. These forms are considered familiar, if not dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 65. I was told that there is often rivalry among the several midwives present to touch the child first, each wishing to secure the future initiate for her husband and his kiwwitsinne.

respectful; for I was told that old people did not like to be called by them, at least in public. But this feeling is not universal, and the clipped terms are even used by elders toward children. Number 12 in the genealogical table, for instance, is sometimes addressed as *namme* by certain old men when they meet him in the town; 13 also calls 1 *namme* instead of *nanna* without protest; and his mother 35 was heard addressing the old man by the same term in calling him to come to eat. This is exactly like an American mother speaking to her father-in-law as "grandpa."

#### TEKNONYMY.

The commonest way of designating people among the Zúñi, either in reference or address, is to state their relationship to a younger person. As one informant put it, "the child always comes first." Thus 1 is commonly known either as Luis an *tattcu* or Bili an *nanna*, father of 7 or grandfather of 13. Often this leads to a non-usage of the term denoting the immediate relationship between the speaker and the person in question; for instance between husband and wife, as mentioned above. The basis of the practice, however, seems to be a very strong inclination to avoid using a person's name. A child's name, which has no religious participation, and at present preferably his American name, are used more freely. Even for adults the Zúñi employ their American or Spanish names, when they have them, and so far as they can pronounce the sounds: these designations are conveniences, but they are not real names to the native. A Zúñi name is far too intimately personal and sacred a thing to be bandied about. It is less a label than a part of the man, which one no more thinks of handling without specific reason — at least to his knowledge — than his body or his private god mask.

When 7 and 35 were first married, 1 and 3, the parents of 7, called him *aktsekyi*, boy, and her *kyattsekyi*, girl, that is, son and daughter. The couple addressed 7's older and childless sisters as *kyawwu*. As soon as 11, the oldest child of 7 and 35 was born, 1, 3, and 5 all spoke to and of 7, their son and brother, as an *tattcu*, her father, *i. e.*, the baby girl's father. 35 similarly became an *tsitta*, her mother, and 5 an *kukku*, her father's sister. This terminology continues to the present day, though with the birth of subsequent children the implied reference may be to younger brothers of 11. The appellations are used both in reference, and vocatively: 35 and 7 habitually address each other as an *tattcu* and an *tsitta*. 35 in speaking to 1, her father-in-law, refers to her husband 7 as (Bili) an *tattcu*, (Billy's) father.

A newly married childless man calls his wife an *tsitta*, 'its mother,' referring to her sister's child in the same house: literally, "(her sister's child) its maternal aunt." If his wife has no married sister or sister's child, but has younger brothers or sisters,

the husband speaks of her as an *kyawwu* or *awan kyawwu*, "his (or her or their) older sister."

5, who is childless, lives with her husband in the latter's natal home, though this is contrary to Zuñi custom. The inmates of the house call her *awan tsillu*, 'their mother's younger sister,' referring to the children of her husband's sister, to whom the husband of course is *kyakkyä*. When the couple come to the house of 7, the younger half-brother of 5, the husband calls his wife *awan kukku*, 'their father's sister,' with reference to the children of 7.

#### KINSHIP TERMS AMONG CLAN MEMBERS.

The Zuñi apply kinship terms to all clan mates. But true blood relationship and clan relationship are never confused in the native mind, however confusing the identity of terminology may appear to us. Ministers of religion and of social reform among ourselves have a habit of dealing widely in words like 'brother' and 'sister' without even making us think of kinship. The Zuñi state of mind appears to be very similar. One knows perfectly well who is one's blood relative and who is not. The definiteness of that knowledge in fact is what makes the wider use of the terms possible without inconvenience. A small child knows nothing of clans or his own clan affiliations; but he knows the grandfather who takes him up to play, and the man or men in the house, or constantly visiting in the house, whom he calls *kyakkyä*. Later, he comes to call other men, with whom he is but little in touch, *kyakkyä* also; and in time he learns that the former are his *iannikynnawe* or kin and the latter his *hamme* or members of something called his *annota* or clan. By the time he is grown, there is no possibility of uncertainty or error. Each individual's personal status with relation to oneself is clear and fixed, and it matters very little what any and all of them are called. The case is very much like that of the occasional American who addresses his wife as 'mother' or 'sister' or 'sis': it is exactly because she is his wife that he can afford to call her sister. That he speaks to her as 'sister' and not as 'uncle' has undoubtedly a good psychological reason. It is the way the human mind works, or we might better say, the human mind expressed in its social channel language; but there is no institutional factor connected with marriage or descent, that determines the choice of 'mother' or 'sister.' I cannot see anything else in the Zuñi application of kinship terms to clan members.

I realize that this is not the interpretation commonly put on phenomena of this kind in many ethnological quarters. But it seems the only reasonable and unconstrained interpretation of the Zuñi facts; and I believe it to be the wisest explanation for facts of a similar nature in general, until

something develops, in each particular case, that may demand revision of opinion.

If Zuñi kinship terminology originated in the clans and were only secondarily applied to blood relatives, it would have to be assumed that the religious fraternity was also older than the family: for every member of one's fraternity is a brother, a father, or a son; or, if a woman, a corresponding female "relative." If, on the other hand, kinship terms in the fraternity are secondary, it becomes exceedingly difficult to see why the clan terminology should not also be mere subsequent applications extended from the blood kindred. The only reason for not accepting the alternative would be the demonstrable fact, or the conviction, that the clan was more fundamental, and therefore presumably earlier, than the family. For Zuñi this fundamentality appears out of question: family life is too intense and its manifestations too ever present, clan functions too remote and vague, to make even a theory of clan priority tenable. As to other clan infested nations, I cannot, in the lack of personal experience with them, rid myself of the conviction that conditions among them must often, perhaps generally, be similar; and that the reason the clan has so frequently been accorded precedence, in the works descriptive of such peoples, is only that authors so preferred. The motive of the preference may have been fondness of the marvelous: a person who takes his cousin to be his brother, or in other words can have no brother as we know the term, but on the other hand has an unlimited number of mothers, is as much superior, for purposes of sensation, to the tamer individual who goes through life with two or three brothers and one commonplace mother, as a two-headed calf is to the ordinary one. There is something inherently fascinating as well as shocking in uncertain paternity, group marriage, and promiscuity, one or the other of which, if not all three, seem always to be at the back of the mind — or often just below the surface — of those who see clans and similar social groups as fundamental in primitive society. It is painful to renounce once and for always the emotional stirrings which these ideas, with their touch of the strange and forbidden, evoke. And finally, ever since the disastrous misapplication of Darwinism to human society, it has given untold and easily earned satisfaction to many to believe that a Zuñi or an Arunta is nearer to the chimpanzee in his thoughts and practices than he is to ourselves.

An older Zuñi woman of one's clan is a mother, an older man a *kyakkyä*; to a woman of middle age, all her clan mates a generation younger are her children, to a man, his *kyasse*. But an exactly parallel condition holds for the father's clan: all the older men are fathers, the women *kukku*; and the men call their juniors, their clan brothers' offspring, children. What the

women call their clan brothers' children, is not so clear. According to rule, it should be *talle* and *eyye*. Perhaps it is; but I have not heard these two terms so used — which fact may reflect only my ignorance or be an outgrowth of the reluctance with which the words are employed for blood kin. I suspect that the women habitually accord with their brothers in calling their clan brothers' progeny simply children.

Individual 7, Crane clan of Badger father, spoke of Corn house number 40 on Map 1 as containing an old man "*hom kyakkya k'oloktakwe*," "my mother's brother Crane person." Houses 94 and 95 he referred to as *temLa tonnacikwe*, *hom akukku*, "all Badger people, my father's sisters"; and houses 387, 384, 378 as *ha'i hom kukku*, "three my father's sister."

In Table 7 are listed the appellations which the informant, number 1 therein, extends to most the adult members of his clan, Coyote. As he is about forty years old, the number of grandparent and grandchild designations is small, and the bulk of his clan mates are *kyakkya* and various kinds of mother — mother, little mother, and old mother — if senior; older and younger brother and sister when about co-eval; and *kyasse* if junior. It is notable that *hacci* and *tsillu* were not mentioned, being replaced by variations of *tsitta*.

The inconsistency of the Zuñi in the application of their kinship terms to their actual relatives has been several times commented upon. It is no wonder that clan mates are labelled even more randomly. A few examples from table 7 illustrate: —

1 > 26 *kyasse*, sister's child; > 28, mother of 26, *tsitta*-*ts'anna*, little mother.

1 > 48 *tsitta-lacci*, old mother; > 29, son of 48, *kyasse*, sister's child; > the wife of 29 *ikyinna*, younger sister. This last woman is of course neither blood nor clan kin of the speaker.

1 > 46 *kyakkya*, mother's brother; > 19, younger sister of 46, *kyawwu*, older sister; > 47, younger sister of 46 and 19, *kyasse*, sister's child: that is, three actual brothers and sisters are addressed by terms referring to three successive generations of kindred.

## PRINCIPLES.

### DESCENT AND GENERATION.

Every Zuñi kinship term denoting a lineal relative is also used freely for collateral kindred. Terms purely of collateral denotation are confined to the uncle-nephew class, and besides the rather uncommon *hacci* and *tsillu*, which are partial synonyms of *tsitta*, they number only five: those for father's sister, mother's brother, and their reciprocals. Even these words,

however, are also applied to relatives that are collateral in a more remote degree.

It is unnecessary to reopen at length in this connection the question whether the narrower lineal or the wider collateral significations of the kinship terms are primary or more original. The answer given seems to depend in nearly every case upon a basic, usually unconscious, and often emotionally stained attitude of mind. As to the phenomena, there is in most cases fair agreement. Those who like to recognize in uncivilized nations mental operations intrinsically distinct from our own, and to feel their civilizations as of another order than ours, will interpret such facts as are here presented as evidence of the historical and psychological primacy of a larger group than the blood family. Those to whom the differences between cultures have significance only in relation to their common tendencies, and who view the abnormal only in the light of a departure from the normal, will distinguish in the kinship systems of the Zuñi the foundation of our own, applied and ramified in many interestingly peculiar ways. However far the author may be from converting to his opinion those who proceed from another premise because they are actuated by different impulses, he hopes that he has made clear in this work his underlying attitude and has adhered to it consistently.

From this point of view the Zuñi must be characterized as indifferent to the specification of the factor of dimension in kinship. They are heartless toward every consideration of whether relatives lie far on the side or come in the one biological line. Compared with us, they are utterly slovenly in this point.

They reveal precisely the same mental habit toward the important factor of succession of generations. Every kinship term known to them is applied freely to persons of distinct generations. If it is true that the father and the uncle, or the brother and the cousin, are called the same because they are or once were substantially one in the scheme of Zuñi life, we should have to conclude also that this scheme of life was or had been so organized that the grandfather was one with the greatgrandfather, the uncle with the brother, the nephew with the grandson, and so further without limit, not to speak of all blood kin being affinities by marriage and all affinities by marriage also blood kin. If it is legitimate to interpret fragments of kinship systems in accord with general principles, it is also legitimate to interpret the totality of such systems, which in actuality occur as units, according to the same suppositions. As soon as the Zuñi system is thus interpreted, both it and the supposition break down into a meaningless chaos.

The fact is, the Zuñi cares remarkably little for system or theory. He is an opportunist. He has the broad, vague outlines of his kinship system

well in mind; but he is not the least interested in following out basic principles into consistent detail. He knows perfectly well that nanna comprises his grandfathers and all his male relatives two or more generations older than himself; but this principle of nomenclature does not for a moment deter him from calling one of his nanna who is visibly younger than the majority, his father. In fact, consistent adherence to system can scarcely be expected in any point from a people who are perfectly content to call the same individual their father and their brother,<sup>1</sup> or among whom both mother and son call the same woman mother.<sup>2</sup> The Zuñi rule is one of thumb. The result is far from a finished job; but it suffices for the Zuñi, whose primary impulse is to have some designation of kinship for everyone possible, but who normally are far more interested in the person as such, and in his actual status toward themselves, than in the logical consistency or exactness of his designation.

It accords with this looseness of the Zuñi system, that all of their kinship terms in their narrowest or primary sense denote relatives not over two steps of relationship distant. Because of the biological foundation of kinship, it must have in fact, whether or not this is recognized in nomenclature, the vertical dimension of generations and the horizontal one of descent. If we count these two factors as equivalent, a father and a brother are each removed a step, a grandfather and an uncle each two steps, a greatgrandfather, a cousin, and a grandnephew each three equal steps. All considerations of sex and absolute age are independent of this framework and can be separately entered into it in a variety of manners and degrees.

By this scale, there is not even one three-step designation in the Zuñi system of nomenclature. One and two step terms are applied to kindred eight and nine degrees distant. Evidently, fine discriminations are not what the Zuñi is trying to express.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, 11 > 32, 52 > 7, 111's father > 13's father; see also "Ceremonial Kinship Terms"; not to forget what has been said about inconsistency under "Kinship Terms among Clan Members."

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, 3 > 19, 7 > 19.—A few incidents illustrate significantly. 5, the daughter of 3 and niece or kyassee of 34, died in 1916. Shortly afterward I met 34, and asked after his "kyawwu," meaning 3, who is his full older sister and in whose house he lives. He replied: "hom lkyinna? accekyā," as much as to say: "You mean my younger sister? Don't you know that she has gone away (died)?" It proved that he habitually spoke of his older sister, 3, as his mother, of her daughter, 5, as his younger sister, and of his brother-in-law, 1, as his father. Only 27 remained as 34's older brother. All I can say is that 1 and 3 were in a sense the father and mother of the house. Not long after, when I presented an American visitor in this home, I made the introductions, which were on the basis of relationship, in exactly corresponding terminology. 7 once mentioned that a certain woman, who stands outside the genealogy recorded, was younger sister of a certain man. She had previously been described to me as his kyassee, or niece. Fearing confusion, I called attention to the discrepancy. *Hinina*, "the same thing," my informant replied, not evasively as if minimizing a palpable error, but with a touch of the impatience justified in a man hindered in his progress by a mere technicality.

## AFFINITY.

In a measure, the same rough and ready but practical tendency may be seen in what is perhaps the most outstanding peculiarity of the Zuni system: the complete lack, except for two generic terms, of all proper designations for relatives by marriage. The Zuni proceeds in his nomenclature on the implied assumption that husband and wife are not only one flesh but one person — an assumption, by the way, which can no more be founded upon custom than upon physical fact, and which must therefore reflect merely a social attitude. To us, and to most nations, the father-in-law is two degrees removed. The Zuni, in calling him father, treat him as a one-step relative. In view of the fact that the living customs of the Zuni emphasize the unilaterality of their mode of reckoning descent, not to mention their having clans, this merging of affinities into blood kindred is remarkable. It results in calling by the same term persons who, like the mother and the mother-in-law, must by inviolable sentiment as well as unvarying practice be of different clan.

It is tempting to connect this method of nomenclature based on the assumed oneness of husband and wife, with the Zuni type of marriage, which, however temporary and informal, is as essentially and necessarily a monogamous institution, in the feeling of the people, as among any Christian nation. In view of the obvious preëminence of the woman, who receives her husband into her and her mother's home, and who, with her sisters and female ancestors, owns the house, it is also worthy of note that she and her children recognize her husband's relatives as their kin as fully as he adopts hers. In this point, as in most others, the relationship terms of the Zuni are so far from reflecting the alleged matriarchal habits of the Pueblo Indians, that they could be used just as well by ourselves or by a people with even more decidedly patrilineal customs.

## SEX.

Sex enters into kinship denomination in three manifestations: the sex of the person in question; of the speaker or ego; and, in terms implying two or more steps, of the connecting relative or relatives. The expression of these three factors is quite unequal in Zuni.

The sex of the individual referred to is specified in all <sup>1</sup> Zuni kinship terms except two: *hanni* and *kyasse*, both denoting juniors.

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<sup>1</sup> Generic terms like *talakyl*, *ulani*, *ottsi*, are not included here or elsewhere in this discussion; neither are the non-vocative terms for husband and wife; nor terms confined to ceremonial usage. The terms referred to are the first eighteen of those listed and treated above.

The sex of the speaker is implied only in six terms: the three for younger brother or sister, and the three specific terms of the nephew and niece class. These of course all refer to juniors.

The sex of the intermediate relative is distinguished in all but one of the ten — or if *inniha*, stepmother be so reckoned, eleven — two-step terms in which alone this factor is capable of entering. The lone exception is *nanna*, grandfather or grandson. *Hotta* specifies connecting sex when it denotes the maternal grandmother, not always when it refers to the granddaughter.

#### AGE.

Absolute age has already been mentioned as one of the chief influences disturbing the regularity of the Zuñi scheme of kinship as it is applied to actual persons. Age however can enter into the theory of kinship system also as an avowed element, people of the same generation being distinguished as older or younger in sequence of birth. The Zuñi system admits this factor in all five of its denominations for brother and sister; but in no others, except the supernumerary *hacci* and *tsillu* which may be used instead of wider meaning *tsitta* for mother's sister. The suffixes *-lacci* and *-ts'anna*, "old" and "small," are however freely added to any and all terms, and often bring out seniority or juniority within the limits of one generation.

#### RECIPROCAL EXPRESSION.

Considerable attention has of late years been bestowed upon the manifestations of the reciprocating impulse in American systems of relationship. The tendency takes several forms, which it is well to distinguish.

What may be termed conceptual reciprocity is an exact accord in range of inverted meaning of the terms for two relationships. Complete conceptual reciprocity exists only when all persons called by one term call all those who thus name them, and no others, by the reciprocal term. It is immaterial whether the second term is identical with, similar to, or entirely different from the first.

Verbal reciprocity consists of the use of the same or a derivative term for the corresponding relative; it does not imply exact inverse meaning for the two terms, though this may occur.

Complete conceptual reciprocity without verbal similarity obtains between Papago *sīs*, older brother or sister, and *cūhpi'rc*, younger brother or sister. The conceptual reciprocity is just as thorough, and the verbal correlation approximate though not entire, in Zuñi, *kyakkya*, mother's

brother, and kyasse, man's sister's child. Both conceptual and verbal reciprocity are exact in Uintah Ute *aitcin*<sup>1</sup>, which denotes both the father's younger brother, and a man's older brother's child.<sup>1</sup> In Zuñi *nanna*, grandfather and grandson, the verbal reciprocity is complete, but the logical correlation partial; since the girl whom the grandfather calls *hotta*, also calls him *nanna*; and *wowwo* and *hotta*, the grandmothers, join the grandfather in calling the grandson *nanna*. The distinction may seem a fine spun one, since the whole matter is foreign to our usual thought. Thus English has only one term, *cousin*, which is reciprocal; and in this both verbal and logical reciprocity are complete. But in many Indian languages the reciprocal impulse becomes exceedingly important.

There is only one pair of conceptually reciprocal terms in Zuñi, the *kyakkyä* and *kyasse* mentioned. There is an approach to such reciprocity in the fact that *talle*, woman's brother's son, and *eyye*, woman's brother's daughter, taken together, correspond inversely with *kukku*, father's sister. The generic terms *talakyi* and *ulani* are each self-reciprocal; but they are hardly terms of relationship in the strict sense. The words for husband and wife are also excluded from the reckoning, for obvious reasons.

Verbal reciprocity is equally limited. Beyond *talakyi* and *ulani*, it occurs, but without exact logical correspondence, only in *nanna*, *hotta*, and *wowwo*, all of the grandparent-grandchild class; and, incompletely, in *kyakkyä* and *kyasse*.

The distinct failure of reciprocity to operate heavily in Zuñi is marked in the fact that persons designated as children name those who so call them by the five different terms *tattcu*, *tsitta*, *hacci*, *tsillu*, and *inniha*; by the term *wowwo*, which still further diminishes the incomplete verbal self-reciprocity of *hotta*; and by the circumstance that there is not a single instance of either kind of reciprocity in the favorable brother-sister class.

This weakness of the reciprocal impulse in Zuñi is apparently connected with a feature in which the system stands apart from many American Indian kinship schemes: the almost constant designation of the sex of the relative, and comparatively rare specification of the sex of the speaker. When there is exact conceptual reciprocity, one of the pair of corresponding terms, or one meaning of the single two-sided term, must normally express one of these two categories, the second the other category. Starting with a term like *kyakkyä*, mother's brother, for instance, which denotes the sex of the person designated but leaves that of the user of the term indefinite — a term in accord with the principles dominating the English system — we are confronted with two alternatives. We can either adhere to the factors

<sup>1</sup> E. Sapir, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. xv, 135, 1913.

or categories involved in *kyakkya*, and employ one term used jointly by the mother's brother and sister for her son, and another used jointly by them for her daughter, in which case there is consistency of method but no reciprocity; or we can follow the frequent Indian plan of reversing the method and ignoring the sex of the relative referred to but specifying that of the speaker; in which event a satisfactory reciprocity is attained, but consistency is abandoned. It will require a comparative analysis of a considerable number of Indian systems to prove the actual causal relation between reciprocal impulse and variability of the categories involved; but since at least many native American systems evince extensive reciprocity and high fluidity of categories, whereas European systems have little reciprocity and much consistency, it is probable that the phenomena are connected historically as well as potentially. In fact, it is possible that the difference in consistency of employment of categories, which appears to give a truer description of the distinction between civilized and uncivilized systems of relationship than the customary concepts of "classificatory" and "non-classificatory" or "descriptive," may be to a very important extent the result of the operation among Indians and other natives, and the absence among Europeans, of the impulse toward reciprocal and analogous expressions.

At any rate, the *Zuñi*, a matrilinear and clan people, approximate much more nearly to the English scheme, as regards reciprocity and consistency in the use of categories, than for instance the majority of the California Indians, who resemble us in being non-exogamous and reckoning descent bilaterally or paternally.

#### EUROPEAN INFLUENCE.

It may be queried whether this condition is not the result of Spanish influence upon *Zuñi* customs. This is a point on which historical knowledge must give the final determination; and this knowledge no one at present has. But I am confident that Spanish contact has not been an important influence on *Zuñi* kinship, and I incline to believe that it has not been an influence at all. The house life and house ownership, the economic status, the matrilinear reckoning, the clan organization and functions, the type of marriage and divorce, among the *Zuñi*, are all in direct conflict with both the theory and the practice of the corresponding Spanish, Mexican, English, and Catholic institutions, and yet maintain themselves unimpaired today. The universality with which terms denoting kindred of intimate consanguinity are applied also to remote collateral relatives; the endless

use of kinship terms for persons standing in non-consanguineal relations of ceremony, clan, temporary co-residence, or personal contact, and that irrespective of race; and finally the thorough confusion in which a school-bred Zuñi finds himself in trying to designate his relatives by English terms, which rest on the same foundation as the Spanish ones; all these considerations drawn from the use of the kinship terms themselves, leave only the slightest room, if any, for the supposition of an alteration of the purely native Zuñi system into something bastard through the influence of encroaching European civilization.

#### BASIC RECIPROCITY.

There is another, deeper, though vaguer kind of reciprocity recognizable than the conceptual, verbal, or combined forms already discussed. This may not be at all distinctively Zuñian; it may even be worldwide in substantially the same degree, and nothing but the undeveloped common root from which the specific types of reciprocity spring. But it inheres in the Zuñi use of their kinship scheme and should be mentioned. It is revealed in the fact that so far as generation, descent, and age are concerned, a Zuñi always applies to a given person only a term which corresponds in these points to the term which that person applies to him. If a Zuñi calls you grandson, you do not call him father; if you are his father, he is never your nephew; if a woman is one's younger sister, one is not her younger brother, nor her uncle. I say again, this may seem perfectly obvious. It is obvious in the light of our coherent, businesslike English system. But such consistency, elementary as it is, need not be present in so loose-jointed and slovenly a system as the Zuñi one is in its application. With a people whose mental susceptibilities are not jarred when a person calls a woman sister and her brother uncle, among whom a mother and her son are both "children" to the same individual, and with whom it happens that X is both "father" and "elder brother" to Y, it might theoretically be possible for A to call B his sister and for B to call him her mother's brother. But that is precisely where the Zuñi draw the line. And the fundamental feeling for reciprocity which they thereby evince, whether it be a universal or only a frequent one among the nations of the world, appears to be the basis of the more special and systematic phases of reciprocity which they have developed only moderately and other members of their race more intensely.

The only exceptions noted to the unanimous observance of this generalized reciprocity, are two, and it is possible that these rest on misunder-

standing of the cases. 15 calls 37 hotta, granddaughter; 37 calls 15 hacci, mother's oldest sister. 30 calls 1 pappa; older brother, probably on account of common clan membership; 1 calls 30 kyasse, sister's child: she is no blood kin of his, but his wife's father's younger sister. It may be added that 1 calls the husband of 5 talakyi, son-in-law, and is called tattcu by him; but this is only an apparent exception, as talakyi is essentially a generic term and tattcu a specific and vocative one.

#### ASYMMETRY.

Zuñi indifference to exactness and balance of system leads to a marked asymmetry in most of the groups of kinship designations. There are eight kinds of brothers and sisters possible. Few nations possess eight terms; but two or four are common, according to the factors stressed. The Zuñi have five. Everyone has four grandparents, and one, two, four, or eight terms would be logically consistent. The Zuñi have three. They have three of the nephew-niece type: a woman distinguishes her brother's children according to sex, a man calls his sister's son and daughter by the same word. There are four specific uncle-aunt designations in Zuñi — three on the mother's side, one on the father's. There is a word for step-mother, none for stepfather. There are terms for father and mother, none for son or daughter. The granddaughter is addressed in one way by her father's mother, in another by her mother's mother and her grandfathers; the grandson is called the same by all four of his grandparents. These instances conveniently summarize the unsystematic quality of Zuñi kinship nomenclature which has been commented on in detail in the preceding pages.

#### KERESAN KINSHIP.

Morgan in his famous *Systems* gives a schedule of the Laguna terms of relationship. These were collected by Rev. Samuel Gorman in 1860.<sup>1</sup> I secured brief lists from an Acoma man at the San Francisco Exposition of 1915, and from a Laguna woman at Zuñi. The conditions surrounding the latter informant were not such as to favor a satisfactory elucidation. Deficiencies in the Acoma list are due rather to my own lack of time. As the languages of the two pueblos are identical, or practically so, I present the data from all three sources in one list, so far as they reconcile.

<sup>1</sup> Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, xvii, 1871, see number 74 on pages 293 to 382.

## ACOMA-LAGUNA SYSTEM.

naictiya	father; father's brother; father-in-law; (man's) father's sister's son
naya	mother; mother's sister; mother-in-law; (man's) father's sister's daughter
amü <sup>nty</sup>	son; parallel nephew; son-in-law; parallel cousin's son
makü	daughter; parallel niece; daughter-in-law; parallel cousin's daughter
tumüa	(o?y?) brother of a man
(a)kwi	(o?y?) sister of a man
(a)wa	(o?) brother of a woman
am	(o?y?) sister of a woman
ka'au	(o?y?) sister of a woman
nawi	mother's brother; also reciprocal, probably exact, i. e., man's sister's child
kuya	father's sister; also reciprocal, probably exact, i. e., woman's brother's child
nana	grandfather; also reciprocal, perhaps grandson, perhaps man's grandchild
papa	grandmother; also reciprocal, perhaps granddaughter, perhaps woman's grandchild
(s)atü	husband
(s)au'kwi	wife
kuwa	parent-in-law ("father" and "mother" also employed)
awa	child-in-law (cf. woman's brother, above; "son" and "daughter" also employed)
piye	relative-in-law

The brother-sister terms are different in the three series which are here combined. The only wholly self consistent source is the Acoma informant, who discriminated according to the sex of the speaker, but denied any distinction between older and younger. As the former feature is not found in Spanish, it must be accepted as genuine Keresan, as it is also Züñi. The expression of relative age, on the other hand, occurs among the Tewa of Hano and the Rio Grande, in the Isleta, Taos, and Jemez Tanoan dialects, and in Züñi, besides being so general an institution in America that it can with difficulty be conceived as having been originally lacking. Unless my informant and I misunderstood each other, Spanish usage has therefore effaced native Keresan practice in this point.

The uncle and aunt and nephew and niece terms were given by the Acoma informant as applying to "identical" or "parallel" as well as to "cross" relatives; but he further insisted, and my Laguna authority corroborated, that the terms father, mother, son, and daughter were also employed for both the cross and parallel relationships of this class; in fact, the mother's brother's wife was a mother as much as was the mother's sister, and the mother's brother could be called father, and the father's

brother: uncle. This is not only non-European, but far more extreme than Zuñi. Morgan's table, dating from 1860, classes the father's brother with the father, and his wife with the mother, and reserves the distinctive word for uncle for the mother's brother. This is the Zuñi method; but on the other hand the Rio Grande Tewa denote all uncles by one term and all aunts by one — as we and the Spaniards do. As the remote Tewan Hano follow the Zuñi system (plus an obsolescent distinct term for father's brother), their Rio Grande relatives have very likely simplified their system from its original form to accord with the Castilian one. Whether the Acoma-Laguna of recent generations have done the same, or have hesitatingly wavered between this reduction and the tendency to lump all collateral relatives with lineal, or whether the evidence available is simply inaccurate, further investigation must determine. In any event, so far as the terms nawi and kuya go, they each have reciprocal significance, probably exact.

Specific husband and wife terms occur in both Laguna sources, but the Acoma informant gave "his (or her or their) father (or mother)" — exactly in accord with the Zuñi custom — and was heard to call his wife ka-naya, "her mother." I therefore suspect that the usual practice in both pueblos is identical with that of the Zuñi.

Another fundamental resemblance to Zuñi is the paucity of terms for relatives by marriage. Kuwa and awa, which occur in two sources, may be, if not entirely modern in meaning, reference terms for parent-in-law and child-in-law; and in address, and within the family, the Zuñi practice of using only father, mother, son, daughter, brother, or sister, may be followed. The term piye was given to me as meaning daughter-in-law, 'man's brother's wife, father-in-law, and occurs in Morgan as denoting a man's father's brother's son's wife, and a man's daughter-in-law. A generic term, perhaps of address, denoting any relative by marriage of the opposite or either sex, seems indicated — like Tewa ja'a, and something like Zuñi talakyi and ulani.

The children of two brothers, and presumably of two sisters, are brothers and sisters; but as between the children of a brother and of a sister, that is, cross cousins, the former are reckoned a generation younger and call the latter father and mother, and are called son and daughter by them. The Tewa of Hano<sup>1</sup> follow the same practice, except that the father's sister's

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<sup>1</sup> The Rio Grande Tewa call all male cousins maë'maë, which in Hano means mother's brother, and all female cousins ko'o, or aunt. The latter term may be conjectured to have meant father's sister originally: compare Hano ki'u. father's sister. The modern Rio Grande Tewa terminology thus seems to be a case of making over the meanings of the words for one male and one female collateral relative to accord with the concepts of Spanish *primo* (*hermano*) and *prima*.

daughter is called father's sister, and not mother. The Hopi, according to a statement recently made before the American Ethnological Society by Dr. Lowie, have the Hano usage. Keres, Tewa, and Hopi thus agree in using for cross cousins terms that normally denote a difference of generation; the Zuñi stand apart among the Pueblos with their preference — though not an exclusive one — for brother-sister terminology for cross cousins.

Dr. Lowie has recently shown <sup>1</sup> — on the basis of the distribution of the phenomena and without hypothetical speculation — that there exists a fairly regular connection, over most of North America, between definitely exogamous institutions and the terminological merging of lineal with collateral relatives. As only Tewa data were accessible to him at the time, he noted the Southwest as the principal area where the correlation, both positive and negative, did not hold. Since then, his determination of the Hopi nomenclature for cross-cousins weakens the apparently exceptional status of the Southwest as regards this correlation; and the adhesion of the Keres to the Hopi-Hano principle in this point, strengthens his case still farther; to which may also be added the occasional Zuñi cases of the same type.

Close as the correlation is, it remains to be shown however that it is primary, and not a correlation between one phenomenon and a by-product of another. I should be inclined to connect the use of parent-child terminology for cross cousinship rather with unilaterality of descent than with clan exogamy, holding the latter to be perhaps a common but not necessary development, and an overlying development, of the former. The basic condition thus would be that in which a woman would be felt to be a very different thing from a man in relationship — less perhaps as an existing individual than as a factor in the relations of other people. Once this point of view prevailed, cross cousins would necessarily be felt to be something very different from parallel cousins, and cross uncles and aunts from parallel ones; and the distinction would find expression in nomenclature. On the other hand, the same point of view would tend to result in a greater differentiation of male and female lines of descent, with the probability of the greater weighting of one than of the other; and this differentiated weighting may in itself be the foundation of clan groups and exogamy. It is not a question, therefore, of the correctness of Dr. Lowie's correlation, but of its interpretation. I doubt, and believe it remains for him to prove, that his kinship nomenclature is fundamentally connected with exogamy. The terminology involved accords equally well with a certain mode of viewing

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<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, xvii, 223-239, 1915.

kinship itself, and this mode may as well, for all we know, be at the bottom of exogamy as a side effect of the reckoning of descent. In other words, I refuse to bring in the exogamic clan as a factor at any point until it has been definitely established that the phenomena in question cannot be equally well correlated with and interpreted by the factor of the family of true blood kindred.

In spite of the fragmentary nature of the available Keresan lists, the generic resemblance of Keres to Zuñi and Hano kinship nomenclature is evident. The significant deviations, so far as they may not be mere inaccuracies or misunderstandings of information, seem mainly due to Spanish influence; which has been even more operative among the Rio Grande Tewa. The Pueblo type of kinship system, wherever we know it, has almost no specific terminology for relatives by marriage. It employs kinship terms abundantly for teknonymic purposes. Designations for near relatives, both lineal and collateral, are employed for all blood kindred, however remote, besides being freely applied to clan members, ceremonial associates, friends, and fellow residents. Exact reciprocal expression, both conceptual and verbal, is moderately developed, and the designation of the sex of the relative is more frequent, relatively to that of the sex of the ego, than among many American tribes. In general there is a characteristic asymmetry, loose-jointedness, and indifference to systematic consistency.

#### ETYMOLOGICAL.

Most if not all Zuñi kinship terms are from monosyllabic stems. The same seems to be true in Tewa and perhaps in Keres. Several Zuñi and Tewa stems of the same meaning prove to be identical or similar in sound.

Zuñi	Hano Tewa
ta-, father	ta-, father
tši-, mother	yi-, mother ("ji-," j = y)
pa-, older brother	pi-, older brother
kya-, older sister	ka-, older sister
ku-, father's sister	ki-, father's sister

There seems to be no necessity to interpret these resemblances as remnants of an ancient unity of the languages. Several other stems possess similar meanings in all three of the stocks: their significance varies, but they regularly refer to older persons. These cases appear to be due to one language being influenced by others.

	<i>Zuñi</i>	<i>Keresan</i>	<i>Rio Grande Tewa</i>	<i>Hano Tewa</i>
na-na	grandfather (grandson)	grandfather (and reciprocal)		
pa-pa	older brother	grandmother (and reciprocal)	greatgrandfather	greatgrandparent
ku-ku	father's sister	father's sister (and reciprocal)		father's mother (and reciprocal)
-ya				
ta-tcu	father		father	father
-ra				
-da				
ka-ka	older sister	woman's (older?) sister		older sister, mother's older sister
-ye				
-'au				
-wwu				

## II. THE HOUSE AND MARRIAGE.

I have no information to add to Mrs. Stevenson's truthful description and at some points very full account of the Zuñi customs concerned with the house, marriage, and motherhood, and shall confine myself to emphasizing a few features that seem to be of broader significance.

First, and again, it is in the woman's ownership of the house that the so-called matriarchate of the Zuñi centers and rests. Without this ownership there would be no matriarchate left; even the matrilineal reckoning of descent would reduce to a nominal matter.

The woman's title to the house is absolute. When a building is pulled down, it is the men who do all the heavy work. When it is re-erected, or an entirely new house built outside the old town, the men quarry and lay the stone, cut and lay the roof logs, and carpenter the doors and windows; the woman's part is auxiliary throughout, except for the light labor of plastering, in which she holds sway. Yet when a man has built such a house, and he and his wife quarrel and separate, even though for no other reason than her flagrant infidelity, he walks out and leaves the edifice to her and his successor without the least thought of being deprived of anything that is his. Men have shown me the houses they have put up for a wife who subsequently installed another man as her husband, and have pointed out the glass windows, which they had purchased from the storekeeper with their own earnings, still in place; but the information was given casually, and without implication of injustice being involved. The wife was blamed for her laxity of morals and for the deceit of unfaithfulness before the rupture was consummated, not for her retention of property to which in our eyes the husband would have a claim. The Zuñi does not even have an inkling of having been chivalrous in such an abandonment. His conduct is as much a matter of course as resigning oneself to anything inevitable, like a cloudburst washing out one's cornfield. It would be interesting to know the civilizational circumstances under which such customs sprang up. Even if the woman formerly built the house, it would remain to be understood how this habit originated, and how the people came to remain conservative in the matter of ownership while the labor of construction shifted to the other sex.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> That this shift has taken place at Zuñi is highly probable, since at Hopi, at least until recently, the women were the builders. Evidently Zuñi society has remained aboriginal, while the material and economic phases of their life have slowly altered towards conformity with European practices.

A third point is that however "matriarchal" this female ownership of the house may constitute the Zúñi, they are not a woman ruled people. The position of woman is not materially different from that which she occupies in nations of non-matriarchal institutions. As regards government, women claim and have no voice whatever. As regards religion, there are no women priests nor fraternity officers — only associates —; and while women are not excluded from religious activity, their participation is obviously subsidiary. Even within the house, as long as a man is a legitimate inmate thereof, he is master of it and its affairs. There are Zúñi women that control their husbands, sons, or fathers; but they do so only by virtue of inherent force of character; and to the same degree, and with the same frequency relative to the total population, as among other nations.

Finally, the Zúñi are a monogamic people. Divorce, if it may be called such, for it is nothing more than a separation, is as easy as marriage; more facile, in fact, for a young girl still under parental influence. There is much in Zúñi life that our standard code would denounce as loose. Most men and most women of middle age have been married to several partners. Even people of mature age change. The majority of the Zúñi have half-brothers and half-sisters scattered through the town. But however shifting marriages may be, marriage is an affair of one man to one woman. The normal Zúñi no more dreams of practising polygamy, polygyny or polyandry, than does the average American citizen.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is of interest in this connection that according to Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons the Zúñi affirm that they do not practise the levirate and seem to resent the imputation of the custom. I should have had a conviction that the institution would be repugnant to their feelings.

### III. THE CLAN.

#### PRINCIPAL FEATURES.

The Zuñi clans today number fifteen. The largest clan comprises four hundred or more persons; of the smallest, there remain only three or four people, so that it hovers on the edge of extinction. Marriage in the mother's clan is forbidden; in the father's clan, disapproved but tolerated. Neither phratries nor moieties have any social significance; all such groupings of clans appear to be wholly esoteric and symbolic. Equally devoid of social effect, frequently even of recognition, are certain smaller units into which some large clans are subdivided. The names of these subdivisions however serve to connect the Zuñi clan system with that of the other Pueblos. There is some localization of clans within the town; but it is fragmentary and irregular. There appears to be no central clan house, no recognized head, no meeting or council, nor in fact any organization whatsoever; nor does the clan as such ever act as a body.<sup>1</sup> Neither are the clans associated with the *kiwwitsiwe* or *kivas*. They have little connection with the religious societies or fraternities either in name, function, or membership, except in certain special and limited cases. The clans do enter at innumerable points into Zuñi ceremonial; but it is through the requirement that such and such an act of religion must be performed by a person or persons of such and such a clan or father's clan, and not by any participation of the clan as such. There are no totemic taboos, and no worship of the clan totem. Finally, people are reckoned as belonging to the father's clan almost as much as to the mother's.

#### MARRIAGE REGULATIONS.

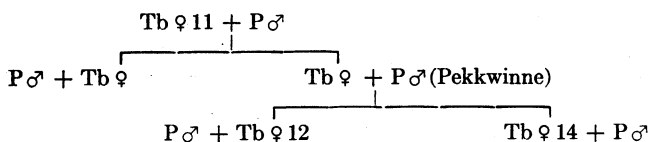
The aversion to marriage into the father's clan is not nearly so strict as into the mother's. There are two cases in the genealogy obtained. Number 3, an old Crane woman, with a Badger father, married a Badger

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Stevenson (*Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep. xi, 112, 1894*) speaking of an impoverished family at Sia, says, "Nothing is done for this family by the clan. Close observation leads the writer to believe that the same ties of clanship do not exist with the Sia as with the other tribes. . . . The wife belongs to the Corn clan and has a number of connections. When the writer chided a woman of this clan for not assisting the sufferers she replied: 'I would help them if I could, but we have not enough for ourselves,' a confirmation of the opinion that the clan is here secondary to the nearer ties of consanguinity. The care of one's immediate family is obligatory; it is not so with the clan." It is a fair question whether the conditions here described as peculiar to Sia are in truth exceptional and modern, or normal and of old standing.

man, who was not however a kinsman. Number 105, a Sun man, with a Crane father, once married a Pikchikwe woman whose father was also Crane. This caused talk rather than disapprobation. Like so many Zuñi marriage ventures, this matrimony did not last. The man's more distant relatives were heard joking him about it.

In learning the clan affiliations of houses, and recording clan censuses, I encountered several marriages into the father's clan, both by men and women. Normally the breach was not formally enunciated, but became apparent as information accumulated. It is clear that this violation is not a mere symptom of modern decay of native institutions: conservative old men, and the mothers of women now middle aged, have committed the irregularity. The practice seems to have been in much the same status as the bride's going into her husband's house: both are contrary to formulated custom, and liable to meet ridicule and light reproach, but are and have been in usage in an appreciable percentage of cases. The objection to marriage into one's father's clan is based on the ground that one is marrying *yam tca'le*, "one's own child"; a woman who has married a member of her father's clan, must on certain ceremonial occasions, such as washing the head, behave to her husband as if he were "her child."<sup>1</sup>

The Tobacco clan appears to have a particular inclination to marry and remarry with Pikchikwe. Number 1, the informant who gave the census reproduced in table 8, had a Pikchikwe father and has a Pikchikwe wife — who by the way lives in what was originally the house of his people. For the women who have come out of house 72 of map 1, the case is even more extreme — unless my information is badly confused — as the following genealogy shows:



I have encountered one case of two people of the same clan marrying. This union took place between the summer of 1915 and that of 1916. *Aisih-tiwa*, — a Pikchikwe man out of house x156, but reared since boyhood by the Bear woman and her Zuñi-adopted captive Mexican husband Jesus of house 534 f, — separated from his Sun wife and married a Pikchikwe woman in house 454. This fact came out incidentally to tracing the clan connections of the members of the *Ne'wekwe* fraternity.<sup>2</sup> My first informant,

<sup>1</sup> I should have expected the opposite terminology: in this case, the husband is the wife's clan father, and she the child of his clan and therefore by extension his child.

<sup>2</sup> See table 11.

the director of the Ne'wekwe, mentioned the fact without comment; the governor of Zuñi confirmed it, and the only explanation he or his wife could give was that Aisihtiwa and his new wife had overlooked their being clan mates. Their elders, however, would scarcely have forgotten the circumstance in a normal case; and I am inclined to find considerable abnormality in Aisihtiwa's being brought up away from his natal home or the homes of any of his close kin, in a house the head of which, on account of his alien origin, is not a member of any Zuñi clan. Further, Aisihtiwa is of the Lapikcikwe subdivision of the clan, and his wife of the Mullakwe. This fact may have been a palliation in the native mind. In any event the occurrence is isolated, so far as my knowledge goes.

#### LIST OF CLANS.

The Zuñi clans have been recorded by several investigators, whose closely according data are collated in the appended table.

It will be seen that my list tallies almost exactly with that of Mrs. Stevenson. All my informants mentioned all sixteen of her clans, and none added any others. It is of interest that none of the informants knew the total number, which must therefore be devoid of significance to the native mind. My principal informant, the governor's father, knew nothing of the extinct clans cited by Mrs. Stevenson, except that he recognized the Kwinikwakwe or Black Corn as a subdivision, and an existing one, of the Corn clan. The one material difference between the data of Cushing and Hodge and those of Mrs. Stevenson and myself is that the former give the Antelope clan as already extinct, but list the Rattlesnake clan as still surviving. The Antelope clan (or really, subdivision of the Deer clan) survives today in the persons of one or two males. As to the Rattlesnake clan, there is some doubt. It seems unlikely that it could have escaped the entire notice of so long a resident and indefatigable a worker as Mrs. Stevenson. She came to Zuñi almost as early as Cushing, and lived there later, so that even if this group had died out soon after the beginning of Cushing's domicile and before the publication of his work, some knowledge of it, at least as a recently extinct body, must have reached her. Further, Cushing<sup>1</sup> gives Chitolakwe not only as the name of a clan but of a fraternity; Mrs. Stevenson, while ignoring the Rattlesnake clan, refers to the Chikialikwe or Rattlesnake society.<sup>2</sup> My informants all positively denied that there ever was a Rattle-

<sup>1</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., XIII, 371, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., XXIII, 528, 1902.

snake clan or a Rattlesnake society among the Zuñi; and one of them told a myth that accounts for the absence of these bodies among his own people and their presence among the Hopi.

When the Zuñi still lived at Hallonawa, a family went out to get wood, leaving a little boy and girl in the house. The boy kept looking out, but no one returned; and at last he followed his parents. A rattlesnake heard the little girl crying, came, entered, and looked at her. Still no one returned, and he took her with him. When she had lived with him for a time, he said: "Perhaps the people will find and kill us; let us go away." So he took her to A'tahnakwe, a hill to the southwest. But the rattlesnakes who lived there said to the two: "The people might find you here and do us an injury." Then the snake and the girl went to Iccannantekkyapo'a, the semi-circular hillock half a mile south of Zuñi; but the snakes there also would not let them stay, for fear of punishment by human beings. They went on to Tci'pa'na hill, where the snake residents allowed them to remain, and here they lived until the girl was grown up. Then the snakes took her back to Hallonawa, where the visitors were about to establish a fraternity like that of the Hopi. But the Zuñi at Hallonawa killed the woman and some of her associates; and the others said: "Let us go to a country where they are good to us." So her offspring and their rattlesnake kin went to the Hopi, and the Hopi make the snake dance. But the Zuñi have no rattlesnake clan.

From what is said below of synonyms and subdivisions among Pueblo clans, I should infer that the alleged Zuñi "Sky" clan was an equivalent of Corn or possibly Sun, "Water" certainly of Corn or Frog, "Wood" of Coyote, and "Rabbit" of Tobacco.

#### MOIETIES AND PHRATRIES.

As regards moieties or a dual grouping, I obtained absolutely no information. All that is on record regarding Zuñi moieties seems to be contained in the versions by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson of an episode in the Zuñi tribal myth.

The Cushing account<sup>1</sup> tells how soon after the emergence from the under world Yanauluha carried a staff among the plumes of which appeared four round things, seeds or eggs, two blue like the sky or turquoise, two dun-red like earth. Yanauluha told the people to choose. From one pair would issue beings of beautiful plumage, and where they flew would be everlasting summer; from the other would come evil beings, "uncolored, black, piebald with white," and where these flew, and the people should follow, winter would strive with summer, and food be obtainable only by labor. The people chose the blue eggs, and the strongest seized them. Worms issued from this pair of eggs, which grew into ravens. But the other eggs held by

<sup>1</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rép. XIII, 384, 1896.

## ZUFU CLAN LISTS.

Kroeber <sup>1</sup>	Stevenson <sup>12</sup>	Hodge <sup>13</sup>	Cushing <sup>19</sup>	Cushing <sup>21</sup>
Pikchikwe, Dogwood (59) <sup>2</sup>	Pichikwe, Dogwood	Parrot	M: Pichikwe, Parrot-Macaw	M: Pichikwe or Mulakwe, Parrot or Macaw
Kyakkyalikwe, Eagle (28)	K'ak'yalikwe, Eagle	Eagle	U: k'yäk'yälikwe, Eagle	U: K'yak'yalikwe, Eagle
Tonnashikwe, Badger (21)	Tonashikwe, Badger	Badger	S: Tonashikwe, Badger	S: Tonashikwe, Badger
Yattokyakwe, Sun (20)	Yätoklakwe, Sun	Sun	U: Yatok'yakwe, Sun	M: Yatok'yakwe, Sun
Tonnakwe, Turkey (20)	Tonakwe, Turkey	Turkey	E: Tonakwe, Turkey	E: Tonakwe, Turkey
Towwakwe, Corn <sup>3</sup> (15)	Towakwe, Corn	Corn	S: Tåakwe, Maize-plant	M: Tåakwe, Seed or Corn
K'oloktakwe, Sandhill Crane <sup>4</sup> (13)	*Ko'loktakwe, Sandhill-crane	Crane	N: Kåloktakwe, Crane or Pelican	N: Kåloktakwe, Heron or Crane
Takkyakwe, Frog-Toad <sup>5</sup> (11)	Tåklakwe, <sup>14</sup> Frog	Frog	D: Tak'yakwe, Toad or Frog	D: Tak'yakwe, Toad
Suskikwe, Coyote (10)	Suskikwe, Coyote	Coyote	W: Suskikwe, Coyote	W: Suskikwe, Coyote
Ayyahokwe, Tansy-Mustard <sup>7</sup> (7)	Aiyaho'kwe (a plant)	Redtop shrub	W: Aiyakowe, Red-top plant or Spring-herb	S: Aiyahokwe, Redtop-shrub
Annakwe, Tobacco (6)	Ana'kwe, Tobacco	Tobacco	S: Anakwe, Tobacco	U: Anakwe, Tobacco
Anshekwe, <sup>6</sup> Bear (5)	Aifshikwe, Bear	Bear	W: Aifshikwe, Bear	N: Aingshikwe, Bear
Shohwitakwe, Deer <sup>8</sup> (3)	Shohitakwe, Deer	Deer	E: Shohoitakwe, Deer	E: Shohoitakwe, Deer
Poyiykwe, Chaparral Cock <sup>9</sup> (1)	Poyi'kwe, Chaparral-cock	Chaparral Cock	N: Poyikwe, Grouse or Sagecock <sup>20</sup>	W: Poyikwe, Chaparral cock or Grouse
Tattluptsikwe, Yellow-wood <sup>10</sup> (1) <sup>11</sup>	Ta'hluptsikwe, Yellow-wood <sup>15</sup>	Yellow-wood	N: Ta'hluptsikwe, Yellow-wood or Evergreen-oak <sup>20</sup>	N: Tathluptsikwe, Yellow-wood
(Ma'wikwe, Antelope <sup>12</sup> ) (0) <sup>11</sup>	Mawikwe <sup>16</sup>		*E: Maawikwe, Antelope	
		Rattlesnake	D: Chitolakwe, Rattlesnake <sup>20</sup>	D: Tchitolakwe, Rattlesnake <sup>22</sup>
	* Apoyakwe, Sky		*U: Apoyakwe, Sky	
	* Tawi, Wood		*D: K'yanakwe, Water	
	* Okshikokwe, Cottontail-rabbit			
	* Kwinikwakwe, Black Corn			

<sup>1</sup> Figures refer to the number of "houses," that is, families, belonging to each clan in Zufi in 1916.

<sup>2</sup> My Zufi informants were unanimous that this clan is named after a shrub or small tree. It does not grow near Zufi, and I was unable to secure a specimen for determination. Mrs. Stevenson, in a footnote on page 40, says it is *Cornus stolonifera*. In her Ethno-botany, same series, xxx, (86), 1915, she calls it *Sida stolonifera riparia* Rydb. The word positively does not mean Parrot or Macaw. This bird is called mulla, and the Mullakwe or Macaw people are a division of the Pikchikwe. Under the circumstances I adopt Mrs. Stevenson's translation: dogwood.

<sup>3</sup> Towwa or toa — I have more frequently heard the latter, but the former seems more consonant with Zufi phonetics — denotes corn in general.

<sup>4</sup> I use the exact term on Mrs. Stevenson's authority; the descriptions given me were merely generic for a crane.

<sup>5</sup> Takkyia, as Cushing implied, is a generic term for both frogs and toads. The term Frog clan will hereafter be employed.

<sup>6</sup> Also heard as Anshekwe (which is contrary to Zufi phonetic habit), Annishkwe, and Annshikwe. There is an elusive sound somewhere in the word.

<sup>7</sup> Tansy-mustard, of the genus *Sophia*. In her Ethno-botany, Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., xxx, (86), 1915, Mrs. Stevenson gives *Sophia halictorum* Cockerell. The plant is past seed in July, so Cushing's description of "spring herb" is appropriate.

<sup>8</sup> The Zufi in their nomenclature classify deer and similar animals quite differently from ourselves. Their descriptions of course are loose to us, as ours are to them, and an exact determination of the meaning of their terms can probably be made only from specimens, or by a student who has biological knowledge as well as ethnological method. The common word for deer, probably generic, is na'le, plural nawe. My translation of Shohwitakwe is based on Cushing's and Mrs. Stevenson's.

<sup>9</sup> Poyyi is the striking looking bird whose four-toed foot and peculiar double-faced track have impressed the mythology of all Pueblo peoples.

<sup>10</sup> *Berberis Fremontii*, according to Mrs. Stevenson. The word means yellow wood in Zufi, the American vernacular name seems to be the same, and the Mexicans are said to call the shrub palo amarillo. The wood is close-grained, hard, bright yellow, and susceptible of polish.

<sup>11</sup> The Yellow-wood clan survives in the persons of about three men and an old woman; of Antelope, there seems to be only one old man left. On the other hand, two old informants,

working independently on the Mindeleff plot of Zufi, which they dated as belonging to the time when Cushing lived there, each gave me one "house" — that is, family comprising women — for the Antelope sub-clan of that period.

<sup>12</sup> As for Ma'wikwe, I could not determine the species, and give the translation of Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson. This is not really a clan, but a subdivision of the Deer clan, as is shown by the fact that Deer and Antelope may not intermarry; yet in enumerating clans, informants usually mentioned both, as if they were separate. We should say "one clan with two names"; but the Zufi characteristically put it toppinte c'inna, "one name." The cohwitta was described as "lokkya," brownish, and large; the ma'wi, as yellowish, of the size of a donkey, and with an antler that is single-spiked except for a short prong half way up the front.

<sup>13</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., xxxiii, 292, 1904.

<sup>14</sup> In note b, page 168, of her work, Mrs. Stevenson expresses the conviction that the word takia means toad and not frog.

<sup>15</sup> "*Berberis Fremontii* Torr."

<sup>16</sup> "One man has been the only member of this clan for the past ten or twelve years."

<sup>17</sup> "This clan became extinct in 1902 by the death of an aged shi'wanni." My informants recognized the Kwinnikwakwe or Black Corn people as one of the existing subdivisions of the Corn clan, but denied its identity as a clan now or formerly.

<sup>18</sup> Amer. Anthropologist, old series, ix, 345, 1896.

<sup>19</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., xiii, 368, 1896. The clans marked N, W, S, E, U, D, M, "appertain" respectively to the North, West, South, East, Upper or Zenith, Lower or Nadir, and Midmost.

<sup>20</sup> "Nearly extinct."

<sup>21</sup> F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. 30, Volume II, 1018, 1910: "According to Cushing the Zufi have 7 phratral groups, divided into 16 surviving clans." N, W, S, E, U, D, M have the same significance as in the preceding list.

<sup>22</sup> John G. Bourke, in Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, III, 116, 1890, gives the Zufi gentes as fourteen: Water, Crane, Eagle, Bear, Coyote, Macaw, Corn, Tortoise, Chaparral Cock, Tobacco, Yellow Stick, Sun, Sun Flower, Badger. Tortoise (or Turtle) is evidently a slip for Turkey. Macaw may be equated with Pikchikwe, Water probably with Frog, and Sun Flower with Tansy Mustard. Adding Deer (and Antelope) which are not mentioned, we have the same clans as were recited to Mrs. Stevenson and myself.

\* Extinct.



Yanauluha and by the fewer and weaker but wiser people who waited with him, grew into macaws, who flew to the summer land of the south. "As father, yet child of the macaw," Yanauluha "chose as the symbol and name of himself and as father of these his more deliberate children — those who had waited — the macaw and the kindred of the macaw, the Múla-kwe; whilst those who had chosen the ravens became the Raven-people, or the Ká'ká-kwe. Thus first was our nation divided into the People of Winter and the People of Summer." Yanauluha became "speaker to and of the Sun-father," "Pékwi Shiwani Ehkona (and Earliest Priest of the Sun)," that is, the first Pekwin, as Mrs. Stevenson would say. "He and his sisters became also the seed of all priests who pertain to the Midmost clan-line of the priest fathers of the people themselves 'masters of the house of houses,'" in other words, of the highest Zufii priest, the Kiakwemosi of Mrs. Stevenson, who, together with the Pekwin, must according to her be of the Pikchikwe or Dogwood clan.<sup>1</sup>

The Cushing account goes on to tell how "the Twain Beloved<sup>2</sup> and priest fathers gathered in council for the naming and selection of the man-groups and creature-kinds (*tanawe*), spaces, and things. Thus determined they that the creatures and things of summer and the southern space pertained to the Southern People, or Children of the Producing Earthmother, and those of winter and northern space, to the Winter people, or Children of the Forcing or Quickening Sky-father. Of the Children of Summer, some loved and understood most the sun, hence became the fathers of the Sun people (Yátok'yakwe). Some loved more the water, and became the Toad people (Tak'ya-kwe), Turtle people (Etáa-kwe), or Frog people (Tak'-yaiuna-kwe), who so much love the water. Others again loved the seeds of earth and became the People of Seed (Táatem'hlanah-kwe),<sup>3</sup> such as those of the First-growing grass (Petáa-kwe, now Aiyaho-kwe) and of the Tobacco (Ana-kwe). Yet still others loved the warmth and became the Fire or Badger<sup>4</sup> people (Tonashi-kwe). According, then, to their natures and inclinations or their gifts from below or of the Masters of Life, they chose or were chosen for their totems."

"Thus too it was with the People of Winter or the North. They chose, or were chosen and named, according to their resemblances or aptitudes; some as the Bear people (Aíshi-kwe), Coyote people (Suski-kwe), or Deer people (Shohoíta-kwe); others as the Crane people (Kálokta-kwe), Turkey people (Tonakwe) or Grouse people (Poyi-kwe)."

Mrs. Stevenson's account<sup>5</sup> of the corresponding episode runs as follows:—

It was at Hántlípinkla that the Ashiwi received their clan names, which originated in this way: During their migrations the Ashiwi traveled in groups, so when

<sup>1</sup> The Kiakwemosi may be of another clan if his father is Pikchikwe. *Op. cit.*, 163-168.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Stevenson's "Divine Ones," Kówwituma and Watsusi (p. 24), not to be confused with the Ahayuta or twin war gods, Uyuyewi and Matsailema (p. 35), although the two pairs of personages are undoubtedly a mythological duplication of a single concept. It is interesting that a young Zufii who voluntarily recounted to me an outline of part of the creation or tribal myth, named the war gods in place of the "Divine Ones." It need hardly be added that he was not a priest.

<sup>3</sup> This word seems to be from towwa, toa, corn, and temla, all, and to mean something like "all kinds of corn." This would make the meaning that the Corn, Tansy-mustard, and Tobacco clans were connected.

<sup>4</sup> Producing fire with the drill, which seems to be always a more or less ritualistic action among the Zufii, is the function of people of the Badger clan.

<sup>5</sup> P. 40.

the Divine Ones decided that the people should be gathered into clans they addressed each group, saying: 'You will take unto yourself a name?' Of one group he [*sic*] inquired 'What will you choose?' and they answered: 'We are the Pichikwe (Dogwood people).' Another group having been questioned, they replied: We are the Towakwe (Corn people).' Others chose to be the 'Ko'loktakwe (Sandhill Crane people), selecting this bird because it happened at the time to be flying by. Each name was chosen from some object seen at the time, and the totem of each clan was cut on the rocky walls; many of them are to be seen at the present time.

The Pichikwe clan was divided in the following manner: Yāñōwwuluha, pekwin to the Sun Father, placed two eggs in a sacred basket of meal and deposited it on the floor before the ɛttowe of the Ashiwanni and requested all the people of the clan to choose an egg. All chose the beautiful blue egg; none would have the more homely one. But, alas! When the eggs were hatched the raven came from the blue egg and the macaw from the other. Yāñōwwuluha then said to some of the Pichikwe, 'Henceforth you will be the Mula (macaw) Pichikwe.' Others of this clan he called Kākā (raven) Pichikwe. Yāñōwwuluha sent the Mula to Mexico and with it a number of the Mula Pichikwe to look for the Middle place.

Raven and Macaw were frequently referred to by my informants as subdivisions of the Pikchikwe clan, while they denied any moieties among their people as a whole. As a reflection of the existing social status, Mrs. Stevenson's version of the creation myth is therefore unquestionably the more correct, and Cushing's is quite misleading.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Zuñi tradition is throughout concerned with the people as a whole, and, in contrast to Hopi legends, scarcely at all with the fortunes of individual clans. Cushing's version is thus much more in consonance with the spirit of the myth, as well as having more point both artistically and symbolically. It is therefore not unlikely that it too rests substantially upon native tradition, which may be oscillating and inconsistent upon this point.

It may be added that Mrs. Stevenson makes no reference to moieties in her description of the ceremonial practices and esoteric beliefs of the Zuñi, among whom this institution must accordingly be regarded as lacking, or substantially so, as compared with the strong emphasis placed upon it in modern native life among the Rio Grande Pueblos.

I also learned nothing of phratries, or clan groupings, which are so prominent at Hopi, and of which Cushing gives the two lists that have been indicated in the foregoing table of clans. As with the moiety, I am convinced that phratries play no part in the social life of the people, so far as marriage, descent, and personal relations are concerned; but that in certain aspects of religion, symbolic groupings of clans are made along the lines indicated by Cushing, though these may possibly be so wholly mental as

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<sup>1</sup> I have heard an allusion to a separation of the Pikchikwe — not of the nation — which undoubtedly refers to the same myth incident.

scarcely to affect even ritual. The interpretation of the Cushing evidence is considered below in the discussion of the localization of clans in the town.

#### KERESAN MOIETIES AND MARRIAGE.

I have gone over Frederick Starr's valuable census of Cochiti<sup>1</sup> to ascertain whether there is any evidence of an exogamic moiety or phratrial system on the Rio Grande. His list contains reference to 63 marriages, 4 of them within the clan and in violation, of course, of the old law. The other 59 involve marriages between 32 different pairings of clans. There are 11 clans, and therefore only 55 such couplings possible. As the clans are small, from 51 to 4 souls in number, probability would demand a considerable but scattered proportion of possible pairings that were unrepresented by actual marriages. This is precisely the condition found. Consequently the distribution of marriages is just such as might be expected from the figures involved, on the assumption that there were no restrictions on intermarriage between any of the clans.

#### COCHITI MARRIAGES.

	Cottonwood	Mexican Sage	Ivy	Scrub-oak	Turquoise	Sage	Water	Calabash	Coyote	Maize	Sun	Total
Cottonwood	x	8	2	5	2	—	2	1	1	—	1	22
Mexican Sage		x	—	1	1	1	—	2	2	2	1	18
Ivy			x	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	8
Scrub-oak				x	—	—	2	1	2	—	—	13
Turquoise					x	2	1	1	2	—	—	11
Sage						x	—	4	1	1	—	11
Water							x	1	—	1	1	8
Calabash								x	—	—	—	10
Coyote									x	—	1	9
Maize										x	—	4
Sun											x	4

The only clans of any size that show no intermarriage are Cottonwood (22) and Sage (11); Mexican Sage (18) and Ivy (8); Scrub-oak (13), and

<sup>1</sup> Proc. Davenport Acad. Sc., vii, 33-45, 1899.



The clans are arranged in the order of their strength, as per the number of houses assigned to each. The disproportionate number of marriages into which Badger and Crane people entered, is probably due to the circumstance that the half dozen informants used included two Badger and two Crane men.

The general uniformity of distribution of marriage partners is evident. Two small clans are not likely to produce cases of intermarriage until a long series of instances is available.

In the subsequent section on the Pueblo Clan System, evidence is adduced to show that certain Zuñi clans belong to what seem to be units, when comparisons between all pueblos are instituted. Such Pueblo units or phratral groups, or perhaps single clans with double names, are Corn and Frog; Badger and Bear; Tansy Mustard and Chaparral Cock; and perhaps Eagle, Sun, and Turkey. Of these, Zuñi Corn and Frog show no intermarriage in the foregoing table; but this is an accident of the figures, since a Frog woman in house 181 (see map 1) was instanced to me as having had a Corn husband. As for Badger and Bear, so far from there being any prohibition, there seems to be a particular tendency for Bear to wed Badger — five cases out of nine recorded. As to Tansy Mustard and Chaparral Cock, some thirty marriages would have to be known for the latter, and more than a hundred for the former, instead of a paltry three or four, before probability would be likely to produce an instance of their intermarriage. For Eagle, Sun, and Turkey, the list contains instances of the former marrying each of the latter; as between Sun and Turkey, there is no case in the table, but this is mere accident; since Lupi, a Sun man out of house 446, married a Turkey girl in 452.

It may accordingly be concluded that, however consistently the clan system of the Pueblos in general may go back to a simplified scheme, the Zuñi have no consciousness of any such scheme, except perhaps in identifying their clans with differently named ones of other tribes. Their fifteen clans are to them perfectly independent and equivalent units, each as thoroughly distinct from one as from all the other thirteen. Indirect evidence therefore confirms the outright statements of the Zuñi: they possess no phratries as social units. The probable symbolic grouping of clans in certain mystic ritualistic connections is wholly secondary and superficial to the Zuñi social fabric.

## SUB-CLANS.

Most of the larger Zuñi clans are recognized by the older people as comprising subdivisions. Sub-clans of the same clan cannot intermarry. They do not enter into daily life. The younger people are barely aware of their existence, except for the Pikchikwe, and do not know their own sub-clans. The answer to the question: "Kwap to annotayye, what is your clan?" is invariably the name of the clan, not of its subdivision; thus: "Pikchikwe," not "Mullakwe." The sub-clans, — barring the Raven and Macaw divisions of Pikchikwe — are moreover not mentioned in either mythological or ritual connection by Cushing or Mrs. Stevenson; so that their function, and their place in the life of the nation, remain obscure. Their significance to the student lies in certain connections which they help to establish between the clans of the Zuñi and of the other Pueblo groups.

The following are the sub-clans as recited by the governor's father, and in part substantiated independently by other informants.

*Pikchikwe:*

1. La-piktcikwe,<sup>1</sup> "brush" or "wood" Pikchikwe, *i. e.*, the division named after the plant itself. Also called La-tanne.
2. Mullakwe, macaw.
3. Kokkokwe, raven or crow or god.
4. Kwallacikwe, raven or crow. The informant and another insisted that kokko and kwallaci were two names for the identical bird.

The equivalent of Zuñi Pikchikwe among other Pueblos clearly is the Kachina clan. Now Kokko, which means "god" as well as "raven," is the Zuñi equivalent of the Rio Grande and Hopi Kachina. It is therefore probable that Kokkokwe in the present connection means "god-people" rather than "raven-people," and that Kokkokwe, as a sub-clan name, is merely a synonym of Kwallacikwe, which refers jointly to raven and crow, these two birds not being distinguished in native terminology. I have heard mention of a part of the Pikchikwe who formerly went north and became "Kokko" — and gods rather than birds seemed to be meant. Perhaps the accident of identical though discrete words for raven and god led to folk etymologizing; or on the other hand, a myth which told of the raven-crows of the north turning into gods (or vice versa), may have led to one and the same Pikchikwe subdivision being called both Kwallacikwe and Kokkokwe.

The governor organized the Pikchikwe clan differently from his father. He first set off the La-piktcikwe from all the remainder of the clan. This remainder he designated as Kokkokwe, with the Mullakwe merely *patcippa*, "sticking on" to them. Kwallacikwe he disposed of as a synonym of Kokkokwe. When there are two Koyyemshi impersonators from Pikchikwe, which happens twice in four years, one is La-piktcikwe, one Mullakwe-Kokkokwe.

<sup>1</sup> The ending -kwe throughout signifies "people."

There is thus a fourfold division recognized in this clan, and two twofold ones. One of the latter enters into myth. But the two recorded versions of the myth, already referred to, differ: one divides the clan and the other the nation; neither coincides with the division of the clan as admitted in actual practice. This is characteristic Zuñi loose-endedness: everything is systematically organized, but no system ever comes out exactly. I suspect that the primary division is a binary one, as in the Badger clan, and that the supernumerary synonyms are the result of conflicting tradition. This interpretation accords with the evidences of polarity in the general Pueblo clan system, as discussed below. But the number of sub-groups actually existing is three: Dogwood, Macaw, and Raven-Crow-God.

I learned of few individuals who were *La-pikteikwe*. *Pikchikwe* people who were interrogated usually claimed to be either *Mullakwe* or *Kokkokwe-Kwallacikwe*, more frequently the former. Even this appurtenance is generally known only to their relatives. The governor's father several times mentioned *Pikchikwe* individuals, but in scarcely any case was able to specify the sub-clan.

*Kyakkalikwe, Eagle.*

1. *Pockwakwe*, a black eagle.
2. *Kyakkyalikwe*, named for *kyakkyali-k'ohanna*, "eagle white," probably the bald eagle, as it was said to have a white tail.

*Tonnashikwe, Badger.*

1. *Tonnacikwe*, badger proper.
2. *Mu-tonnacikwe*, *Mukwe-badger*, that is, *Moki* or *Hopi* badger. These people long ago lived with the *Hopi*.
3. *Pettsikowakwe*, bent over straw.
4. *Huhtetcikwe*, a plant something like a sunflower.

The interpreter happening to be of *Badger* clan, I asked him to which of the four divisions he belonged. He did not know, and learned with evident interest from the old man, a clan mate, though not a blood relative, that they both were *Mu-tonnacikwe*.

Subsequently the informant stated that there are only two kinds of *Tonnacikwe*, the *Tonnaci-k'ohanna* or white badger, the *Tonnacikwe* proper; and the *Mu-tonnacikwe* or *Moki* badger people, who bear the epithets *Pettsikowakwe* and *Huhtet-cikwe* as nicknames. In the time of his grandparents — he is now about sixty-five — there was a famine, which drove some of the *Badger* people to the *Hopi*, where they lived for some time at *Walpi*, or at least on the first mesa. This was before his birth; but his mother grew up among the *Hopi*. Of the older people who took part in this emigration, or their aged descendants, only he, *La'tiluhsi*, and *Naci* remain; *Tu'otci*, *Mesta*, *Hammalu*, *Kw'ets'a*, *Yua'ai'ti*, *A'totsiky'e'a*, *Ti'ahti*, *I'pela*, and others have died. Once, after their return to *Zuñi*, there were two "children of *Badger* people" among the *Koyyemshi*.<sup>1</sup> As the women of the clan were about to bring food to these two *Koyyemshi*, a man of house 387 (evidently a priest, as this is a *Badger* house in which one of the first six *ettowe* or priestly fetishes is kept) called out that each woman was at liberty to carry food to either man. Then the majority carried food to the *Koyyemshi* who was the child of those *Badger* people that had stayed at home, while the returned emigrants or their daughters supplied the one who (or whose mother) had lived with the *Hopi*. Thus the clan became separated (that is, the

<sup>1</sup> There are two children of *Badger* clan among the *Koyyemshi* in the years in which the ten personators are chosen from the *Ne'wekwe* and *Big-fire* fraternities. — Stevenson, p. 235.

occasion served to mark the public recognition of the two subdivisions). "But there is only one clan." — That these events took place exactly as the old man's information and memory present them, it would be credulous to assert; but the recency of the incidents, and their character, leave little room for doubt that something of the sort happened. The difference of this tradition from the clan migration legends of the Hopi is striking. The Zuni may recall for a few generations incidents that actually occurred in their clans; they evidently have no sense of separate clan origins or histories: the Zuni nation alone enters into their historic consciousness.

*Towwakwe, Corn.*

1. Luptsikwakwe, yellow corn.
2. Kw'innikwakwe, black corn.
3. Co'tsitokwe, "sweet" corn.
4. Miky'annakwe, corn-ear-water-people.

There is a mythological reference to the last group, though not specifically as a sub-clan.<sup>1</sup> After the Zuni had conquered and destroyed the Ky'annakwe,<sup>2</sup> a boy and a girl of the latter secreted themselves, but at last ventured forth, and when they met a Zuni, the girl took from her dress two ears of white corn, and extending them said: "See, we are the Mikianakwe (Corn people)." She and her brother were well received by the Zuni, and the Kiakwemosi, the hierarchical head of the tribe, said to them: "You are the same as our people, the Towakwe." He selected a woman of the Corn clan to adopt them.

Mrs. Stevenson has a passage<sup>3</sup> also about the black corn subgroup. At Heshotayalla the Zuni found all the inhabitants dead or fled but four, who were inhaling fumes to prevent the odor of the Zuni from killing them. The old man of the four survivors said: "We were the Yellow Corn people; you have destroyed or driven off all but ourselves; we are saved by inhaling my medicine, but it has made our corn, which we hold in our belts, black, and we are now the Black Corn people." Since that time they and their descendants have been called the Black Corn people. Since his death his ettone has been in the possession of this old priest's descendants, the Kwinnakwe (Black Corn people).<sup>4</sup>

It is probable from Mrs. Stevenson's account of the "Quadrennial Dance of the Kianakwe" that these two passages of the creation myth are reflections of an association between the Corn clan and the ceremony. Thus she says: "The personators of the Kianakwe are always members of the Corn clan and Chupawa Kiwitsine." The Chuppawa Kiwitsinne or kiva is named after corn parching there, according both to Mrs. Stevenson<sup>5</sup> and my own information.

*K'oloktakwe, Crane.*

1. K'oloktakwe proper.
2. Mo-kyissikwe, a tapering striped pumpkin.

The same informant, and others, stated that Shohwitakwe, Deer, and Ma'wikwe, Antelope, could not intermarry; in fact, insisted that they were only one annota. The lieutenant governor also coupled these two as "blue deer" (na'le) and "yellow

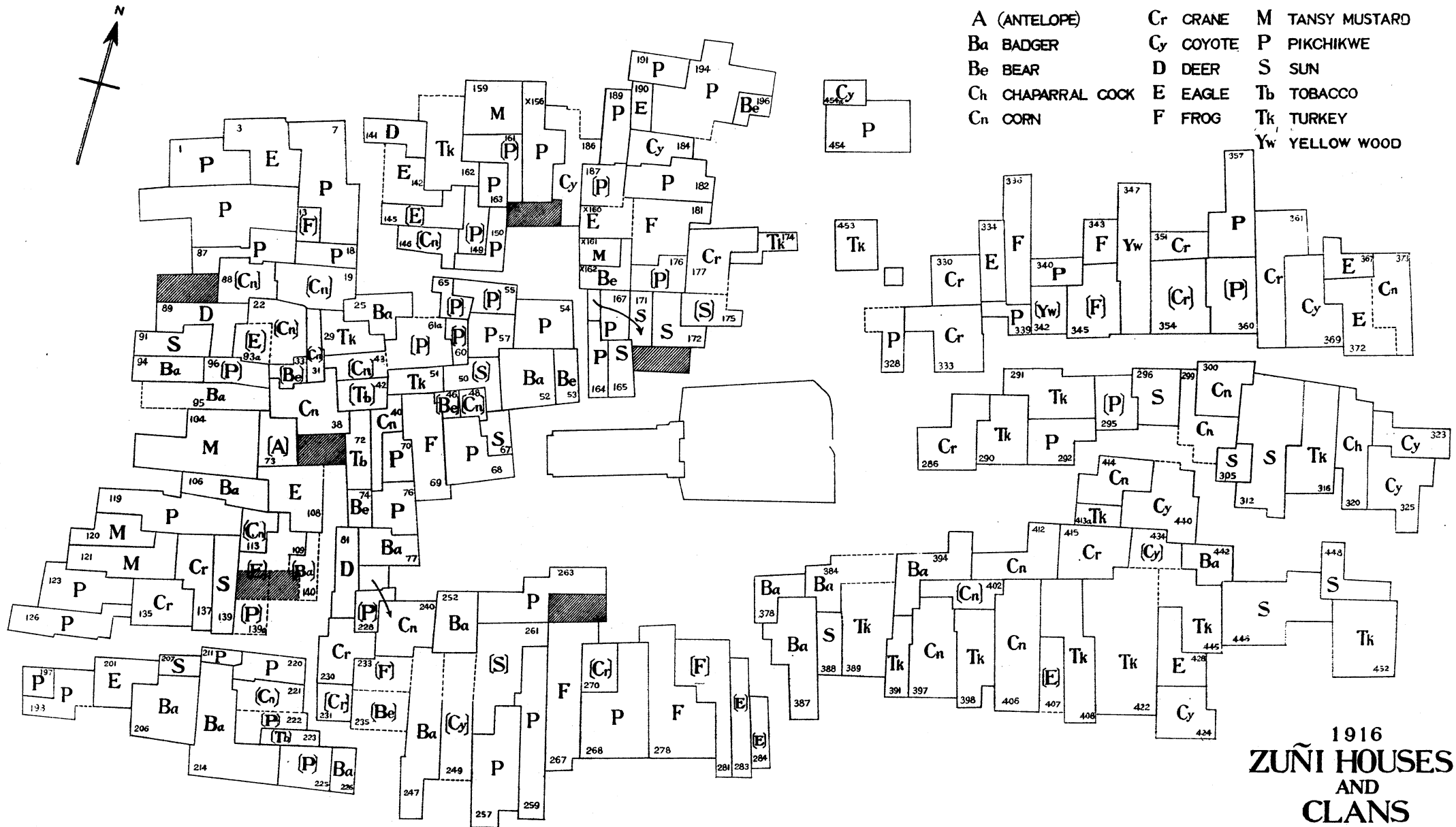
<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Stevenson, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Extinct since 1902 according to the same authority, p. 292, where the clan is named Kwinnikwakwe.

<sup>5</sup> P. 62.



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deer," precisely as he coupled the subdivisions of other clans; though in the present case without being able to give a generic clan name. Most informants, however, mention Ma'wikwe as well as Shohwitakwe in listing clans.

One informant mentioned, and another denied, Ance-k'ohanna and Ance-kw'inna, white and black divisions of the Anshekwe or Bear clan, and Tonna-k'ohanna and Tonna-kw'inna, white and black Turkey.

As regards Turkey, a Zuñi stated that the clan ettonne or fetish was once two, am pappa ta an ikyinna, "her older brother and his younger sister" — ettowe are frequently personified and sexed in myths. Perhaps the Ahhayuta or war gods intended the clan to be divided like Pikchikwe. But it is a single clan now, with only one ettonne.

### LOCALIZATION OF CLANS.

Victor Mindeleff long ago presented a map of Oraibi, compiled by A. M. Stephen to show the degree to which clans were localized within Hopi towns.<sup>1</sup> The impression which this map has always made on me, and on nearly all colleagues with whom I have discussed it, is that there is no localization to speak of at Oraibi and little anywhere at Hopi, the clans being distributed nearly as if they had been randomly strewn over the pueblo. A number of groups of two or three houses of the same clan are what might be expected as the result of an unusual increase of a family for a couple of generations, such as is bound to occur every now and then, and which would lead naturally to the building of an extension, or the division of an old home between two branches.

It was primarily a wish to determine how far Zuñi conditions are parallel to Hopi ones in this matter of clan localization, that led me to resurvey the modern pueblo, as a basis for the distribution of clans as shown on Map 1.

From this map it appears that groups of families of the same clan, probably each derived from a former single family, occur at Zuñi as among the Hopi. The groups are larger, sometimes covering five and six adjacent houses. But this seems to be only a natural result of the greater mass of population at Zuñi.

The extreme outcome of this tendency is visible in four groups of Pikchikwe houses in the northern and northwestern part of the pueblo, which appear conspicuously in the small map (number 2) devoted to the distribution of this clan.<sup>2</sup> These four groups contain a total of twenty-two<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., VIII, pl. 37, pp. 105-108, 1891. This is reproduced, in larger form, and with the addition of similar maps for other Hopi towns, by Cosmos Mindeleff in *ibid.*, XIX, 639-653, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> In maps 2, 3, and 4, houses no longer inhabited in 1916 are included with those inhabited. In map 1 the former are distinguished by brackets around the letters indicating the clan affiliations.

<sup>3</sup> Counting house 184, now Coyote, as Pikchikwe, which it originally was.

families as my informants reckoned them, or nearly half of the clan in the pueblo proper. It is not necessary to postulate that each of these groups is wholly the outgrowth of an originally single family. There may have been two or more families in the same part of one town block, each of which underwent a period of expansion and thus grew, in the area in question, until they met. A historical family census will be necessary to establish the actual events in these cases. But whether the original nucleus was single or double or triple, the same process has been at work.

This is confirmed above all by the frequency of pairs of adjacent houses of one clan. Such pairs appear for practically all clans and in all parts of the town.

A few specific cases of splitting of houses, or building of an annex, have also been obtained.

In the northeast block the two Crane houses containing rooms 333 and 330 were not long ago held by a single family.<sup>1</sup> The same is true of houses 351 and 354. This was said to be "one house" (i. e., family) whose members lived apart, on two sides. Crane houses 230 and 231 were similarly connected.

A somewhat different case is provided by the two Pikchikwe houses at the southwest corner of the town, 197 and 198. When Cushing lived in these rooms they formed one house. Subsequently the northwest corner was sold to another Pikchikwe family, though whether connected or unconnected by blood is undetermined. In the same block, Pikchikwe houses 211 and 220 are inhabited by sisters; and 164 and 167 in the north block are occupied by mother and daughter.

Other pairs of adjoining houses of the same clan that are inhabited by relatives and once each formed a unit, are:—

Sun	171, 165, mother and daughter
Frog	278, 281
Frog	343, 345
Eagle	283, 284
Eagle	367, 372
Coyote	325, 323, sisters
Tobacco	72, 42 (probably related)

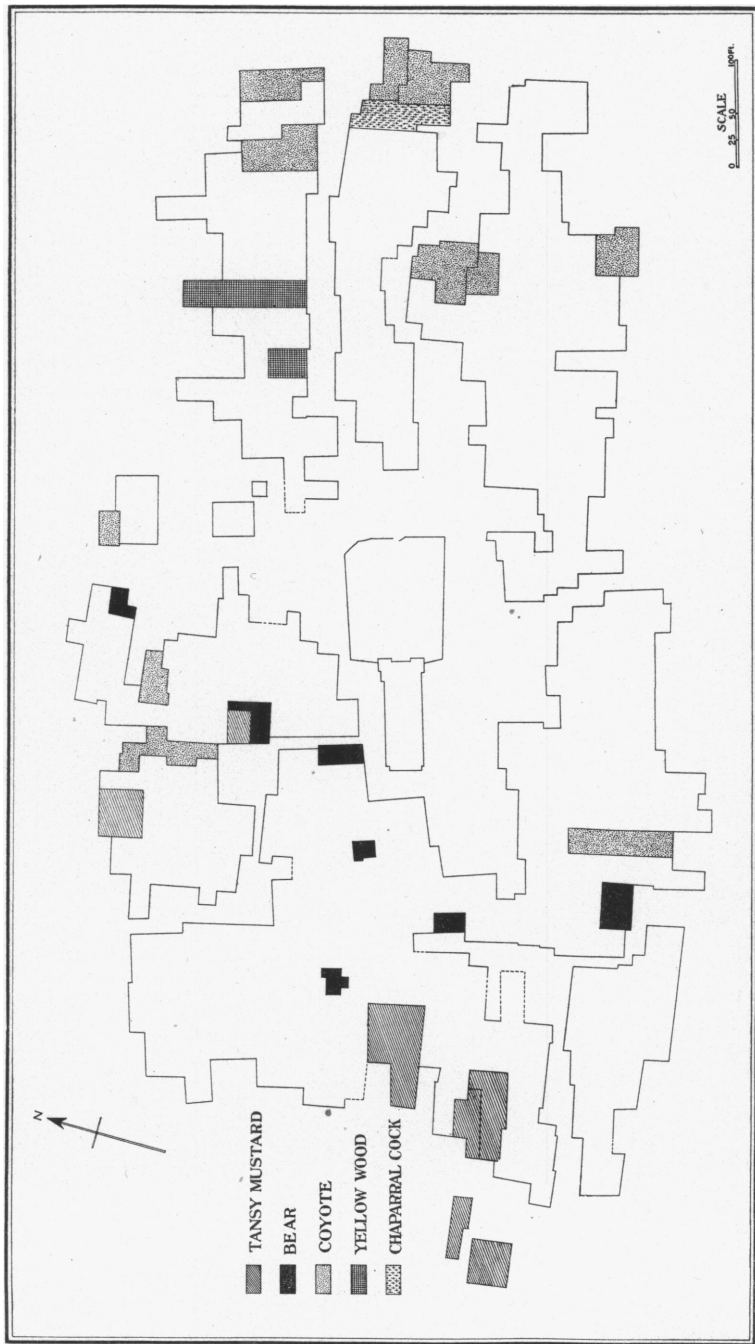
This process of gradual extension of a single family must tend to lead to random local clustering, as distinct from definite localization with reference to the town as a whole. When an entire family moves to a new home, or part of it secedes, both the clustering and such former localization as there may have been, are impaired. Such shifts are frequent today, particularly to the suburbs; but they constantly occurred in the old days also, when the population was wholly confined to the pueblo proper. They are of interest because they demonstrate that if true localization of clans ever existed, it would have been seriously disturbed in two or three genera-

<sup>1</sup> Houses are referred to by the numbers which they bear on maps 1 and 5 and in table 3.



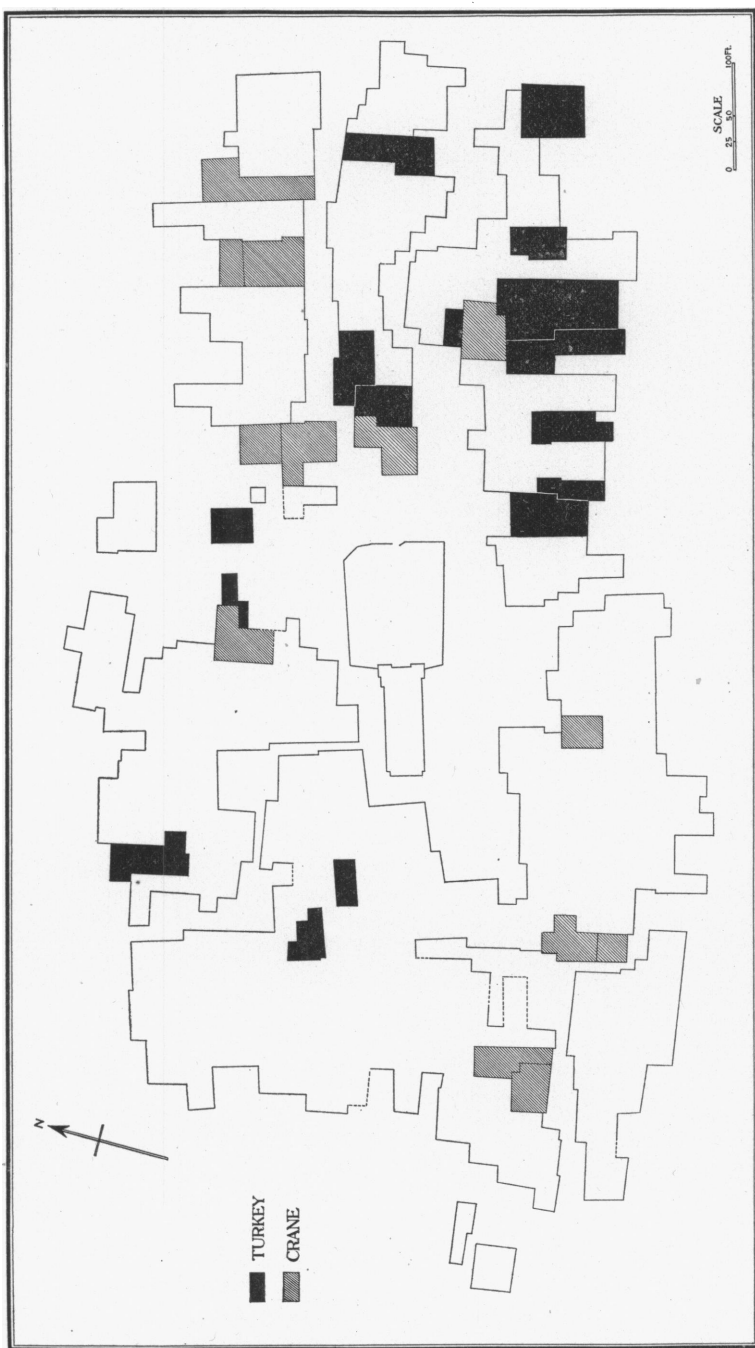
DISTRIBUTION OF THE PIKCHIKWE CLAN.





DISTRIBUTION OF FIVE SMALL CLANS.







tions, and perhaps largely obliterated in two centuries and a quarter. In short, the map of Zuñi gives but limited evidence of the localization of clans as integral bodies today. In addition, there are several processes at work which are strong enough to have very thoroughly disarranged such blocking of clans into units if it had existed when the town was founded or resettled in 1693.

The first of these causes, and perhaps the most potent, is the entry of a woman into her mother-in-law's home. This is contrary to Zuñi custom; but it constantly happens. I was at first inclined to believe my informants' statements that this was a modern decadence of ancient institutions. Among most Indian tribes such throwing out of gear of native customs is only too sadly familiar to the ethnologist. But I no longer consider the practice to be an innovation at Zuñi. In the first place, the whole fabric of Zuñi social and even economic life is too thoroughly un-American to make it likely that it should have yielded at this one point alone. There are alien elements in this life; but they have not in the least altered the plan of ancient custom. Secondly, I have learned of cases of old women going to live in their husband's houses, and even the grandmothers of middle-aged women. Finally, there is no reason to believe that the motive which usually underlies the practice today — incompatibility or quarrels between the son-in-law and one or more of his wife's house mates — should not have been equally potent in the past. I conclude therefore that the act of the wife joining her husband was anciently in the same status as the act of marrying into one's father's clan: both were contrary to recognized usage and were viewed with disfavor, but both were practised. I should estimate that from five to ten percent of Zuñi women always flew in the face of propriety to live with their husbands rather than lose them; and I venture to say that in the year in which Coronado came complaint was nearly as frequent as now about the degeneracy of the existing generation. The generalized past is always right compared with the present, because, its lapses being forgotten, it takes shape as the embodiment of an ideal, against which the present can offer only an imperfect reality.

Now often, the stay of a woman in her husband's natal home is only transient; or if permanent, her offspring are outnumbered by the children that belong there. But sometimes it must happen that her husband's sisters are childless, or that they too go away, or that he has none; and then, in a generation or two, the women of that house are no longer of the original clan, but of that of the introduced ulani. Here are some such cases.

House 68, originally Badger, is now Pikchikwe, in Zuñi reckoning. Two Badger men remain, the women have died, the only adult female inmate is the daughter of the introduced Pikchikwe wife of one of the Badger men; and she has a Corn husband and four Pikchikwe boys and girls.

184, originally Pikchikwe, has become Coyote through the entry of a woman from 434.

x161 and x162 were originally one Bear house. The husband was Badger. His brother, married to a Tansy Mustard woman in 159, disagreed with her house mates. He therefore bought from his brother, or rather from his brother's Bear wife, the x161 part of the latter's house, and there installed his wife and himself. x161 is therefore a "new house," and the Tansy Mustard clan is resident in a new quarter.

House 159 itself seems to have been once subjected to an intrusion, since it contained Badger men and women as well as Tansy Mustard. A Badger woman from it married into Sun house 214, on the opposite side of town. The Sun people have left, for one reason or another; and 214 is now Badger.

89 is an old Deer house, which remains to this clan. But the grandmother of the woman now in it entered 141, which then belonged to another clan. Now 141 is Deer.

328, or perhaps formerly a building adjoining it on the west, is a Tobacco clan house, probably derived from 42. No Tobacco women of this house are left; but its senior male was joined by his Pikchikwe spouse; and 328 is now indisputably Pikchikwe, as indeed the Zufi invariably reckon it.

72 is still Tobacco; but one of the men born in it brought in his Sun wife. They separated; but their Sun daughter remains in her natal home. Should her father's people pass away without female progeny, her presence would convert 72 from a Tobacco to a Sun house.

347, the sole Yellow Wood house, bids fair to be soon lost to that clan. An old Yellow Wood woman inhabits it with her son and his Sun wife, who belonged in 261. The old lady herself once left home, and spent part of her married life in Frog house 278.

440 is Coyote, and likely to remain so; but it harbors a Pikchikwe wife.

454, Pikchikwe, held for a time a Crane woman from 333. The cause of her leaving her home is not known to me. But in 1916, in a prolonged and serious illness, she returned to her mother in 333, and her husband came with her. Perhaps trouble effaced disagreements that had occurred.

There are further cases of the present habitants of a house emanating from another: the causes are not clear to me, but probably unconnected with the wife following her husband. Thus 226 is out of 94; 186 out of 373; 268 out of 87; 196 out of 33. These are all instances within the old pueblo proper.

Houses are also bought and sold. Besides x161 and 197, already mentioned, the following cases have come to notice.

207 was originally Eagle. The owners moved to 548 in the suburbs. A Crane man from 135, across the street, bought the vacant house for his wife, a Sun woman out of 214 adjoining. 207 is therefore now Sun instead of Eagle; but both husband and wife remain within a few feet of where they were born.

Houses 164, 165, 167, and 171 were formerly held by a single Sun family. Then 167 was sold to a Pikchikwe family, of which Teuyati was the head. 167 is an interior house; a small room between it and the alley was not included but retained by the original owners, which accounts for its being part of 171 now. The new-

comers in 167 wanted more space; two sons-in-law preferred separate establishments; so 164 was bought. One sister now lives here; the other, married to the head priest of the bow, Tsawela, lives with him and her mother in 167. The unsold portion of the Sun house was also divided. The mother did not agree with her Chaparral Cock son-in-law; so she retained the rear rooms, 171, and her "children" inhabit 165. There are thus two clans and four households where formerly one was counted. In each case the older people inhabit the interior rear, the younger generation the front abutting on the street. It would be erroneous, however, to think of a complete breach between mother and daughter in either case. There may have been friction; but the front and rear are connected, the doors generally stand open, and to all appearances the fullest amity prevails. In fact, in an enumeration the Zuñi generally count 164 and 167 as one house, and 165-171 as one. There are probably many households in which a similar understanding as to privacy prevails, and which might with equal justice be reckoned as containing two or three families each, if the circumstances of their life were known in equal detail.

House 67, consisting chiefly of one room fronting on the street, was sold about 1914 to the Sun woman and Badger man who had been living in the adjoining interior house 50. In this case the families may be supposed to have been related, and the original owners of 67 to have moved outside the pueblo. The price paid was: one buckskin; one ehha or woman's gown; four necklace strands of old olivella shell beads; 2 sattowe or loops of turquoise beads; and ten dollars in money. The kind of property given is typical of Zuñi trading. There is much wealth in the town, but little American money. Good bead necklaces are reckoned at ten sheep each; at least that is what the Navaho gave for them until recently. Turquoise beads of course vary in value according to quality of the stone and fineness of workmanship. Two average loops were sold to a Navaho recently for eighty-seven goats. Exceptionally good strands are rated at over a hundred dollars. The total paid for this house may therefore be conservatively estimated as the equivalent of one hundred and fifty dollars. It is evident that this sum represents more than the labor required to build a small house, and that part of the consideration was given for title to the site.

270 was bought by Crane people from its original Frog owners, presumably the inmates of 267.

373 is an old Coyote house. The bulk of its inmates long ago settled in 186. An old woman however remained behind. The northern end was sold to some Corn people, apparently relatives out of two houses, 22, which was a ruin in 1915, and 113, which was then inhabited. After the old woman's death, her relatives in 186 sold the remainder of her house to the same Corn people, who in July, 1916, had pulled down the southern corner of the structure and were remodeling the remainder.

Some years ago a Corn family, possibly also out of 22, bought the unoccupied southern end of Crane house 361. They failed to make payment, however, and soon after actually purchased the Pikchikwe house 300, across the street from 361 and adjoining the Corn house 299. The Pikchikwe owners of 300 moved into outside house 536.

The degree of clustering of houses of the same clan within the old pueblo is indicated by the following list, which comprises inhabited, abandoned, and ruined houses as determined in 1916:

	Total Houses	Separate Clusters
Pikechikwe	50	24
Eagle	16	12
Badger	18	13
Sun	16	11
Turkey	16	13
Corn	20	11
Crane	13	9
Frog	10	8
Coyote	10	9
Bear	7	7
Tansy Mustard	5	4
Tobacco	3	2
Deer and Antelope	4	4
Chaparral Cock	1	1
Yellow Wood	2	2
	<hr/> 191	<hr/> 130

The total number of house groups of the same clan is fully two thirds the number of houses; which means that a large proportion of the houses stand isolated, so far as clan affiliation goes. It is also observable that the clustering is pronounced in proportion to the strength of the clans,<sup>1</sup> which indicates that it is accidental, that is, influenced by the various causes that have been discussed, and not in any considerable measure a relic of ancient localization. If we assume ancient restriction of each clan to a certain quarter, a clan of five or ten houses would in the course of time come to have this original arrangement disturbed in the same degree, that is, in the same relative proportion, as a clan of fifty families. This is clearly not the case. If, on the other hand, the various clan houses had been originally distributed quite randomly, it is extremely unlikely that in a clan of only five families any of these would find themselves in juxtaposition; a clan of ten houses might have possibly one pair adjoining; while in a clan of fifty in a town of two hundred houses, a tolerable number would be bound to be adjacent. It is evident that this is more nearly the condition which really obtains; and while the actual clustering is apparently somewhat greater

<sup>1</sup> The one discrepancy is Corn, with twenty houses in only eleven clusters, including one of six houses — 88, 19, 22, 31, 43, and 38. It is to be noted, however, that Corn is the only clan that shows more houses in the foregoing list than are accredited to it as inhabited in the pueblo and suburbs combined today: twenty former houses in the town, as against nine in town and six outside today. The other large and medium sized clans uniformly show an increase from the foregoing list to table 4; due either to a readier splitting of families as they move into the open tract outside the former town lines, or to incompleteness of information given regarding the abandoned and often totally broken-down houses in the interior of the pueblo. However this may be, the Corn data are so divergent that the list proportion of twenty to eleven must be used with reserve.

than mere mathematical probability would produce, this excess is easily accounted for by the occasional growth of a family into an adjoining house or two.

It appears then that there is no warrant for the assumption that Zuñi was ever populated by clans settled in blocks comparable to the ghettos or foreign quarters or negro wards of our cities. People of the same clan do often live in adjoining houses; but this seems due mainly to household growth and connections of much the same type as occur among ourselves, and little, if at all, to any sense or operative force of clan solidarity. The modern conditions in the Hopi towns, as revealed by the published maps, appear to be thoroughly similar; and there is every reason to believe that the same causes have been at work there in the past as at Zuñi. In fact, I doubt very much if it would have occurred to any one as worth while even to discuss clan grouping at Hopi but for the ungrounded assumption that a clan is a discrete and self-contained unit within a heterogeneously complex community. As this is obviously not the fact today, the only possibility that remained was to believe that it had been a fact, to construe every possible bit of evidence as a vestige of such an original condition, and to forget the overwhelming mass of data not in accord with the chosen interpretation.

What is established for Zuñi and by implication for Hopi, must be regarded as having been the probable condition in the Rio Grande pueblos also. In fact, I trust the foregoing discussion has made it reasonable that clans may be only subdivisions of the community wherever they occur, and that to take for granted that they are or anciently were disparate and self-sufficient units independent of the tribe, is never legitimate unless there is specific and impartially weighed evidence in that direction.

Of the following tables, 3 lists all the houses inhabited in Zuñi and the environs in 1916 as well as the empty and ruined houses, as far as these could be determined. The reference in the first column is to the house number as shown in map 1 or 5.<sup>1</sup> The second column gives the clan affiliation of the house, the third the clan of the male head of the household or best known man in the house. Vacant houses are indicated by parentheses. The fourth column lists former ownership, movements, and miscellaneous facts.

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<sup>1</sup> Maps 1 and 5 refer to 1916. Maps 6 and 7, on which they are based, were made in 1915. The usual amount of building and rebuilding took place in the intervening year; but the discrepancies are on the whole so slight, and affect the clan distribution so little, that it did not seem worth while to revise maps 6 and 7 at innumerable minor points. Some of the changes are noted in the final section on "The Town."

TABLE 3.

## ZUÑI HOUSES IN 1916.

House	Main Block		
	Clan	Man	
1	P	Cr	
3	E	Cr	
7	P	E	
18	P	Cn	
13	(F)		
19	(Cn)		>526b <sup>1</sup>
25	Ba	P	
29	Tk		
43	(Cn)		Doubtful
61a	(P)		>454
60	(P)		
65	(P)		Possibly part of 55
55	(P)		>501b
57	P	Ba	
54	P	Ba	
53	Be	Ba	
52	Ba	Be	
50	(S)		
67	S	Ba	Bought by 50. Originally S
68	P		Originally Ba; P ♀ married in
48	(Cn)		Doubtful
46	(Be)		
51	Tk		
69	F	S	
76	P	Cn	
77	Ba	Ch	
81	D	S	
74	Be	P	
72	Tb		>557, 561
42	(Tb)		>328?; now part of 72
40	Cn	Cr	
70	P	Tk	
38	Cn		
31	(Cn)		Now part of 38
33	(Be)		>196, 534f
22	(Cn)		Once part of kyappatcunna; >373
93a	(E)		
73	(A)		
108	E		
109	(E)		>555b
113	(Cn)		>373

<sup>1</sup> The sign > is to be read: "moved to."

Main Block			
House	Clan	Man	
140	(Ba)		>517a
139a	(P)		
139	S	P	
137	Cr		
135	Cr	P	
126	P	Cn	
123	P		
121	M		>576
120	M		>577
119	P	F	
106	Ba	Be	
104	M		
96	(P)		>91 >502; now part of 94 Ba
95	Ba		
94	Ba		>555a
91	S	P	La-piktcikwe man
89	D	Ba	
88	(Cn)		
87	P	Tk	>268
84	P	S	
North Block			
141	D	Tk	An offshoot from 89
162	Tk	Ba	
159	M		Also Ba
x156	P	Be	
186	Cy	Ba	ex 373; originally S
189	P		
190	E		>506
191	P		Originally E, part of 190
194	P	S	>532x
196	Be	Cy	ex 33
184	Cy		Orig. P; Cy ♀ ex 434 married in
182	P	E	
181	F	P	
176	(P)		
177	Cr		
179	Tk		Orig. S, >518c
175	(S)		>530b
172	S		
171	S		
165	S	Ch	Daughter of ♀ in 171
164	P		Daughter of ♀ in 167. Orig. S, bought from 171
167	P	Cy	Orig. S, bought from 171
x162	Be	Ba	
x161	M	Ba	Orig. Be, bought from x162; the husbands are brothers; M ex 159.
x160	E		

North Block			
House	Clan	Man	
187	(P)		> 149; relatives of 189
161	(P)		> 520
163	P		
150	P		
149	(P)		ex 187, > 541
146	(Cn)		
145	(E)		> 514
142	E	Be	
Southwest Block			
197	P	Ba	
198	P	Cn	
201	E		
206	Ba		
214	Ba	S	Orig. S, > 503; Ba ♀ ex 159 married in
207	S	Cr	Orig. E, > 548; Cr ♂ ex 135 bought for S ♀ ex 214
211	P		
220	P		Sister of ♀ in 211; see 510a, b
221	(Cn)		> 528
222	(P)		> 549b
223	(Tb)		> 558, 549a, 517a
225	(P)		> 556
226	Ba		ex 94
South Block			
230	Cr	S	
231	(Cr)		> 547; relatives of 230
233	(F)		> 527b
235	(Be)		
247	Ba		
249	(Cy)		> 454a
257	P	Tb	
259	P		
267	F	P	
268	P	F	ex 87
278	F		
281	(F)		> 546; relatives of 278
283	(E)		> 575
284	(E)		> 515; orig. one house with 283
270	(Cr)		Orig. F. Bought.
263	P	D	
261	S		> 388
252	Ba	Be	
240	Cn	P	
228	(P)	Ba	
Northeast Block			
454a	Cy		ex 249
454	P		

Northeast Block			
House	Clan	Man	
453	Tk		
328	P	Tb	P ♀ married in
333	Cr	Ba	
330	Cr		Relatives of 333
339	P	S	
334	E		
336	F		
340	P	Cr	
342	(YW)		Now part of 340 P
343	F		
345	(F)		Relatives of 343
347	YW		Also a S ♀ ex 261 married in
351	Cr		
354	(Cr)		Relatives of 351
357	P	Cr	579, P, may be a separate household from this
360	(P)		Sometimes reckoned part of 357
361	Cr		
369	Cy		
367	E		ex 372
372	E		
373	Cn		Orig. Cy, >186; bought by Cn ex 22 and 113 in 2 parcels

East Block			
286	Cr		
290	Tk		
291	Tk	Ba	
292	P	Tb	
295	(P)		>7
296	S		
299	(Cn)	Tk	>540
300	Cn		Orig. P, >536; bought by Cn after south end of 361 bought but not paid for
305	S	Cr	>537a
312	S	Cr	
316	Tk	E	
320	Ch	E	
323	Cy	Cr	
325	Cy	E	Sister of ♀ in 323

Southeast Block		
384	Ba	P
378	Ba	E
387	Ba	P
388	S	
389	Tk	Ba
391	Tk	
397	Cn	
398	Tk	Cn

Southeast Block		
House	Clan	Man
406	Cn	
407	(E)	(S)
408	Tk	
422	Tk	
434	(Cy)	>184
424	Cy	E
428	E	P >543, in part
445	Tk	E
446	S	Ba
452	Tk	E
448	S	
442	Ba	E
440	Cy	P
414	Cn	P
413a	Tk	Ba
415	Cr	
412	Cn	
402	(Cn)	Relatives of 406
394	Ba	

Outside Houses—North of River		
573	P	Tk
574	P	E ♂ ex 407
575	E	ex 283
576	M	ex 121
577	M	ex 120
501a		Cn ♂ ex 88
b	P	M Built by former husband now in 501a; ex 55
502	P	
503	S	P ex 214
570	E	Ba
504a	P	
b	P	Sister of ♀ in 504a
c	F	
d	F	E Sister of ♀ in 504c
505	P	D
505x	E	D
506	E	D ex 190
509	Cn	P
510a	P	Tk
b	P	F Sister of ♀ in 510a; ex 211, 220
511	P	E
512	E	Tk
513	Cr	S
513x	Cn	P
514	E	ex 145
515	E	P ex 284
517a	Tb	E ex 223
b	P	

## Outside Houses — North of River

House	Clan	Man	
c	P	Cr	
d	S	P	
e	Ba	Ch	ex 140
f	Cn	Ba	Son of ♀ in 517e; ♀ ex 373
518a	P	S	Son of ♀ in 518b
b	S		
c	S		ex 179
519	Cr	S	
520	P	Ba	ex 161.
521	Tk		
526a	Tk	Cn	Orig. F
b	Cn	P	Sister of ♂ in 526a; ex 19
527a	F		
b	F		ex 526a, ex 233
528	Cn	P	ex 221
529	(F)		ex 181
580	Cy	Cr	
530a	E		
b	S		ex 175
c	S		ex 91
532	P		
532x	P	E	ex 194
533	Tk		ex 534a
534b	E		
c	E		
d	Ba		
e	P		
f	Be		ex 33
535	E	P	
536	P		ex 300
537a	S	M	ex 305
b	Ba	E	
538a	Ba	S	
b	Cy	P	
539	E		
540	Cn		ex 299
541	P		ex 149
542a	Tk	Ba	
b	E	Cn	
543	E		ex 428

## Outside Houses — South of River

544	E	A	
546	F	Ba	ex 281
547	Cr	S	ex 231
548	E		ex 207
549a	Tb	P	ex 223
b	P	Cn	ex 222

Outside Houses—South of River			
House	Clan	Man	
564	E		ex 548
555a	Ba	P	ex 94
b	E	Ba	Brother of ♀ in 555a; ♀ ex 109
553	P		
556	P		
557	Tb		ex 72
558	Tb		ex 223
561	Tb		Sister of ♀ in 557
560	P		

Table 4 shows the number of inhabited houses of each clan in each of the blocks or parts of Zúñi, including those in the environs within a quarter mile radius of the pueblo—all at a greater distance, in fact, are only temporarily occupied farming houses, or summer residences.

TABLE 4.  
INHABITED HOUSES, 1916<sup>1</sup>

Clans	Blocks of Town							Outside <sup>2</sup>		Total
	Main	N.	S.W.	S.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	N.	S.	
Pikchikwe	13	9	4	4	5	1	—	19	4	59
Eagle	2	3	1	—	3	—	1	14	4	28
Badger	6	—	3	2	—	—	5	4	1	21
Sun	3	3	1	—	—	3	3	7	—	20
Turkey	2	2	—	—	1	3	8	4	—	20
Corn	2	—	—	1	1	1	4	6	—	15
Crane	2	1	—	1	4	1	1	2	1	13
Frog	1	1	—	2	2	—	—	4	1	11
Coyote	—	2	—	—	2	2	2	2	—	10
Tansy Mustard	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	7
Tobacco	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	6
Bear	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	5
Deer	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Chaparral Cock	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Yellow Wood	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
All Clans	39	26	9	10	19	12	24	66	15	220

<sup>1</sup> A number of Zúñi families own houses, ruins, or house sites in the pueblo and a new home in the outskirts. A few keep the old and the new home in repair, but live mostly in the town. In all such cases only the house actually or usually inhabited has been counted in the table.

<sup>2</sup> N: North of the river; S: south of the river.

It is evident that the clans have abandoned the old town in very different ratios. Eighty-one families out of 220, or nearly thirty-seven percent of the total, now inhabit the outskirts. Pikchikwe, Sun, and Corn keep close to this proportion. Eagle far exceeds it, barely a third of its families remaining within the pueblo limits. Badger, Turkey, and Crane have moved in only a fourth to a fifth of the cases. But it is doubtful whether these variations possess any significance. The figures are small, and therefore subject to accident. If half a dozen additional Eagle families had elected to stay in their old homes, the proportion for this clan would have been substantially normal instead of quite aberrant. Above all, there is no conceivable machinery which would influence a clan to act as a unit in such matters. If one family has moved, a related one is more likely to follow it; but relationship operates in the male line as well as through women; and it would still be necessary to account for a greater first inclination to drift out. If the Eagle clan had chiefly occupied interior houses in the pueblo, which are now generally felt to be less desirable than those with street frontage, a reason would be evident; but such is not the case. The small Tobacco clan may prove a typical instance. Five out of six Tobacco houses are now in the outskirts; but all the inmates of these, comprising virtually the whole clan, are out of two old houses, 72 and 223. When the bulk of these families moved, the "clan" had moved. Yet it would be extreme to attribute anything like a "clan spirit" or sense of group solidarity to these two households. Had one family remained where it was, the percentage of emigrants would have been only fifty instead of eighty-three; had both elected to stay, it would have been zero.

There are fifty-two vacant houses in the pueblo — at least, I could obtain reliable record of only this number; but eighty-one occupied homes in the environs. On the face of things, there are therefore about thirty more families in Zuñi today than twenty years ago. I cannot explain this discrepancy which has been alluded to before; but suspect that in the main it is due to the former inhabitants of completely destroyed and torn down town houses having been lumped or overlooked by my informants.

For the study of clan localization, the old pueblo is however more important than the modern extended town. I therefore summarize in table 5 the evidence of map 1, with the clans arranged in the order of their present strength.

Certain distributional features are apparent, such as the absence of Pikchikwe from the Southeastern block, and the strength of Turkey in this section. More significant results are however obtainable from a grouping of the blocks. The three eastern blocks are apparently more recent than the others. The houses also generally are larger and stand on level ground.

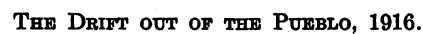
TABLE 5.

## INHABITED AND FORMER HOUSES WITHIN THE PUEBLO LINES.

Clans	Blocks							Total
	Main	N.	S.W.	S.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	
Pikechikwe	18	13	6	5	6	2	—	50
Eagle	4	4	1	2	3	—	2	16
Badger	8	—	3	2	—	—	5	18
Sun	4	4	1	1	—	3	3	16
Turkey	2	2	—	—	1	3	8	16
Corn	9	1	1	1	1	2	5	20
Crane	2	1	—	3	5	1	1	13
Frog	2	1	—	4	3	—	—	10
Coyote	—	2	—	1	2	2	3	10
Tansy Mustard	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	5
Tobacco	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
Bear	4	2	—	1	—	—	—	7
Deer	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	3
Chaparral Cock	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Yellow Wood	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
(Antelope)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total	61	33	13	20	23	14	27	191

The three southern blocks do not form such a natural or historical unit; but, temporarily, they may also be contrasted with the remainder of the town. This gives an eastern half of the town about half as populous, some decades ago, as the western, and a southern fringe also about half as strong, in number of houses, as the larger northern portion. The clan distribution in these respective halves is shown in table 6.

Table 6 at once discloses the principal basis of the "phratral grouping" by cardinal directions for which Cushing has made himself responsible, and which has been previously listed in table 2. It appears that Cushing's informants merely assigned each clan to the quarter in which it happened to be proportionally most heavily represented in the town. As the northern and western portions of the town are so much more populous than the southern and eastern, the relative rather than the absolute numbers must be considered. Thus Badger has thirteen houses in the west, five in the east, yet this is nearly the proper proportion for these directions. But eight northern houses against ten southern, with southern houses constituting less than a third of the town, is a notable deviation from average,





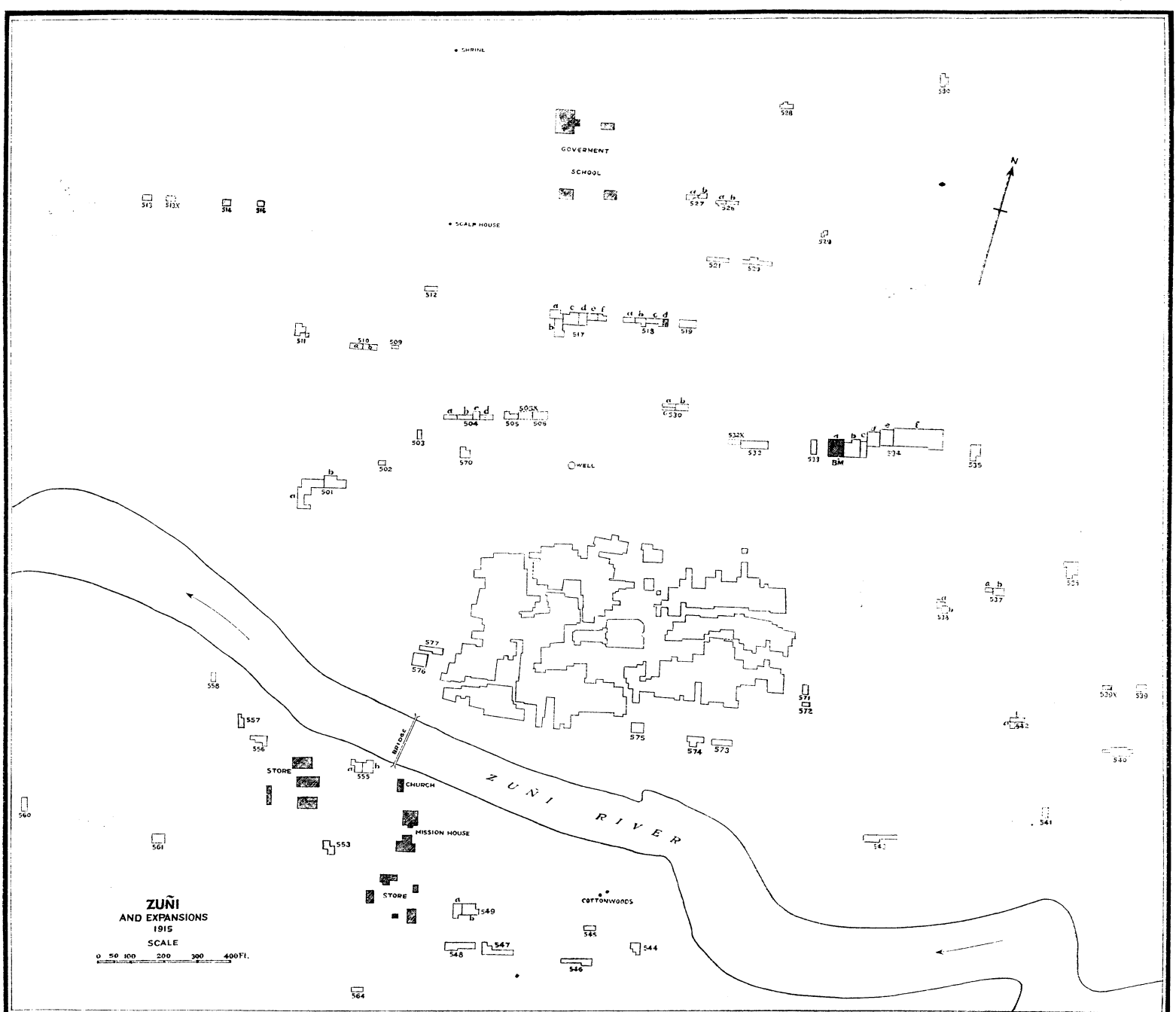




TABLE 6.

## CLAN DISTRIBUTION BY QUARTERS OF THE PUEBLO.

Clan	4 Western Blocks	3 Eastern Blocks	4 Northern Blocks	3 Southern Blocks	Indicated Localiza- tion	Cushing's Phratral Grouping <sup>1</sup>
Pikchikwe	42	8	39	11	W	M
Eagle	11	5	11	5	none	U
Badger	13	5	8	10	S	S
Sun	10	6	11	5	none	U [M]
Turkey	4	12	8	8	E	E
Corn	12	8	13	7	none	S [M]
Crane	6	7	9	4	E or N	N
Frog	7	3	6	4	none	D
Coyote	3	7	6	4	E	W
Tansy Mustard	5	—	5	—	W or N	W [S]
Bear	7	—	6	1	W or N	W [N]
Others	7	3	9	1		
	126	64	131	60		

sufficient to account for Badger being reckoned a "southern" clan. The situation is analogous for Turkey, Crane, Tansy Mustard, and Bear. Pikchikwe, as the conspicuously largest clan, was best fitted to represent the Middle, if there were to be seven "phratries"; and Eagle and Sun would obviously stand for the Above, and Frog for the Below, by a transparent symbolism, once these directions were to be provided for. In fact, aside from one or two of the very small clans, Coyote is the only clan for which the actual distribution and the phratral grouping definitely clash. We have an assignment to the west, when east is obviously indicated. The explanation is found in a ritualistic grouping of prey animals by directions, similar to that of birds and colors: this places the coyote in the west.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., xiii, 368, 1896. Brackets contain variants given by Cushing in a subsequent manuscript quoted in *ibid.*, Bull. 30, part 2, 1018, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> The Zuñi animals of the six directions (Stevenson, p. 409; Cushing, Bur. Am. Ethn.; Ann. Rep., ii, 16, 1883) are: N, Panther; W, Bear; S, Badger; E, Gray Wolf; U, Eagle, D, Shrew; with snakes and ants for all directions. In an account of the prey gods (p. 20 seq. of the same work), Cushing gives: N, Panther; W, Coyote; S, Wildcat; E, Wolf; U, Eagle; D, Mole. This mythologic and ceremonial symbolism may account for the directional assignment of the Bear, Badger, and Eagle clans, as well as Coyote; but it covers only a fraction of the Zuñi clan system. If an explanation of the Cushing grouping is to be made on a basis of symbolism at all, rather than on the ground of tendency toward clan localization in the town, it will perhaps be through a general Pueblo scheme of clan grouping by directions, some hints of the existence of which are discussed below.

It is even possible to pronounce Cushing's first grouping<sup>1</sup> as better, that is, more in accord with the geographical facts that seem to have determined the native classification, than his second one.<sup>2</sup>

I do not wish to be understood as casting any doubt upon Cushing's grouping. It is precisely the sort of thing which I believe emanates from the speculations of Zuñi priests. I wish however, to characterize it as an esoteric reflection of intrinsically accidental facts, and not in any sense a true phratral grouping, that is, a social classification connected with the actual clan organization or developed from it.

Map 5 sketches the distribution of clans in the outskirts of modern Zuñi. On account of the scale needed to include the considerable area, it has been impossible to combine an outline of the houses, as given in Map 7, with a designation of their clan pertinence, except on a sheet that would be unwieldy. Only clan symbols have therefore been introduced in Map 5. Contiguous houses are indicated by underlining of the symbols. Bracketed letters indicate that the house in question is uninhabited, or generally so, the central home of the family remaining in the old pueblo. Letters in parentheses show exceptional cases of houses in the possession of men, the women of the particular families being dead. Arrows indicate known movements of families. Arrows rendered in dotted lines indicate the removal of men.

Two inferences can be drawn from this map, which deals with conditions under which certain tendencies of Zuñi clan and house life are freer to express themselves than in the cramped pueblo proper.

The first is the cohesion of related families. This shows itself under the guise of a grouping of houses of the same clan. The essential factor that causes this collocation, however, appears to be blood relationship. Without a complete individual and family census, it is impossible to establish this contention with thoroughness; but I received a strong impression from Zuñi gossip and casual talk that such is the case. In the old town, a son-in-law or brother-in-law might wish to erect a separate roof for his wife, but the confined position of her natal home would often force him to choose between building a new house in a remote part of the town, or remaining with her in her ancestral one. The former alternative would not usually be resorted to except where pronounced temperamental friction offered a definite stimulus; for the Zuñi woman appears to have a strong attachment of some sort for the quarter or corner of town in which she has lived. If, on the other hand, the couple remained in the wife's natal home, they would

<sup>1</sup> Column four of Table 2; last column of Table 6.

<sup>2</sup> Column five of Table 2; brackets in last column of Table 6.

tend to be regarded, by the population in general if not by their fellow inmates, as merely part of the established household, at least until long years or changes in the composition of its membership resulted in their recognition as a separate though closely kindred family. In the open outskirts, with a fresh start, each man is able to build a house of his own for the one of the several sisters or daughters that is his wife, and recognition of the distinctness of his hearth is prompter and wider, even though his brothers-in-law erect homes adjacent to and communicating with his own. Interior communication seems to exist in practically all cases of adjacent houses, whether of the same or different clans.

It is further likely that where families of diverse clanship adjoin in these new and unrestricted portions of the pueblo, investigation would reveal that they also were in many instances connected by blood, kinship in the male line however veiling the tie under a diversity of appellation. So, among ourselves, if Smith and Smith live in adjoining houses, even the stranger suspects that they are brothers, whereas if Smith's home is next to Brown's, indication is lacking of the possible fact that they are brothers-in-law or husbands of sisters. Again I regret to have few positive data to offer: any considerable and reliable collection of facts of this kind involves not only the expenditure of much time in investigation, but should be preceded, if possible, by a certain degree of familiar acquaintance. The point is made here in order to guard against an over-hasty interpretation of the distributional features shown in the map through the sole means of the conventional clan pattern. There certainly are other factors involved, including patrilinear kinship; the precise degree of effect of these, in balance with the factors of matrilinear relationship and actual clan consciousness, remains to be ascertained.

The following are a few instances of blood kinship determining the position of recently erected houses:—

*In consonance with clan relationship*

504a and 504b, both Pikchikwe: sisters

504c and 504d, both Frog: sisters

557 and 561, both Tobacco: sisters<sup>1</sup>

*In violation of clan relationship*

517e, Badger; 517 f, Corn; Badger husband is son of 517e

518b, Sun; 518a, Pikchikwe; Sun husband is son of 518b

526b, Corn; 526a, Turkey; Corn husband is brother of 526b

555a, Badger; 555b, Eagle; Badger husband is brother of 555a

407, formerly Eagle; 574, Pikchikwe; Eagle husband is out of 407<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Several parallel cases within the pueblo have been previously given.

<sup>2</sup> Compare 207, originally Eagle, now Sun ex 214 with Crane husband ex 135, both adjacent houses.

The second point that emanates from Map 5 is that the Zuñi do not readily move their houses from one side of the town to another. With the modern houses in the open, there is no reason why they should not be located at random. Yet such cases of centrifugal shift as have been observed and recorded on the map by arrows almost invariably involve mainly a radial extension from the center of the town.<sup>1</sup> Because a family has lived fifty or a hundred feet north of the east and west axis of the old pueblo, seems no reason why when they build a new house an eighth or a quarter of a mile out, they should quite regularly locate north of the town. But the impulse is there. The force of this inclination is particularly marked for the former inhabitants of the southern blocks, since in most instances a southerly removal by them involves a settlement across the river, and particularly since all houses on that side of the stream more than a very few years old were erected prior to the convenience of a permanent bridge. Modern as all the particular circumstances involved are, they undoubtedly reveal a rather deeply rooted tendency of Zuñi custom toward orientation of the house with reference to the town. This tendency may be presumed to extend in considerable measure to other pueblos also, and in all likelihood to have been operative even in the prehistoric period.

It is also plain, though this is a matter connected with pueblo growth rather than the status of the clan, that the influences toward expansion are slow in gathering headway and continuous once they are in motion. It was fear of Navaho and Apache raids that avowedly drove the Zuñi to swarm in the old pueblo cluster. That danger must have been nearly over by 1870 and altogether a matter of memory by 1890.<sup>2</sup> The first hesitating outposts seem however not to have been erected until some time after the latter date, and the movement as such gained little headway until 1900 or subsequently. Even within the period since then, many more outside houses have been built in its last half than in the first, it is said; and every few months see a new addition. In August, 1916, more than a third of the families of Zuñi had given up residence in the town of their mothers.

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<sup>1</sup> Of forty cases, twenty-seven, or two thirds, are clearly of this character; four, or only one tenth, are contrary, as from the south side of the pueblo to the northern environs; and the remainder are indeterminate, as from the west to the north, or from southwest to northwest.

<sup>2</sup> I am told that the last Navaho raid on the town took place during the birth of a woman who was pointed out to me and who appears to be fifty years or a little older. This would indicate 1865. Since then, the Zuñi and Navaho have only skirmished or ambushed one another in the country, the former declare. The last victory dance was held a few years ago over the scalp of a Navaho child found dead in the hills. This incident was not due to a recrudescence of the old hatred of the Navaho, for the two tribes visit and associate, but to a desire to maintain the ancient ceremony, for which an occasion is requisite.

## SIZE OF CLANS AND FAMILIES.

The size of the Zuñi clans shows an even gradation from the largest to the smallest. The one conspicuous break is between the largest and the second largest clan. Pikchikwe comprises more than a quarter of the families and therefore presumably of the population of the town. It is thus no wonder that its subdivision into Raven and Macaw, or Dogwood and Raven-Macaw, is far more prominent in the native mind than the subdivision of any other clan. It is also conceivable that Pikchikwe may be a group of syncretized clans; and that a slight stimulus might suffice to break it apart even now.

220 families among 1664<sup>1</sup> people give an average of over seven and a half souls per household in Zuñi. This is higher than elsewhere in the Pueblo region. The data of Fewkes, Mindeleff-Stephen, and Starr, in their works elsewhere referred to, furnish an average of barely five.

	<i>Families or Houses</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Per House</i>
Oraibi	149	750	5
Mishongnovi	53	289	5.4
Shipaulovi	22	105	4.8
Walpi	57	205	3.6
Sichumovi	24	117	4.9
Hano	35	159	4.5
Cochiti	60	273	4.6

The greater size and congestion of Zuñi may have tended to a somewhat stronger tendency for a growing family to remain under one roof. But it would not be operative in the newer houses in the outskirts, which now hold over a third of the population, and would have but little influence in the eastern and more freely built half of the pueblo mass. The figures for the other towns are too uniformly smaller to allow the explanation to be dismissed that the basis of reckoning either of the natives or of enquirers has been different. The data at Hopi and Cochiti are based on prolonged and intimate acquaintance, or on an exact census, both of which a large population and a limited stay precluded at Zuñi.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910. A count made for the Indian Office in 1916 is said to have yielded more than 1800 people.

<sup>2</sup> I first attempted the same study on the basis of Mindeleff's plot of Zuñi. My principal informant gave 171 families as compared with 191 families known to have lived within the pueblo and 139 still resident in it; a second, who proved far less reliable in detail and inclined to make obvious errors in identifying the map, listed 338. It was this enormous discrepancy that impressed me with the conviction that studies of this kind must be made on the spot and so far as possible for the present time, and that any attempt to secure accurate data as to the past distribution of population by means of a map, must be largely fruitless. It was this

I was at first inclined to believe that my informants had united a considerable number of adjacent families related in blood, and thus reduced the total and raised the average per household. But this error seems negligible; for my count is based on the compiled and corrected information of seven different informants, four of whom discussed maps 1 and 5, or 6 and 7 — on which most Zuñi readily find their bearings — while the other three walked the streets and roofs with me. It is true that a Zuñi "house" often contains what we should regard as two or three households; but as long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one, it is impossible to do anything but accept their reckoning.

The figures which I obtained in clan censuses, two of which are detailed <sup>1</sup> while the third seems reliable,<sup>2</sup> also corroborate closely.

	<i>Houses</i>	<i>Inhabitants</i>	<i>Per House</i>
All Zuñi	220	1664	7.56
Coyote clan	10	58	5.80
Tobacco clan	6	46	7.67
Badger clan	21	161	7.67

The average of about seven and one half persons per family, or half as many again as we reckon in civilized America, may therefore be accepted as substantially accurate for Zuñi of today.<sup>3</sup>

In any event, however, whether we have to deal with seven and a half or eight persons to the household as in Zuñi, or five as in the other pueblos and among ourselves, it is clear that the basis of the Pueblo family is substantially that of our own, and that the traditional formula so favored by ethnologists, of large, communal, matriarchal groups, is non-existent among these Indians.

#### KINSHIP IN THE CLAN.

It has already been stated that while the Zuñi apply kinship terms to all clan members, they distinguish clearly and promptly between blood kin and mere clan mates. A desideratum, not only at Zuñi, but among every

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realization that led to the new survey on which the maps in the present paper are based. Mindeleff's plan looks tantalizingly like the outline of modern Zuñi; but, as mentioned elsewhere, I had difficulty in finding a dozen walls that still stood precisely where they were when he made his survey in 1881. Before my first summer in Zuñi was out, I had realized the extent to which rebuilding — voluntary and enforced — goes on in the course of a single season.

<sup>1</sup> Tables 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Table 9.

<sup>3</sup> It is more likely to be an underestimate than an excessive figure: actually only 191 houses are known in the old town of 1600 or more people; while, as remarked, the 220 houses occupied in 1916 may shelter 1800 souls.

nation that possesses clans, is a knowledge of the degree to which kin and clan groups coincide or fail to coincide. It is quite inconceivable that the great Pikchikwe clan, with four to five hundred members, should consist wholly of people in a single line of descent, or if so, that they should still be able to trace the ramifications of their relationship. A small clan might however well be thus knit together in blood; and to test the matter, I obtained a count of the members of the Coyote and Tobacco groups, who own ten and six houses respectively.

TABLE 7.

## CENSUS OF COYOTE CLAN.

No.	House	Person and Status	No. 1 Addresses As	Fraternity
1	184	Philip		Makkyetlannakwe
P	"	father of 1; his o. brother owned the house		
2	"	mother of 1, ex old Coyote house 434, went to her husband's family		Makkyetlannakwe
3	"	y. sister of 1		Makkyetlannakwe
Ba	"	husband of 3, ex 140 and 517e		
4	"	daughter of 3		
5	"	daughter of 3, younger than 4		
6	"	daughter of 3, younger than 5		
7	"	son of 3, younger than 6		
8	186	Emmalia (Emilia)	ikyinna	none
9	"	Charlie Pinto, o. brother of 8	pappa	none
10	"	Robert, o. brother of 8		none
12	"	mother of 8, ex 373	tsitta	none
14	"	K'ucci or Louie, son of younger sister of 12	pappa	
15	"	Allapo'a, younger brother of 14		Shuma'kwe
16	"	son of 8, boy	kyasse	
17	"	baby daughter of 8		
P	"	husband of 8		
Tk	"	husband of 12		
18	323	Nahtsi, young man	kyasse	none
19	"	mother of 18; ex 325	kyawwu	none
20	"	y. brother of 18		Shi'wanakwe
21	325	o. sister of 19		none
Tk	"	husband of 21		
22	"	son of 21, not married		none
23	"	y. brother of 22, at school		none
24	"	y. brother of 23		
25	"	y. sister of 24		
44	"	mother of 21		
26	440	Lihkila	kyasse	none
P	"	wife of 26, lives in his house		
P	"	baby daughter of 26		
27	"	y. brother of 26		none
28	"	mother of 26, widow of the Pekkwinne who died in 1915	tsitta-ts'anna	Chikkyalikwe
48	424	sister of 28, widow of P man	tsitta-Lacci*	Shi'wanakwe

\* 29 calls them by the same terms, although 48 is his mother's younger sister (properly his tsitta-ts'anna) and 49 her daughter (properly his kyawwu).

TABLE 7 — (Continued).

No.	House	Person and Status	No. 1 Addresses As	Fraternity
49	424	daughter of 48	tsitta-ts'anna*	Shi'wanakwe
E	"	husband of 49		
Ba	"	Na'ucti, husband of 48		
†	"	daughter of 48		
30	"	"Lazy," son of a sister of 48, widower		Makkyets'annakwe
34	454a	daughter of sister of 33	ikyinna	none
P	"	husband of 34		
35	"	Tsanatsahits'a, daughter of 34, unmarried	kyasse	none
36	"	y. sister of 35		none
37	"	y. sister of 36		none
39	"	y. sister of 37		
38	"	y. brother of 39		
40	"	baby daughter of 38		
43	369	Uppekwinne, old man, blind	nanna	Uhhuhukwe ‡
42	"	y. sister of 43, old woman	hotta	none
†	"	y. sister of 42		none
†	"	o. brother of 42		
†	373	old woman; on her death her son, 13, sold the house to a Cn family		
47	528b	y. sister of 46. Childless	kyasse	Peshatsillokwe
F	"	husband of 47		
F	"	daughter of sister of husband of 47		
51	580	Margaret A. Lewis, <i>Cherokee</i> wolf clan		none
	"	her husband, Governor Lewis, ex 333		none
52	"	Margaret, daughter of 51		
53	"	Tci'pai'u, y. brother of 52		
54	"	Billy, y. brother of 53		
55	"	Robert, y. brother of 54		
33	194	Camminapti, brother of mother of 34; ex 454a; wife P	kyakkya	Makkyets'annakwe
50	196	Kyetits'a, o. brother of 8; ex 186; wife, Be		none
11	175	K'e'ni, y. brother of 8; ex 186; wife S		

\* 29 calls them by the same terms, although 48 is his mother's younger sister (properly his tsitta-ts'anna) and 49 her daughter (properly his kyawwu).

‡ Pekkwinne of his fraternity, whence his name.

TABLE 7.—(Concluded).

No.	House	Person and Status	No. 1 Addresses As	Fraternity
32	120	Yakki, "nanna" of 29; ex 424; wife, M	nanna	none
†	104	Patchappa, y. br. of 32; ex 424; wife M		
29	3	Piwwanihka, son of a dead sister of 48; ex 424; wife, E	kyasse**	none
31	575	Pe'ussi, brother of 28; ex 440; wife E	kyakkyia	Hallokwe
41	519	Nakya'ti, o. brother of 34; ex 454a; wife Cr	pappa	Peshatsillokwe
46	536	Wai'tiwa, o. brother of 19 and 47; ex 323; wife P	kyakkyia	none
45	137	Mats'a, sister's son of 43; ex 369; wife Cr	pappa	Uhhuhukwe
13	167	Tsa'wela or Tsu'pila, ex 186, younger brother of 12; wife P	kyakkyia	Sanniakyakwe and Apitlashiwanni ††
	249	Family in 454a		

\*\* 1 calls the wife of 29 *ikyinna*.

†† Head bow priest.

In summary we have: —

House	Coyote Clan	Other Clans	Married Out
184	7	2	—
186	8	2	3
323	3	—	1
325	6	1	—
440	3	2	1
424	3	2	3
454a	7	1	2
369	2	—	1
538b	1	2	—
580	5	1	—
	45	13	11

In other words, there are fifty-six members of the Coyote clan; and fifty-eight actual inmates of the ten Coyote houses in the town.

All attempts to connect even the bulk of these families into one or two groups of blood kindred, were fruitless. Outsiders denied relationship of most of the houses as explicitly as the Coyote informant. From the Zuñi point of view, the clan consists of the following kin groups: —

- I. 184; ex 434
- II. 186; ex 373
- III. 323, 325, 538b; ex 325
- IV. 440
- V. 424
- VI. 454a; ex 249
- VII. 369
- VIII. 580

As the ruin 434 adjoins house 440, I suspect a common origin; but my informants deny this. 424 is almost in contact, so that blood connection is not unlikely. This might make one original group.

373, from which 186 issued, is just across the street from 323-325, and both are at the eastern edge of the town; while 369 is only a few doors distant, on the street which separates them. Again one is tempted to go behind the returns and suspect an outgrowth from a single stem.

454a, out of 249, seems to stand alone. This house furnishes an example of the caution which must be exercised in inferring original kinship from nearness of houses. 454a is only a short distance from 184, which in turn is almost adjacent to 186. Yet the three families come respectively out of the southern, the southeastern, and the northeastern blocks. What has happened in recent years, is likely, in only little less measure, to have happened fifty, a hundred, or two hundred years ago.

580 also illustrates the complexity of strains in even small clans. The civilized and educated woman who is married to the present governor of Zuñi, is, through her mother, of the Cherokee wolf clan. As a member of the community, it was taken for granted by the Zuñi that she must be a member of one of their clans — obviously the Coyote. In a generation or two there will scarcely be even a consciousness, among the Zuñi at large, that that part of the clan which her progeny constitutes, is of alien origin. The same thing must have occurred time and again, generations and centuries ago, through women of Hopi, Acoma, Laguna, Navaho, and more distant tribes settling among the Zuñi. Such events may have been rare. But now and then a famine, or the suspicion of witchcraft at home, would drive an individual, a family, or a group of households, to a distant pueblo. Girl captives were kept occasionally, or bought from the Navaho or Apache; and sometimes a woman would follow a visiting lover back to his home.

At best then, we can speculatively reduce the ten families that comprise the Zuñi Coyote clan to four lineages; the truth perhaps lies between this number and the eight groups that the natives recognize. Two things are evident. First, the Zuñi do not ordinarily carry relationship back very far, even within the clan. And second, clan and kin are distinct things, one rather lightly superimposed on the other.

TABLE 8.

## CENSUS OF TOBACCO CLAN.

No.	House	Persons and Status	Fraternity
2	72	female parallel cousin of 13, also of a P father	none
3	"	older brother of 2	Makkyetlannakwe
4	"	older brother of 2	none
Tk	"	husband of 2	[Makkyetlannakwe]
Cn	"	husband of dead sister of mother of 2	[Makkyetlannakwe medicine head]
S	"	daughter of 3, whose S wife married into his house, but left him	
11	557	grandmother of 12, 13, 14, 15; ex 72	none
13	"	daughter's daughter of 11, daughter of the (P) pekkwinne who died in 1915; ex 72	none
14	"	younger sister of 13	none
15	"	younger brother of 14, unmarried	
Cr?	"	husband of 13	[none]
P	"	husband of 14	[none]
22	"	boy, son of 13	
23	"	boy, son of 14	
12	561	older sister of 13, 14, 15; ex 557	Makkyetlannakwe
P	"	husband of 12	[none]
19	"	girl, daughter of 12	
20	"	boy, son of 12	
21	"	girl, daughter of 12	
17	"	Nolatsa, son of 11 by P father, kyakkya of 12, 13, 14, 15	[none]
18	"	Jo, older brother of 17, kyakkya-Lacci of 12, 13, 14, 15	Shuma'kwe
5	"	Te'les; had Ba father; sister of 34; ex 223	none
6	"	daughter of 5, by M father	Makkyets'annakwe
7	"	daughter of 5	Makkyets'annakwe
8	"	son of 5, unmarried	none
E	"	husband of 6	[none]
Cn	"	husband of 7	[none]
9	"	boy, son of 6	
10	"	boy, son of 7	
34	549a	sister of 5, ex 223	none
35	"	daughter of 34	none
36	"	daughter of 34	Shi'wanakwe
P	"	husband of 34	[none]
37	"	older brother of 34	Shi'wanakwe
38	"	older brother — pappa-Lacci — of 34 and 37	Hallokwe; and pekkwinne of Lewwekwe
24	558	woman; S father; ex 223, but from separate room in rear	none

TABLE 8—(Concluded).

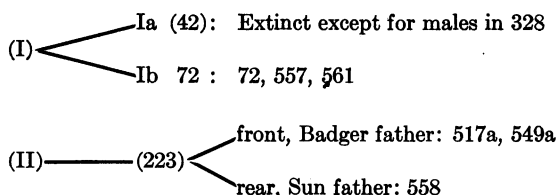
No.	House	Persons and States	Fraternity
25	558	daughter of 24	none
26	"	younger sister of 24	none
27	"	daughter of 26	Hallokwe
28	"	daughter of 23	none
29	"	son of 24	Hallokwe
30	"	son of 24	none
E	"	husband of 24	[none]
Cn	"	husband of 25	[Makkyetlannakwe]
Cn	"	husband of 27	[none]
31	"	boy, son of 27	
1	328	Kyallatsillo, P father; originally ex 42, which now belongs to 72; his people seem to have moved to 328, or to a former Tb house adjoining 328 on the west; his P wife married into his house	Shuma'kwe
39	"	Pa'tela; kyasse of 1; his mother's mother and the mother of 1 were sisters. An associate shiwwanni	none
16	526a	Tomasito, older brother of 12, 13, 14, 15, ex 72; married in Tk house	none
32	164	Tcuyati, younger brother of 24, ex 223 rear; married in P house	Makkyets'annakwe
33	292	Kuyahti, older brother of 24, ex 223 rear; married in P house	Hallokwe head
40	534e	Annie, daughter of 24, married in her husband's P house	none [husband Hallokwe]
41	534e	boy, son of 40	
42	534e	girl, daughter of 40	

This clan summarizes as follows: —

House	Tobacco Clan	Other Clans	Total
72	3	3	6
517a	6	2	8
561	6	1	7
557	6	2	8
558	8	3	11
549a	5	1	6
	—	—	—
	34	12	46
In 328 or married out	8		
	—		
Total Tobacco people	42		

It is possible that a few Tobacco men married into other houses have been overlooked; but there are not likely to be many, since twenty-two of the known forty-two clan members are males.

This clan reduces to fewer blood lineages than the last, even allowing for its smaller size. All its members trace back to the three Tobacco houses recognized in the old town; and as two of these are adjacent, we are almost certainly justified in connecting them and reducing the lineages to two.



Both this clan and the last are below the average of Zuñi clans in size; but as Zuñi is by far the largest of all modern pueblos, they approximate clans of normal or superior strength in other towns.

The known marriages contracted by living and former members of the two clans aggregate thus: —

	<i>Coyote</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>
Pikchikwe	7	11
Eagle	3	2
Badger	2	1
Sun	1	2
Turkey	2	2
Corn	—	4
Crane	3	1
Frog	1	—
Tansy Mustard	2	1
Bear	1	—
	<hr/> 22	<hr/> 24

This is about as might be expected, except for the excess of Pikchikwe marriages. The proclivity of Tobacco people to contract marriages with this clan, even when they themselves are paternally connected with it, has already been commented on.

I add also a summary of the Badger clan, for such value as it may have in populational considerations, although the list of members was not taken in sufficient detail to bear on the question of the kin groups involved. It will be seen that the number of persons of other clans married into Badger houses is exactly the same as that of Badger people married out of their natal homes; which is of course as it should be, normally.

TABLE 9.  
THE BADGER CLAN.

Block	House Number	Badger Inmates	Other Inmates	Former Badger Inmates Married Out
Main	77	7	1	4
	52	5	1	1
	25	6	1	—
	94	2	—	6
	95	6	—	—
	106	1	—	3
Southwest	206	13	1	3
	214	4	4	1
	226	4	1	—
South	247	10	3	1
	252	9	2	—
Southeast	387	13	4	3
	378	5	1	4
	384	5	1	2
	394	2	4	2
	442	8	3	—
Outside	517e	6	2	2
	534c	4	1	—
	537b	8	2	—
	538a	3	2	3
	555a	4	2	1
Once Ba, now P		125	36	36
	68	2	6	—
		127	42	36

#### CLAN HEADS.

The Zuñi as invariably denied to me that there were any authoritative or nominal heads of clans as they rejected the idea of a council or other machinery for the transaction of clan business; and however indirectly I approached the subject, its prosecution remained fruitless. There is only one exception. In counting the Badger clan people, as just listed, I learned that while there was no *mossonna* or *mossiye*, that is, head, for the clan, the people of house 247 were known as *tonnashikwe ashi'i* or *ashi'ye*,

"badger people name having" or "badger people named." A little girl in this house was customarily referred to throughout the pueblo as tonnashikwe ts'anna, "the little badger person." Further inquiry elicited corresponding houses for most of the clans; as follows: —

Pikchikwe	house 454
Eagle	506
Badger	247
Sun	518
Turkey	398
Corn	38
Crane	286, ex 333
Frog	181
Coyote	369
Tansy Mustard	120
Tobacco	558, ex 223
Bear	534, ex 33
Deer	81

In discussing the matter, my informants came gradually to use the word *mossiye* as well as *ash'i*, but apparently applied it in a figurative sense, much as we might speak of a social leader; since they refused to admit any privilege possessed by the families in question. As the governor, who was one of my authorities, has relatives in two of the houses named, 286 and 81, he would have been certain to be aware of any rights or specific honors due to the inhabitants of these houses. The only explanation given for the designations was that they were names, applied without definite reason other than perhaps in a half jocular spirit, or the convenience of a generic epithet over the enumerating of personal names. I am inclined to see in the practice an additional manifestation of the same tendency that causes the teknonymic substitution of kinship terms for actual individual appellations whenever possible.

It is also clear that a number of the clan named houses are those which contain the clan fetishes, as listed in table 12. This applies to Eagle, Turkey, Corn, Crane, and Deer. It is not so however, at least for the present time, for Pikchikwe, Sun, Frog, Coyote, and Tansy Mustard.

#### THE PUEBLO CLAN SYSTEM.

At first sight, the clans represented at Zuñi seem to be largely different from those of the Hopi, or of the nearest people on the other side, the Keres of Acoma and Laguna. The foremost Zuñi clan, the Dogwood, is without direct parallel in any pueblo. Important Hopi clans or clan groups, such

as the Snake, Horn, Flute, Squash, Raincloud, Lizard, Sand, Kachina, and Reed, are unrepresented at Zuñi; while on the Rio Grande, there are Mountain-lion, Pine, Cottonwood, Fire, Hawk, Ant, Buffalo, Calabash, Oak, Moon, Turquoise, and other clans that sound strange to one familiar with Zuñi conditions.

Nevertheless, the discrepancies are superficial, and mainly due to a peculiar native method of nomenclature. Once this has been penetrated, it becomes clear that in essentials a single system of clan organization pervades all of the pueblos, from Oraibi to Taos.

#### SCHEME.

The key is to be found in Dr. Fewkes's "Tusayan Migration Traditions,"<sup>1</sup> supplemented by the valuable A. M. Stephen material compiled by Cosmos Mindeleff.<sup>2</sup> Both these authors classify the Hopi gentile groups into phratries and clans, and even super-phratries or sub-clans; and the two full lists prove to connect nearly every recorded Zuñi, Keres, and Tanoan clan not only with the Hopi system but among each other. The Hopi themselves are indirectly responsible for the fact that these interconnections of a single system have been overlooked. In their minds, their clan classification seems to be thoroughly interwoven with origin and migration legends. It is the latter element that has particularly appealed to the ethnologists who gathered Hopi clan data, with the result that the eagerness to explain origins has led them to stress every possible fragment of evidence bearing on what the Hopi social system might have been a few centuries ago, at the expense of overlooking its essential features today and its obvious connections with other Pueblo organizations. Not all students of the Southwest have accepted these historic or pseudo-historic interpretations. Some in fact have viewed them with hostile bias. But their promulgation raised an issue around which opinion, whether published or withheld, seems to have crystallized, to the disregard, for many years, of nearly all interpretations of the existing conditions. There is in this case a remarkable exemplification of the fatal check to knowledge invariably dealt to studies in the field of civilization when the temptation of seeking specific origins is yielded to and the path of merely but deeply understanding phenomena is abandoned.

This is the key provided by Dr. Fewkes:<sup>3</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn., xix. 577-633, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xix, 639-653, 1900; viii, 16-41, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 582-584.

## A. Hopi Clans from the North.

*Tcūa* or *Snake group*: Snake, Puma, Dove, Cactus, Opuntia Cactus, Nabovu. Stephen<sup>1</sup> adds another variety of Cactus, Marmot, Skunk, Raccoon.

*Ala* or *Horn clans of the Ala-Leñya group*: Horn, Deer, Antelope, Tcaizra. "The Ant clans (Anu, Tokoanu, Wukoanu, and Ciwanu) belong to this group, but the author is in doubt whether to assign them to the Ala or the Leñya division." Stephen adds Mountain Sheep.

## B. Hopi Clans from the South.

*Patuñ* or *Squash group*: Squash, Crane, Pigeon-hawk, Sorrow-making.

*Leñya* or *Flute clans of the Ala-Leñya group*: Blue-flute, Drab-flute, Flute, Mountain Sheep.

*Patki* or *Raincloud group*: Raincloud, Maize, Rainbow, Lightning, Agave,<sup>2</sup> Bigelovia, Aquatic Animal, Frog, Tadpole. Stephen adds Rain, Bean, Watermelon, and, elsewhere, Snow.<sup>3</sup>

*Tūwa-Kükūlc* or *Sand-Lizard group*: Sand, Lizard, Flower or Bush. Stephen adds three further species of lizards, White Sand, and Mud.

*Tabō-Piba* or *Rabbit-Tobacco group*: Rabbit, Hare, Tobacco. Stephen adds Pipe.

## C. Hopi Clans from the East.

*Honau* or *Bear group*: Bear, Wildcat, Bluebird, Spider. Stephen adds Fir and elsewhere Rope.<sup>4</sup>

*Asa* or *Tansy-Mustard* or *Tcawkaina group*: Tcawkaina (a Kacina),<sup>5</sup> Roadrunner or Pheasant, Magpie, Bunting. Stephen adds Throwing Stick, Field Mouse, and Oak, and gives Chaparral Cock as alternative of Roadrunner.

*Kacina* or *Masked Dancer group*: Kacina, Crow, Parrot, Yellow Bird, Spruce, Cottonwood.

*Kokop* or *Firewood group*: Firewood, Coyote, Wolf, Yellow Fox, Gray Fox, Zrohono, Death God, Eototo, Piñon, Juniper, Bow, Tūvatei Bird, Sikyatci Bird.<sup>6</sup>

*Pakab* or *Reed group*: Reed or Arrow, Eagle, Hawk, Turkey, Sun, Pūñkoñ War God, Palaña War God, Cohu. Stephen adds Chicken Hawk, Willow, Greasewood.

*Honani* or *Badger group*: Badger, Porcupine, Buzzard, Butterfly, Kacina (*sic*). Stephen adds Evening Primrose and Medicine, and elsewhere replaces Butterfly by Moth.<sup>7</sup>

*The Owl and Bat* or *Batkin* clans of Stephen<sup>8</sup> are not placed in any group.

Dr. Fewkes never mentions most of these "clans" again, and his personal census of Walpi and Sichumovi in the same essay is substantially on the basis of the clan groups or "phratries." It is plain why this is so: 78

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the "Mescal Cake" of *ibid.*, xix, 651.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Chakkwena is a masked impersonator at Zuñi.

<sup>6</sup> Sikyatci is also given for Yellow Bird in the Kacina group.

<sup>7</sup> xix, 651.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

clans among the 322 people of two towns would be an absurdity. The number of souls per clan would be less than we reckon per household. In the same way, Stephen in his earlier classification<sup>1</sup> lists 57 clans, which do not exhaust the number;<sup>2</sup> but the subsequent tabulation<sup>3</sup> of the families or houses of five of the six Hopi towns refers to only 34. How these discrepancies, which are so obviously full of some kind of meaning, came to be passed over as trivial, appears from a statement by Mindeleff:<sup>4</sup>—

The table does not show the condition of these organizations in the present community but as they appear in the traditional accounts of their coming to Tusayan, although representatives of most of them can still be found in the various villages.

In other words, how a society is organized today was of little interest or moment compared with what its organization may have been a thousand years ago; and the facts at hand were neglected in favor of speculation on those beyond reach.

TABLE 10.<sup>5</sup>SYSTEM OF PUEBLO CLANS.<sup>1</sup>

(\* Extinct)

	<i>Generic</i>	<i>Hopi</i>	<i>Zuñi</i>	<i>Keres</i>	<i>Tanoan</i>
1.	a. Rattlesnake	Rattlesnake <sup>1a</sup> Cactus	*Rattlesnake	Rattlesnake	Panther
	b. Panther			Dove Panther	
2.	a. Deer	Horn	Deer	Deer	Deer
	b. Antelope	Flute Red Ant	(Antelope) <sup>2</sup>	*Elk Antelope Ant Buffalo <sup>3</sup>	Antelope Ant Buffalo <sup>3</sup>
3.	a. Squash	Squash	(Squash) <sup>4</sup>	Gourd <sup>3</sup>	Gourd <sup>3</sup>
	b. Crane	Crane	Crane	Crane Duck <sup>3</sup>	Goose <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 38-39.<sup>2</sup> "For example, in 'corn' can be found families claiming to be of the root, stem, leaf, ear, blossom, etc., all belonging to corn."<sup>3</sup> XIX, 651.<sup>4</sup> VIII, 38.<sup>5</sup> See pp. 139 and 140 for footnotes in Table 10.

TABLE 10—(Continued).

	<i>Generic</i>	<i>Hopi</i>	<i>Zuñi</i>	<i>Keres</i>	<i>Tanoan</i>
4.	{ a. Cloud b. Corn <sup>6</sup>	Cloud Snow Corn Bigelovia Agave-Mescal	Water <sup>5</sup> Frog Sky <sup>3</sup> Corn	*Cloud Water Frog Sky <sup>3</sup> Corn	Cloud Water Corn
5.	{ a. Lizard b. Earth	Lizard Earth <sup>7</sup>	——— ———	Lizard Earth	Lizard Earth
6.	{ a. Rabbit b. Tobacco	Rabbit Tobacco	*Rabbit Tobacco	Tobacco	Tobacco
7.	{ a. Tansy-Mustard b. Chaparral Cock	Tansy-Mustard	Tansy-Mustard Chaparral Cock	Oak Chaparral Cock	Oak
8.	{ Kachina a Raven b Macaw c Pine d Cottonwood	Kachina-Crow Macaw <sup>10</sup> 10	Dogwood <sup>8</sup> Raven-Crow Macaw	Kachina <sup>9</sup> Crow Macaw Cottonwood "Mexican Sage" <sup>11</sup>	Crow Macaw Pine- Spruce Cotton- wood
9.	{ a. Firewood b. Coyote	Firewood <sup>12</sup> Owl <sup>13</sup> Coyote Bow	*Wood Coyote	Fire Piñon Coyote <sup>14</sup>	Fire-Fire- wood Coyote Wolf
10.	{ a. Arrow b. Sun c. Eagle d. Turkey	Arrow <sup>15</sup> Sun Eagle Hawk	Sun Eagle Turkey	*Arrow Sun *Moon <sup>3</sup> Eagle Turkey- *Hawk	Willow Sun Moon <sup>3</sup> Eagle *Turkey- Hawk

TABLE 10 — (Concluded).

Generic		Hopi	Zuñi	Keres	Tanoan
11.	a. Badger	Badger	Badger <sup>16</sup>	Badger	Badger
	b. Bear <sup>17</sup>	Moth- Butterfly			
		Bear Spider Rope	Bear	Bear	Bear
					Bluebird
12.	a. Turquoise <sup>18</sup>	<sup>19</sup>	—	Turquoise	Turquoise
	b. Shell- Coral	<sup>19</sup>	—	Shell-Coral	Shell-Coral
Unplaced:		Bat	Yellow Wood	*Stone "Ivy" Salt Sage	Stone Grass
				And a few others, mostly of doubtful authenticity and reported from single pueblos.	

<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind that this table includes only clans listed by some authority as actually occurring, under the names in question, in some pueblo of each group. The principal source is F. W. Hodge's valuable table of Pueblo Indian clans in *American Anthropologist*, old series, ix, 345-352, 1896. The Hopi synonyms have been used to identify clans that appear dissimilar in the several localities; but have not themselves been inserted, except when specifically mentioned in one of the Hopi censuses. There are Dove and Panther clans in Keresan towns: at Hopi only Rattlesnake and Cactus are listed, with Dove and Panther as synonyms or sub-clans. All the identifications rest upon definite data of this sort, with the exception of a few rather obvious connections, which are mentioned in the notes as being conjectural.

<sup>16</sup> The word means "rattlesnake" in Hopi and other Shoshonean dialects.

<sup>2</sup> The town at Zuñi before 1680 was called "ant-place;" in fact the modern town is still sometimes so referred to; and there is an ant fraternity.

<sup>3</sup> The placing of the Buffalo, Gourd or Calabash, Duck-Goose, Sky, and Moon clans in the table rests upon tentative guesses by the author, and not upon any known native classification.

<sup>4</sup> Represented by a Crane clan subdivision, Mokyissikwe, a tapering striped pumpkin.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned by Cushing as extinct. I was told of the Milky'annakwe or Corn-ear Water people as a sub-clan of Corn.

<sup>6</sup> With subdivisions as to color which have been disregarded here.

<sup>7</sup> Fewkes and Mindeleff both give "sand," but comparative vocabularies show the word to have the more generic meaning of "earth" also.

<sup>8</sup> The Kyakkwemossi or highest priest, and the Pekkwinne or "speaker" for the sun, the two ranking officials in the Ko-tikkyanne or god-fraternity of Zuñi, the basic tribal religious organization corresponding to the Hopi Kachina society; "which includes all males"

The fundamental inference from the presentation of the available knowledge as arranged in Table 10 is that a single, precise scheme pervades the clan organization of all the Pueblos. It is almost as if one complete pattern had been stamped upon the social life of every community in the area. I should never have suspected such an exact formulation to be inherent in the seemingly endlessly discordant data; and it appears that Mr. Hodge, Dr. Fewkes, and other investigators who have contributed most to the subject, have been equally without realization of the degree of coördination that prevails through the Pueblo region.

To mention only one example, the scheme of Cochiti gentile organization, which we know accurately from Starr's census, agrees remarkably with the Zuñi one. If "extinct" clans are included, the same clan-pairs are

(Fewkes, xix, 623, 1900) must be Dogwood. At least this is required for the Pekkwinne; the Kyakkwemossi may be of another clan provided his father was Dogwood. The Zuñi know the word Kachina but consider it Mexican and never employ it among themselves. The native equivalent is Kokko, stem ko-, which means god, impersonator of a god, or mask.—This fragment of ritualistic law would be sufficient to connect the Zuñi Dogwood clan with the Hopi Kachina "phratry" even without the complete identification given by the Zuñi Raven and Macaw subdivisions and the Hopi Crow and Parrot synonyms; not to mention that the Zuñi "Kokkokwe" subdivision probably means "god-people" or "Kachina-people" rather than "raven-people."

<sup>9</sup> "Dance kilt."

<sup>10</sup> Represented in the Hopi region among the Tanoan Hano, but not among the Hopi themselves.

<sup>11</sup> Hodge: Cochiti, "Washpa, Dance-kilt"; Starr, Proc. Davenport Acad. Sc., vii, 42, 1899, "Huashpa, Mexican Sage." This raises the conjecture whether Sage, and possibly "Ivy," may not also go into the Kachina group.

<sup>12</sup> The words for "fire" and "wood" are from the same stem *ko-* or *ku-* in nearly all Shoshonean languages.

<sup>13</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., viii, 105, 1891; "Kokop, Burrowing Owl." *Ibid.*, xix, 584, 1900: "Kokop, Firewood." The latter is the correct translation.

<sup>14</sup> John G. Bourke gives an instance that is probably characteristic of the Pueblo point of view as to clan identifications. "There were found representatives of two distinct Coyote gentes: a husband, who called himself a Coyote del Sol, and his wife, who was a Coyote del Chamisa (Sage Brush), the Coyote Clan of the ruined pueblo of Cicuye, or Pecos, amalgamated with Jemez, and so called for distinction." Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, iii, 117, 1890.

<sup>15</sup> Fewkes and Mindeleff usually: "reed." The native word means "reed," "cane," or "arrow" in a number of Shoshonean dialects, as *co'le* does in Zuñi. Stephen associates the Reed clan with Cloud-Corn-Lizard-Tobacco instead of Sun-Eagle: xix, 651.

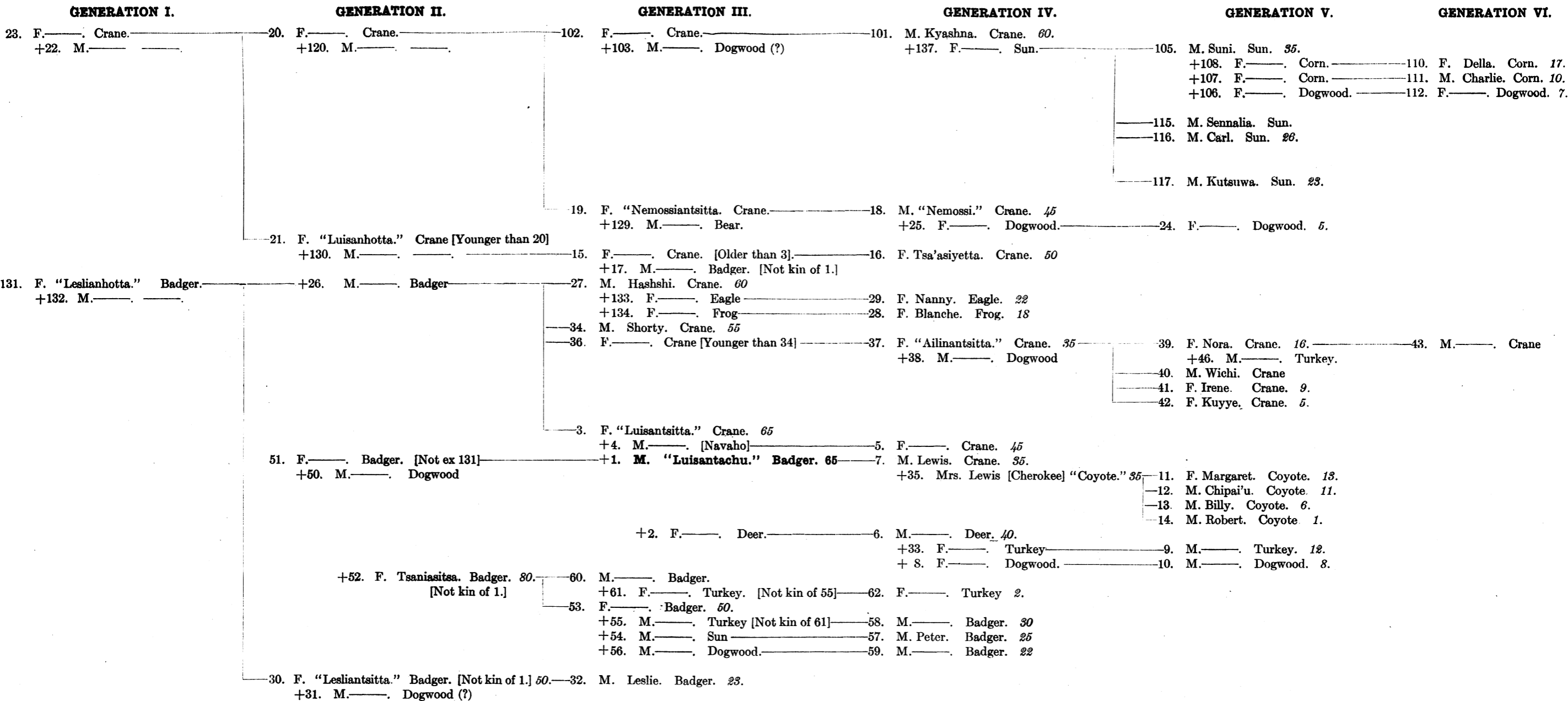
<sup>16</sup> Pekkikowakwe, Bent Over Straw, and Huhtetckikwe, a plant resembling a sunflower, synonyms of a Zuñi Badger sub-clan, may lead to new inclusions in the Badger-Bear group. Compare Stephen's Hopi Evening Primrose and Medicine.

<sup>17</sup> The fact that Bear and Badger were the only clans found in all four Pueblo groups without being coupled with other widespread clans led me to believe that they might form a pair, even though none of the Hopi sources associate them. Dr. R. H. Lowie informs me that his Walpi-Sichumovi informants in 1915 regarded Grizzly Bear and Butterfly as synonyms of one clan. This establishes the suspected coupling, since Butterfly also identifies with Badger.

<sup>18</sup> Somehow it is difficult to refrain from the conviction that the Turquoise-Shell group will identify with the Kachina complex, though there is nothing specific in favor of such a view. There is not even any direct evidence to justify the coupling of Turquoise with Shell-Coral.

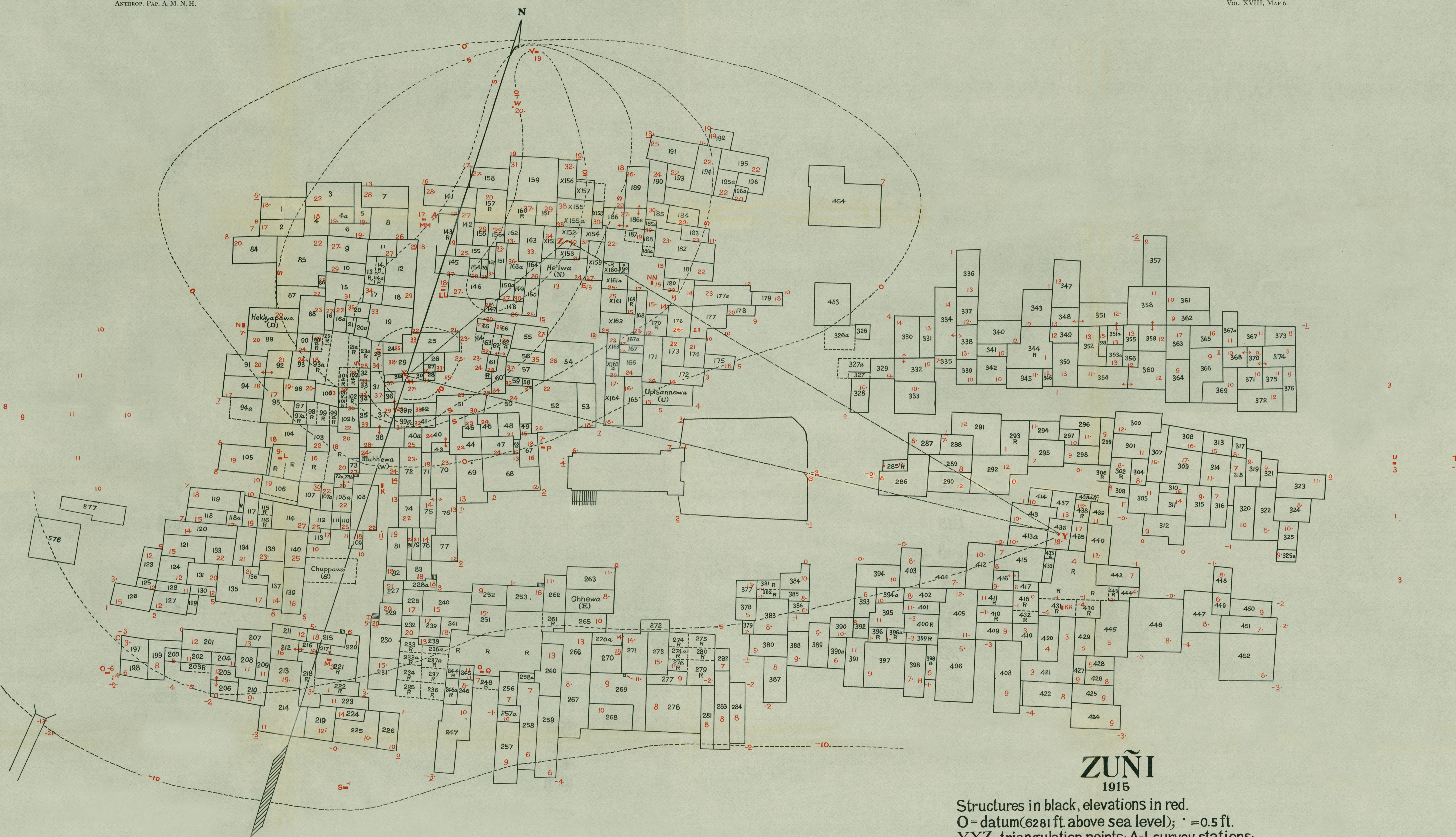
<sup>19</sup> Extinct among the Hano, and not reported from the Hopi.

TABLE 1.



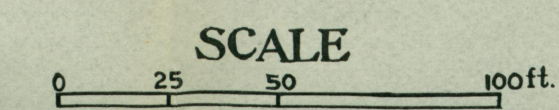
The first — means name not obtained; the second — means clan not known to No. 1.





# ZUNI 1915

Structures in black, elevations in red.  
 O = datum (6281 ft. above sea level);  $\cdot$  = 0.5 ft.  
 X, Y, Z, triangulation points; A-I, survey stations;  
 K-W, KK-NN, excavations. The broken lines give  
 the probable contours of the site before settlement.









represented and unrepresented, except for Turquoise-Shell and Rabbit-Tobacco.

<i>Zuñi</i>	<i>Cochiti</i>
{ *Rattlesnake	{ *Rattlesnake
{ Deer	{ *Panther
{ Antelope	{ *Elk
{ Crane	{ *Antelope
{ Frog <sup>1</sup>	{ Gourd
{ Corn	{ Water
{	{ Corn
{	{
{ Rabbit	{
{ Tobacco	{
{ Tansy-Mustard	{ Scrub-oak
{ Chaparral Cock	{
{ Dogwood	{ Kachina-Mexican Sage
{	{ Cottonwood
{ *Wood	{ *Fire-Firewood
{ Coyote	{ Coyote
{	{
{ Sun	{ Sun
{ Eagle	{ *Eagle
{ Turkey	{ *Turkey
{ Badger	{
{ Bear	{ *Bear
{	{ Turquoise
Yellow-wood	Ivy
	Sage

#### HISTORICAL INFERENCES.

A conclusion that cannot be avoided is that the quasi-historical deductions of Stephen, Fewkes, and Cosmos Mindeleff, as to the origin of Hopi clans and towns, fall to the ground. It is inconceivable that the elements

<sup>1</sup> Bourke in his list of Zuñi gentes gives "Water" in place of "Frog." Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, III, 116, 1890.

of population represented in the modern Rattlesnake and Horn clans should have come to the Hopi from the Paiute in the north, or those in the Squash-Crane and Corn-Cloud groups from the Pima in the south, when all these clans are equally and similarly represented in the Rio Grande pueblos, which are supposed to have furnished only the Bear, Badger, Coyote, Eagle, Kachina, and related elements.

These pseudo-histories of course are theoretically assailable on the ground that they posit a former social condition utterly unlike that obtaining today among the Hopi or Pueblos in general or any neighboring tribes. The whole nature of the existing clans among the Indians of the Southwest is that of a part in a whole, an organ in a body. The native legends that the world has been asked to accept as authentic and to weave into its fabric of universal history, depict the Hopi clans as once communities in themselves. All the Snake people lived together, all the Corn people in another place, and the one community was all Snake and the other all Corn without exogamic divisions corresponding to clans. In other words, each organ was once a body maintaining an independent existence with self sufficient functions; and the present unitary body is an agglomeration of such former separate bodies, which somehow have sunk to be merely organs.

The formula of thought which is involved in such a concept, is one that has been applied in ethnology a thousand times. First, according to this formula, there was a status radically different from the known one, but substantially stable. Then came a period of change, the mechanism of which is either ignored or also taken for granted. And finally the present condition of conservative equilibrium is reached, the forces working for alteration ceasing as obediently as their operation commenced mysteriously. This method of reasoning must contain an extraordinary power of fascination, or it would not have been attempted so often. It is difficult to decide whether the prevalence of such arguments is due rather to the misapplication, to civilizational facts, of mental processes justified in other fields of science by their success; or to an essentially naïve way of thinking. It is certain, however, that in all cases in which we have actual knowledge of changes in civilization, these changes do not take place in this manner; so that the formula may fairly be described as incompatible with a historical or social point of view.

#### POLARITY.

A characteristic and remarkable feature that runs right through the Pueblo clan system is the grouping of clans in pairs, or perhaps a tendency toward polarity within what is really one clan. This is very prominent among the Hopi, and confirmed by the Zuñi Raven-Macaw and Deer-

Antelope groups, as well as by the Zuñi tendency to recognize only pairs or fours of sub-clans, however nominal these may be. It is not directly established for the Keresan and Tanoan communities, but appears probable from the fact that the same pairs frequently recur as among the Hopi and Zuñi. This point seems a most fruitful one for investigation in the social life of the Rio Grande communities; but it must be pointed out that it is scarcely soluble without detailed data that involve the relation of individuals to the groups.

It is possible that this clan polarity is the basis of such moiety organization as exists among the Pueblos, and certain that the two phenomena are sufficiently similar to be fully understood only in connection with each other. It is strange that there has been no allusion to moieties among the Hopi, and no indication of their existence with the Zuñi except in mythology, while among the Keres and Tano modern authorities picture them as entering deeply into the life of the people. Several explanations of this discrepancy are possible. The special stimulus to which the Rio Grande pueblos were subjected by the enormously greater influence of the Spaniards upon them, has certainly been a factor of some sort. It may have caused a decadence of the clan and a corresponding exaltation of the moiety as an institution at the expense of the clan. But in this event the problem becomes what the native basis of this moiety development may have been. It is possible that moieties with political and ritualistic functions already existed on the Rio Grande without an equivalent importance at Zuñi and among the Hopi, and that the Tanoan and Keresan communities merely magnified an institution that they already possessed. It is theoretically conceivable that they had moieties with exogamic functions, though this is rendered very unlikely by the absence of any evidence of exogamic moieties among the Keresan people of Cochiti twenty years ago, as already discussed. It is also possible that the Rio Grande communities merely took over the idea of polarity from their clans, and extended it, from causes that are obscure but with which the presence of the Spaniard might be connected, to their towns. It does not appear that a present answer can be given to these questions; but they do not seem insoluble.

The nature of the symbolism involved in the clan duality or polarity is interesting, but no single consistent principle has yet become apparent. Rattlesnake and Panther, for instance, are both dangerous biting animals, and Cactus may be connected with them because its spine resembles a snake's tooth; but the association with these of Dove is obscure. Badger and Bear are similar animals, but it is not clear why Butterfly and Spider and Bluebird should be connected with them, although the linking of Rope with Spider is symbolically intelligible. Deer, Antelope, and the other horned animals form a natural group. The connection between Cloud or

Water and Corn is of course also fundamental in all aspects of Southwestern life. Squash and Crane may be a variant of the same association: the water bird is connected with an agricultural product. Even Lizard and Earth may possibly have an element in common, in the opposite idea of dryness. But what concept lies at the bottom of the linking of Rabbit with Tobacco, of Firewood with Coyote, of Ant with Deer-Antelope, and of a number of other groups, is as yet a complete mystery, whose elucidation will shed light on Pueblo esoteric thinking as well as social organization.

The opportunity to question an old Hopi who has been married at Zuñi since before Cushing's time, or about forty years, allowed me to put to a partial test the foregoing Pueblo clan system. The outcome shows considerable deviation from my reconstructed scheme; but it also evidences tolerable agreements, besides establishing two points: first, that the Pueblo Indians take for granted the identity of each other's clans; and second, that polarity is a distinctive trait of the Hopi concept of clans, while more foreign to the Zuñi mind.

My informant began by insisting that Hopi and Zuñi clans were identical. In substantiation, he gave a list of fourteen Hopi equivalents. Yellow Wood having been omitted by him, he replied to a question that this clan was not Hopi. This accords with its position in the foregoing theoretical table. Asked as to Hopi clans unknown to the Zuñi, he mentioned a few, but equated each with a clan already cited by him. He then affirmed that each Hopi clan had two names, but was a single body; and completed his second list on this basis of pure synonymy. These are his data in full, and in the order of mention:

<i>Zuñi</i>	<i>First Hopi Name</i>	<i>Second Hopi Name</i>
Badger	Honani	Ngahü or Ngayahü, roots dug by the badger
Sun	Tawa	Paho, prayer plume
Eagle	Kwa	Kotika, its nest
Pikchikwe	Pakap (reed)	Kyaji, macaw
Crane	Akok	(none)
Coyote	Isi	Mahsawü, ghost [Zuñi: happa]
Corn	Paki	O'omahtü, "rain"
Turkey	Kuyungu	Paho, prayer plume; because its feathers are used for these objects
Bear	Hon	Chüshi, bluebird
Frog	Pati	Patüpha, "rain"
Tobacco	Pipa	Tap, cottontail rabbit
Chaparral Cotk	Hospo	Natekiyunga, "hides quickly, invisible"
Tansy Mustard	Asa	Astekükpü, "dried remains in a dish" [Zuñi: he'letonne]
Deer, Antelope	Ala	Tsüpü, antelope

All the above first names were given with the suffix *-nyamü*, which appears to be equivalent to Zuñi *-kwe*, "people." When asked the meaning of *wingwü*, the informant equated it with Zuñi *annota*, "clan"; but he did not employ the term.

I have little hesitation in predicting the identifications of Pakap, reed, with Pikchikwe, and possibly others, to be erroneous even from the native point of view. But the equation of Bear and Bluebird, and of Tobacco and Rabbit, is in accord with previous data; and the occurrence of Paho as a second name for both Sun and Turkey, corroborates the connection of these two clans in a most satisfying manner. At any rate, rough as these data are, they give some measure of support to the generic contentions here advanced; and above all, indicate the rich though complicated results that await the prosecution of comparative field studies among the Southwestern tribes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though without direct bearing on the matter in hand, and probably far from errorless, I add the following religious equations by the same informant and a few made by an old Zuñi who had lived at Laguna.

Zuñi	Hopi	Laguna
<i>Fraternities</i>		
Ne'wekwe	Tatawa-kyamü	Kacalli
Lewwekwe	Nacotañwi-kyamü	[exists, name forgotten]
K'ocikwe	Ictüwiwim-kyamü	I'pani is similar
[Me'ululu, nearly like Makkyets'annakwe]	Wüwütcim-tü	
_____	A'al-tü [sic]	
[Payatamu tikkyanne]	Lelen-tü	
_____	Kwa'kwan-tü	
[Rattlesnake, not Zuñi]	Tcütüwim-kyamü, Tcüt'tcüt-tü	
Apilaciwwanni	_____	U'pi
_____	Yaya'wiwiñ-kyamü, jugglers who leaped from high places and were restored to life	
_____	Mamejoh-tü, women	
_____	Lalekon-tü, women	
_____	U'waktü-tü, women	
Makkyet'annakwe		Hakani
Sanniakyakwe		Cuhuna
("Susikikwe")		
Ci'wanakwe		Ciwana, Kwilaina
Uhhuhukwe		_____
Tcikkyalikwe		_____
[Knife, not Zuñi]		Hictianni
Sayapa masks in Cuma'kwe		Sayapa, extinct
<i>Officials</i>		
Ciwwann	Momüwite	
Pekkwinne	Tca'akimüñgvi	Tsa'tauhu'tcani
<i>Masked Gods</i>		
Koyyemshi	Tatataktcüt-mü	Kummayawici
Ca'lako	Ca'lako	_____
Pa'utiwa	Pa'utiwa	_____
Kyaklu	Eototo	_____

## ORIGIN AND MEANING.

It is important to guard against the assumption that the Pueblo clan system originated in its present form of a complete whole, and has survived unchanged since ancient times except for attrition and decay in spots. Such may be the fact. But it is also possible that the various correlated clans were once utterly unconnected, and have only gradually been coördinated. There may even once have been a separate and diverse system for each of the four stocks, the never ceasing intercourse between them bringing with the lapse of time a purely arbitrary interrelation and assimilation. Snake and Panther may be clans that were always one, or always two moieties of a unit. Or, it is conceivable that the Snake clan is an old product of the western pueblos and the Panther of the eastern, and that they have been only artificially equivalated by the natives on the assumption that all Pueblo communities must follow the same plan, however different their nomenclature — much as the Romans and Greeks made the entirely unhistorical identification of Odin with Mercury and of Ptah with Hephaistos on the ground that the gods of other nations must at bottom be the same as their own. It is idle to speculate upon these possibilities between which only investigation upon the spot can ultimately decide. What is clear is that there is in the Pueblo mind, and evidently has been for centuries past, a concept of a definite and characteristic scheme of clan organization which is not Hopi or Zuñi or Tewa but common Pueblo.

It is not impossible that when the present imperfect and partly tentative system has been more fully worked out, a grouping may develop in which the total number of clans or clan pairs is significant. The twenty-eight clans

Sayatacca	Sayatacca	Tei'tsinuka
Sayati'a	Wükükwat	He'hemi
Hehhe'a	Hehhe'a	
Yamuhakto	Yamuhakto	
Sallmopiya	Hühya	
Wotemla		Kaya'a
Ky'annakwe		Tuluka
Atoele		Kuyautsa
Cumaikoli	Cumaikoli	Cumaikoli, a former fraternity whose masks are now in Zuñi
		Hemuci
Hemuikwe		Tcakkwena
Tcakkwena		Hematatsi
<i>Various</i>		
Kokko, masked dancer	Katcina	Kā'tsina
Tikkyanne, fraternity	(-wiñ-kyamü)	Tcayāni
Ko-tikkyanne		Kā'tsina tcayāni
Klwwitsinne		Kā'tsina katcuti (house)

that are now apparent may reduce to twice six pairs, or increase to four times four double clans. Of course, the more perfect any such system, the less likely is it to have had actual existence in history, and Cushing's work reveals the danger of merging the real in the esoteric. But, as just pointed out, we do not yet know whether the system as such ever had much substance or was always a schematic device. The problem of the historicity of the system is a distinct one from that of the essential nature of the system; and in the main a subsequent problem.<sup>1</sup>

There are some indications already of a grouping of the paired clans into fours and an association of these with directions. Arrow-Sun-Eagle-Turkey is as yet incapable of subdivision. Kachina includes Raven-Macaw as well as Pine-Cottonwood. It is tempting to connect Rattlesnake-Panther with Deer-Antelope because the Rattlesnake appears in myth and ritual as a horned water monster. It is suggestive that the Hopi class Snake and Horn as the two clans or clan groups that came from the north. Squash-Crane and Cloud-Corn also can hardly have escaped association. Both, according to the Hopi, are from the south. The other southern clans of the Hopi are Lizard-Earth and Rabbit-Tobacco; but to predict now that these were therefore connected in the native mind, would be venturesome, although they are usually mentioned in juxtaposition by native informants.<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that the outcome of further studies in this direction will be, literally, that instead of the native traditions explaining the existing social organization, the scheme of this organization will explain the traditions.

<sup>1</sup> There are two references which make it appear that there may be a distinct recognition by the Hopi of two orders of social classification. In the parts of Victor Mindeleff's "Study of Pueblo Architecture" (Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., VIII) compiled by Cosmos Mindeleff from materials collected by A.-M. Stephen, there are these statements: "These people are socially divided into family groups called wingwu, the descendants of sisters, and groups of wingwu tracing descent from the same female ancestor, and having a common totem called myumu (*sic*)" (p. 16). This seems to make the *myumu* a clan and the *wingwu* a matrilinear group of actual blood relatives within the clan. In the list of families on pp. 105-108, the clans referred to are listed, on the first mention of each, as *winwuh* or *nyumuh* (*sic*). Thus:

Bakab .....	winwuh .....	Reed
Honau .....	nyumuh .....	Bear

In this way Young Corn Plant, Jack Rabbit, Bear, Parroquet, Eagle, Hawk, Mescal Cake, and Kachina are listed as *nyumuh*, and Burrowing Owl, Reed, Sand, Badger, Coyote, Lizard, Squash, Sun, Moth, and Crane as *winwuh*, while Spider, Bow, and Rattlesnake are not identified as either. Here it would be tempting to consider the *nyumuh* as "phratries" and the *winwuh* as "clans," an interpretation not wholly incompatible with the words of the previous passage. But unfortunately, several of these eight "phratral" *nyumuh* appear in the formal classifications of Stephen and Fewkes as clans, sub-clans, or synonyms, while on the other hand a number of the "gentile" *winwuh* are clearly not such minor divisions but groups of "phratral" size. The hint for all its promise of being an important clue therefore ends in a conflict and doubt.

<sup>2</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep., XIX, 585 (four times), 651, VIII, 39.

## RELATIONS WITH NON-PUEBLO TRIBES.

A rich reward bids fair to crown a penetrating but critical endeavor to connect the clan system of the Southwestern Athabascans with that of the Pueblos. In spite of the overlay of place names, it is clear from the available literature that there is some totemic basis for Navaho gentile organization. The naming of clans after places is evidently a mere disguise or form of appearance. It is likely to be direct Navaho influence that has led the Hopi to enter so fully upon localization of their clans in their traditions, where Zuni myth, and apparently Keres and Tanoan too, virtually ignore this element. The matter is however too intricate to pursue here, and must be left to investigators of the Navaho and Apache or to a thorough comparative study of the interrelations of the nomadic and town tribes of the Southwest.

Outside the Pueblo region, and in many respects — such as ceremonialism — well outside of Pueblo influence, are a people with a clan organization of definite but light structure: the Mohave. The Navaho veil the presumable totemic basis of their system under appellations of localities. The Mohave avow the totemic reference, but express it in their institutions only through the names of female clan members, — though gentile reckoning in itself is patrilinear. Of about two dozen Mohave totemic implications, half can be placed outright in the Pueblo clan scheme: Cactus, Deer, Mountain Sheep, Cloud, Frog, Food Obtained by Agriculture, Mescal, Tobacco, Fire, Coyote, Sun, Eagle. Others probably correlate: Owl, Screech Owl, Moon, Wind, and Wood Rat; while most of the remainder relate to animals and plants not belonging to the Pueblo area, but probably with equivalents there. Such are Mesquite Bean, Mesquite Screw, Quail, and Beaver. These correspondences must be judged in the light of the fact that the Mohave clans existed in a setting deeply different from that of the Pueblos. There was not a mask, a priest, a kiva, a religious society, a prayer for rain, a scheme of color symbolism, a prayer plume, or any sprinkling of meal, among these half Californian people of the lower Colorado; nor a stone house, a town, nor a trace of mother right.

## STRENGTH OF THE GROUPS.

A comparison of the populational strength of the various clan groups at Zuni, on the three Hopi mesas, at Hano, and at Cochiti, gives reasonable correspondences for the various communities, especially the larger ones in which fewer clans have died out. For convenient comparison the clan

groups are arranged in the order of their size at Zuñi, and the numbers for the other towns have been multiplied by a simple factor yielding a total approximately the same as that of the Zuñi population. All the numbers have been slightly rounded.<sup>1</sup>

## STRENGTH OF PUEBLO CLANS.

	Zuñi	Hopi, West Mesa: Oraibi  x 2	Hopi, Middle Mesa: Mishong- novi and Shipaulovi  x 4	Hopi, East Mesa: Walpi and Sichumovi  x 5	Hano  x 10	Cochiti  x 6
Sun, Eagle, Turkey	520	410	520	90	—	25
Dogwood	430	110	60	55	580	565
Corn, Frog	195	100	200	225	560	120
Badger, Bear	195	210	560	160	140	—
Crane	100	20	60	—	—	90
Coyote	75	210	80	80	—	130
Tansy-Mustard, Chaparral Cock	60	—	—	255	—	205
Tobacco	45	110	20	185	150	—
Deer, Antelope	20	—	—	295	—	—
Rattlesnake	—	10	—	120	—	—
Lizard, Earth	—	220	20	145	150	—
Of unknown affiliation	10	90	—	—	—	490
	1650	1490	1520	1610	1580	1625

It is evident that there is no great anomaly in the proportional representation of the clan groups at Zuñi. On the other hand, there are very notable differences between the three Hopi mesas, which would have been further accentuated if individual towns instead of town groups had been listed. With such diversity prevailing between the members of a closely knit and isolated body of towns of the same speech, it is rather surprising that Hano and Cochiti do not differ more from Zuñi. It is also evident that it is the Middle Mesa among the Hopi that in its clan distribution reveals the closest similarity with Zuñi. It is however on the East mesa that the Zuñi claim one of the towns as their own, an assertion that is

<sup>1</sup> For Walpi, Sichumovi, and Hano there is the personal census by Fewkes; for Oraibi, Mishongnovi, and Shipaulovi the house count of Stephen-Mindeleff; for Cochiti Starr's census. The Zuñi figures are the number of inhabited houses multiplied by seven and a half.

said to be confirmed by the Hopi.<sup>1</sup> It is extremely desirable that further data of this kind be obtained for some of the other Keresan and Tanoan communities.

As regards the clan groups, it is plain that what is abnormal about the Dogwood or Kachina group at Zuñi is not its size but the fact that it has been consolidated into a single clan. It is the Hopi who are exceptional, perhaps, in having this group weakly developed in numbers. The Arrow-Sun-Eagle-Turkey group is very variable; perhaps because it is not a true group. Cloud-Corn, as might be expected, runs strongly everywhere, though it shows no evidence of being the dominant group among any people. Much the same can be said of Badger-Bear. The lack of Lizard-Earth clans at Zuñi as well as at Cochiti may reflect a Zuñi-Keresan peculiarity. It is likely from all the evidence available that the Zuñi bonds to Laguna, Acoma, and Sia were at least as close as with the Hopi. Very striking is the almost total absence of the Deer-Antelope and Rattlesnake-Panther groups except on the Hopi East Mesa, in spite of the comparative ritualistic importance of these clans at Zuñi as well as among the Hopi in general.

#### RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS OF CLANS.

#### RELATIONS TO THE FRATERNITIES.

One of the matters of greatest interest concerning the Pueblo clan is its relation to the religious society or fraternity. That such connection exists in some measure, is indubitable. The very resemblance in size, in name or totemic reference, in the fact of organization as part of a scheme, must inevitably cause an approach and partial assimilation that results in certain connections. The clan and the fraternity can be viewed as expressions of two distinct needs or impulses, one social, the other religious; but this fundamental diversity of direction would not prevent one influencing the other, or both taking the same color and similar outlines under the impress of the general culture in which they flourished.

But it is superficial to assume that because the Pueblo clan and fraternity reveal certain associations, they are at bottom one, and that all

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<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, p. 411, note b. Compare Fewkes, xix, 584, 610, 1900. The only specific resemblance of the East Mesa to Zuñi is the presence of the Tansy Mustard group. This may rest on an actual movement of a body of families; and this movement, vaguely augmented in tradition, may be the basis of the native belief in a connection between the towns as such.

discrepancies between them are only the distortions due to the meaningless accidents of time. On the ground of theory I could no more believe that the Pueblo fraternities are merely clans ceremonially organized than I can adhere to the view that the clans were once separate local communities.

The question cannot however be settled or even argued with much profit on the basis of opinion, and what is needed for progress toward its solution is facts. We must therefore be grateful to Dr. Fewkes for having presented a valuable body of specific evidence on one aspect of the problem among the Hopi.<sup>1</sup> He gives most of the male and part of the female membership, by clan affiliation, of the fraternities at Walpi. Each of these religious bodies is traditionally linked with a clan or group of clans, which are supposed to have founded or introduced the fraternity and its ceremonies. Dr. Fewkes's data may be summarized as follows:—

Fraternity	Traditional Founding Clans	Membership by Clans												Total <sup>2</sup>
		Snake	Horn	Flute	Squash	Cloud	Lizard-Earth	Rabbit-Tobacco	Tansy Mustard	Kachina	Firewood	Reed	Badger-Bear	
Antelope	Horn	3	1	1	—	3	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	10
Snake	Snake	7	1	1	—	7	1	4	7	1	1	2	3	35
Flute	Flute	3	—	2	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	11 <sup>3</sup>
Aaltu	Squash	2	2	1	—	4	6	5	6	2	2	1	6	37
Wüwütcimtu	Squash	5	2	—	—	1	3	3	7	2	3	1	—	27
Tataukyamu	Rabbit-Tobacco	2	4	4	—	3	2	6	2	2	3	2	4	34
Kwakwantu	Cloud	2	1	2	—	7	2	4	3	1	—	—	3	25
Lalakofñtu	Cloud	—	1	—	—	6	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	8 <sup>3</sup>
Mamzrautu	Squash	4	—	—	—	3	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	10 <sup>3</sup>
		28	12	11	—	36	15	23	30	8	11	7	16	

It is clear from these statistics that there is a very slender tendency for the traditional founding clan to be more heavily represented in its fraternity, proportionally, than other clans; and that, conversely, the members of a clan incline slightly more to membership in the society traditionally asso-

<sup>1</sup> In "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *op. cit.*, 622-631.

<sup>2</sup> Excludes members of Hano clans and a few doubtful cases.

<sup>3</sup> Data incomplete.

ciated with their clan than to membership in others. But the predominant impress of the figures is in the other direction, namely toward the conviction that membership in all fraternities is shared, and nearly equally, by members of all clans. Thus Horn has only 3 members out of 10 in the Antelope society, Snake 7 out of 35 in the Snake society, Flute 3 out of 11 in the Flute society, Rabbit-Tobacco 6 of 34 in the Tataukyamu, Cloud 7 of 25 in Kwakwantu; besides which there are three societies associated with a clan group which is extinct. The only exception are the six Cloud people among eight recorded Lalakoñtu members; but there the data are avowedly very imperfect. The results are the same when the figures are read the other way around: 21 of 28 religious memberships of Snake clan people are in fraternities other than the Snake society, 11 out of 12 for Horn, 2 of 11 for Flute, and so on. Even the Cloud clan has 13 memberships in its two associated societies, but 23 in other fraternities.

I cannot therefore agree with Dr. Fewkes in accepting the elaborated native view that the Snake society ceremonies were originally a "zoototemic" clan ritual of the Snake clan, and that subsequently "the advent of other families" has "changed the social connections of the personnel" of the society and altered the purpose of the ritual, "so that at present it is a prayer for rain and for the growth of corn — a secondary development due mainly to an arid environment." That this interpretation is logically possible, is evident enough. But it is precisely something to be demonstrated instead of postulated. And Dr. Fewkes's own evidence so far appears to be overwhelmingly unfavorable to his view.

That there is some leaning of the Snake clan toward the Snake society and vice versa, and so on, proves nothing as to origins or even former status. Even if a clan and a society sprang from utterly diverse sources and impulses, the mere fact that they had a common name or had become symbolically associated, would be sufficient to produce such a tendency. Having a Snake clan and a Snake society, the Hopi would be an extraordinary people if they did not in some way connect the two, positively or negatively, no matter how unrelated the pair of bodies might be in source or purpose. In fact, one might incline to expect a stronger connection than actually is evinced.

When now we turn to Zuñi, there is a significant statement by Mrs. Stevenson on the last page of her great work: —

What part clanship played in the dawn of the ritualistic life of the Zuñi is yet to be determined. It is certain that for a long time past membership at large in the fundamental religious bodies of the Zuñi has not been dependent on ties of clanship, though in certain cases succession to office in fraternities does depend on clanship.

I am able to confirm Mrs. Stevenson's verdict in the fullest degree. The fraternity affiliations of the fifty-six members of the Coyote clan (Table 7) are distributed as follows:—

Makkyetlannakwe	3 persons in house 184
Makkyets'annakwe	1 in 424, 1 in 454a
Sanniakyakwe	1 in 186
Shuma'kwe	1 in 186
Shi'wanakwe	1 in 323, 2 in 424
Chikkyalikwe	1 in 440
Uhhuhukwe	1 in 369, 1 ex 369
Peshatsillokwe	1 in 538b, 1 ex 454a
Hallokwe	1 ex 424
Apitlashiwwanni	1 ex 186

Total, 17 memberships in 10 fraternities, with 3 fraternities not represented. The largest number of Coyote people in any one society is three. It is particularly significant that there is only one Coyote clan member of the Sanniakyakwe; for the Sanniakyakwe or "Hunters" are often loosely though improperly referred to as Suskikwe, which means either "coyote clan" or "coyote fraternity"; in fact, Suskikwe is probably the more frequent designation of the society in popular usage. A connection of this clan and fraternity would therefore seem specifically indicated; yet is not at all borne out by the facts.

It is also plain that members of the same family tend to join the same fraternity: three people of house 184 in Makkyetlannakwe, two of 424 in Shi'wanakwe, two of 369 in Uhhuhukwe.

In recording the census of the Tobacco clan (Table 8), I secured also the fraternity affiliations of men married into the clan. In this case the household solidarity comes out even more clearly.

*Kin group in houses 72, 557, 561:*

Makkyetlannakwe: 3; her mother's sister's daughter 12; husband of sister of 3; husband of sister of mother of 3  
Shuma kwe: mother's brother of 3

*Kin group in houses (42), 328:*

Shuma'kwe: 1

*Kin group ex house (223):*

House 517a: Makkyets'annakwe: 6; her sister 7

House 549a: Shi'wanakwe: 36; her mother's brother 37  
Hallokwe and Tlewwekwe: brother of 37

House 558: Hallokwe: 33; his sister's daughter 27; his sister's son 29  
Makkyetlannakwe: husband of sister of mother of 27  
Makkyets'annakwe: 32

It is clear what happens. A person belongs to a society. One of the family falls sick—a husband, wife, child, sister's child, or a brother or

mother's brother married out. A fraternity is to be called in to cure the patient, and receive him or her into its ranks subsequently. Two times out of three, the fraternity is chosen which already has affiliations in that family. An Uhhuhukwe thinks of the Uhhuhukwe to treat his nephew or wife or child rather than the Ne'wekwe or Makkyets'annakwe in which he may happen to have no relatives. In short, it is blood relationship, and beyond this common home life, that most frequently determine choice of fraternity; not clan pertinence. We are confronted by another instance of kinship and the house, in other words familiar personal association, being the decisive factor at Zuñi in affairs which among other clan divided peoples have generally been assumed to be ruled by clan laws and clan connections.

To clinch the matter, I reversed my procedure, and recorded the clan affiliations of the members of a fraternity. Table 11.

TABLE 11.

## MEMBERSHIP OF THE NE'WEKWE FRATERNITY

Name	Sex	Clan	Father's Clan	Mode of Entry	Notes
<i>Amossonna, Heads or Officers</i>					
1 Kuwacci	M	Cr	Be	Taboo	Nemossonna, head of fraternity. This is the only office that must be filled by a member of a specified clan. The reason is that the Ne'wekwe fetish is Crane.
2 Annu'u	M	P	Cn	Sickness	Akwamossi, medicine head
3 Lu'nasi	M	Ba	?	Sickness	Pekkwinne, speaker. <i>Resigned.</i>
4 Kyacna	M	Cr	Cn	Trespass	Nemossonna tea'le, child of head of fraternity, has care of ne'et-tone, the fraternity fetish. First cousin of 1.
5 Tsatisilu	M	Ba	P	Sickness	No title, has to do with the prayer plumes. Husband of first cousin of mother of 1. Fraternity father of 42, i. e., he initiated her.
<i>Ne'wekwe Tikkyillaponna, Members</i>					
6 La'tiluhsi	M	Ba	P	Transfer	From Peccatsillokwe
7 Ci'pala	M	E	?	Sickness	
8 Nu'iti	M	E	Nav.	Point of death	Younger brother of 7
9 Tsa'tsana	M	P	?	Trespass	Is Ky'akkwemossi-Lacci of the tribe
10 Huŋkye	M	Cn	P	Sickness	Son of 9
11 Mawwe	M	Tk	E	Sickness	
12 Kaimutiwa	M	P	E?	Sickness	
13 We'tci'i	M	E	Tk	Sickness	
14 We'pac	M	S	Cr	Sickness	Son of 4
15 Ha'mona	M	Ba	?	Sickness	
16 Tsa'ti'eluhsi	M	P	E?	Sickness	Half-brother by same mother of 12
17 Commici	M	Tk	S	Transfer	From Uhhuhukwe
18 Layasiati'ts'a	F	Tk	S	Sickness	Younger sister of 17
19 Lautihyalu'ts'a	F	Cr	Tk	Sickness	
20 Tsayati'ts'a	F	Tk	?	Sickness	
21	F	E	Cr	Sickness	Mother-in-law of Pe'ussi
22 "Kwanatelita"	F	F	Be	Sickness	
23 "Lo'kane"	M	F	E	Sickness	
24 E'ts'ena ("Ne'santu")	M	P	E	Sickness	Son of 8. Lives in the Ne'wekwe fraternity house

TABLE 11.—(Continued).

Name	Sex	Clan	Father's Clan	Mode of Entry	Notes
25 Laya'ayati'ts'a	F	F	?	Transfer	From Peccatsillokwe. Mother of 23.
26 Tcihna	M	Cn	P	Trespass	Fraternity father of 1.
27	F	E	?	Sickness	Mother of 7 and 8
28 Laitisilu'ts'a	F	E	Cn	Sickness	Sister's daughter of 27
29	F	E	?	Sickness	Wife of 16
30	F	E	P	Sickness	Daughter of 16 and 29
31 Tsena'itti	M	S	P	Sickness	
32 Ts'ayu'iti'tsa	F	Cn	Ba	Sickness	
33 Tsaniasi'ts'a	F	Ba	?	Sickness	Stepmother of 5
34 "Manuelita"	F	Tk	Ba	Sickness	Resigned
35 "Pintu"	M	P	Be	Sickness	Resigned
36 Hu'ni	M	Tk	S	Sickness	Resigned
37 Ayyuyisiwa	M	Tk	S	Sickness	Younger brother of 36. Resigned
38 Kyenti	M	Tk	S	Sickness	Younger brother of 36 and 37. Resigned
39 "Husantonio"	M	Ba	?	Sickness	Father of 34. Resigned
40 La'tomai	M	P	Cr	Sickness	Younger brother of the recently deceased wife of the Kommossonna, who was also a member
41 Wayahsiti'ts'a	F	Cn	P?	Sickness	Wife of 9
42 (Wife of Tsiwahti)	F	E	?	Sickness	Sister of 27, mother of 28

## NOTES ON TABLE 11.

There are only two "orders" or classes (the Zuni call these tikkyawe, the same as the fraternities themselves) in this society. The *ne'wekwe* are the members of common rank, who have only a baton or "bauble." The *akwawe tikkyillaponna* or "medicine fraternity having" constitute the order of those who cure sickness, and are *miuilli*, that is, have *miwe*, or ceremonial feathered corn ears. This order is also called *onna-yanakya* "road complete" that is, completing the path of life of the sick to its full end.

7 of the 42 members, including one of the officials, have left off active participation in the society's doings. This is called *tcunnekyä*, the common word for "finished, ceased."

There are five modes of becoming a member.

Taboo, or *ieckwihkyä*, touching the privates of a member while he is *teckwi* or

sacred. It is significant that the head of the society is the only present member who entered by this method.

Trespass, or *allukya*, "be snared or caught," compulsory initiation in consequence of entry into a ceremonial session of the fraternity. Children who blunder into the room are said to be made members; but it is of interest that the only three Ne'wekwe who joined by *allukya* are old men, who undoubtedly knew what they were doing. This, like the last, seems therefore to be a ritualistic device to enable voluntary affiliation to take place without sickness.

Sickness, or *we'awakya*, is the commonest mode of joining the fraternity: 34 of 42 members entered in this way. It is not necessary for the recovered patient to join the society that cured him. Payments may be made instead to the particular official that extended the treatment, and the patient be "given" to him as a member of his family; but the fraternity is often entered. The initiation takes place at the next regular meeting for the purpose. The strong preponderance of this avenue of affiliation,—particularly in a society whose public rituals are marked by buffoonery more excessive than that of the masked Koyyemshi and similar to that of the Rio Grande Koshairi,—stamps the fraternities of the Zuñi as eminently curative in their avowed purpose, and goes far to explain why there are no true shamans in this tribe. The ritualized medical societies have evidently left no need and little place for the individual who receives power directly from personal association with the supernatural world. When Zuñi home remedies or treatment by an individual fraternity member fail, the society is called in. This is not saying that the Zuñi fraternities began their existence as medical bodies or originated in associations of shamans. The Hopi societies are rather devoted to rain making; those of the Sia approximate more closely to the Zuñi fraternities. Either the Hopi or the Sia-Zuñi type of fraternity may have been the more original, or they may both be modifications of organizations with a still different purpose. The point obviously cannot be determined by a study of one tribe alone. We must know the functions of the societies among all the Pueblos and if possible their neighbors, and be able to realize justly their relations to the other manifestations of Pueblo civilization, before an answer to the question of former type and course of development can be given. To formulate a history on the basis of the present societies in a single tribe, or the geographic environment of that people, is purely speculative.

In case of critical illness, a patient is occasionally initiated immediately, that is on the fourth night, by the Kokko-Lanna or great god and two associates, who visit him in his own home. This seems to be the only occasion on which this fraternity or any other uses masks or impersonates gods. This procedure is called *acceni'a heccina pu'akya*, "about to die hurriedly initiate." There is only one such Ne'wekwe member at present, and Kokko-Lanna initiations by the two fraternities that practise this method seem ordinarily to occur only at intervals of some years.

A member of any fraternity can join any other — except the Apitlashiwwanni and perhaps the K'oshikwe — by voluntary transfer. He is then only washed, his initiation into his former society apparently sufficing for the new one. There are three Ne'wekwe who have come in by transfer; but it is probable that most of the seven who have "resigned" have become members of other bodies.

The clan affiliations of the Ne'wekwe are distributed as follows: —

	Clan	Father's Clan
Crane	3	3
Pikchikwe	7	6
Eagle	9	3
Badger	6	2
Sun	2	5
Turkey	8	2
Corn	4	3
Frog	3	—
Bear	—	3
Undetermined	—	15
	42	42

The only connection which the fraternity has with a clan is with Crane. As Mrs. Stevenson says, the head of the Ne'wekwe must be Crane. It seems that this is because the ettonne or fetish of the society is Crane, that is, in the keeping of some member of the Crane clan. It appears below that the relation of non-fraternity priests to clans is essentially of the same nature: the ettonne of each priesthood is associated with a clan.

Family groups are again strongly represented: —

1, 4, 5, 14, 33  
 7, 8, 24, 27, 28, 42  
 12, 16, 29, 30  
 17, 18  
 23, 25  
 36, 37, 38  
 34, 39  
 9, 10, 41  
 40 and a dead sister

This makes 27 persons, or two thirds the membership of the society, in eight family groups; and my tracing of kinship is very likely incomplete.

The only specific references to clan membership functions in fraternity organizations which I have found in Mrs. Stevenson's work are the following,—most of which refer to one society.

The directors or heads of the Shiwannakwe and Saniakiakwe societies are of the Turkey clan, those of the Newekwe and Hlewekwe of the Crane clan. The pekwin or deputy<sup>1</sup> of the latter fraternity must be Corn clan.<sup>2</sup>

The Hlewekwe Hlemmosona (sword director) must be Crane clan. Other offices are filled by the Pichikwe clan, while the warrior must be of the Bear clan.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally: "speaker."

<sup>2</sup> P. 40.

<sup>3</sup> P. 449.

In the Hlewekwe ceremonies there is a procession to carry a bundle of prayer plumes to a spring. This is headed by a Crane man, personating the original director. He is followed by four representatives of the beast gods. The first warrior personates the Panther of the North and must be Corn clan, there being no Panther clan; the second and third personate the Bear and Badger and must be Bear and Badger clan respectively; the fourth, who represents the White Wolf, may be of any clan.<sup>1</sup>

On the fourth day of a Hlewekwe initiation, the sword director, warrior, and six members belonging to the Crane clan, go to the house of the hle-ettone, while a Dogwood member visits the house of the Shiwanni of the West to receive a prayer plume.<sup>2</sup>

Later in the Hlewekwe ceremonies, two Bear clan members sprinkle meal upon notched sticks and scrape these.<sup>3</sup> During the next song, the Muchailhanona, who must be Pichikwe, or child of Pichikwe, appears.<sup>4</sup>

The director of the Shumaakwe fraternity must be of Chaparral Cock clan and his pekwin a child of Chaparral Cock. Other officers must be Crane, Pichikwe, and Frog, or children thereof.<sup>5</sup>

In the Great Fire fraternity, the medicine water maker and his speaker are always Eagle clan or child of Eagle, the sword director and his speaker Badger or child of Badger. The mosona or director, and other officers, it appears, can be of any clan.<sup>6</sup>

In the Bow priest initiation, two young men, of Deer and Bear clan, stand north and south of the Shipapolima excavation and mounds and clasp hands.<sup>7</sup> The holder of the scalps in the circle dance around the pole is always Coyote clan or child of Coyote.<sup>8</sup>

I have only one observation of my own to add. No Badger person can become a Tlewwekwe. A young Badger man recently touched a Tlew-

<sup>1</sup> P. 445. This is a standard Zuñi symbolism — Panther-North, Bear-West, and so on. The clan selections have simply been made, inadequately it is true, but as nearly as might be, with the purpose of expressing the symbol-complex.

<sup>2</sup> P. 453. The clan participations here have reference to the fetishes or ettowe of the fraternity. The Tle'ettonne or fetish *par excellence* of the Tlewwekwe is kept in the Crane house 177. A second fetish also sometimes called Tle'ettonne is the Mu'ettonne, or fetish of the Muwaya ceremony, which rests in Corn house 38, together with a specifically Corn clan fetish. (Just so Crane house 286 harbors the Crane clan fetish and that of the Ne'wekwe which compels a Crane director of that society.) Mrs. Stevenson, p. 444, speaks of the Mu'ettonne as "the cherished possession" of the Crane clan. In the myth, three other fetishes were later designated as Mu'ettowe: these belonged to the Corn, Badger, and Tansy Mustard clans (p. 446). These would appear to be the clan fetishes numbers 47, 44, and 51 of my Table 12. As for the Shiwanni of the West, he is Dogwood clan, according to Mrs. Stevenson, p. 167.— In this matter then, the association of fraternity and clan is wholly through the fetishes owned or used by the fraternity.

<sup>3</sup> P. 473. Mrs. Stevenson does not explicitly state that this clan choice is regulated, but such seems to be her implication.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 447, 473. This personage is the leader of the procession that carries the fetishes just referred to.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 532, 411.

<sup>6</sup> P. 486.

<sup>7</sup> P. 584. The author is describing a specific representation of a ceremony, and does not state whether this selection was an accident or part of the prescribed ritual. The latter seems more likely. On the other hand, in a list of participants in the circle dance of the Bow priesthood (p. 605), the clan affiliations are probably meaningless, so far as they do not relate to priests.

<sup>8</sup> P. 605.

wekwe official while he was teshkwi or taboo, with the intent of becoming a member; but was declared ineligible on account of his clan.

The names of the Zuñi fraternities have little similarity to the designations of Pueblo clans, and almost none to those of the Zuñi themselves. The Great Fire and Little Fire societies might be connected with the Coyote-Firewood-Fire group (makkye is a firebrand or glowing coal, not fire as such); but derive their name much more probably from the fire-playing and fire-eating jugglery of these fraternities. There are Ant and Cactus and Wood clans in other pueblos; but the Zuñi societies of these names seem to be named from their practices of curing illness brought on by ants, of whipping with cactus stems, and of swallowing wooden swords or staves. The Bow priests are so called as a warrior society, whose heads constitute the secular or executive arm of the Ashiwwanni priesthood. The names of other fraternities are either obscure or trivial. The Shi'wanakwe are those who do not abstain from meat, according to Mrs. Stevenson,<sup>1</sup> the Shuma'kwe are named from Shuminna, a spiral shell.<sup>2</sup> The latter etymology seems Zuñi, but is probably false. The Shuma'kwe keep the Shumaikoli or Shumeyekoli masks, which are known also in eastern Pueblos; in fact the Laguna Shumaikoli masks are in the keeping of the Zuñi Shuma'kwe today. Before the Zuñi etymology can be accepted, it will therefore have to be proved that there is no satisfactory Keresan or Tanoan one. Mrs. Stevenson renders Uhhuhukwe as "Eagle-down" and Chikkyalikwe as "Rattlesnake." U- is the stem for down, wool, cotton, or foam, and chi- is the first syllable of the word rattlesnake, tcittola. But the remaining elements of both names are obscure, and I have never obtained a translation of either. The same is true of Ne'wekwe, Mrs. Stevenson's "Galaxy" society. Finally the Peshatsillokwe or "Cimex" fraternity is so called because when this society seceded from Little Fire, its members found their new headquarters infested with bed bugs.<sup>3</sup> When a people establishes its nomenclature upon such incidents, it would be far fetched to look for constant esoteric connections between the designations of its fraternities and its clans.

So far as the Pueblos as a whole are concerned, all that it is possible to say in the present state of knowledge, which leaves us still ignorant as to the real identities of the societies in the various pueblos, is that fraternities of certain names, such as Knife, Ant, Snake, Flute, and Firebrand, have a wide distribution, and that some of these appellations appear also as names or synonyms of clans; but that, if there is connection between the two sets

<sup>1</sup> P. 428.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 550.

of designations, the clans are as likely to have received their nomenclature from the societies as the societies from the clans.

In fine, the Zuñi fraternity is, if not primarily, at least largely, a body of religious physicians. Membership is not limited by sex, is voluntary, and is not clan controlled but tends to follow blood kinship and marriage connection. Such slender relations as the fraternities have to clans are expressed in the personnel of their officers, but seem to rest basically on the association of their fetishes with particular clans.

I suspect that this description will prove to apply fairly well to the societies of the other Pueblo Indians. That membership follows personal relationship rather than clan adherence at Sia, and that at least a considerable part of the function of the societies there is curative, appears from Mrs. Stevenson's valuable essay on that pueblo,<sup>1</sup> and may therefore be inferred for the Keres at large, and as probable for the Tanoans. At Hopi we hear more of rain making than doctoring, and more of "priests" than of "theurgists." The fetishes are also relatively less important than at Zuñi; or else have been unduly neglected by students. But the statistical studies of Dr. Fewkes prove the slightness of the bond between clan and society, except as a theoretical and mythological one, and consequently increase the probability of the factor of blood lineage being potent. That each of the groups of pueblos, each town even, will show a certain individuality in the character of its fraternities, is to be expected; and it is likely that the Hopi will prove to be the most peculiar. But the common element is bound to outweigh idiosyncracies, in so restricted and special a culture as that of the Pueblos; and the clan and kin relations of the fraternities everywhere in the area may therefore be anticipated to be similar to those here outlined.

#### RELATIONS TO THE KOKKO CEREMONIES.

On the whole, the religious functions of the Zuñi clans come out most markedly in the ritual institutions other than the fraternities, those connected with the Ko-tikkyanne, the "god-society" or "masked-dancer-

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 112. The Sia Querranna society has a reduced membership of three: the honaaité or head (corresponding to the Zuñi mossona), the vicar (evidently the Zuñi pekkwinne), and a woman; besides a five year old boy novitiate. "Three generations are represented in this society: father, son, and grandson." The lineage is paternal, Sia clans maternal: thus close kinship is the determining factor. Compare p. 76: "The honaaité (of the Snake fraternity) and his younger brother were joined by the third member of the society." Fragments like these indicate that a condition of society closely parallel to that obtaining at Zuñi will be found among all or nearly all the Pueblo Indians as soon as attention is directed to other matters than the clan pattern that has so long been uppermost in our minds.

society." It is in these ceremonies, with but few exceptions, that all the masks are worn; it is with them that the kiwuitsiwe or kivas are associated; and it is they that are almost wholly concerned with rain and are directed by the ashiwwanni or "rain-priests," while the fraternities heal the sick or demonstrate magic, and have officials but no true priests. The Kotikkyanne rituals often relate to shrines, the fraternities use altars and sand paintings.<sup>1</sup> Finally, initiation into all fraternities is optional, and membership is open to women as well as men,<sup>1</sup> whereas the Kotikkyanne includes all males but no females,<sup>2</sup> and entrance is compulsory.<sup>3</sup>

It is rather remarkable that the clans, or individuals specifically chosen because of their clan membership, should enter rather more frequently into the communal rituals of the Kotikkyanne than into fraternity ceremonies, since in names, in size, in their total number, and in the circumstance of their being equivalent units in a mass, the clan and the fraternity are similar. Yet such seems to be the fact. If confirmed by further researches, this unexpected correlation must lead to two inferences: first, that the Pueblo fraternity is, as already argued, only secondarily connected with the clan and not organically an outgrowth of it; and secondly, that the clan as such is to the native mind at bottom not an integral unit, like a group of blood relatives, but essentially a schematic subdivision, and perhaps a more or less artificial one, of the community as a whole. The latter conception is one which it has been my effort to develop in just measure on a variety of grounds throughout this work.

These are the principal of Mrs. Stevenson's references to functions of clan members in the Kokko rituals:—

<sup>1</sup> Excepting the Cactus and Bow priest fraternities, which are essentially warriors' societies.

<sup>2</sup> Except in rare and special circumstances.

<sup>3</sup> This dualism is absolutely fundamental to an understanding of Zufi religious institutions. It has been well emphasized by Mrs. Stevenson through the complete separation of the two groups of activities in her book. The tribal rites of the Kotikkyanne she treats on pages 20 to 282, and separates by her account of arts, customs, and medicine from her description of the fraternities on pages 407 to 608. It appears that the distinction is also a basic one among the other Pueblos, though the manifestations of the two groups of ceremonies are not always exactly the same, the kiva, for instance, belonging to the tribal ritual at Zufi, but to the fraternities with the Hopi. Nevertheless, the difference is sharp at some points among the latter people: compare Fewkes, xix, 623, 630-631, 1900. The same may be said of the Rio Grande towns, in spite of Mrs. Stevenson's rather obscure presentation ("Other Societies," pp. 116-118, versus pp. 69-116 and 118-131, in *Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep.*, xi, 1894). The Sia Koshairi and Querranna, or at least the latter, appear to be true fraternities, but their functions ally them closely to the Zufi Koyyemshi or "mud-heads" who are an integral element of the tribal cult.—Compare the designations, Sia Katsuna, Hopi Kachina Zufi Kokko,—whence Ko-tikkyane.—Mrs. Stevenson's Kotiklli is not the name of the organization, but the designation of its members: tikkyanne, fraternity; tikky-illi, having a fraternity, a member thereof; ko-tikky-illi, having the god fraternity.

The Koyemshi are chosen annually from four fraternities in rotation, according to their fathers', not their own, clan membership. Thus the personator of the first Koyemshi, the Awan Tachu, must be, one year, a Newekwe man whose father was Crane clan; the second year, a Showekwe with a Pichikwe father; the third year, a Koshikwe with a Tobacco clan father; the fourth year, a Matkethlannakwe with Turkey father; and the fifth year as in the first. The second or Pekwin Koyemshi is chosen from the same four fraternities, but successively from among men whose fathers were Pikchikwe, Corn, Pikchikwe, and Badger. Eleven clans are thus represented among the forty impersonations of four years: 6 Pikchikwe and Badger, 4 Crane, Eagle, Sun, and Frog, 3 Corn, Coyote, and Turkey, 2 Bear, 1 Tobacco. It is not clear whether this intricate regulation is a conventional crystallization or rests on esoteric symbolism. In any event, it is not clan members but "children of clans" that are involved.<sup>1</sup>

The Koyemshi masks seem to be in charge of a man of the Eagle clan.<sup>2</sup>

The Komosona or director of the Kotikili and his warrior or Kopitlashianni (literally, "god bow priest") must be Deer clan. The Komosona's Kopekwin or deputy (literally "god speaker"), and his warrior or Kopitlashianni must be Badger clan. The fact that the Deer Clan is almost extinct causes much anxiety to the Zufi. The present warrior to the Komosona belongs to the Bear clan, owing to the inability to find a man of the Deer clan among the Apitlashianni (Bow priesthood) to fill the place.<sup>3</sup>

The ritualistic myth recited by Kiaklo is in the keeping of four men, two of whom must be Pichikwe and two children of Pichikwe. At the time the myth was secured, the four were respectively Parrot division of Pichikwe, Raven division of Pichikwe, Corn with Pichikwe father, and Frog with Pichikwe father.<sup>4</sup>

The office of fire maker for the sacred fire of the new year is filled alternately by a member of the Badger clan and a child of that clan.<sup>5</sup>

At the winter solstice ceremonies, the idol of the elder God of War, the accom-

<sup>1</sup> Based on Stevenson, p. 235. I did not receive from the Zufi the impression of free choice which Mrs. Stevenson conveys. At all events, the selection is not made by the clans involved. The Awan Tachu, the father of the other nine Koyemshi, is first selected by the Ashiwwanni and given a prayer plume. Then the Pekkwinne tells him to cast about him in his mind and find associates who will fill their places well. There is a strong tendency to select the same men that occupied the posts four years before. In 1916, for instance, a Showekwe year, seven of the ten were the same as in 1912. In addition, the Awan Tachu of 1912 had been reflected; but he died in May or June, shortly before the summer solstice dances. The woli ("manager" according to Mrs. Stevenson, "servant" according to the Zufi) of the Koyemshi was then designated to act temporarily in his place, and appeared in the first dance, on June 23 and 24. Of the two not reappointed, one was an old man who had become too feeble for the strenuous exertions of the office, although his absence was regretted, since a humped back had added to the ludicrousness of his presentation; and the other was the acting Pekkwinne of the summer of 1915, who was apparently mortified at not having been chosen to fill that distinguished office permanently, and refused to serve as Koyemshi.

<sup>2</sup> P. 142. These masks are regarded as the equivalent of an ettonne or are intimately associated with a certain ettonne; and the set of priests that go into retreat in the house where the masks are kept, are in part actually Eagle clan, and are all considered or called Eagle clan people.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 47, 62.—The Komossona in 1916 however is still of the Deer clan.

<sup>4</sup> P. 66.

<sup>5</sup> P. 114.

panying games, and four prayer plumes are made by men of the Deer clan, the corresponding objects for the younger God of War by men of the Bear clan.<sup>1</sup>

On the ninth day of the winter solstice ceremonial the people of the Corn clan and the children of the clan "assemble in the house of the father or head of the clan to choose a man to personate Pautiwa."<sup>2</sup>

Late on the next day, Pautiwa enters the pueblo, preceded by five Sun clan men, and after four circuits deposits prayer plumes in the wall of a house at the east end of the town. He is assisted by a man of the Sun clan, who personates his father, and by two Pichikwe, who represent his brothers. After visiting the six kiwitsiwe, he proceeds to the northwest corner of the village and receives a hakwani, or cotton loop symbol, from a Pichikwe woman. After his departure, Heiwa kiwitsine is visited by Chakwena, whose personator must be of the Badger clan.<sup>3</sup>

Before heading the quadrennial pilgrimage to Kothluwalawa at the summer solstice, the Komosona and Kopekwin are provided with prayer plumes made by men of their respective clans: Deer and Bear. In the pilgrimage, a Deer and a Badger clan man follow the director of the Hunters' fraternity and precede the Kopekwin.<sup>4</sup>

At the first of the summer solstice dances, Deer women bring food, water, and yucca suds for head washing to the kiwitsine in which the Komosona is, and Badger women do the same for the Kopekwin in his house.<sup>5</sup>

The Awan Tsita or Great Mother (better, "their mother") of the personators in the Kianakwe ceremony, who bathes their heads, is of the Corn clan.<sup>6</sup>

The personators of the Kianakwe in the quadrennial dance of that name are always members of the Corn clan and Chupawa kiwitsine.<sup>7</sup>

The people of the Frog clan take care of the spring Kiananaknana, which is sacred to the Ashiwanni or rain priests.<sup>8</sup>

In the quadrennial Hlahewe ceremony, the four Kianakwe are: Hlahewe side, youth, child of Dogwood, maiden, Dogwood, accompanying man, Dogwood; Shokowe side, youth, Corn, maiden, child of corn, accompanying man, Corn. In the next performance, the Hlahewe side youth is Dogwood and the maiden child of Dogwood, and the two Shokowe side impersonators interchange also, as to clan affiliation. In the third performance, the first arrangement prevails once more, and so on.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 112.

<sup>2</sup> P. 126.— I do not believe that this allusion essentially contradicts my statement as to the absence of effective clan organization or the lack of recognized clan heads with social or clan functions. The occasion here referred to is purely ceremonial, and yet the ceremony in question is tribal. It might be that the clan, for the time being, filled the office of a body of priests. But I suspect the accuracy of Mrs. Stevenson's presentation on this minor point. In the first place, my informants insist that the Pa'utiwa impersonator must be Pichikwe, not Corn. Secondly, I cannot conceive of a Zuni "father" of a clan. There are mothers and grandmothers; but older males are kyakkyā or kyakkyā-lacci — mother's brother or old mother's brother — or sometimes (maternal) grandfather. Finally, the choice by the clan as a body would be entirely unparalleled, and appears to me contrary to Zuni habits of thought and action. I should expect the selection to be made by some regular high official of the Kotikkyanne — the Komossona, the Kyakkwemossi, or the six highest Ashiwanni denominated Tek'ohannakwe, "day persons"; or by some one designated by them; or by the kiwitsinne whose turn it was to supply the Pa'utiwa.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 137-140.

<sup>4</sup> P. 153.

<sup>5</sup> P. 162.

<sup>6</sup> P. 44.

<sup>7</sup> P. 218. The name Chuppawa relates to corn.

<sup>8</sup> P. 59.

<sup>9</sup> P. 188 note b.

Toward the close of the same ceremony, a Frog clan man sings rain songs from dawn to sunrise, when his power causes prayer plumes and miwachi in the booth to fall over.<sup>1</sup>

In the Bitsitsi ceremony, the fruit and seed bearing women who race to the assembled Molawe at Kushilowa, are selected by a Tansy Mustard man, "whose office is for life."<sup>2</sup>

#### RELATIONS TO THE PRIESTHOODS AND FETISHES.

Mrs. Stevenson gives an enumeration of the priesthood,<sup>3</sup> by sets of priests and their clan affiliations, as constituted in 1896. The Pekwin, who is also priest of the zenith, must be Pichikwe, though the subdivision of this clan is immaterial. The Kiakwemosi, or "ruler of the houses," who is the head of the Zuñi hierarchy so far as there is any, is either Pichikwe or has a Pichikwe father. As regards the other priests, she makes this statement:

This priesthood is confined to families, the rule being that each member of a division of the priesthood [*i. e.*, each member of one of the fourteen sets of priests] must be of the clan or a child of the clan of the shiwanni of the division. The son or brother of the shiwanni fills a vacancy, preference being given to the eldest son.<sup>4</sup>

The impression derived from Mrs. Stevenson's formulation of the rule of succession in the priesthood is that actual kinship and not clan membership is the determining factor. This is corroborated by a note on the second division.<sup>5</sup> After the death of the principal priest of this group, a Pichikwe man, the position was not filled at once because the priesthood as a body were doubtful whether the first associate, his son, who was of the Sun clan, was of sufficiently pure heart; but he was finally accepted. If the same procedure should happen on this man's death, it is obvious that the next incumbent would be neither Pichikwe nor Sun; and so on, the office varying at random from clan to clan in each generation.<sup>6</sup> If this in-

<sup>1</sup> P. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 277, note c, 279.

<sup>3</sup> The Ashiwanni or priests are connected with the Kottikyanne and not with the fraternities.

<sup>4</sup> P. 165.

<sup>5</sup> P. 167, note b.

<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Stevenson mentions a similar situation as regards the priest of the first or north division, the Kiakwemosi (p. 167). A former Pichikwe incumbent was succeeded by his younger brother, of course of the same clan, who had as his first associate and presumptive successor, his dead brother's son, of Turkey clan. It would seem that this heir's successor in turn cannot however be his son, on account of the desire or necessity for the Kiakwemosi being Pichikwe or child of Pichikwe, neither of which this son could be. This highest priesthood is however so distinctive an office that there may be an exceptionally strong feeling favoring its permanent association with Pichikwe, the largest and head of the clans, as the Zuñi call it.

stance can be accepted as typical, and Mrs. Stevenson's formulation of the rule of succession as accurate, it would follow that the Zuñi do not specifically and permanently connect each priesthood, or division of the priesthood, with a clan; and that if they appear to do so, it is for the time being only and because a man's clan has a name and his family as such, or his paternal ancestry, has none.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if the priestly offices are definitely linked to clans, Mrs. Stevenson's presentation cannot be exact.

My own information leads me to the conclusion that the Zuñi do connect each priesthood with a clan; but that this connection often exists in theory rather than in the actual personnel of the priesthoods. The prospective successor and other associates of the ranking priest of each priesthood are sometimes his sons; sometimes his brothers or his sister's children; and sometimes not relatives at all. Thus the principles of kinship in the male line, of kinship in the female or clan line, and of lack of kinship, are all adhered to at different times. To determine the precise relative potency of each, would require more detailed information of an intimately personal nature than I have yet been able to secure.

On the other hand, each set of priests possesses, or rather, operates with, an *ettonne* or fetish. These cotton-wrapped bundles of pieces of cane, containing various sacred or precious substances, are sometimes enclosed in feathers, normally kept in jars of special design, and handled or exposed only on occasions of extreme ritualistic importance. These *ettowe* are preserved in specified houses, where they are believed to have reposed since the Zuñi settled at I'tiwawa, their present town; and if a family abandons a house, at least the room in which the *ettonne* lies is usually kept in repair, and the associated priests continue to "go in"<sup>2</sup> there. As usual at Zuñi, however, acts do not conform strictly to plan: and there are cases of *ettowe* having been removed. That of the Pekkwinne necessarily changes with each new incumbency.

Now these fetishes are on the whole linked, in the native mind, with clans — whether because each house belongs to members of a certain clan, or because of what tradition reports, or from a mere impulse toward elaborateness of schematization, I do not know. Mrs. Stevenson says:—<sup>3</sup>

While an *ettone* may pass from a shiwanní of the parent clan to one of the chil-

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<sup>1</sup> The marked tendency toward descent from father to son in the priesthood as contrasted with the reckoning of female descent in house ownership and clan, will be of interest to those who are still wrestling with the problem presented by the old conception of the matriarchate.

<sup>2</sup> This is the literal meaning of the Zuñi word, *kwatto*, which Mrs. Stevenson renders "go into retreat."

<sup>3</sup> P. 164.

dren of the clan, it remains in the care of a woman of the parent clan... this office passing from mother to daughter or from sister to sister.<sup>1</sup>

It therefore seems probable to me that it is through the fetishes, primarily, that each set of priests is more or less associated with a clan. This is borne out by two circumstances. First, each fraternity also possesses an *ettone*, and it is the clan affiliation of this that determines the clanship of the officers of the society, when there is any prescription at all. This correlation has already been discussed. Then, there is a third series of *ettowe*, which belong and relate specifically to clans. These are perhaps less sacred than those of the fraternities, and almost certainly not esteemed as are those of the priests; but they are also accorded a high degree of veneration.<sup>2</sup>

The prime importance of the fetishes in general is also manifest. I believe that the truest understanding of Zuñi life, other than in its purely practical manifestations, can be had by setting the *ettowe* as a center. Around these, priesthoods, fraternities, clan organization, as well as most esoteric thinking and sacred tradition, group themselves; while, in turn,

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<sup>1</sup> In narrating the circumstances of an inspection of a fetish, Mrs. Stevenson tells of precautions observed to maintain secrecy, "there being no surety against intrusion, for, according to the custom of the Ashiwi, the people of the same clan are regarded as one family and have access to all parts of a house" (p. 164).— This is an irritatingly vague statement. I do not believe that every one of the four hundred members of Pikchikwe would feel at liberty to walk at will over all parts of the premises of any Pikchikwe woman. Privacy and seclusion are not matters settled in any such offhand fashion by the Zuñi; and while the considerations may not be clear cut, and are very little known, they give every indication of being subtle and loosely intricate. I know of a case of a Shiwanni unwilling to enter the room in which his *ettone* was kept, presumably because the proper ritualistic occasion was lacking, even though he was in anxiety that it might have been mistreated or removed. With the priest observing such scruples, it is not likely that others would follow him merely because the door was open, much less penetrate the sacred precincts of their own accord. The storerooms in which corn is kept are also entered by the owners only with a prayer and barefoot, or at least with one shoe removed; and I am confident that non-inmates, except near relatives, would not presume to go into these chambers without invitation. In some measure, a similar feeling seemed to me to prevail in regard to all inner and under rooms. On innumerable occasions I have not been asked to walk into an adjoining room, though the door was open and an object within was under discussion. In most cases a woman of the house brought the article to the front or living room rather than have it inspected in place. Of course this was the attitude toward one of alien race and a comparative stranger; but the behavior of my introducing friends indicated that it was maintained also toward the Zuñi, with the exception of those who stood on a basis of special intimacy or friendship with the inhabitants. Whether this basis of intimacy is by a convention made to include *ipso facto* all members of the clan, or whether the intimates normally but incidentally happen to comprise most members of the clan as well as actual blood kindred, is precisely the point to be determined. There is nothing to show that Mrs. Stevenson meant to speak specifically in this matter, or had even considered the alternative interpretations; for which reason it is likely to prove misleading to accept her summary statement at face value.

<sup>2</sup> There are then entirely similar fetishes, all called *ettowe*, for the priesthoods, for the religious societies, and for the clans; which fact alone goes far to support the interpretation that the Zuñi clan is much more a part of a ritualistic scheme than a body of kindred — a ceremonial rather than a socially functioning body.

kivas, dances, and acts of public worship can be construed as but the outward means of expression of the inner activities that radiate around the nucleus of the physical fetishes and the ideas attached to them. In other words, he who knows all that is knowable concerning the *ettowe*, must necessarily understand substantially the whole of Zuñi society; while familiarity with any of its other phases, except mythology, leads only a certain limited distance. Mythology, indeed, can also be used as a satisfactory starting point and basis, as Mrs. Stevenson has done; but this procedure tends to give priority to native theory and to leave its factive elements uncoördinated, while the *ettowe* open the direct gate to as coherent a cognizance of the existing society as it is possible to obtain.

The fetishes, naturally, are not discussed readily by the Zuñi with strangers, and my information about them is consequently less complete and probably less accurate than I could wish. The consequence of the subject, however, makes it seem desirable to present all the evidence available.

TABLE 12.

## ZUÑI FETISHES.

Number of Ettonne on Map 8	House in which kept	Clan in house	Name of Ettonne	Priesthood, Fraternity, or Clan in 1916
<b>A. Ettowe of the Aciwwanni or Priests.</b>				
1	161	P	Akyakkwamossi awan	<i>Kyakkwamo ssi</i> , or: house-heads. 1. Tciku (Chico), P, mossonna or head 2. Tsa'tsana, P, Kyakkwemossilacci, older than 1, and head until 1915. Not kin of 1. 3. Tsi'autiwa, P, Kyakkwemosi-ts'anna, sister's son of 2. (4. A woman associate is dead.)
2	360	P	Ky'a'ettonne or Palto an	<i>Palto</i> , or: (east) end (of the town) 1. Waihusiwa, S, head 2. Laya'tisi, P 3. Hinna, P 4. Tsaiuhsiluñkya, P None of these are kin (5. A woman associate is dead.)
3	387	Ba	Tcu'ettonne	<i>Onnawa</i> , or: at the road, on which 387 is situated 1. Kuyatsaluhti, P, child of Ba, head 2. La'usi or Nahanitta, Be, child of Ba 3. Hustito (Justito), Ba 4. Mikyela (Miguel), Ba, brother of 3 5. Itserkai, Ba, brother of 3 and 4 6. ♀ The mother of 3, 4, 5, Ba 7. ♀ Ts'annatsaiti'ts'a, Ba, daughter of sister of 3, 4, 5
4	87	P	Koyyemshi, that is, the ten masks reck- oned as an et- tone, or per- haps kept with an ettonne	<i>Koyyemshi</i> : 1. Lemmi, E 2. Huluati, E, not kin of 1 3. Nalacci, P, not kin of 1 or 2 4. Tseyyi'i, P, older brother of 3 5. Cintanni, E, younger half brother of 1

TABLE 12 — (Continued).

Number of Ettonne on Map 8	House in which kept	Clan in house	Name of Ettonne	Priesthood, Fraternity, or Clan in 1916
5	(384)	(Ba)	Pikchikwe awan, or Pekkwinne an	<i>Pekkwinne</i> : the "speaker" of the Sun has no associates, and must be Pikchikwe. He is usually known by his title instead of his name. His ettonne is in whatever house he happens to be married or living in.
6	(167)	(P)		<i>Apilaciwanni</i> : bow-priests 1. Ts'awela, elder brother bow priest, Cy 2. Wayeku, younger brother bow priest, S These are not, strictly, aciwanni.
7	163	P	Kyakkyalikwe awan	<i>Kyakkyalikwe</i> : Eagle people (1. K'utci, P, head, died in 1916) 2. Mayyawew, E, present head, kyasse of 1 3. Hallana, Cr, child of Eagle 4. Kwalletci, P 5. Pa'tela, Tb
8	167	P		<i>Upts'annawa</i> : the kiva of that name 1. I'taihuksi, Ba, head 2. Tcalliwa, S 3. Monta, P, related to house 167 (4. From 1914 to 1916 the present pekkwinne, who is ex house 167-164 and first cousin of 3, served in this priesthood.)
9	40	Cn	Towwakwe awan	<i>Towwakwe</i> : Corn people 1. Pontacci, Cn, head; lives in the house 2. Ci'tetuwinni, E 3. Son of Mo'kwella, Cn, sister's son of 1, also in house 40. He is a young man who fills the place of his dead brother.
10	60	P	This ettonne is kept with the sacred figure of Kollowissi, the water serpent	<i>Kollowissi</i> : 1. Kyakkyali, Cn, head 2. Kannawihiti, M. 3. Kahtcanni, P. 4. Kwihma, P. 5. ♀ Paulita, P, older sister of 4

TABLE 12 — (*Continued*).

Number of Ettonne on Map 8	House in which kept	Clan in house	Name of Ettonne	Priesthood, Fraternity, or Clan in 1916
11	68	P (Orig. Ba)	This ettonne is accompanied by a large shell, whence the name of the priesthood	<i>Ts'u'Lanna</i> : Large shell 1. Ha'ts'i, Ba, head; born and lives in house 68. 2. Na'kyawana, P. 3. ♀ Susie, P, born in her father's house, who is a brother of the mother of 1.
12	(372)	(E)	Cummeyekolli masks	<i>Cuma'kwe</i> , or: priests who are officers of the Cuma'kwe fraternity: 1. Ma'asewwi, P, head, also head of the fraternity. 2. Ta'kyakkwekwe, Cr, pekkwinne and akwamossi of the fraternity. 3. Me'li, Ba, pilaciwwanni of the fraternity. 4. ♀ Wife of 2, E
13	186	Cy (Orig. S)		<i>Yattokyakwe</i> : Sun people 1. Tu'ky'ats'o'ta, Cr, head 2. Kuyalu, P. 3. Kuhimats'a, S.
14	391	Tk	Towwakwe awan	<i>Ky'annakwe</i> or <i>Towwakwe</i> : Corn people 1. Lonhose, Cr, head, also head of the Ky'annakwe performers 2. Lomansito (Ramoncito), Cr, younger brother of 1. 3. Ca'lako, Cn. 4. La'silu, P.
15	220	P		<i>Heuwimossikwe</i> or <i>Lema'tticillowa</i> : Step-people or Red door 1. Lanuitsawi, P, head, born in 220 2. Hu'pa, E. 3. Lema'tticillowa, Tk, living in 220, father of 1; former head 4. ♀ Younger sister of 1, daughter of 3.

TABLE 12 — (Continued).

Number of Ettonne on Map 8	House in which kept	Clan in house	Name of Ettonne	Priesthood, Fraternity, or Clan in 1916
<b>B. Ettowe of the Tikkyawe or Fraternities.</b>				
21	268	P		Ci'wanakwe
22	286	Cr	Ne'ettonne	Ne'wekwe. Fraternity room is in house 7.
23	347	YW		Sanniakyakwe
24	177	Cr	Le'ettonne; cf. also no. 63	Lewwekwe. Fraternity room is in house 84
25	422	Tk	Kokkolanna	} Makkyetannakwe
26			Ci'tsukya	
27			Makkyelanna	
28	139	S	(Horned toads of stone)	Hallokwe
29	372	E		Cuma'kwe
30	312	S		Makkyets'annakwe
31	54	P		Uhhuhukwe
32	119	P		Teikkyalikwe
33	278	F		Peccatsillokwe
34	1	P		K'ocikwe
35	357	P	Ponnepo'anne	Apilaciwanni
<b>C. Ettowe of the Annotiwe or Clans.</b>				
41	96	P	La-pikteikwe awan	La-pikteikwe
42	161	P	Mullakwe awan	Pikteikwe: Kokkokwe-Mullakwe Formerly in 295.
43	506	E	Kyakkyalikwe awan	Eagle. Formerly probably in 190
44			Tonnacikwe awan	Badger
45	186	Cy	Yattokyakwe awan	Sun. House formerly a Sun house
46	398	Tk	Tonnakwe awan	Turkey. Formerly in 422
47	38	Cn	Towwakwe awan	Corn
48	286	Cr	K'oloktakwe awan	Crane
49	267	F	Takkyakwe awan	Frog. Formerly in 278
50	347	YW	Suskikwe awan	Coyote. Formerly in 373

TABLE 12 — (Concluded).

Number of Ettonne on Map 8	House in which kept	Clan in house	Name of Ettonne	Priesthood, Fraternity, or Clan in 1916
51	104	M	Ayyahokwe awan	Tansy Mustard
52			Annakwe awan	Tobacco
53			Ancekwe awan	Bear. Formerly in 33
54	81	D	Cohwitakwe awan	Deer
55	(buried)		Poyyikwe awan	Chaparral Cock. Formerly in 320
56	347	YW	Talluptsikwe awan	Yellow Wood. Formerly in 342

**D. Miscellaneous Ettowe.**

61	161	P	Pa'utiwa an	Connected with the impersonation of Pa'utiwa, the leader of the gods
62	257		Na'ettonne	Used for the hunting of deer (na'le)
63	38	Cn	Mu'ettonne	Connected with the Muwaya ceremony, with corn, and with the Lewwekwe fraternity
64	81	D		The minor ettonne of the extinct Ts'u'tikkyanne or Shell fraternity; its great shell was buried
65	94	Ba	Pa'ettonne	"Navaho fetish," that is, ettonne associated with enemy scalps in the keeping of the Apilaciwwanni

While the Zuñi statement is that each ettonne remains forever in the house where it was first deposited on the founding of the "middle place," there have been many shifts in recent years, and no doubt formerly also. The priestly fetishes being the most sacred, their removals take place least frequently, but even they occur. Ettonne number 2 was long kept in a rear room of house 360, and its priests "went in" there. This house is now vacant; the priests use part of adjoining 357 for their retreat; and the fetish may have been moved too. The Pekkwinne's ettonne, number 5, is of necessity movable; he "goes in" with it wherever he happens to live; when he is inducted into his office, he is taught about his ettonne, and then carries it to his home. Somewhat the same seems to be the case with the next set of priests, the two head bow priests. I do not know if they possess a specific ettonne; but they are counted as "going in" like the others, so it is likely that if they have no regular ettonne for the purpose, they use an

equivalent. The location of this, however, changes, just as the personnel of the two participants alters according to the happenings in their society, the Apitlashiwwanni, and not according to succession in a self-perpetuating body of priests. The present elder brother bow priest formerly "went in," with his colleague, in house 186, the home of his relatives; now he enters house 167, where he is married. Both these houses happen to contain other priestly ettowe. Should he remarry, he would no doubt "go into" his new abode; and his successor will do the same. Finally, the eleventh set of priests, who are officers of the Shuma'kwe fraternity, and whose ettonne seems to be the Shummeyekolli or Shumaikolli masks, "go in" at their fraternity headquarters; and this was recently moved from house 354 to 372.

The fraternity fetishes are kept in the fraternity houses, except in two cases mentioned in the foregoing list; and as several of these societies have changed location in the past generation, as discussed below, and probably all have moved at one time or another in the past, their ettowe cannot be regarded as more than temporarily fixed.

The clan ettowe, finally, appear to shift with still greater readiness. Number 42 was formerly in house 295. When this ceased to be inhabited, the fetish was brought to house 161. The shift of number 56 from 342 to 347, of 53 from 33, of 43 from 190 to 506 outside the pueblo, are similar cases. The transfer of the Turkey and Frog fetishes, numbers 46 and 49, was not even necessitated, for their old houses remain inhabited. The removal of number 50, the Coyote ettonne, is illustrative. It was in 373. Most the inhabitants of this house moved to 186, but an old woman remained behind. The reason that the Coyote ettonne was not brought into 186 is presumably that this was an original Sun house and still contains the Sun fetish, number 45. In 1915-16, however, the old woman in 373 died, and the house was sold by her descendants in 186 to Corn people. Thereupon Tsa'wela, of house 186 though married in 167, one of the leading men in Zuni in virtue of his office of elder brother bow priest, as well as a member and officer of the Sanniakyakwe, deposited his clan ettonne in the house which harbors the latter fraternity, 347. Thus the Coyote ettonne now rests in a Yellow Wood house, merely because of the individual society memberships of a dominant personality in the clan.

The Chaparral Cock ettonne, number 55, no longer exists. This clan inhabits only one house. On the death, some years ago, of the brother of the old woman who is the matron of this house, the fetish was buried in the river. Were the clan actually on the point of extinction, this procedure would be intelligible. But the Chaparral Cock house contains women; and the death of its leading male member would not affect its vitality. The motive of the act thus remains obscure; but similar things are likely to have happened before. Compare the fate of the major mate of fetish 64.

On the other hand, a new expansion of this clan might lead to the making of a

new fetish — much as the Koyyemshi masks that constitute the equivalent or accompaniment of ettonne number 4 were re-manufactured a few years ago and the old set buried. In the same way, entirely new fetishes must have been made when the Chikkyalikwe fraternity split from the Uhhuhukwe, or the Peshatsillokwe from the Makkyets'annakwe.

A comparison of the clan memberships of the priesthoods in 1916 with those given by Mrs. Stevenson for 1896,<sup>1</sup> shows many changes: —

1916										1896									
1 (P)	P	P	P							P	Tk	P				P ♀			
2	S	P	P	P						(P)	S	P	P			P ♀			
3	P	Be	Ba	Ba	Ba	Ba	Ba ♀	Ba ♀		Ba	Ba	Ba	Ba			Ba ♀			
4	E	E	P	P	E					E	E	E	E			E ♀			
5 (P)	P									P									
6	Cy	S								E	Cr	E	E			E ♀			
7 (E)	E	Cr	P	Tb						E	E	E	E			E ♀			
8	Ba	S	P	(P)						P	P	P	P			P ♀			
9 (Cn)	Cn	E	Cn							<sup>2</sup> Cn	Cn	M	Cn			Cn ♀			
10	Cn	M	P	(P)			P ♀			<sup>3</sup> Ch	P	Cr	S			M ♀			
11	Ba	P					P ♀			S	S	S	S			S ♀			
12	<sup>3</sup> P	Cr	Ba				E ♀			Cn	Cn	Cn	Cn	Cn					
13 (S)	Cr	P	S							Cn	Cn	Cn	Cn			Cn ♀			
14 (Cn)	<sup>2</sup> Cr	Cr	Cn	P						Cn	Cn	Cn	Cn			Cn ♀			
15	P	E	Tk				P ♀												

From a statement of the order of retreat of the several priests given by Mrs. Stevenson for 1891,<sup>4</sup> it appears that this is also the sequence which she has followed in her enumeration of the priesthoods themselves.<sup>5</sup> As this is also the order in which the present priests are enumerated by me in Table 12, it follows that the two foregoing lists are arranged on the same plan. The discrepancies are so marked, especially toward the end, that it must be concluded that the Zuñi in twenty years have altered this plan, that is, that the priesthoods in 1916 no longer "go in" in the same sequence as in 1896 or 1891. That such change is actual, and not merely an apparent result due to imperfect information, is established by the fact that for the first ten of the fifteen priesthoods the order cited to me was really fulfilled during my residence in Zuñi in the summer of 1916.<sup>6</sup> The precise changes,

<sup>1</sup> P. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Ky'annakwe.

<sup>3</sup> Shuma'kwe.

<sup>4</sup> P. 180.

<sup>5</sup> P. 167.

<sup>6</sup> The tenth or Kollowissi priesthood went in on August 10, the day of my departure from Zuñi. I owe the following calendar to the pains of Mr. Leslie Spier: August 18, Cuma'kwe, number 12; August 22, Yattokyakwe, number 13; August 26, Towwakwe, number 14; about August 31, Lematticillowsa, number 15. This leaves set 11 unaccounted for; but I conjecture that their retreat began on August 14, which would yield the place in the series that informants had previously stated to me they occupied.

and their no doubt largely personal causes, would throw much illumination on the problem of how a complex organization is handled in fact in a "primitive" society; and I regret that I cannot follow the matter up. My own data are limited, and as Mrs. Stevenson specifies neither the fetishes, priests, nor houses involved, positive identification cannot be carried far and any exact comparison is impossible.

I am not clear whether my sixth group corresponds to Mrs. Stevenson's sixth or seventh or has no equivalent. As already stated, the two bow priest members of this set are priests only by courtesy; and their "going in" is wholly constructive. As the Zufi put it, they walk about, but are said to have entered. In Mrs. Stevenson's time, Naiuchi was elder brother bow priest, corresponding to my number 1 of set 6. He is evidently the Eagle head of her set 6, and his son Halliana the Crane clan first associate of the same group. In my list, however, Halliana is number 3 of group 7. I suspect that Naiuchi happened to be both head of a priesthood and head bow priest; and that the terms of his two "goings in" being consecutive, he perhaps served them concurrently, or at any rate without intermission, so that they seemed as one.<sup>1</sup> This would account for my having one more priesthood than Mrs. Stevenson.

The first six sets of priests are te-k'ohannakwe, "day people"; the remainder te-kw'innakwe, "night people." My informants, none of whom were ashiwwanni themselves, in general denied that the six groups of day people were designated by reference to the directions North, West, South, East, Up, and Down, as stated by Mrs. Stevenson. I have no doubt she is correct. But her information is esoteric; mine reflects the appellations current among the people, with whom the activities of their priests are a subject of daily conversation.

In general, Mrs. Stevenson's data and mine differ on several points.

1. Her priesthoods consist uniformly of four male members.<sup>2</sup> Mine vary from two to five,<sup>3</sup> the minority comprising four.

2. She cites a woman associate for every priesthood except the Pekkwinne's and the twelfth.<sup>4</sup> I was told of only six women in five priesthoods.

3. A majority of her priesthoods consist wholly of members of one clan; and none includes more than one associate of divergent clan.<sup>5</sup> According to my list, nearly every priesthood is partly mixed as to clan affiliation, and several wholly so.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Stevenson, p. 180, note a, merely states that "the elder and younger Bow priest also make a retreat at this season," i. e., while the sixth priest is in.

<sup>2</sup> The fifth, that of the Pekkwinne, is a specified and assured exception. For the first, she expressly mentions three incumbents and a vacancy. The twelfth comprises five males, but is exceptional in lacking a female associate.

<sup>3</sup> Not counting sets 5 and 6, the Pekkwinne and bow priests.

<sup>4</sup> Compare note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Except the tenth, whose membership is determined by the extraneous consideration of whom the Shuma'kwe fraternity has elected to office.

Decadence of system will account for only part of these differences; and I doubt whether real breaking down has been operative at all. It is obvious that Mrs. Stevenson's list is far more regular at all points, and conforms better to some native theory.

#### SUMMARY.

It appears, then, that the clans of the Zuñi stand in relation to the various fetishes possessed by the nation. Probably through these fetishes, the several priesthoods are given considerable but variable clan coloring. The occasions on which clan ties enter into other tribal ceremonial are fairly numerous; but as for the fraternities, their membership as well as their ritual are practically free from any relation to clans, except in so far as choice of certain officers, and consequently performance of certain actions, is clan limited through associations between particular clans and the fetishes of the fraternities.

I believe that the foregoing facts bear out my interpretation of the Zuñi clan as a body of mildly social type with prevailing if not important ritualistic functions, these functions however being exercised by individuals in virtue of their clan membership and never by the clan as a body. It is also significant that in a considerable proportion of instances, perhaps one time out of three, it is not clan membership, but the clan affiliation of the father, that determines the choice of the individual selected for the fulfillment of a temporary or permanent ceremonial service.

#### RACING.

The Zuñi races or *iLLuha* (running), in which each side kicks a short stick or *tikkwanne* over the course, are of four kinds. The first race in spring, *u'pawa*, is a ceremonial competition run with six sticks, each kicked by members of one *kiwwitsinne* and painted with the color of the cardinal direction of that *kiwwitsinne*.<sup>1</sup> Next follows a race in which the clans compete, *annotiwe iLLuha*.<sup>2</sup> After this, racing is thrown open. That ill-defined body known as the *Showekwe*, or individuals among it, arrange races which are publicly announced, heavily bet on, and conducted with ceremonial observances.<sup>3</sup> Finally, impromptu and informal races, usually

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<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322.

over a shorter course, are got up now and then by those whom desire of excitement impels.

In the clan race, there is a stick for each clan and sometimes for subdivisions of clans. A set of models of these *tikkwawe* made for me, are of the heavy *assiye* wood employed in all important contests, but unpainted. The bark is left on, except for a peeled ring in the middle; and near one end a rude design of the object the clan is named for is cut into the bark (Fig. 1). In addition, every participant has his back whitened, I was told, and a similar design is then made on it by erasure.<sup>1</sup> These are the only instances known to me of a pictorial or plastic representation of *Zuñi* clan totems.

#### GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS OF CLANS.

The *Zuñi* civil government is accorded recognition by the Office of Indian Affairs, as it was likewise, probably, by the Spaniards and Mexicans; but gives every indication of being in substance a native institution. It is concerned mostly with affairs that relate to property, property rights, and equities in material things, both individual and communal. This is an interesting field of investigation, but, like the related one of *Zuñi* economic system, too special and intricate to be treated as a mere adjunct of customs of blood and clan. I will only say that so far as my experience goes, all property at *Zuñi*, including fields, corrals, houses, and personal effects, are owned by individuals or household families of blood kindred, and that whatever is not so possessed, such as streets, plazas, and wells in town, the ruin of the mission church and its burial ground, unused land, or game and wild growths upon it, are owned communally; that is, they are free to any *Zuñi* to enjoy the use of, and actual proprietorship is maintained only against aliens. This leaves nothing that can be considered clan property.

Analogously, the relations of the clans to the civil government are of the slenderest. The only points of contact of which I am aware are two. The governor and lieutenant governor are not chosen from the same clan, and the four or five aids of each, who with them constitute the civil council, are, at least in theory, also of different clans. Secondly, the choice of the officers is made by certain priests of certain priesthoods, which are, as already described, clan limited, or more exactly, associated with clans.

The governor is called either *annula* or *tapupu*. The former word seems to be *Zuñi*, the latter *Keresan* in origin. The lieutenant governor is the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Stevenson, p. 322, says that the clan symbol is painted on the breast, the paternal clan on the back. She also states that *Pikchikwe* runners bear the pattern of the dogwood bush plus a raven or macaw according to subdivision.

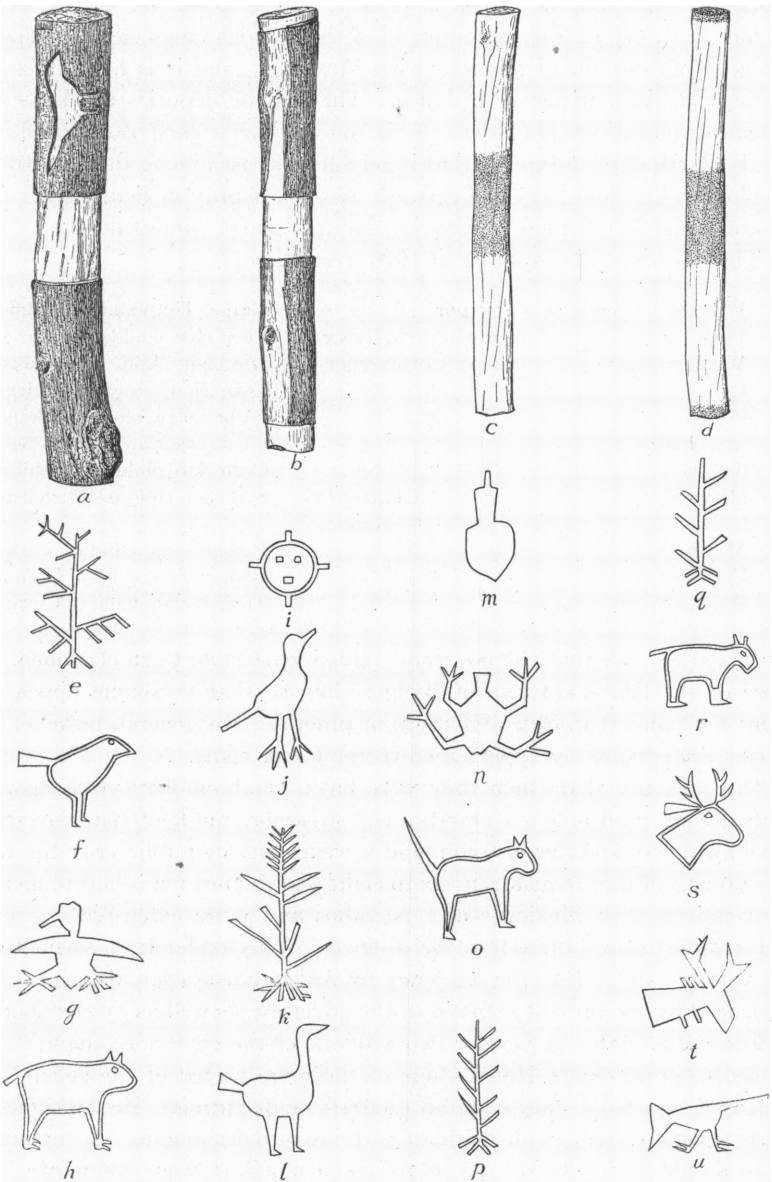


Fig. 1 (50.2-337 a-u). Sticks used in Annual Clan Race: *a* by Macaw division of Pikchikwe clan; *b* by Yellow Wood clan; *c* by older brother bow priest; *d* by younger brother bow priest. Patterns cut in other sticks: *e* Dogwood (Pikchikwe); *f* Raven (Pikchikwe); *g* Eagle; *h* Badger; *i* Sun; *j* Turkey; *k* Corn; *l* Crane; *m* Pumpkin (Crane); *n* Frog; *o* Coyote; *p* Tansy Mustard; *q* Tobacco; *r* Bear; *s* Deer; *t* Antelope; *u* Chaparral Cock.

tsippolowe-ciwwanni or "Mexican priest," that is, priest for the Mexicans. He has, in theory at least, a command of the Spanish language; is in special charge of all communal relations with Mexicans; and it is his duty to see that no Mexican witnesses a dance. The aids or deputies are known as tinniante, plural tinniantekwe. This sounds like a good Zuñi word, but Mr. F. W. Hodge informs me that it is in general use among the Rio Grande pueblos, and undoubtedly the Spanish *teniente*, deputy or lieutenant. The generic name for all these officers is yannula, plural yannulakwe.

The officers in the summer of 1916 were these:

1. William F. Lewis	Governor	Crane clan, child of Badger
2. Dick	Lieutenant Governor	Corn clan, child of Bear
3. Wakhanniwa	Deputy to Governor	Sun clan, child of Pikchikwe
4. Osti	" " "	Corn clan, child of Badger
5. Pilla	" " "	Badger clan, child of Pikchikwe
6. Attets'anna	" " "	Pikchikwe clan, child of Badger
7. Si'utsa	" " "	Corn clan, child of Pikchikwe <sup>1</sup>
8. He'yo	" " Lieutenant Governor	Sun clan, child of Pikchikwe
9. Mu'tu	" " "	Badger clan, child of Turkey
10. I'ts'eya	" " "	Badger clan, child of Crane
11. Wi'akwe	" " "	Turkey clan, child of Corn

It will be seen that the governor's aids include two Corn clan men, and those of the lieutenant two of Badger clan, so that personnel appears to count for more than clan affiliation, in practice. In general, however, the officers are adequately apportioned to the larger clans.

Old men say that when they were boys, or about fifty years ago, the council comprised only six officers: the governor, the lieutenant governor, a pekkwinne or speaker for each, and a we'aconna or public crier for each. The growth of the council from six to eight and then to ten is laid to increasing relations with Mexicans and Navahos and more extensive scattering of the Zuñi to their three farming districts. This explanation seems to me not wholly valid. But the tendency toward augmentation persists. It is evidenced by the present fifth aid to the governor, as well as by the abortive addition of a sixth. A year or two ago, one of the governor's deputies was chosen to impersonate Hututa, one of the more sacred of the gods. This obligated him to abstain from all quarrels or disputing. He continued to attend council sessions, but without entering into arguments. A substitute, or to speak more exactly, an additional councillor, was "therefore" appointed, to have special charge of the maintenance of irrigating ditches at

<sup>1</sup> Theoretically supernumerary. He was added in the temporary absence of Wakhanniwa, but proving eminently satisfactory in the position, was retained after the latter's return.

the Ojo Caliente farming district. The new nominee died within a month, and no successor to him was chosen. It is said that had he lived, both he and the Hututu impersonator would probably be councillors now.

It may be added in passing, as a matter of wider interest, that the Zuñi in their civil council adhere to the universal Indian principle that no decision is arrived at until complete unanimity of opinion, or at least of expression, is attained. I have the impression that this principle is prevented from degenerating into paralyzed inefficiency by a strong impulse to defer to general sentiment. A fractional minority may voice its opinion at the outset, but will not directly press its contention once the tide has definitely turned against it, no matter how grave the issue; so that in practice the requisite unanimity is almost invariably obtained.

At bottom, Zuñi government is theocratic, the civil officers being chosen, and if necessary deposed, by the highest priests. Mrs. Stevenson speaks of these as "the first body of Ashiwanni" and makes it to be constituted of "the six Ashiwanni directly associated with the six regions, the Shiwanokia (Priestess of fecundity), and the elder and younger Bow priests, the two latter being Ashiwanni ex officio."<sup>1</sup> My informants restricted the appointing body to the head priests of the first four priesthoods, except that from the first or Akyakkwamossi priesthood two associates are included with the head; and sometimes added the older brother bow priest, who is the *sontalu* (Spanish, *soldado*), the executive or military arm, of the priests. I am uncertain whether the bow priest has an official voice or only influence; I suspect the latter. The six priests who held this office in 1915 were numbers 1, 2, 3 of set 1, 1 of set 2, 3 of set 3, and 1 of set 4, as listed in Table 12.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the discrepancies between Mrs. Stevenson's "first body" and mine, I cannot believe that the *Shiwwannokkya* — the word means "old woman priest" or "priest old woman," and contains no reference to fecundity — had an official seat as a member of the body. She undoubtedly possessed such influence as her position as associate of the highest priesthood would command when joined to the requisite personality. But it appears to me thoroughly incompatible with everything I know of the Zuñi that they should admit a woman to an avowed place in this august body. The position of their women is always ancillary in religious organization — as in the priesthoods and fraternities; and that one of them should be received into the theocratic council when it meets to regulate secular affairs, appears to me as incredible as that a woman should be seated in the civil government. Mrs. Stevenson's work frequently displays distinct feminist trend when it deals with the participation of the Zuñi woman in religious system rather than with her actual status in

<sup>1</sup> P. 289.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know why in the third priesthood an associate replaces the head. Perhaps he is the former head; or the hereditary one — he was born in the house in which the fetish of his priesthood is kept.

daily life. If the female associate of the first priesthood were so important, it is hardly likely that her place would remain unfilled at present.

The pekkwinne, corresponding to Mrs. Stevenson's priest of the fifth direction, does not have a hand in the selection of officers, the Zufii told me, because he is expected to devote himself so thoroughly, in thought as well as acts, to his high and consequential religious duties, that he holds aloof from all secular matters.

As to the priest of the nadir, the sixth direction, it has already been mentioned that the incumbent cited by Mrs. Stevenson was also older brother bow priest — just as at present the two head bow priests "go in" in sixth place.<sup>1</sup> Six priests plus two bow priests plus the "Priestess of Fecundity" makes the "eight men and one woman" of Mrs. Stevenson's "first body." But since the sixth priest and first bow priest were the same person in her time, the actual number would have been seven. There must be an error in the reckoning.

On the other hand, I suspect that Mrs. Stevenson is right in including the younger brother bow priest with the older, so far as the latter may pertain to the body. The Ahhayuta, whom the two head bow priests represent on earth, are always described as twins. It seems likely to me that my usually hearing only the older brother bow priest mentioned in actual affairs in 1915 and 1916, is due to one personality overshadowing another.

Two distinct general considerations follow from what has been said.

First, since the source of all Zuñi authority, sacred and profane, lies in certain priests; since these are representative of their priesthoods; and since these priesthoods, in native opinion, receive their origin, venerability, permanence, and even name from the ettowe with which they are associated, the depth to which these fetishes underlie all Zuñi life becomes once more apparent.

Second, the distribution and balancing of civil offices among the clans is characteristic of Zuñi procedure. A particular priesthood or ceremonial function may be limited to members of a particular clan; but the total dispositions as to government evince a feeling for an approximately equal representation of each clan in public affairs, or at least a representation roughly proportional to its numerical strength. Once more we gain the conviction that the Zuñi view their clans not so much as essential units of consanguinity or locality which are conglomerated into a mass while retaining their separate privileges and activities, but rather as coördinated divisions, with special but parallel and equivalent functions in a communal entity.

For the choice of the word "equivalent" in the last statement, I am indebted to Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser. It appeals to me strongly that the

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<sup>1</sup> An exact resolution of the differences between Mrs. Stevenson and myself on this point is impossible at present because her priesthoods are designated only by directions, whereas my informants insisted on denominating them otherwise. I noted only one exception. A member of house 387, in which the third or Onnawa priesthood retires, told me that there were four sets of priests for the four — not six — directions, and that those of this house were of the South.

crux of the whole question of what a clan really is, rests in the contained idea. If clans were or had once been separate units, they should possess unequal privileges and different functions, like castes or classes or guilds. Now the overwhelming rule is that they do not exercise distinct functions, but essentially are equivalent. The only alternative interpretation remaining is that they once were separate bodies but that since their union an equivalating tendency has assimilated them. But, once an equivalating tendency is posited, there is no valid reason, in fact it is gratuitous and arbitrary, to assume that the tendency is only late and secondary; and if it be granted that the tendency is old and primary, there is no logical need for bringing originally distinct clan entities into the argument at all. All that remains to be accounted for is the inclination toward subdivision; and this seems to me to present no difficulty wherever the impulse to systematization, as evinced for instance in secret societies or the Zuñi priesthoods, is present in any strength. It is not even necessary to fall back seriously upon local groups, blood groups, or nicknames. A tendency toward systematization might more or less temporarily make use of such accidental or extrinsic groups as a starting point, and the differences of clan organization among various nations may well in part be due to the diversity of such associated phenomena. But, given the systematizing and coördinating impulse, nothing else is required: it would seize upon the most trivial suggestions and break itself a channel of its own. This is not the place for an exhaustive theoretical discussion; but it is to be hoped that Dr. Goldenweiser will not fail to present at length his happy and fruitful formulation.

#### PLACE OF THE CLAN IN ZUÑI SOCIETY.

It is impossible to proceed far into the complexities of the social and religious organization of the Zuñi without being impressed with the perception that this community is as solidly welded and cross tied as it is intricately ramified. However far one form of division be followed, it branches off by innumerable contacts into others, without ever absorbing these. Four or five different planes of systematization cross cut each other and thus preserve for the whole society an integrity that would be speedily lost if the planes merged and thereby inclined to encourage segregation and fission. The clans, the fraternities, the priesthoods, the kivas, in a measure the gaming parties, are all dividing agencies. If they coincided, the rifts in the social structure would be deep; by countering each other, they cause segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart.

Let us take an individual in this society. First to him as to us, in time and probably ultimately in importance, are the ties of blood and of household association. But, basic as these are, they are scarcely organized into a definite pattern: the personal element still outweighs the institutions. But beyond is the clan, into which the Zuñi is born. It includes half his kin, indeed, but only half; and it includes a large group of persons outside the lines of blood. The clan, in turn, is more or less associated, directly or through certain fetishes and the houses that hold them, with certain priestly offices. Our Zuñi may become a priest of a fetish connected with his clan; or, through kinship running counter to the clan scheme, or through mere personal selection, he can be made a member of a priesthood not connected with his clan. If, as is still more likely, he is not a priest himself, he is almost certain to possess a relation to certain priests through the medium of clan and to others through kinship. His kiva is one of six that perform the outward ritual of which the priests hold the more sacred keys; but there is no connection of personnel between kiva and priests. Our individual is a member of the kiva to which the husband of the woman belonged who first touched him on his entrance into the world. Thus father and son, mother's brother and nephew, the several associates of one priesthood, co-members of a fraternity, are likely to pertain to different and more or less rivalizing kivas. The fraternity is entered occasionally by choice; usually by the affiliation and consequent predilection of the near relatives who summon its medical assistance in case of the individual's sickness. The racing and gaming parties are little known; but everything points to their being in the main independent of every other mode of organization.

Opposed to this actual Zuñi condition, is a putative type of social organization which has sometimes been ascribed to the Pueblo Indians and more often implicitly assumed for them — and the same is true of primitive nations in other parts of the world. This hypothesis predicates that a group of kinsmen, whom we may call A, originally from a locality A, now constitute clan A of their tribe; and that, essentially if not wholly, they compose the membership of secret society A, of priesthood A, and of club or kiva A. Such a system could be diagrammed as in Fig. 2. The organization actually found at Zuñi, however, differs at every point. There is no evidence that the members of clan A have come from a separate locality A. They comprise the kin groups a, b, c, d; they furnish members to fraternities A, B, C, D, to the priesthoods A, B, C, D, and to the kivas A, B, C, D. Thus a given individual of clan A may be of kin group b, father's clan C, fraternity D, priesthood E, and kiva F; his next clan mate that we encounter, will be perhaps of blood group d, father's clan E, fra-

KIN A	LOCAL GROUP A	CLAN A	SOCIETY A	KIVA A	PRIESTHOOD A
KIN B	LOCAL GROUP B	CLAN B	SOCIETY B	KIVA B	PRIESTHOOD B
KIN C	LOCAL GROUP C	CLAN C	SOCIETY C	KIVA C	PRIESTHOOD C
KIN D	LOCAL GROUP D	CLAN D	SOCIETY D	KIVA D	PRIESTHOOD D

Fig. 2. Hypothetical Scheme of Zufi Social Structure.

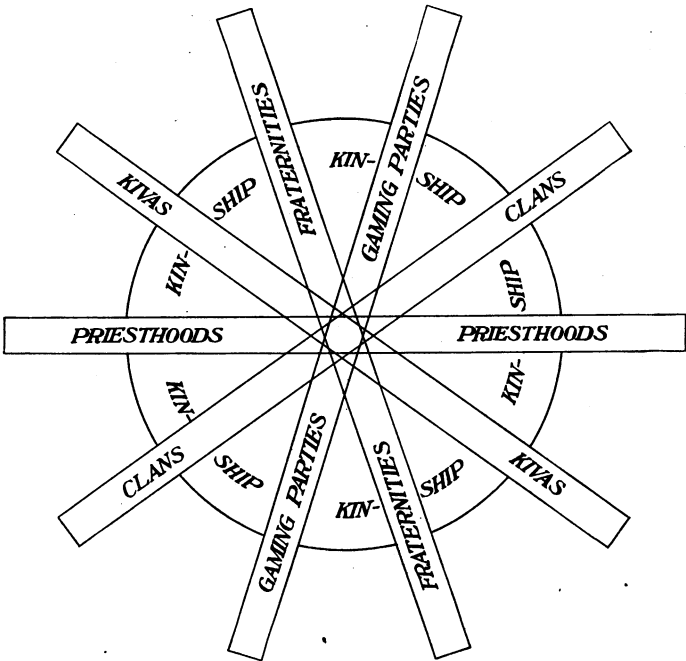


Fig. 3. Actual Scheme of Zufi Social Structure.

ternity F, priesthood A, kiva B. By the time the tribe has been gone through, every clan, society, priesthood, and kiva is thus likely to be connected, in the person of one or several individuals, with every other, and each with each in about equal degree; but — and this is the significant point — the connections are almost wholly through individuals as individuals, and with reference to the national organization as a solidary scheme. Connection between group and group as such is always faint, often lacking; the plan of the fabric throughout seems calculated to avoid it. Fig. 3 may serve to contrast this Zuni type of social structure with the previous hypothetical one.

It cannot be denied that the various forms of bodies — clans, societies, and the like — do have definite contacts. They could not co-exist within the same culture without maintaining relations, and these relations may now and then lead to a partial identification or a temporary coincidence. In the preceding pages I have piled up every possible case of bond between clans on the one hand and the various religious organizations on the other. It would be as unwise as unfair to deny significance to these contacts. But, bulky as my list of instances may seem, it comes only to a minute fraction of the potential cases. The actual contacts of the clans with the societies, bodies of priests, kivas, and other forms of religious machinery, are vanishingly small as compared with the total surface which this machinery exposes. On this point there can be no question. Let the reader compare the vast and intricate religious organization presented by Mrs. Stevenson, often in the most summary fashion, with my minutely analyzed but after all poor and scant lists of all cases where the clans stand in relation to this organization, and the slenderness of the rapprochements to the total bulk is overpoweringly evident.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, then, we have only relatively few of the potential instances of relation between the various types of Zuni social and religious organization actualized. As regards interpretation, two alternatives are before us. We can look upon the occasional relations as the significant points, as the original nuclei from which all the remainder of the structure emanated as a meaningless growth. Or, on the other hand, we can look upon the large outlines and grand diversifying currents of the existing plan

<sup>1</sup> An interesting parallel, which merits exhaustive inspection, is the relation of the fraternities to what I have called the tribal religious organization. That a considerable number of cases of such relation exist, is clear from Mrs. Stevenson's work. An extreme instance is the constitution of the officers of the Shuma'kwe society into a recognized priesthood. To ignore such facts altogether, would be unwarrantable. But they acquire meaning just in proportion as they are seen to be irregular or unusual; in other words, in proportion as the basic gap between fraternal and tribal organization is clearly and justly recognized, — as I am of the conviction that it was recognized by Mrs. Stevenson, although her formulation thereof lacks the explicitness and emphasis that it might have had.

as basal and significant, and attach to the minor cross links between them only such weight as the exceptional always deserves.

It remains to inquire the motives that have led to the frequent choice of the first alternative, even more, perhaps, in ethnological works of a general character, then in studies dealing with the American Southwest. I can conceive three.

One is the instinctive inclination of the immature and unschooled mind to find attraction as such in the singular, the unexplained, and the mystifying rather than in the correlated.

Next, and more specific, is the tendency, already commented on, to assume that the past must have been not only different from the present, but contrary to it. What is now exceptional was once regular; what is vestigial, must have been not merely functional, but of primary functional importance; what is now consequential, must have been inconsequential or non-existent. It is clear that once this method of interpretation is adopted, it can be eternally applied without let or hindrance. Every irregularity, every subsidiary feature even, can be construed as a survival, and every survival as evidence of a former different plan, much as the mythologizing Indian concludes that because rivers now flow downstream, they must in the beginning of time have flowed up; and every eddy is there as a proving survival.

As a third motive, I would assign intellectual sloth. If every society, club, priesthood, and civil office can be resolved into a clan or function of a clan, and every clan into a group of kinsmen or coinhabitants, as simple a scheme is attained as it is possible to devise. Where we can postulate coincidence, we are freed from the obligation of examining subtle and varying relations. It is as if we could reduce cylinder, piston, valves, rod, intake, exhaust, and regulator of an engine all to the formula of a tube: the machine would be endlessly easier to picture and conceive. Whether it would run, can unfortunately not be put to the final test of practical application in a descriptive science like ethnology, so that any indiscriminating mind remains at liberty to proclaim its formula of the tube to other minds that abhor the exertion of discriminating, without being reduced to the confusion of obvious exposure. As a matter of fact, however, it requires only a low degree of intellectual perception to realize that a social machine constructed on the simplified parallel and coinciding plan of Fig. 2 could not work. Not only would a community organized on this scheme inevitably break apart; it would never be a community; just as a series of organs, each of which performed all the functions of all the others, would constitute as many individuals, and not a single one. A small amount of reflection shows that the interwoven structure of society illustrated by Fig. 3, or some considerable approach thereto, is a logical necessity.

The size of the Zuñi community, and its reduction to a single pueblo, may have caused its social fabric to be more intricately knit than usual. But the relations of all the Southwestern tribes are so intimate, that it is practically certain that the main features of the plan of Zuñi society recur among the other Pueblos, and in large measure even among the so-called nomadic peoples. As regards more distant nations, whose historical connections with those of the Southwest are remote, such inferences cannot be drawn; but the theoretical considerations adduced compel the conclusion that however different the strands or elements of their societies, the interrelations of these elements must be in some measure analogous to the interrelations which the elements of Zuñi society manifest.

## IV. THE TOWN.

In order to ascertain the distribution of clans in Zuñi, it proved necessary to make a new survey, the detailed results of which are shown in Map 6. The town has altered in too many respects since 1881 to make Mindeleff's excellent plot of that date serviceable at present. Moreover, experience proved informants to be very inconsistent in placing families in the past. One man thinks of conditions twenty years ago, another of a period twice as far back. Even the same informant is likely to have different times in mind as he progresses from one part of the map to another. Finally, so many families have moved from old Zuñi to entirely new homes in the immediate environs, that the locational relations of more than one third of the population could be determined only by means of a new map.

Such a new plot seemed worth while also because it would show in detail changes in the shape of the town and would reveal its process of growth during a generation. I tried, but soon abandoned the attempt, to draw over the Mindeleff map to conform with the pueblo of 1915. Superficially, the old map and the new are remarkably alike; but the vast majority of exterior lines and many of the interior lines have been altered, at least by a few feet and often by much more.

Finally, the new survey gave an opportunity of introducing elevations, which are not indicated in Mindeleff's survey. Mindeleff does show by shading three or four levels of stories. At first glance, this appears much the most satisfactory, because the most conspicuous method; but it is entirely inadequate for detailed service. Rooms are of very different height, so that adjoining two story and three story houses sometimes are of nearly the same elevation, even when they are built upon the same foundation. Where the ground slopes, as it does over a great part of the pueblo, the roof of the house with fewer stories may actually be above the one with more stories. There are also many cases of roof levels being separated by about half the height of a story, even within the limits of one and the same house.

The only accurate method of recording elevations seems therefore to be by the entering of absolute figures related to a fixed base. It would have been of the greatest interest if these could have been supplemented by an indication of the number of stories under each roof. This, however, proved impossible. The Zuñi regard their roofs as public highways, and were entirely indifferent to a survey being made. Their homes, on the other hand, they feel to be private, and any attempt to enter all the inner

and lower chambers at will would be impossible, except upon the exercise of authority, backed by force. They are generally ready to tell the number of rooms which their house contains and the number of stories to which it descends; but the magnitude of the town, and the involved expenditure of time, precluded this method being attempted on any general scale.

### THE SURVEY.

The survey was made for me in 1915 by Mr. Mark Bushman of Gallup. The first step was to locate certain fixed points which would correlate the new survey with Mindeleff's map. The highest roof in Zuñi, the kyapachunna, from which the councillors make public announcements, was definitely placed on the Mindeleff map by measurements and by a line run from the head or south end of the K'ochina plaza (the court entering the main block from the north), to the head of the right-angled alley which penetrates the same block from the south. In Mindeleff's time this high level appears to have included a number of roofs. At present, it covers merely one small room which looms an entire story above the surrounding ones. A spot near the west end of this roof was designated as point X.

Certain house corners and fixed points, mostly on the exterior lines of the pueblo, were then found, whose appearance would indicate that they had not been altered since the day when Cushing first came to Zuñi. Only such of these points were used as the lieutenant governor, an elderly man, stated positively to have undergone no change. These points have been designated as stations A to I.

From point X, the distance, direction, and downward angle of every corner and jog of the exterior line of the main or northwestern block were read by transit and stadia wires on a thirteen foot rod and then plotted to the computed scale of the Mindeleff map—43 feet to the inch. The outlines of the smaller southwestern blocks were also obtained from X. This point was then connected by triangulation with Y, on the highest roof in the southeastern block, and with Z of the highest roof of the northern block. From Y the exterior angles of the three eastern blocks were sighted and plotted, and from Z those of the north block. The magnetic deviation assumed was that of Gallup,  $13^{\circ} 20'$  east. A subsequent solar observation indicated about  $14^{\circ}$ . It is therefore possible that the arrow on the map points from one half to two thirds of a degree east of true north.

With all the exterior lines of the seven blocks of the pueblo proper plotted, the interior walls were obtained with a steel chain and entered on the plot, affording at the same time an opportunity to check the instrumental results.

Mindeleff states his survey to have been made primarily with a compass and a tape.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, I believe this method to be the more accurate, but it must also involve very much more time. The ideal procedure probably is to work by instrument and with a tape at the same time, utilizing the results of each method to check the other. My experience, however, leads me to estimate that a period of at least a month, and perhaps considerably more, would be required for an accurate survey of Zuñi made in this way by an observer competent to use a theodolite or a plane table and operating with an assistant. As Zuñi is by far the largest of all existing pueblos, this method may however be much more readily applicable to surveys elsewhere.

I have also made no attempt to indicate the deviations from straight lines that characterize many Zuñi walls, but have merely drawn a line between every two corners. Here again, it is not that the results would have been unimportant, but that time was not available. Many Zuñi walls are still somewhat curvilinear. On the whole, however, the town is now laid out on more rectilinear lines than in 1881. The newer and larger houses, in particular, including most of those that face on streets or plazas or the exterior of the pueblo, have substantially straight walls. Some of the building that was observed was freehand, but in other cases, as in the reconstruction of the Chuppawa Kiwitsinne, the greater part of whose new walls was erected during the summer of 1915, a string was stretched and the wall run perfectly true. This is seemingly not only an innovation, but a recent one.

In a few cases, rooms are probably more rectangular than they appear on the map. This statement applies particularly to several houses or rooms in the interior of the main block; whose diagonal shape is, at least in part, due to the surveyed exterior lines of the block not tallying exactly with the interior measured ones. In this class are rooms 100, 99, 114, and 60. Most of these are either roofless ruins or standing houses adjacent to tumble-down structures whose accurate survey is particularly difficult.

The elevations were obtained by running levels or laterals by instrument to some seventy selected points, mostly on the ground, but to the number of about twenty at roof corners. These have all been computed and entered on the map with reference to a United States Topographic Survey bench mark, 6281 feet above sea level, reckoned as zero. Elevations below this are designated as minus. This bench mark is just outside the limits of the large map (number 6), but will be found indicated in Map 7 in front of house 534a, to the northeast of the town. All the elevations obtained instrumentally are underlined on the map.

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<sup>1</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep. VIII, 44, 1891.

All other elevations were subsequently obtained by the writer by means of a rod, and computed with reference to those instrumentally determined. All these are given without underlining.

All levels have been reduced to the nearest foot or half foot, the latter indicated by a dot after the number.

There are three levels of importance, besides the bench mark, that barely fall within the frame of Map 6. The bridge which crosses Zuñi River somewhat south of the southwestern corner of the pueblo has an elevation of  $-13\frac{1}{2}$  feet at the northern end of its floor. The bed of the river immediately below is  $-21\frac{1}{2}$  feet. North of the village is a large well, still the principal source of water supply for the greater part of Zuñi, and shown on Map 7. The northern rim of this has an elevation of  $-7$  feet, while it is 14 feet farther to the water level, or  $-21$  feet in all. This makes the water in this well of substantially the same level as the water running under the bridge, and no doubt somewhat below the level of the river a few hundred yards farther up near the eastern end of the town. It is therefore likely that this well is not actually a spring, as it is sometimes called, but that it is filled by direct seepage from the river which passes deep under the town. This fact would explain the apparent purity of the water, which at first sight seems remarkable in view of the well being situated practically at the foot of the largest garbage pile of the several that surround Zuñi.

The smaller scale map, number 7, showing the newer and often detached outlying houses within a quarter of a mile of the old pueblo, is based on sights, obtained as before, from points X, Y, and Z, according to the position of these houses. One corner only of each house or block of houses in these suburbs was sighted and entered; and from this corner each house was subsequently plotted on the basis of measurements with tape and compass. The pueblo proper on this map is merely a reduction from the large scale plot of Map 6.

To prevent error, it should be stated that the so-called scalp house or shrine in which scalps are preserved was said by my Indian informants to have been moved in recent years from a position some 200 yards nearer the town than it now occupies.

Mr. Bushman also obtained for me the following readings taken from point X:—

The main building of the Black Rock Government School lies  $68^{\circ} 30'$  east of north. The shrine on the summit of the ruin Mattsakya,  $86^{\circ}$  east of north. The southern pinnacle of Towwayallanna,  $71^{\circ} 30'$  east of south. The shrine south of Pinnawa,  $60^{\circ} 40'$  east of south. The shrine Heppatinna, a short distance across the river,  $29^{\circ}$  west of south.

Nearly every Zuñi roof possesses a slight pitch and not infrequently the slope from one edge to another amounts to a foot or more. This is particularly the case over large rooms or where several houses happen to have their roofs without any step between them. In general, the figures given for roof elevations must therefore be taken to apply only to the portion of the roof in which they are entered. This circumstance also accounts for the fact that adjacent roofs whose given levels differ by as much as a foot have sometimes been connected by a double-pointed arrow to indicate that the roofs are flush along their line of contact.

I should have very much liked to delineate in full the contours of the ground upon which Zuñi is built, but was forced to abandon this intention because of the time it would have required. The highest unbuilt point on the knoll, designated as W, is a little over twenty feet above the bench mark base, or somewhat more than forty feet above the present river bed. This high point is a little north of the northern edge of the north block, near where the crumbling adobe base of an old outhouse is still discernible. From near this point the ground falls sharply to the north about twenty-five feet. This northern face of the knoll is one of the principal places of disposal of refuse at present.

After the alley which separates the northern from the main or north-western block has been entered, the ground slopes upward until in the corner of K'ochinawa or Rat plaza an elevation of over twenty feet is reached. In Mindeleff's map, the southern wall of this K'ochina court was continuous. At the present time it is broken through and opens into another, apparently nameless, court to the south. The slope still is upward as one goes farther into this court, until an altitude of twenty-eight feet, or nearly fifty feet above the river bed, is reached. This court is however said by the Indians to be well above ground level. When the houses that formerly occupied this area were abandoned and pulled down, their lower two stories, or possibly in some cases three, were filled in, presumably because this was an easier procedure than removing the entire content of their walls. This high level is therefore distinctly an artificial one.

A similar proceeding is often employed in the case of the lower rooms of houses that are left standing and inhabited. Inner dark chambers are less used than formerly, now that the people have become accustomed to doors and windows. In addition, it is likely that added stability was given to the upper stories of a high house by sinking its lower story completely in made ground. Part, if not all, of the foundations of house 163a have been filled in in this way.

It is likely that this was an old procedure. The streets and courts of the town gradually rose from the accumulation of refuse, the wash from

earth roofs and mud plaster walls, and the blow of sand and dust, until chambers that originally were level with the ground became partly or wholly subterranean. New stories were reared upon the old walls and the lowest floors filled in even before the modern reconstruction of the town began.

#### CHANGES.

The rapidity with which a pueblo like Zuñi changes in detail, while preserving the same general outline and appearance for generation after generation, is really remarkable. I have already alluded to the surprising similarity of my map to that of Mindeleff, in spite of the fact that only two thirds of the population remains within the old town limits, and that certain minor discrepancies have been produced in the maps by the difference in the method of surveying. This general conservatism is however offset by the readiness with which changes of a few feet are made in the lines of any particular house. Mr. Bushman's survey was begun on July 13 and the plot finished on July 19, 1915. The same night there was a rain which was followed by several others. My last observations on the town were made on August 8. In the scant three weeks' interval, at least half a dozen houses had fallen or had been torn down.

On August 8, for instance, the wall between rooms 13 and 10 in the main block was being rebuilt. This had given every indication of having been untouched and abandoned for some time previously. The upper story of room 46 in the same block fell in a rain of August 7. The débris was being removed on the following day. The new roof on this house would therefore henceforth be level with the adjoining houses 45 and 48 instead of rising above them a story. Rooms 62 and 63 had, on August 8, been torn down since the survey was made, and 62a was actually in process of demolition. 143, which had stood as an unroofed ruin since the time of my advent to Zuñi, was on this same day being rebuilt. What remained of the walls had been thrown down and a new foundation was being laid. This foundation however extended north to meet room 141, obliterating the small alley which at the time of my survey, as well as in Mindeleff's day, separated these two rooms. The fixed point A which I was still able to use in my survey is therefore now also a matter of the past. Room X157, also in the north block, had been torn down since July 19 and was being rebuilt along what appeared to be the lines of a still earlier structure on the same site. The present X157 is therefore considerably broader and slightly less deep than the one that stood until July, 1915. In the northeast block, room 327, serving as a storeroom to the family in 328, collapsed during a heavy rain. 327a was an older room of which nothing but the foundation remained. This had been excavated and stone for its reconstruction had been lying piled up for some time. On the collapse of room 327, it was completely torn down and the construction of a larger 327a, to include not only its old area but that of 327 without partition, was commenced, and had made considerable progress by August 8. In the southwestern part of the main block, the

roof of 128 had suffered damage in the storms following July 19 and was being taken down to prevent its collapse. It was stated that this roof would not be replaced. In the southeastern block, rooms 399 and 400 were ruins when the survey was made. Early in August, building was going on in them. The walls had been brought up to a height of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet and it was stated that the roof was to be nearly up to the level of that of the adjoining rooms, 395, 401, and 405.

The following are a few of the alterations which were made between August, 1915, and July, 1916, and which therefore represent further changes from Map 6. Room 42 has become roofless. The front of 120 is several feet farther back, and only partly reconstructed. Room 61 is a gaping hole, into which rubbish is being thrown. 62, 63, 64 are level with the ground. 62a in July, 1916, was a hole five feet deep across which stretched the bare rafters of the former ceiling, their tops at an elevation of 22 feet. In August the rafters had been removed, the bottom of the hole was cleared, and the west wall of 55 had been torn down and was being rebuilt in adobe. Where 63 had been, stones had been piled for building a new room or wall. Most of the rear or west wall of 181 is broken down, although the room is still inhabited. 143 is rebuilt and inhabited. It extends to the south wall of 141, and its roof is level with that of 141. 158 in July was a roofless ruin. In August it had been broken down, but the southern part of previously ruined 157 was being rebuilt. The southern half of 376 was completely removed in July. By August, the northern half had been restored, and was inhabited by the new occupants of 373 and 374. The roof of 256 was being torn down, in order to be rebuilt. The fronts of 391, 397, and 398 have been brought out into a continuous line with that of 406. Sha'lako had been held in two of these houses during the winter. I have no doubt that exact examination would reveal at least a dozen other alterations of the same kind, besides new building in the environs.

There is a special factor of importance making for alteration. This is the custom of improving and, if possible, rebuilding one's house after one has been designated one of the hosts of a Sha'lako god in the great December ritual. People apparently vie with each other to make their houses as imposing as possible on this occasion, and the result is that every year the front or main living rooms of eight<sup>1</sup> different houses are with few exceptions pulled down to be rebuilt on an enlarged scale. The degree to which this custom leads to alterations has possibly been intensified in recent years. Under present conditions, the feeling is of sufficient strength to bring about that the exterior walls of nearly every house in Zuñi are altered in the course of thirty or forty years.

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<sup>1</sup> There are six Sha'lako gods, but eight houses are rebuilt. Stevenson, p. 227.

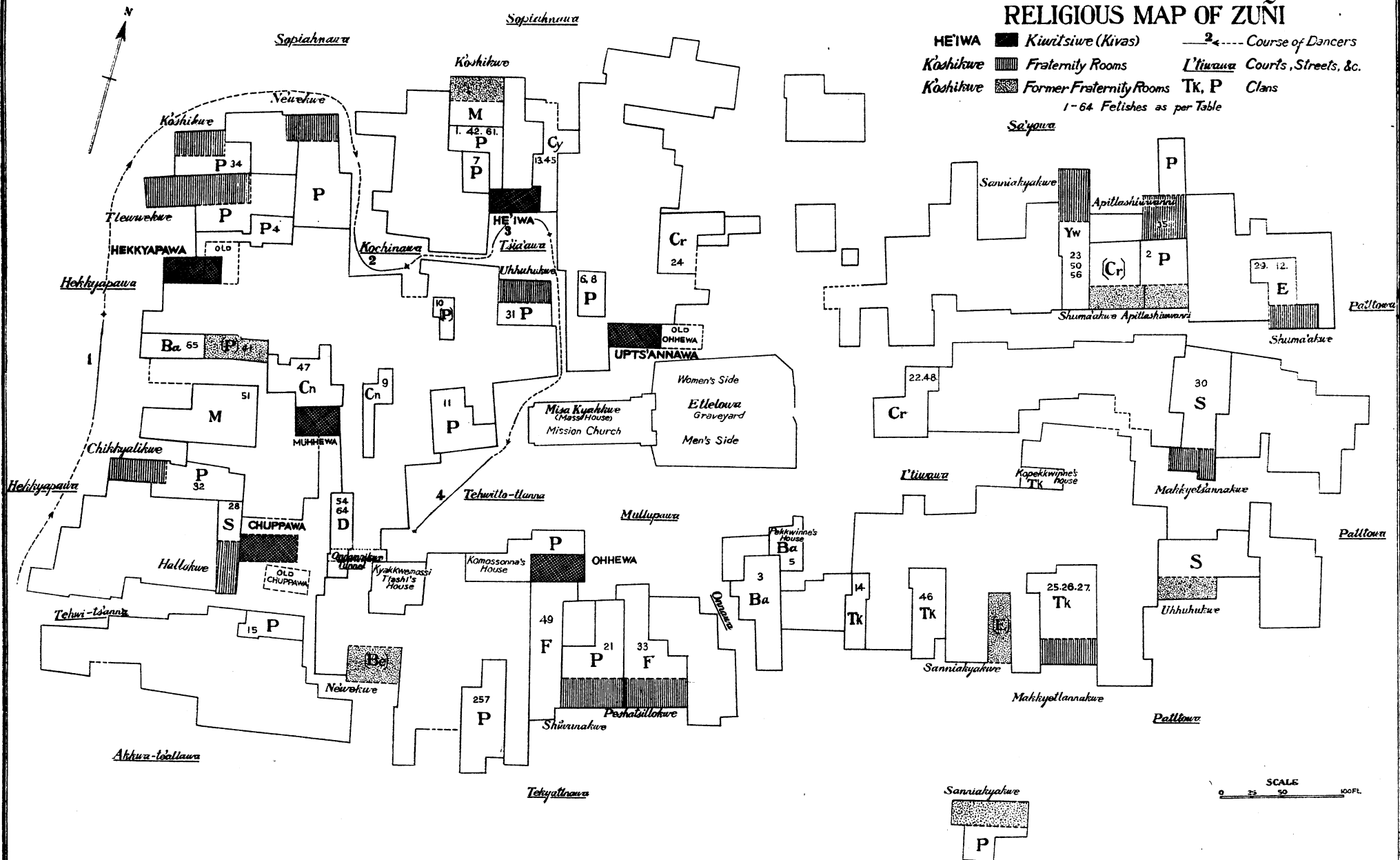
## CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES.

Even religious structures are not exempt. Of the six kiwwitsiwe or kivas, three are no longer standing where they stood in 1881. Ohhewa is shown adjacent to the east end of Upts'annawa in Mindeleff's map. It was subsequently rebuilt south of the church and main plaza on ground that had formed part of the house of the Komossoonna or dance director. Hekkyapawa was recently re-erected in part on the old site, but made to project farther west. As a result, its main axis is now from east to west like that of the other kiwwitsiwe, instead of forming an exception in extending from north to south. Chuppawa was non-existent as a building on my arrival in Zuñi in June, 1915. It had stood at the corner of the alley separating the main block from the southwestern one, leaving a narrow passage way; a turn had to be made to reach the west end of the one remaining tunnel in Zuñi which marks the junction of the main and the southern blocks. As all the houses adjacent to old Chuppawa had been torn down, it was decided to move the ceremonial chamber and place it farther north, leaving a wider and more convenient thoroughfare. No doubt this change also gave opportunity for a larger building. At the time of my arrival and for some weeks thereafter, one of the women from the neighboring houses had a bread-baking oven on the spot selected for the new kiwwitsinne. In July, the ground was cleared, the foundations outlined, and work began. By August 8, the walls had risen nearly to their full height. In 1916 the chamber was in use. Muhhewa kiwwitsinne is said not to have altered for many years. He'iwa has been rebuilt and slightly enlarged, but remains on the same spot as in Mindeleff's day. Upts'annawa appears to have been somewhat enlarged when adjacent Ohewwa was removed. These changes in the kiwwitsiwe are shown in Map 8, which records features of religious moment in Zuñi life.

This same map reveals a like readiness of the Zuñi to shift their fraternity headquarters when there is occasion. Mrs. Stevenson says that according to Zuñi theory each of these religious bodies has met in the same house since the time of its foundation. I have no doubt that the Zuñi make such statements, but they are certainly schematic expressions to which the people are aware that their practice furnishes exceptions. Seven of the thirteen fraternities have been moved to other houses in recent years.

The Sanniakyakwe first moved from the destroyed Eagle house 407 on the south side of the southeast block to a free Pikchikwe house directly south. The man of this house was out of 407. Recently they moved again, to Yellow Wood house 347 on the north face of the northeast block.

## RELIGIOUS MAP OF ZUÑI





The Uhhuhukwe were not far away from the Sanniakyakwe, in Sun house 446. Not long ago they transferred their headquarters to the Pikchikwe house 54 on Ts'i'a'wa, the so-called Sacred Plaza. This is the only case of a move between the eastern and western halves of the town.

The K'oshikwe have moved from Tansy Mustard house 159 to Pikchikwe number 1. These are on the northern fronts of the north and main blocks respectively.

The Ne'wekwe transferred their seat from Bear house 235, now ruined, on the south side of the south block, to Pikchikwe house 7 at the northeast corner of the main block.

The Apitlashiwanni or bow priests formerly met in Pikchikwe house 360. This stands but is uninhabited. They now have their headquarters in the adjacent Pikchikwe house 357, which faces north instead of south in the same block.

The Shi'wanakwe, once in Pikchikwe house 96 in the main block, are now in Pikchikwe 268 on the south front of the south block.

The Shuma'kwe formerly adjoined the Apitlashiwanni in Crane house 354. Their head was a young man of this house. Some years ago there was sickness in the pueblo; this youth was accused of witchcraft, and intimidated into a confession. Sentiment ran high against him; and while the Zuñi no longer hang their convicted or confessed witches, owing to examples made by the federal government, the young man stood in serious danger of losing his life privately, or at least of severe maltreatment. The agent intervened diplomatically by putting him to work at the Black Rock school, until excitement had somewhat subsided; and he is now again a member of the community, although more or less shunned by all except his blood kin, who believe him innocent. He was promptly deposed by the Shuma'kwe, who abandoned even his house, moving four doors to the east into Eagle house 372. The same sort of thing obviously could have happened in ancient times, and probably did, now and then.

It is clear that the Zuñi reveal the same impulse in moving their fraternity headquarters as their residences: they tend to preserve the location in the original quarter of the town.

The status of the fraternity houses appears to have no exact parallel among the Hopi. There, each kiva belongs to a society or fraternity. At Zuñi, the six kiwwitsiwe are the nearest correspondents of the Hopi kivas. It is even not impossible that the words are at bottom the same. The Zuñi kiwwitsiwe however have no connection whatever with fraternities or fraternity rituals. They belong, as the Zuñi say, to the Kokko or gods, that is, the masked impersonators of gods. In other words, their membership is the membership of the tribal organization which performs the rites that the Hopi know as *kachina*, in distinction from the unmasked festivals of the societies. It must be pointed out again that the difference between these two branches of religion is not only fundamental at Zuñi, in our interpretation, but is quite clear in the native mind. Whether it is an equally basic distinction at Hopi remains to be ascertained. Dr. Fewkes has expressed it, but it does not appear from his presentation that the Hopi are conscious of quite so radical a diversity between their tribal organiza-

tion and the society organization as are the Zuñi. Their association of their kivas with the fraternities, though it may be a survival of an older condition which once obtained at Zuñi, also points in the same direction of a less definite separation of the two currents of cult.

At any rate, the headquarters of the fraternities at Zuñi in recent years, and probably in recent generations, have been the front rooms of ordinary living houses, the room, in each case, in which the permanent inmates of that house eat, sleep, and pass most of their time. It is rather remarkable that esoteric bodies should have selected front rooms for their meetings rather than the really secluded interior ones. The fact appears to evidence that the Zuñi fraternities are not as secret in their essential nature as it is usual for us to assume. Anyone walking by could certainly hear all the songs and, on occasion, see much of what was being done inside. In addition, as Mrs. Stevenson observes, the inmates of the room, far from vacating the same when a ceremony is to be performed, do not even remove their beds from it, although they pretend to sleep.

The fraternity headquarters, then, are all on streets, and mostly on the outer edge of the pueblo. It is rather remarkable that none of them are on courts or plazas, the one exception, that of the Uhuhhukwe, constituting the most recent removal of all. The six kiwwitsiwe, on the other hand, are all on courts, if the blind alley on which Chuppawa and Muhhewa are located be counted, as seems proper, a court. Hekkyapawa, it is true, is on the western edge of the pueblo, but faces the level space known by the same name and reckoned by the Zuñi as a court, as is shown by the fact that this space is one of the four regular stations in which the masked dancers perform. The description of the kiwwitsiwe as being situated in secluded parts of the pueblo, accordingly does not strike me as accurate.

#### GROWTH OF THE TOWN.

It is of interest that in spite of the strong inclination of the Zuñi of today to leave the old pueblo, they appear to remain attached to it by invisible bonds. It has already been stated that, as expressed in Map 5, when a family makes this move, it appears normally to settle in that part of the suburbs corresponding to the section of the town in which its old home was located. There appears thus to be a marked sense of orientation that survives considerable innovations. Of the same sort is the overwhelming tendency of the people in the outside houses to have their doors face towards the town. Nearly every house north of the pueblo has its door to the south; nearly all on the south side of the river face north, and

the exceptions are almost always to be found in houses that lie some distance to the east or west of the north and south axis of the town and therefore have their doors facing respectively west or east.

Adobe seems to be little used, even for new construction, within the old town limits; but it is rather frequent in the outside houses, though still perhaps employed in only a minority of instances. Not infrequently the first room or two of a house in the suburbs will be built of stone and subsequent additions made of adobe; or vice versa.

It is also obvious that the outside houses on the whole are very much larger than those within the pueblo. As already stated, the Zuñi of today appear to be proud to live in a spacious structure. They receive compliments on this score with gratification. Often the newer houses, and particularly the living rooms, give the impression of being far larger than there is any need for. Of course, this building of great houses in the suburbs is only an intensification of a tendency which is finding expression within the pueblo so far as space and conditions permit. There are almost no small rooms of the old-fashioned type to be found facing any open place. It is necessary to penetrate to the interior of blocks before rooms of this kind are encountered. Even there the tendency appears to be gradually to unite two or three of the small old rooms into a single rebuilt larger one. This tendency toward enlarging is already clearly discernible on Mindeleff's map.

The criterion of age which is thus furnished corroborates the impression which appears to have been gained by everyone familiar with Zuñi, that the three eastern blocks of the town proper are newer than the four western ones. There is not only in general a greater regularity of inner and outer lines, but a much greater average size of rooms. The southern block, and perhaps the eastern half of the northern block, also convey the impression of being not quite so old as the heart of the main or northwestern block. It is in this main block, in the western half of the north block, and possibly in the small southwestern block, that the original lines of the pueblo must be sought. This reconstruction does not imply that the population of Zuñi two centuries ago was necessarily less than at present. With allowance made for the much smaller size of room customary then, as well as for a possible difference in the number of rooms customary in one house, the area indicated, which is less than half of the present pueblo proper, would perhaps have sufficed to hold as many people.

It is also likely that the impulse towards larger houses is a fairly old one and may have begun to be operative soon after the town was founded.

The church and graveyard were clearly not placed in the middle of an established or to be established town, but the town has literally grown

around them. The church, or its possible predecessor, probably stood from the first where it is now. At that time it would have been outside the pueblo and off to the east of it. Gradually the town grew eastward where the ground is nearly level, whereas to the north and west it slopes sharply a short distance from the pueblo wall line. After a time, the church and cemetery were enclosed on three sides. The town, however, continued to grow until the three eastern blocks had been added. It is impossible to say whether this process was continuous, or, whether after the present pueblo limits had been reached, there was a cessation, along the lines indicated in Mindeleff's map, until the recent drift to the suburbs began.

The location of nearly half of the fraternity houses in the three eastern blocks indicates that these blocks possess at least a respectable antiquity. But on the other hand it is no evidence of their great age, even within the two and a quarter centuries that modern Zuñi has stood, on account of the demonstrated readiness of the people to move these headquarters. That the kivas are all in the western half of the town, and, until some years ago, all in the northwestern quarter, that is, in the main and north blocks, is however probably significant, because these structures are avowedly and wholly religious.

### THE ORIGINAL TOWN.

Several excavations within the old town lines or close to them were made in 1916 by Mr. Leslie Spier for the American Museum of Natural History. These are shown on Map 6 by the letters K to V, and KK to NN. Mr. Spier states that the pottery found at different levels in these holes grades by a series of continuous transitions from the ware in use today down to a style which is identical with that found in the uppermost deposits of towns like Mattsakya that we know from historical sources to have been abandoned during the Pueblo rebellion of 1680.

The Zuñi, who do not deal in dates, tell that their ancestors did not live in the present town but at Hallonawa directly across the river, where the trading stores now stand. Halonagu is mentioned by Oñate in 1598 as one of the six inhabited Zuñi towns. In the revolt of 1680, the mission of La Purificación de la Virgen de Alona was destroyed. Hallonawa is therefore well attested as a pre-rebellion town. Moreover, the site of Hallonawa, south of the river, was unquestionably once inhabited. Cushing built the northernmost of the structures now occupied as trading stores, and in digging its foundations uncovered walls, skeletons, and artifacts, on which Fewkes has reported.<sup>1</sup>

These facts have led to the general assumption that the shift from Hallo-

<sup>1</sup> Journ. of Am. Arch. and Ethn., I, 103-105, 1891.

nawa to Zuñi proper occurred in connection with the pacification and concentration of the tribe into a single town at the end of the rebellion in 1693. But this conclusion is certainly erroneous. Mr. Spier's excavations at Hallonawa prove that the pottery of this site is of a type different from the ware that was in use at Mattsakya for some generations before 1680. The Hallonawa pottery is older, and probably older by a considerable interval. The Hallonawa on the south bank of Zuñi River had been long abandoned when the Pueblo rebellion broke. It is likely to have been a ruin when Coronado came.

Since however historical records leave no possible doubt that there was an inhabited pueblo known as Hallonawa not only in 1680 but for a century or more before, it follows that if this was not at what we and the modern Zuñi call Hallonawa, it must have stood either where Zuñi is today or at some spot in the vicinity. The latter possibility must be admitted, but is entirely unsupported by evidence. The probability therefore is that the historical Hallonawa of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was Zuñi. The lowest sherds found by Mr. Spier in Zuñi accordingly represent not the period beginning with 1693, but a period antedating 1680 by perhaps two centuries — almost certainly by one.

Cushing evidently had some information of this pre-rebellion Hallonawa-Zuñi — whether from native tradition or historical sources is not clear. Mindeleff,<sup>1</sup> on his authority, makes the pre-1680 Hallonawa extend from the trading stores across the river to what is now the western portion of Zuñi. He even professes to find some vestiges of this older town — or rather half town — in a few discernible wall fragments remaining in modern Zuñi. Nothing of the kind is visible today, in my judgment. In fact, the constant rebuilding which I have cited makes it extremely improbable that even any pieces of walls would survive for two centuries or more between the pre-1680 period and Mindeleff's survey, excepting such as had been buried feet under ground. Mindeleff seems to have been led to his finding through a rather unauthentic idea that the age of walls could be identified by the type of their masonry.

Cushing, then, was probably right in making Zuñis live on the site of modern Zuñi before the rebellion; he was wrong, if Mr. Spier's objective discoveries are worth anything, in considering this residence synchronous with the occupation of the Hallonawa south of the river. This conclusion clears up a difficulty: namely, why a comparatively small town should have been built on both sides of a river that at times cannot be crossed — a condition that would be quite without precedent in the Pueblo region. The conclusion also disposes of another troublesome point in the views heretofore

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<sup>1</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rep. VIII, 88, 1891.

held. Hallonawa is practically a flat site, only slightly elevated above the river. Less than two hundred yards away is the natural knoll which served as a nucleus for Zuñi. The Zuñi towns from the time of Coronado to the rebellion were all on knolls, hills, or rising talus slopes. A Zuñi settlement on the level ground during this part of the Spanish period would be an anomaly. A settlement there centuries earlier, when pottery was perceptibly different, and habits of life perhaps equally so, offers a much slighter obstacle to our understanding.

One question remains: why the Zuñi, living on what from at least 1598 to 1680 seems to have been called Hallonawa, now denominate this site Shiwwanakwe (Zuñi place), or I'tiwawa (middle place), and apply the term Hallonawa (ant place) specifically to the site south of the river. But this problem is largely formal. As a matter of fact the Zuñi still call their town Hallonawa. They use all three names for it. When situation or context forbid confusion, they call Zuñi Hallonawa about as frequently as they call it Shiwwinakwe or I'tiwawa. If on the other hand one Zuñi passes another on the streets of the town, extends the habitual greeting "Where are you going?" and receives the answer "To Hallonawa," it is understood that the responder is on his way to the prehistoric site across the river, and generally assumed that he intends to deal with one of the American traders there. It is much as, in Brooklyn, "New York" means Manhattan Island, but in Chicago or a census report, the whole of the city including Brooklyn. Shiwwinakwe and I'tiwawa are in fact descriptive and religious designations, and the proper name of Zuñi as a locality is still Hallonawa.

The depths below the present surface to which potsherds, débris, and accumulations connected with human occupation are found at the several spots excavated in Zuñi, are as follows:—

W	unexcavated
V	5.5 feet
U	5
T	a tilled field, natural surface, unexcavated
S	7
Q	8.5
P	7.5
O	washed sand, no refuse
N	3.5
M	2.5
L	12.5
K	15.5
Room 62a	22 feet below 1915 roof level
KK	4
LL	11
MM	12
NN	9.5.

From these figures it will be seen that while from two to four centuries of occupation have appreciably raised the surface of Zuñi, the opinion that the original site was nearly level, is untenable. Yet the original knoll was small, and the accumulation of wash and refuse has been heavy, averaging perhaps a quarter to half an inch a year, and reaching very likely twice that amount in spots.

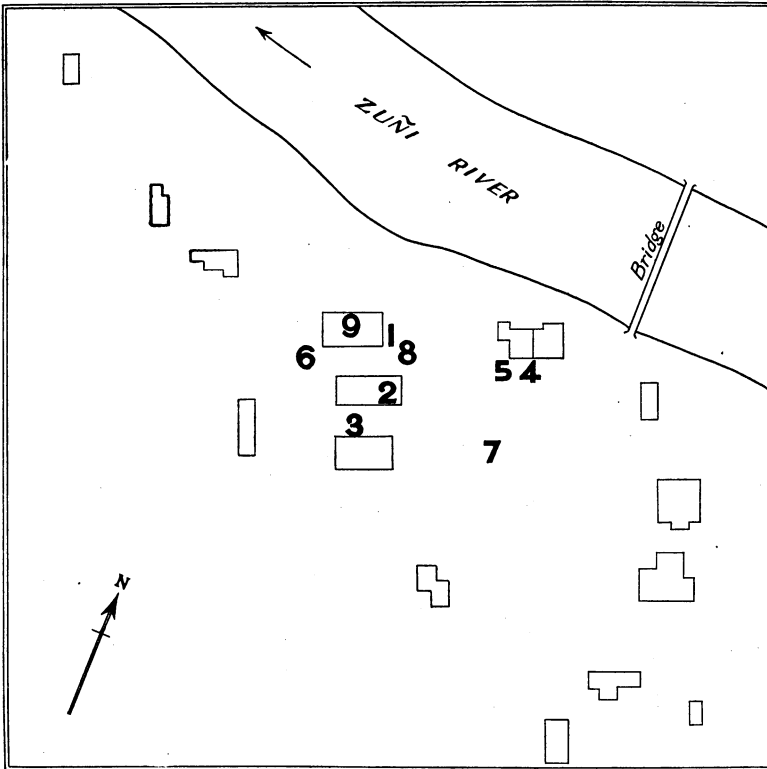
Mr. Spier has kindly plotted for me the probable contours of the Zuñi hill as it appeared when first settled. These are indicated in Map 6 by black broken lines.

A reliable old Zuñi went about Hallonawa with me and pointed out the sites of the kivas and courts in the ancient village. His information promised to be valuable archaeologically, until I realized that he was placing each structure and plaza in the same relative position as it now occupies in Zuñi. Map 9 reveals the result. The heart of present Zuñi is simply projected on the ground of Hallonawa. Even Ohhewa Kiwwitsinne is correctly given; since in Mindeleff's time, and I do not know for how much earlier, this adjoined Upts'annawa. The native idea clearly is that Hallonawa was old Zuñi and was like it; and that when it was abandoned, the inhabitants packed up and rebuilt their city on the identical plan across the river, the town being moved bodily, as it were.

I have talked casually with many Zuñi about ruins and excavation, and the above seems typical of their point of view. Remains that are post-Spanish and others that are obviously very ancient are thrown together into one blurred past, the *innote* or "long ago," which seems to begin very nearly where the experience of living individuals ends. I have never heard from a Zuñi the least reference to a historic event. They may possess a stream of semi-historical tradition, distinct from their mythology and schematized conceptualizing of the past; but if so, it drains but a minute fraction of their minds. I have waited two summers for a spontaneous manifestation of something of the kind. Direct inquiry probably would reveal certain traditions; but they would not be the kind that the natives habitually tell each other. The Zuñi are intensely interested in the scheme of structure of their society, and in its divine institution; but their invariable assumption is that since its institution this society has remained a constant unit, unchanged except for little irregularities that come with the wear of time. Such minor variability they seem to regard as obvious, trivial, and not particularly worthy of attention; and such are the conquest of Coronado, the establishment of a mission in the heart of their town, and other actions of the Spaniard with reference to themselves. As a matter of fact, any change imposed on the social scheme is very quickly absorbed into it; a generation or two suffices, the alteration has become fixed, and is reckoned as perpetual as the structure, though perhaps obviously incongruous.

An example. The Zuñi are professedly anti-Catholic and anti-Christian. During the summer of 1916, the proposed establishment of a Catholic mission incurred the displeasure of the whole tribe except a small minority of individuals standing in special relations to Mexicans. In the meeting at which the affair was brought up, the sentiment of the overwhelming majority was so vehement that the negative decision was unanimous; and the result was received not only with general satisfaction but open rejoicings. Yet every Zuñi that has died within the past two centuries lies buried in the unkempt little graveyard that was first consecrated by Catholic fathers, and in the center of which a constantly renewed cross rears its beam. The mission church in the heart of the town is to us the ever impressive reminder of the Christian influence imposed on the nation for many long generations; to the Zuñi it is anything but a symbol of the alien religion which they struggle to ward from themselves. They make attempts, mostly ineffectual, it is true, to roof and preserve the crumbling structure of adobe. Some years ago, a wider passage was wanted between its altar end and the nearby houses. The western wall was therefore torn down. But it was re-erected in its entirety, a few feet farther in! The northern face gives evidence of having been similarly shifted. This by a people that resent the coming of the priests, that will not tolerate a Catholic Mexican within view of their religious observances, and from among whom only playing boys, hens, and hogs trouble to enter the edifice which they toil to preserve. We face here a strange conservatism indeed: but it is a conservatism of the present, with no feeling for the past. The church, the graveyard, the cross are not Catholic; they are Zuñi; therefore they are clung to and treated as things integrally and inherently Zuñi.

The habitual attitude of the Zuñi, then, is unhistorical. He derives satisfaction from recognizing his national system, and from thinking of it as fixed since its first establishment. In everything else his interest is but intermittent and perfunctory. That now and then he may preserve fragments of a knowledge of the past that approximate what we consider history, is not to be doubted. But it is equally certain that such recollection is casual and contrary to the usual temper of his mind. From these conditions we must conclude that the shape of these recollections, and even the very selection of their content, is likely to be randomly fortuitous in our sight, whenever it is not wholly determined by the Zuñi's prevailing and sufficient systematization of his narrowly encompassed world.



TRADITIONAL HALLONAWA.

*Kivas*

- 1 He'iwa
- 2 Muhhewa
- 3 Chuppawa
- 4 Ohhewa
- 5 Upts'annawa

*Plazas*

- 6 Hekkyapawa
- 7 Tehwitto-tlanna
- 8 Ts'i'a'awa
- 9 K'ochinawa





