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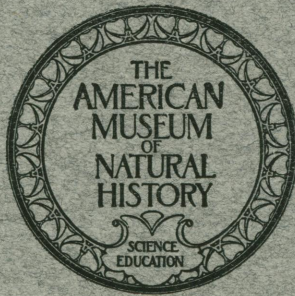
VOL. XIX, PART V

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LAGUNA GENEALOGIES

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS



NEW YORK  
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES  
1923



## AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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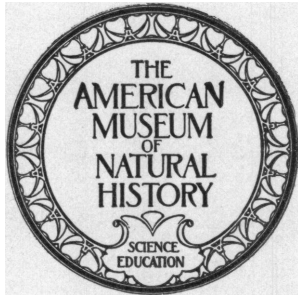
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# CONTENTS

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	139
I. KINSHIP . . . . .	147
LIST OF TERMS . . . . .	147
COUSIN TERMS . . . . .	147
ARCHAIC TERMS . . . . .	148
APPLICATION OF TERMS BY PERSONS CITED IN GENEALOGIES . . . . .	148
<i>nai'ya</i> ( <i>na'ya</i> ), mother . . . . .	148
<i>naishdyi'ya</i> , father . . . . .	149
<i>s'amaa'k'</i> ( <i>maa'k'</i> ), daughter . . . . .	150
<i>s'amuiti</i> ( <i>muiti</i> ), son, mother's brother, w. sp. . . . .	151
<i>gyiau'</i> , grandmother, w. sp., granddaughter, w. sp. . . . .	152
<i>pa'pa</i> ( <i>pa'pa<sup>a</sup></i> ), grandparent, grandchild, cross-sex . . . . .	153
<i>nana</i> , grandfather, m. sp., grandson, m. sp. . . . .	154
<i>gauau'</i> ( <i>au'</i> ), sister, w. sp. . . . .	154
<i>a'kwi</i> , sister, m. sp. . . . .	155
<i>shg'auwa</i> ( <i>auwa</i> ), brother, w. sp. . . . .	156
<i>tru'mē</i> ( <i>umū</i> ), brother, m. sp. . . . .	156
<i>anawe</i> ( <i>s'anawe</i> ), mother's brother, m. sp., sister's son, m. sp. . . . .	157
<i>k'u'ya</i> ( <i>s'ak'u'ya</i> ), father's sister . . . . .	157
<i>piye</i> , female connection by marriage, kin of husband . . . . .	158
<i>wati</i> , male connection by marriage, kin of wife . . . . .	158
APPLICATION OF TERMS IN TEXTS . . . . .	158
AGE AND SEX TERMS USED BY KIN . . . . .	160
TERMS OF ADDRESS . . . . .	162
TEKNONYMY . . . . .	163
USE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS OUTSIDE OF RELATIONSHIP . . . . .	163
STEP RELATIVES . . . . .	166
KINSHIP TERMS FOR MAN-WOMAN . . . . .	166
WIFE AND HUSBAND TERMS . . . . .	166
COLLECTIVE TERMS . . . . .	167
USE OF ENGLISH TERMS . . . . .	168
MISCELLANEOUS TERMS . . . . .	168
PRINCIPLES . . . . .	169
INDIFFERENCE TO GENERATION . . . . .	169
SENIORITY . . . . .	170
FAMILY IMITATION . . . . .	171
TERM CORRELATION . . . . .	173
PATRONYMICS . . . . .	174
FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS . . . . .	175
COMPOUND TYPE . . . . .	175
MARRIAGE . . . . .	175
ILLEGITIMACY . . . . .	175
PRESENTING TO THE SUN AND NAMING . . . . .	180
CHILD-REARING . . . . .	193
DUTIES OF SPECIAL RELATIVES . . . . .	194

	PAGE.
Mother's Brother . . . . .	194
Father's Sister . . . . .	195
Cross-Cousin Marriage . . . . .	196
NOTE ON INHERITANCE AT ZUÑI . . . . .	197
KINSHIP NOMENCLATURE IN OTHER KERESAN TOWNS . . . . .	199
ACOMA KINSHIP TERMS . . . . .	199
SAN FELIPE KINSHIP TERMS . . . . .	201
SANTO DOMINGO KINSHIP TERMS . . . . .	202
COMPARATIVE NOTES ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE EASTERN KERESANS . . . . .	204
II. CLANSHIP . . . . .	206
CLAN DESCENT AND EXOGAMY . . . . .	206
FICTITIOUS CLANSHIP . . . . .	207
CLAN TERMS . . . . .	208
PREFERENCE OF CLAN TO KIN TERMS . . . . .	210
CLAN ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS . . . . .	212
CLAN HEADS OR ELDERS . . . . .	212
CLAN JUDICIARY . . . . .	214
CLAN GRINDING SONGS . . . . .	215
CLANSHIP AT <i>cheani</i> INITIATION . . . . .	216
CLAN FUNCTIONS AT DEATH . . . . .	216
CLAN STICK-RACES . . . . .	219
CLANSHIP IN THE <i>k'atsina</i> CULT . . . . .	219
SALT-GATHERING AND THE PARROT CLAN . . . . .	225
ZUÑI CLAN HEADS AND FETISHES . . . . .	226
DUAL DIVISION . . . . .	228
LINKED CLANS . . . . .	231
CLAN MOVEMENTS AND MYTHS . . . . .	232
III. THE TOWN . . . . .	235
LIST OF HOUSES . . . . .	235
HOUSE PROPRIETORSHIP: BY SEX, CLAN, FAMILY . . . . .	248
CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATION WITH HOUSES . . . . .	253
TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES . . . . .	257
IV. TOWN GOSSIP: PERSONAL NOTES . . . . .	260
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	280

## TABLES

1. Genealogy I.
2. Genealogy II.
3. Genealogy III.
4. Genealogy IV.
5. Age and Sex Terms.
6. Personal Names by Clan.
7. Names recognized as given through the Father.
8. Laguna Clan Lists.
9. Clan Elders.
10. Laguna Marriages.
11. Sister-Brother Marriages into same Clan.



## ILLUSTRATIONS.

## TEXT FIGURES.

	PAGE.
1. Face painting at Death of a Corn Clansman . . . . .	217
2. Face Painting at Death of a <i>cheani</i> . . . . .	217
3. Face Painting of a <i>k'ats'ina'</i> Impersonator . . . . .	217
4. Face Painting of a Hunter. . . . .	217
5. <i>K'onat'a'yumä</i> . House 1 to the Right. To the left, parts of East Ledge Building and of South Prairie . . . . .	283
6. The Southwest End . . . . .	283
7. To the Right of the Water Tank is House 72. Beyond, Ruins 80, 81 . . . . .	284
8. Houses 71-100. Procession for San José on September 19 . . . . .	284
9. "Middle". To the Right, West Gap, Houses 15, 16 and the Church Belfry. To the Left, Ruin 14, House 12 . . . . .	285
10. "Middle". House 15 and North-Middle Houses . . . . .	285
11. "Middle", looking Northeast from Ruin 14 . . . . .	286
12. "Middle", North Side . . . . .	286
13. House 18, West Side . . . . .	287
14. Northeast Houses . . . . .	287
15. Houses 41-47 . . . . .	288
16. West-on-top-of-hill Houses . . . . .	288
17. West Outside Houses . . . . .	289
18. South End from San José River . . . . .	289
19. <i>K'ats'ina</i> Sitting-place . . . . .	290
20. Marked Rock North of Laguna . . . . .	291
21. Omen Rock north of Zufi, at <i>atsanakwi</i> . . . . .	292
22. Zufi Man with Omen Pebble under his Foot . . . . .	292

## MAPS

1. Laguna Houses, showing Clan Distribution, 1919; Distribution by Sex of Proprietor; and Ceremonial Associations





## INTRODUCTION

The data of Genealogy I were got in February, 1918, from Wana (Spanish, Juana, English, Margaret Marmon), no. 13 in the table; and in June, 1919 were added the data of Genealogies II, III, and IV, details in connection with Genealogy I, more particularly the orthography, being at this time revised. In June, 1920, certain data were again revised, more particularly data given in the List of Houses and Tables 9 and 10, and town gossip for the year was recorded. Of Genealogies II and IV Dzaid'yuwi' (Jennie Johnson), no. 122 in Genealogy II, was the informant. Genealogy IV is that of Dzaid'yuwi's husband, I'g'ugäi (Joe Johnson). Since his maternal grandmother and no. 3, in Genealogy I, were sisters, Genealogy I and Genealogy IV might have been combined. As the data were got from independent sources, however, I have preferred to keep the tables separate. Genealogy III is that of Dzaid'yuwi's stepfather, Go'ty'iai' (Spanish, Andreas Lansisco; English, Robert Brown) (Genealogy III, 32), and for it, while engaged in linguistic work with Dr. Boas, Go'ty'iai' himself gave Dr. Boas some of the tabular data.

Juana was a frank and surprisingly communicative young woman; but unfortunately my daily visits to her house were brief and I had little opportunity to observe the application of the kinship terms given me. And in the autumn of 1918 Juana died. Dzaid'yuwi' and Go'ty'iai' were also communicative; but Dzaid'yuwi' was an extremely restless informant and much preferred housework to systematic presentation and discussion of kinship terms. It is likely, also, that she was "talked to" either by her husband or others about the danger her relatives ran from giving me their names.<sup>1</sup> Dzaid'yuwi' did, in fact, express that point of view, a notion familiar to us at Zufi; but to what extent she agreed with it or merely used it as an excuse for not settling down to work with me I remain in doubt. I'g'ugäi, Dzaid'yuwi's husband, amiable as he was and ready with a joke,<sup>2</sup> was absolutely incommunicative on family names or any other subject. His brother, Yaai's'dyiwä' (Gen. IV, 15) was the "head war captain" (*tsatio hocheni tsiaduishe*)<sup>3</sup> and in the house (House 66) of their sister Dzamai' (Gen. IV, 13) masks

<sup>1</sup>Within the year one brother-in-law did meet with an untimely fate, death from lightning (see p. 275), but this peculiarly supernaturalistic accident was never thrown up against me, and I am almost certain that it was not associated with me in any way.

<sup>2</sup>His favorite joke was calling me *g'awegame*, Laguna person.

<sup>3</sup>Outside land, chief, head i. e., executive on foreign affairs. There are at Laguna three "war captains" annually elected with the governor and officers. The "head" is *tsiaduishe*, next to him is the *aikatyanotseshe*, "behind", and the third is *tsaiseshé*, "last". These *tsatio hocheni* are custodians of the customs, and they have sacerdotal functions, taken on or added to, presumably, since the disappearance at Laguna of the *u'pi* or warrior group proper. [Parsons, (f), 122-123].

were kept and, in the solstice ceremonial of that summer, prayer-sticks were made. The husband of this woman, K'aityima (Gen. IV, 14), began acquaintance in a spirit of communication which subsequently changed to reticence, induced, I have little doubt, by family warning. The brothers and their sister spoke but little or no English and they represented, I was told, the most conservative<sup>1</sup> element of the people. It was suggested that their conservatism was due to their Navajo blood, they are *tyenyetich*, Navajo people.<sup>2</sup> At Laguna, as elsewhere, culture and "race" are at times confused.

It was due to this element and in particular to Yaai's'dyiwä', the war captain, that, although we had been living in the hodge of his brother and sister-in-law, I'g'ugäi and Dzaid'yuiwi', for two weeks, we were not allowed to attend the solstice ceremonial in the house (House 47) of a kinswoman of Dzaid'yuiwi', a house so near that we could watch preparatory details, and, the night of the ceremonial, after our last jar of preserves had gone as supper for some visitors<sup>3</sup> from Powati and our reading-lamp and I'g'ugäi's drum<sup>4</sup> had been borrowed for the ceremonial, hear the songs from within of the officiating shamans (*cheani*).<sup>5</sup>

Except in the case of Dzaid'yuiwi', there was no demurring by any of our regular informants or by more casual acquaintances to name-giving, whether the English, Spanish, or Indian name was asked. To one who has had experience of the Züfi attitude of objecting to give to

<sup>1</sup>But even in this conservative family old ways may break down. Once when I'g'ugäi was starting to plant corn, his sister threw a dipperful of water over him, a mimetic practice for rain that I have heard of likewise at Züfi and among the Hopi, but instead of taking it in good part, I'g'ugäi, good-natured as he is, got angry, and in that household, at least, the practice lapsed.

<sup>2</sup>However this may be, there was Juana, belonging to the same Navajo Sun clan, and a distant cousin as well, who was extremely frank, franker than any Pueblo Indian I know.

It is not unlikely that Juana's conservative cousins had noted and remarked upon the fact that Juana, as well as her aunt and baby, had died after making my acquaintance and giving me information.

<sup>3</sup>A *teniente* and his family. Six officers or *tenientes* came in from the outlying villages, three to watch outside one of the ceremonial houses, three to watch outside the other. (Cf. Dumarest, 204).

<sup>4</sup>On this drum, for a night or two before the hunt on the day before the summer solstice ceremonial, I'g'ugäi had been practising his hunting songs, songs he had got from Kaaudyie of the Bear clan, the *shaiyakk cheani* or hunter shaman or medicineman who lives at Paraje.

<sup>5</sup>The story of our exclusion from the "Sun dance" is of interest as showing not only the difficulties encountered by the investigator into the ceremonial life of Laguna, of Acoma, and of the pueblos to the east, but as showing certain attitudes toward the war captains who are, at Laguna, as are the bow-priests at Züfi and the *kalehktaka* among the Hopi, the ritualistic police. The afternoon before the ceremonial, June 14, there was a meeting, in the council room, of the governor and officers and others—about thirty men were present. We entered and I made a formal speech to the governor in regard to our work and interests and sympathies, asking for permission to attend the ceremonial. He merely answered that he would refer the matter to "my war captain" in charge. That evening Yaai's'dyiwä', the "head war captain", came to our house; we were called in from the terrace, and, sister-in-law Dzaid'yuiwi' interpreting, we were told that permission to attend was refused. The usually free or gay demeanor of Dzaid'yuiwi' and of a woman neighbor was constrained and hushed to the point of reverence. And the bearing of the war captain, a handsome man, about forty-three, was impressively stern. In his red *banda*, black blanket and moccasins high above the ankle, a Züfi costuming I had not seen before among the Americanized men of Laguna, he presented a highly distinguished appearance, and I remarked on it subsequently to the women. "I am glad that she thinks my *papa* is a nice looking man," said the neighbor to Dzaid'yuiwi', "but she doesn't know that he has false teeth." And they giggled as flippantly as a Catholic woman might laugh at traits of the priest to whom she goes to confess. Not satisfied with merely refusing us, Yaai's'dyiwä' sent word later that, if we were left alone in the house by the family, the door should be locked on the outside.



comparative strangers the Indian name of relatives<sup>1</sup> the difference is striking. It renders genealogical work at Laguna, needless to say, much more agreeable than at Zuñi.<sup>2</sup>

One can not but infer that the possession of Spanish and English names at Laguna, more common here than at Zuñi, taken with the freedom in using such foreign names, may have affected the attitude about native names. Any such influence, however, has been limited, affecting little, if at all, terms of address. Kinship terms are still preferred to personal names. To what extraordinary extent kinship terms are used as terms of address our study will show.

Nor has Laguna kin and clan nomenclature been affected by White influence.<sup>3</sup> To what extent the kinship system will succeed in holding its own in the teeth of contrary foreign custom should be for future observers an extremely interesting study. When a man has an English name which he passes on to his children<sup>4</sup> and people come to be known more and more by such English patronymics, it would seem as if in course of time the principle of matrilineal descent might be jarred, if not vitally impaired.

But it is not only through the potency of names that questions of descent will arise. In the western pueblos, kinship is closely associated with house-ownership. The house belongs to the women of the family, passing down from generation to generation of women. At Zuñi, blood relatives are thought of as descendants of persons once living together in the same house. Even a remote cousin in the paternal line may be traced back to a forefather who "came out," as Zuñi phrase goes, of a given house. Between blood kinship and clanship it has been difficult for observers at Zuñi to draw a line. The boundary is vague, in many instances, to the people themselves; but it is connected, I have little doubt, with memories of joint house occupancy. Now at Laguna for several generations ownership in houses has been vested in men as well as in women. Sons as well as daughters may inherit title to a house, inheriting from either parent. The details of this system of house inheritance will be described from the data collected in connection with the town map. It will also appear to what a large extent houses are being

<sup>1</sup>On my first visit to Zuñi a woman informant told me that she did not know the name of her mother, and it was not until my third visit that I learned the name of the father-in-law of another woman, an old man for whom the woman was constantly interpreting. At present among my Zuñi acquaintances there appears to be no reluctance at all about giving me names.

<sup>2</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 51.

<sup>3</sup>Unless the terms *muñti* (*mũrtʰ*) (boy) (See Table 5) and *mao'k* (girl), used as kinship terms, are variants of *motatza* and *makatza* which Bandelier points out as derived from the Spanish words, *muchacho* and *muchacha*. (Bandelier, pt. 1, 262). *Muñti* was given as *mucha* by a Laguna woman in Gallup, and it has seemed to me at Laguna that the word was subject to considerable variation. The term was in use at Acoma in 1853 (see Whipple, 86), *maasittr* or *masitch* is recorded for girl at Acoma, Santo Domingo and Cochiti.

<sup>4</sup>For details of this practice see pp. 174-5.

sold or rented out of the family connection. Meanwhile I would merely suggest that these changes in house-owning are more than likely to affect kinship associations. Dr. Kroeber has gone so far as to say that at Zuñi "take away from the Zuñi woman her possession of the home, and her apparent preëminence in relationship vanishes."<sup>1</sup> Possession of the home is in course of being taken away from the Laguna woman, but her preëminence in relationship has not vanished<sup>2</sup>—as yet.

So much for European factors. What of the presence and influence of other Pueblo peoples in this Keresan town? Its position rendered it a place of passage for its neighbors to the west and to the east, even before the days of the railroad, and in many cases travelers or visitors came to stay. A considerable amount of intermarriage with Navajo and foreign Pueblo appears in the genealogies. There are variations, as we shall note, in naming practices and in funeral practices which appear to be due to a difference in provenience of parts of the population, and in the ceremonial life there is a fairly definite history of Zuñi influence. From Zuñi one kinship term has been borrowed, *nana*, grandfather.

Obviously the clanship system helps to perpetuate traditions of foreigners married into the pueblo; descendants will be classified as of the Hopi Bear clan or the Zuñi Eagle clan or the Navajo Sun clan. The Sun clan in particular is distributed according to ancestral provenience. Besides the Navajo, there are said to be Zuñi, Hopi, and Jemez, Sun people. In the case of the Badger clan all the individuals I have heard of are of Zuñi descent.

A study of the facts and of the traditions of inter-Pueblo migration at Laguna leads to rather definite conclusions about the vexed question of clan migration. There is no record whatsoever of any migration by clan in bulk. Individual clanswomen migrated to Laguna, as in the case of the Zuñi Badger clan mother of Wed'yumă (Gen. I, 56), or the Hopi Bear clan ancestress of Aisiye (House 16), and the descendants of these women are reckoned of foreign descent. In general reference the clan, or part of it, is said to come from, let us say, Zuñi or the Hopi, and in the case of the Badgers, at least, all the clanspeople are called Zuñi. We'd'yumă himself is spoken of collectively as Badger clan, *dyupi hano*. Given such references, it is only too easy for the observer to generalize about migration by clan. But if he study the facts by the

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 48.

<sup>2</sup>Nor has it vanished among the eastern Keres where the system of equality in inheritance is still more marked. [Parsons, (m), also for Isleta, Parsons, (l), 168]. Among the northern pueblos descent is said to be patrilineal, but whether or not this difference is aboriginal or due to Spanish influence, and what relations exist in the north between descent and house-owning, unfortunately we do not know, students of the Tewa not having taken the trouble to publish their observations.

genealogical method, I doubt not that in all cases he will find that tradition rests on the migration of individuals, not of a clan group.<sup>1</sup> Of course, migration of a whole town or part of it, as of that of the Tewa to Hano or of the Laguna conservatives a half century ago to Isleta, is not here in question. Such immigrant groups were made up of several clans.

The fact which gives most support to the migration-by-clan theory is the finding of clans which are extinct, let us say, in Laguna, but flourishing in outlying settlements, as the Coyote clan at Paraje, or the Turquoise clan at Mesita. But even here, judging from the evidence of our map, only the migration of a family connection, two or three related families, can be inferred.

That there has been considerable inter-pueblo migration throughout this region during the last century, if not before, is plain enough, both from the genealogical tables and from other observations. Visitors are made welcome as settlers, and land is assigned them. There is the conspicuous case of the large migration to Isleta a half century ago. Decadent towns, I suspect, may be particularly hospitable. In connection with Sant' Ana, for example, where there is plenty of unused land and water, I heard of two instances of foreigners made welcome. The Hunts of Acoma, Mrs. Hunt Senior being of Laguna and Mrs. Hunt Junior of Casa Blanca, were given a farm, and on it the joint family lives. I'g'ugăi of Laguna spent two years at Sant' Ana<sup>2</sup> and was given land on which he still cultivates corn. He is to take his family there to visit, and they have considered settling there. Of this family connection others (Gen. II, 36, 37) have gone to Isleta to live on what was described as "borrowed" land. The native point of view that proprietorship in land is largely a matter of who cultivates the land promotes migration.

But men do not live by land alone, and community feeling, I have little doubt, is a strong factor at Laguna, as elsewhere, in the movement of population.<sup>3</sup> The characteristic view that witchcraft is more dreadful among foreigners than at home is not lacking at Laguna. I recall the instance of our neighbor Wiyăi'd'yuă (Houses 30, 33, 48; Gen. I, 70) who believed, I was told, that his epileptic daughter had been bewitched by a Navajo rendered spiteful by a deal in turquoise to his disadvantage,<sup>4</sup> and I recall, too, the statement of our landlady Dzaid'yuwi' about trad-

<sup>1</sup>All the Hopi facts that I have been able to observe point to the same conclusion. For example, my Hopi host remarking one day that the Badger clan on the First Mesa came from Oraibi, I asked, "How many Badger people are there here on the First Mesa?"—"One family."

<sup>2</sup>See p. 192.

<sup>3</sup>Compare p. 257.

<sup>4</sup>Wiyăi'd'yuă had failed to pay the Navajo the buckskin he expected, so he said that something would happen every year to Wiyăi'd'yuă's daughter. This diagnosis was furnished by a Navajo doctor called in by Wiyăi'd'yuă.



ing in Zuñi dresses. A Laguna woman who had lived in Zuñi had reported that the witches of Zuñi robbed corpses to sell their dresses.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter Laguna women bought their dresses only<sup>2</sup> from Hopi or Sant' Ana traders.<sup>3</sup> And even if people of other groups are not witches, they may be very "mean." For example, at Acomita when they have a surplus of water, they let it flow to waste rather than let the Laguna people of their vicinity enjoy it. Acoma meanness appears, too, at the dances where things are thrown out to the onlookers. "They won't let you take away what the *k'atsina* throw."<sup>4</sup> If you catch a jar, a man will come up and break it." Then, too, heresy and degeneracy are rife among foreigners. At Laguna the *k'atsina* throw out presents of native products only—corn, melons, arrows, dolls, pottery, moccasins; but in Zuñi they throw store-bought things, "a sign that the Zuñi people do not keep to their religion."<sup>5</sup> Another sign is that they let outsiders, Whites, see their ceremonials. If they cared about their religion, they would be exclusive. And yet the fact that Catholicism has lapsed at Zuñi is also held against the place. "We say the Zuñi are no better than the Navajo; they have no church."—The people at Zuñi get it going and coming.—Elsewhere<sup>6</sup> I have related how the brittleness of marriage at Zuñi is also condemned at Laguna—and exaggerated.

Laguna (gawaik') has six sizable colonies and three or more hamlets: Powati (kurshdji, kwishdji)<sup>7</sup>, a town larger than Laguna, about eight miles to the north; Encinal (p'onikaiye)<sup>8</sup>, to the northwest; Casa Blanca (pürtsürtsürdyiau, West Edge), about four miles up the long valley to the west; Paraje (ts'imona, tsi'mëna);<sup>9</sup> to the north of Casa Blanca; Ts'iamá, Gap, a mile or two beyond Paraje on the south side of

<sup>1</sup>The same woman had spread the same report at Albuquerque, as I learned from an Isleta woman.

<sup>2</sup>At Zuñi there would be the same reluctance to wear the clothes of the dead. In a version given Dr. Boas of the rescue of the priest from Towa Yallane after the Great Rebellion, the Spanish commander sends a priest's dress up to the priest on the mesa. "The priest replied that he would not wear the dress of dead people, he wanted to stay with the Zuñi and wear their clothes."

<sup>3</sup>A piquant illustration of how "good will" may be lost!—This Laguna woman was described as "a woman who moves about". She is a well-known trouble-maker at Zuñi. Married at one time within a sacerdotal household, she induced her husband to go with her to Gallup when religious duties should have kept him at Zuñi [See Parsons, (e), 285] and great was the public scandal. Private scandals, too, gather about the woman. Dr. Kroeber believes she is feeble-minded.

<sup>4</sup>At Laguna the *k'atsina* or masked dancers do not pay domiciliary begging visits, as at Zuñi. The *k'atsina* themselves make presents at their dances because it is the *k'atsina* who bring the crops and the fruits—a form, so to speak, of mimetic magic. All that the *k'atsina* impersonators get in return are cornmeal and corn pollen and prayer-sticks, the proper gifts to supernaturals.

<sup>5</sup>Each *k'atsina* impersonator contributes to the supply of presents. The presents are collected at night by the lay officers and the war captains. Dolls, bows and arrows, and moccasins are made in the meeting-room of the *k'atsina* group.

<sup>6</sup>What utter degeneracy would have been postulated of the Hopi, had the facts been known. On the First Mesa a parent will buy at the stores anything a child wants, and give the thing to the *k'atsina* to take to the child.

<sup>7</sup>Parsons, (b), 181.

<sup>8</sup>"Hand-it-to-me." Here there are terraces, and the people on their journey south from *sh'ipa'p'* (see p. 234) were climbing down, carrying bundles, and one would say to the other, "Hand it to me."

<sup>9</sup>Northwest cave, hollow.

<sup>10</sup>Painted around the mouth. The *kurena cheani* use such a face mark. The settlement is at the mouth of a cañon on which there are *tsi'mëna* marks.

the valley; Pürhaityidyua, West of the Corner, near Ts'iamá; Akürchts<sup>1</sup>-k'otyüë, Flower Mountain<sup>1</sup> (English, New York), a very small hamlet on the north side of the valley; Mesita (ha'tsaty<sup>8</sup>, East Prairie) about three miles to the east of Laguna; El Rito, a hamlet near Mesita. Traffic between all these places is constant—there are relatives to be visited, *k'atsina* ceremonials to be attended, and church baptisms and weddings and council meetings. Laguna is the center of the ceremonial life, and on occasion the town fills up; but ordinarily Laguna seems deserted, almost half the houses are in fact deserted, in ruins or converted into storehouses or into hostelry for overnight.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Kroeber's "Zuñi Kin and Clan" for suggestions in regard to the classification of data, and I have to thank Dr. R. H. Lowie for reading manuscript and for several helpful suggestions. In the text itself I refer to several instances of invaluable coöperation by Dr. Boas both in linguistic records and in map-making. Without his painstaking and laborious work of survey the map could not have been made. For drafting the map we are indebted to Mr. C. G. LaFarge.

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<sup>1</sup>The mesa side above is marked like the petals of a flower.



## I KINSHIP

### LIST OF TERMS<sup>1</sup>

<i>nai'ya</i>	mother, mother's sister, sister's daughter, m. sp.
<i>naishdyi''ya</i>	father, father's brother, great-grandfather
<i>s'amaa'k</i> <sup>2</sup>	daughter, sister's daughter, w. sp., brother's daughter, m. sp.
<i>s'amuiti</i>	son, sister's son, w. sp., brother's son, m. sp., mother's brother, w. sp.
<i>gyiau''</i>	grandmother, w. sp., granddaughter, w. sp.
<i>pa''pa(pa'pa<sup>a</sup>)</i>	grandmother, m. sp., grandson, w. sp., grandfather, w. sp., granddaughter, m. sp.
<i>nana</i>	grandfather, m. sp., grandson, m. sp.
<i>au' or gauau</i> <sup>3</sup>	sister, w. sp.
<i>a'kwi (s'akwich, desc.)</i>	sister, m. sp.
<i>auwa, shg'auwa</i> <sup>4</sup> ( <i>s'a'wach, desc.</i> )	brother, w. sp.
<i>i'u'mē' (umū')</i>	brother, m. sp.
<i>anaue</i>	mother's brother, m. sp., sister's son, m. sp.
<i>k'u'ya</i>	father's sister.
<i>piye</i>	female connection by marriage, kin of husband.
<i>wati</i>	male connection by marriage, kin of wife.

### COUSIN TERMS

Parallel cousins, mother's sister's children, and father's brother's children, are called by the sister-brother terms. The mother's sister's son may be also called "son." Among cross-cousins, between women, the grandparent-grandchild term is used; between men, the parent-child terms are used; between a man and a woman the parent-child and the grandparent-grandchild terms.<sup>5</sup>

W calls mother's brother's daughter, *gyiau''*.

W calls father's sister's daughter, *gyiau''* (or *s'ak'u'ya*, see p. 157).

M calls mother's brother's son, *s'amuiti*.

M calls father's sister's son, *naishdyi''ya*<sup>6</sup>.

W calls mother's brother's son, *pa''pa*.

M calls father's sister's daughter, *pa''pa* (or *s'ak'u'ya*).

W calls father's sister's son, *naishdyi''ya*.

M calls mother's brother's daughter, *s'amaa'k*.

<sup>1</sup>Except when indicated by w. sp., woman speaking, or by m. sp., man speaking, a term is to be understood as used by both sexes.

<sup>2</sup>Literally, "my daughter" since *s'a* is the possessive pronominal prefix for the first person singular, but in kinship nomenclature the term appears not to be used without this possessive.

<sup>3</sup>Literally, "his" or "her" sister; *g* or *ga* is the possessive pronominal prefix for the third person singular. This use of the possessive third person for that of the first person is analogous to teknonymous usage (see p. 163.) It occurs also at Zūfi.

<sup>4</sup>Literally, "brother to me"; *shg'*, *shgu* is a prefix for the pronominal object, first person singular.

<sup>5</sup>As has been pointed out, at Zūfi, cross-cousin terminology is based on reckoning the children of a brother a generation younger than the children of a sister (Kroeber, 85)—with one exception. Since a woman calls her mother's brother, son, his children she calls grandson and granddaughter, involving identical reciprocals.

<sup>6</sup>According to Morgan's informant, "my father's sister's son is my son, whence by correlation my mother's brother's son is my father." (Morgan, 262).

Cousins beyond the first degree you call by terms which correspond to those used by your parents, or by terms growing out of terms you use for the preceding generation. In other words, the offspring of persons you call *nai'ya* or *naishdyi'ya* you call *s'amaa'k'* or *s'amuiti*, and the offspring of those you call *s'amaa'k'* or *s'amuiti* you call *gyiau'*, *pa'pa*, or *nana*. To think of the terms thus correlated is preferable to thinking of them in English equivalents which are literally correct but in connotation misleading.

#### ARCHAIC TERMS

At Zuñi archaic terms of relationship are used in smoking ritual or etiquette. Analogous usage occurs at Laguna. In giving a light to a *cheani* you say, *shanadyiu*, "old language," in the words of my informant, for *naishdy'iya*, father. The *cheani* responds with *shachi*,<sup>1</sup> "old language" for my son (*s'amuiti*).<sup>2</sup>

#### APPLICATION OF TERMS BY PERSONS CITED IN GENEALOGIES

##### *nai'ya*, mother

This term is used for mother, and mother's sister, for great-grandmother, irrespective of line, and by a man for his sister's daughter. In this last instance the application seems less bizarre when it is recalled that the term is the natural reciprocal for son or boy as a woman calls her mother's brother. A man may also call his sister's daughter, *s'anai-yadjanishe* which is likewise a term applicable to a stepmother and, at Acoma, to father's sister. Inferably the term means "in place of mother," or "not a true mother."<sup>3</sup> *Sunayu* is another term given me for stepmother, and Dr. Boas recorded *shgunayu* for step-parent, either stepmother or stepfather, with the reciprocal, *siunayu*.

But a stepmother is generally called mother, as is any woman who has brought you up.<sup>4</sup> The term is frequently applied to the father's sister, and it is applied to the mother's brother's wife and to the father's brother's wife. Cousins your parents call by the grandmother-granddaughter reciprocal, or cousins they call sister, you call mother. As in the case of mother's brother, *nai'ya* is the reciprocal for mother's sister's daughter when she calls you *s'amuiti* (my son, my boy, my kinsman).

<sup>1</sup>Inferably connected with the term for child, *iach*, and meaning "child to me." See p. 160, and compare the Zuñi practice where an archaic reciprocal to father survives also in ceremonial (Kroeber, 65).

<sup>2</sup>To the *shaiyaik* or hunting *cheani* you said *shitadyia*, and he responded, *shautpoe*. The meaning of these terms was unknown. The hunting cult has another peculiar formula. Instead of *gwa dzi* and *dawa e'*, the greeting and response on entering a house (see p. 165), *mokcha'* (lion) and *shuhuna* (see p. 177) are exchanged between the hunter and the war captain in charge of the hunt.

<sup>3</sup>From Acoma informants I got the same term (*s'anaiyakanish*) applied to father's sister as well as to sister's daughter and to stepmother.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 272.

Gen. I<sup>1</sup>

- 13 > 7: mother
- 13 > 73: stepmother
- 13 > 9: mother's sister
- 13 > 71: father's sister; likewise *s'ak'u'ya*
- 11 > 13: sister's daughter
- 18 > 13: mother's sister's daughter
- 28 > 27: mother's mother's brother's daughter
- 28 > 42: mother's mother's sister's son's daughter
- 84 > 87: mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter
- 13 > 66: father's father's brother's daughter
- 13 > 12: mother's brother's wife
- 39 > 21: father's brother's wife

## Gen. II

- 122 > 154: mother's father's mother
- 151 > 125: mother's sister
- 122 > 237: father's sister
- 151 > 119: mother's mother's brother's daughter
- 122 > 48: mother's brother's wife
- 22 > 122: mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter
- 122 > 42: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter

## Gen. III

- 32 > 7: mother
- 32 > 1: mother's mother's mother
- 32 > 68: mother's brother's daughter (?)
- 32 > 232, 236: father's sister. 32 grew up in the household of 232, 236
- 32 > 218: { father's sister's son's daughter's daughter  
              } mother's brother's daughter's son's daughter
- 32 > 10, 13: mother's brother's wife
- 32 > 239: father's brother's wife

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 35: sister's daughter
- 17 > 63: father's sister (in address)

*naishdyi'ya*, father

This term is used for father, father's brother, father's sister's son and for greatgrandfather. It is used also for stepfather, although *shkunaiyu* (*shgunayu*) may be used in reference to a stepfather, or *s'anaishdiakanishi* (Acoma).

<sup>1</sup>The symbol > stands for "calls." A dash in first position in the genealogical tables means that the name of the person was not given, a dash in second position means that the clan of the person was not known. The italicized figures in Table I give the approximate age of the individual in 1918; in Tables II-IV, in 1919.



## Gen. I

- 13 > 8: father
- 28 > 58: mother's father's father
- 39 > 22: father's brother
- 42 > 11: father's mother's brother
- 24, 27 > 18: father's sister's son
- 28 > 24: mother's mother's brother's son
- 13 > 65: father's father's brother's son
- 13 > 6: mother's sister's husband
- 13 > 72: father's sister's husband

## Gen. II

- 122 > 55: stepfather
- 122 > 155: mother's father's father
- 122 > 235: father's brother
- 53 > 184: father's sister's son
- 148 > 184: mother's mother's father's sister's son (?)
- 122 > Gen. III, 152: stepfather's mother's brother's daughter's son.

## Gen. III

- 32 > 8: father
- 32 > 238: father's brother
- 32 > 243: father's sister's son
- 32 > 233: father's sister's husband.

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 65: father's sister's son
- 17 > 64: father's sister's husband.

*s'amaa'k'*, daughter

As in Hopi, in Tewa, and in Zuñi, there are no terms in Keresan, strictly speaking, for daughter and son. *S'amaa'k'* and *s'amuiti* mean "my girl" and "my boy," corresponding to the Zuñi, *kyatsekyi* and *aktsekyi*. The history of the terms at Laguna has been quite different, however, from that of their Zuñi analogues. At Zuñi *kyatsekyi* and *aktsekyi* have not been incorporated into kinship nomenclature. They remain distinctively age-sex terms. At Laguna on the other hand *s'amaa'k'* and *s'amuiti* are certainly thought of and used as kinship terms. It is their use as such which introduces into the Laguna system part at least of the indifference to generation which we are to notice, and makes the entire system much more complicated, at least in our eyes, than it would be were the two terms frankly mere terms of address.

## Gen. I

- 13 > 28: daughter
- 9 > 13: sister's daughter
- 18 > 27: mother's brother's daughter
- 68 > 13: father's brother's son's daughter
- 12 > 13: husband's sister's daughter
- 6 > 13: wife's sister's daughter
- 72 > 13: wife's brother's daughter

## Gen. II

- 19 > 80: brother's daughter
- 122 > 144: mother's brother's daughter's daughter
- 122 > 273: father's brother's daughter's daughter; 273 is also a junior clanswoman
- 53 > 58: mother's mother's sister's son's daughter
- 122 > 131: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's daughter

## Gen. III

- 32 > 88, 89: brother's daughter
- 32 > 43, 58, 72: mother's brother's daughter
- 32 > 220: mother's brother's daughter's son's daughter
- 32 > 222: mother's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter
- 32 > 249: father's sister's daughter's daughter; 32 > mother of 249, "sister."
- 53 > 186: father's brother's son's daughter

*s'amuiti*, son, mother's brother, w. sp.

The term is applied to son, to sister's and brother's son, and, by a woman, to mother's brother. This application to the maternal uncle introduces considerable heterogeneity into the nomenclature. It probably explains why the grandparent-grandchild terms are applied between certain cross-cousins, a Laguna anomaly; the child of anyone you call son, you naturally call grandson or granddaughter.

Senior clansmen are called *s'amuiti*, and the term was inferably a clan term used by the women of the clan to the men, and then applied as a kin term. This explains in part the indifference to generation connoted in its use. Its use merely as a reciprocal to "father" explains still further this indifference to generation.

According to one informant, *s'amuiti* (my son) is, strictly speaking, said only of an actual son, and *amuiti* (son) is said of an "uncle," etc. Either the woman was trying to read the American point of view into the Laguna terminology, or, more probably, I think, she really felt a distinction between the term as a kin term and as a term of address.

## Gen. I

- 18, 19 > 39: son
- 22 > 39: brother's son
- 13 > 11: mother's brother
- 13 > 18: mother's sister's son<sup>1</sup>
- 18 > 24: mother's brother's son
- 9 > 8: sister's husband. This is probably a teknonymous usage.
- 13 > 69, 70: father's father's brother's daughter's husband (?)

## Gen. II

- 122 > 51: mother's brother
- 122 > 146: mother's brother's daughter's son
- 122 > 166: mother's father's brother's son
- 122 > 227: mother's father's sister's son's son
- 122 > 15, 22: mother's mother's mother's sister's son
- 122 > 130: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's son
- 122 > 137: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's son's son
- 53 > 190: father's brother's son's son

## Gen. III

- 32 > 85: brother's son
- 32 > 34: mother's brother's son
- 32 > 250: father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 21: brother's son
- 17 > 73: father's sister's daughter's son

*gyiau''*, grandmother, w. sp., granddaughter, w. sp.

This term is used between women, and, like the two other terms for grandparent-grandchild, is a reciprocal. It is applied to both maternal and paternal grandmother, to the sisters of grandparents, and the wives of grandfathers and of their brothers. It is applied by a woman to the daughter of any one she calls "son."

## Gen. I

- 28 > 7: mother's mother
- 13 > 59: father's mother
- 28 > 9: mother's mother's sister
- 87 > 13: mother's brother's daughter
- 13 > 87: father's sister's daughter
- 13 > 42: mother's sister's son's daughter
- 28 > 68: mother's father's father's brother's daughter
- 28 > 84: mother's father's father's brother's daughter's daughter (?)
- 13 > 84: father's father's brother's daughter's daughter (?)
- 13 > 57: father's father's brother's wife

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 170.

## Gen. II

- 122 > 13: mother's mother  
 122 > 161: mother's father's brother. He was a man-woman.  
 122 > 157: mother's father's brother's wife  
 122 > 3: mother's mother's mother (?)  
 122 > 7: mother's mother's mother's sister (?)  
 122 > 164: mother's father's sister  
 122 > 119: mother's brother's daughter  
 119 > 122: father's sister's daughter  
 122 > 11: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter  
 122 > 58, 80: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter  
 122 > 189: mother's father's brother's son's daughter. 122 may also call 189, *s'amaa'k* because 122 calls the mother of 189, *aau*.  
 122 > Gen. III, 68: stepfather's mother's brother's daughter (?)

*pa'pa*, grandparent, grandchild, cross sex

This reciprocal is applied between persons of the opposite sex in the grandparent-grandchild, or great-aunt or uncle, or great-niece or nephew relationship, excepting where a clan term is preferred, as in the case of father's mother's brother or mother's mother's brother, and in the relationship between you and offspring of one whom you call daughter or son.

## Gen. I

- 28 > 8: mother's father  
 8 > 28: daughter's daughter  
 13 > 58: father's father  
 18 > 1: mother's mother's mother. According to other informants, the great-grandmother is called "mother." I incline to think that some mistake, probably in understanding, has occurred in this instance.  
 88 > 56: mother's father's brother  
 39 > 7: father's mother's sister  
 13 > 56: father's father's brother  
 13 > 24: mother's brother's son  
 8 > 76: father's sister's daughter  
 39 > 13: father's mother's sister's daughter

## Gen. II

- 151 > 53: mother's mother  
 122 > 14: mother's father  
 122 > 233: father's father  
 122 > 156: mother's father's brother  
 122 > 184: mother's father's sister's son. Because mother of 122 calls 184 father  
 122 > 56, 76: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's son  
 42 > 147: mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's son  
 151 > 58: mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter  
 53 > 230: father's brother's son's daughter's son  
 122 > 120: mother's brother's daughter's husband.

Gen. III

- 32 > 3: mother's mother
- 32 > 230: father's mother
- 32 > 199: brother's daughter's daughter
- 32 > 162: mother's brother's daughter's daughter
- 32 > 258: father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter

Gen. IV

- 17 > 67: father's sister's daughter. Because father of 17 calls 67, mother.
- 55 > 65: father's father's sister's son. Because father of 55 calls 65, father.

*nana*, grandfather, m. sp., grandson, m. sp.

This is the reciprocal between men in the grandparent-grandson, etc. relationship, excepting that between sister's daughter's son and mother's mother's brother, and in the relationship of offspring of one whom you call daughter or son.

Gen. I

- 39 > 10: father's father
- 10 > 39: son's son

Gen. II

- 151 > 55: mother's stepfather
- 55 > 151: stepdaughter's son

Gen. III

- 32 > 4: mother's father
- 32 > 231: father's father
- 32 > 198: brother's daughter's son
- 32 > 124, 143, 154: mother's brother's daughter's son
- 32 > 259: father's sister's daughter's daughter's son

Gen. IV

- 54 > 65: father's father's sister's son.

*gauau'* or *au'*, sister, w. sp.

This term is the reciprocal between women for sister and parallel cousin.

Gen. I

- 13 > 14: sister
- 13 > 89: half-sister (same father)
- 42 > 53: father's brother's daughter
- 42 > 27: father's mother's brother's daughter
- 9 > 73: wife of deceased sister's husband

## Gen. II

- 122>125: half-sister (same mother)  
 122>244: half-sister (same father)  
 122>254, 256: father's brother's daughter. They are also clanswomen.  
 122>167: stepfather's brother's daughter  
 122> 69: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter  
 122>103: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter  
 122>169: mother's father's sister's daughter. She is also mother's father's brother's son's wife.  
 122> 52: mother's brother's wife  
 122>185: mother's father's sister's son's wife  
 122>Gen. III, 218: stepfather's mother's brother's daughter's son's daughter

*a'kwi*, sister, m. sp.

This term is applied by a man to sister and parallel cousin, and to sister's daughter's daughter. The word is inferably related to *kwits'a*, female (see p. 161). In such case the usage is analogous to that of the term *s'amuiti*. And the use of both terms *s'amuiti* and *a'kwi* (*s'akwich*) is analogous to the Zufi use of *okya* (female) or *okyanawa*, our female, and *otsi* (male) or *otsinawa*, our male.<sup>1</sup> These terms at Zufi are sister-brother terms. Since *a'kwi* as a kinship term is not in use among Eastern Keresans, it is not unlikely that the Zufi habit of using a sex age term for sister was borrowed at Laguna.<sup>2</sup>

## Gen. I

- 39> 40: sister  
 11> 28: sister's daughter's daughter  
 39> 53: father's brother's daughter  
 39> 27: father's mother's brother's daughter  
 39> 28: father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter

## Gen. II

- 151>148: sister  
 151>153: mother's sister's daughter  
 126>122: wife's sister

## Gen. III

- 32> 38: mother's brother's daughter. The proper term for this kinswoman is "daughter"; but 38 is an illegitimate child, she is not the daughter of 32's mother's brother; hence, explained 32, he calls her, "sister."  
 32>240: father's sister's daughter. 32 grew up with her, i.e., in the same household and called her mother, "mother." It must be remembered, however, in this case and in the preceding, that 32 grew up at Acoma where all cousins are called by the sister-brother terms.

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 68-9.<sup>2</sup>For the actual term see p. 160, n. 2.



32>153: father's sister's son's daughter. She is also his mother's brother's daughter's son's wife.

32> 31: brother's wife

32> 35: mother's brother's son's wife

Gen. IV

17> 68: father's sister's son's daughter

17> 9: brother's wife

*auwa*, brother, w. sp.

This term is applied by a woman to brother and parallel cousin, and to mother's mother's brother.

Gen. I

40> 39: brother

28> 11: mother's mother's brother

53> 39: father's brother's son

28> 18: mother's mother's sister's son

28> 39: mother's mother's sister's son's son (?)

Gen. II

122>124: brother

122>258: father's brother's son. He is also a clansman.

53>166: father's brother's son

53> 15: mother's mother's sister's son

122> 67: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son

148>227: mother's mother's father's sister's son's son

122>126: husband of half-sister (same mother)

122>245: husband of half-sister (same father)

*t'u'mě (umě')*, brother, m. sp.

Reciprocal between men for brother and parallel cousin, and for sister's daughter's son and mother's mother's brother.

Gen. I

18> 22: brother

39> 52: father's brother's son

39> 24: father's mother's brother's son

18> 8: mother's sister's husband. The only explanation I can see for this application is the fact that 8 calls the mother of 18, "mother." If this explanation holds, the application is a curious extension of the tek nymous usage.

Gen. II

151> 51: mother's mother's brother

151>152: mother's sister's son

152>151: mother's sister's son

151>130: mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's son

## Gen. III

- 32 > 30: brother  
 32 > 246: father's sister's son. Again we have the Acoma rather than the Laguna system.  
 32 > 255: father's sister's son's son.  
 32 > 152: mother's brother's daughter's son. He is also father's sister's son's daughter's husband.  
 32 > 39: mother's brother's daughter's husband. He is also a clansman.

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 14: sister's husband.

*s'anawe* (*anawe*), mother's brother, m. sp., sister's son, m. sp.

Reciprocal between mother's brother and sister's son. The term may be also applied to the son of anyone a man calls sister.

## Gen. I

- 18 > 11: mother's brother  
 11 > 18: sister's son

## Gen. II

- 151 > 124: mother's brother

## Gen. III

- 32 > 9, 11: mother's brother  
 32 > 248: father's sister's daughter's son. We recall the fact that 32 calls the mother of 248, sister.  
 32 > 218: father's sister's son's daughter's son. 32 calls the mother of 218, sister.

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 32: sister's son  
 34 > 17: mother's brother.

*s'ak'u'ya* (*k'u'ya*), father's sister

This term is applied to father's sister. It is to be identified, I think, with the term for old woman, *k'oya*. In conversation one gets the impression that the term is used collectively as a generic term for father's kinswomen exactly as the equivalent terms, *kuku* and *kyiu*, are used at Zuñi and by the Hopi. For example Yu'si (Gen. I, 8) and Dziwi'd'yäi (Gen. I, 76) call each other *papa*—they are cross-cousins—mother's brother's son and father's sister's daughter; but Dziwi'd'yäi is referred to as *k'akuya* to Yu'si. 'I'ach' (*s'a'yach'*), child (my child),<sup>1</sup> is said to be the reciprocal;<sup>2</sup> but practically the daughter-son terms are used.

<sup>1</sup>The same term is used for "a child of the clan" i. e., for the offspring of clansmen.

See p. 148 for the archaic reciprocal for "father."

<sup>2</sup>There being, as among the Tewa of Hano, no true reciprocal. (Cp. Freire-Marecco, 278).

Gen. I

13 > 72: father's sister

Gen. III

32 > 236: father's sister

Gen. IV

17 > 63: father's sister

*piye*, female connection by marriage, kin of husband

As at Zúñi, there are but two terms to express relationship through affinity—*piye* applied to women; *wati* applied to men. Ordinarily, in address, other kinship terms are used. *Piye* is thought of as a reciprocal (see p. 159) i.e., a woman applies the term to her husband's relatives (*shk'upiyé*). The application, however, seems to be rarely made. *Wati* is also a reciprocal, i.e., a man applies the term to his wife's relatives.

Gen. II

122 > 52: mother's brother's wife

122 > 57: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's son's wife

Gen. III

32 > 10, 13: mother's brother's wife

32 > 244: father's sister's son's wife

Gen. IV

17 > 9: brother's wife

*wati*, male connection by marriage, kin of wife

Gen. I

8 > 70: father's brother's daughter's husband.

Gen. II

122 > 126: sister's husband

122 > 255, 257: father's brother's daughter's husband. The connecting women are also clanswomen.

Gen. III

32 > 152: father's sister's son's daughter's husband

Gen. IV

17 > 14: sister's husband

APPLICATION OF TERMS IN TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

na'ya:	mother, mother's sister, mother's more distant female relations, mother's brother's wife, mother by adoption.
naict'i'ya:	father, father-in-law.

<sup>1</sup>Contributed by Dr. Boas.

s'a'yate':	my child (from 'i'ate', child).
s'amrt'y':	my son, my prospective son-in-law (stem mrt'y').
s'amaa'k':	my daughter.
tyau':	(woman's) granddaughter; (girl's) grandmother.
pa'pa':	(woman's) grandson; (boy's) grandmother.
na'na:	(boy's) grandfather; (man's) grandson.
s'a'nawe:	my mother's brother.
s'ak'o'ya:	my father's sister, (stem -k'oyα; see k'o, woman; k'oyα used with mythical names of old women as k'o'ya k'α'mæck k'o'ya, Old-Spider-Woman).
s'at'yumr:	my brother (man's). (u'mr, tyumr), tu'y'mr'o in address).
s'a'wate':	my brother (woman's).
s'a'k'wite':	my sister (man's).
sau':	my sister (woman's). (gαu' in address).
s'a'tcɪ:	my husband.
sα'au'kwe:	my wife.
bi'iyai:	daughter-in-law; sister-in-law.
cgubi'iyε:	my mother-in-law.
wa't'y'i'':	son-in-law.
ts'iwa't'y'i'':	his father-in-law.
k'anaict'y'i'ya ε ts'iwa't'y'i'':	his father-in-law and his brothers-in-law.
ts'i'wa't'y'i'kōna'ya:	his mother-in-law.
ts'iwa't'y'it'yā'mic'yε:	his father-, mother-, brothers-, and sisters-in-law.
sa'wi't'y':	my family, i.e., clan members who can trace relationship through the female line.

The terms for "mother" and "father" are frequently used to designate individuals who are in a way in a social relation to the speaker that resembles the relation of parents to their children. Thus, parents-in-law and children-in-law, as well as parents or children by adoption, use the regular terms "father," "mother," "children."

The Squirrel Woman who comes to help a youth is by him called "mother." The Turkeys call the woman who keeps them their "mother." The female deities Nau'ts'it'y'i, Ts'itetc'i'na'k'o, and the sun; also the altar and the i'at'y'ik<sup>1</sup> are so called. The tc'aiya'n'y'i are called "mothers" although they are men. The general form of the term is in this case cana'ya caute'anic'yε, "our mother chief." We find even the form k'ana'ya k'au'tc'an'y'i, "his mother chief."

The term "father" is used in a similar way, as "father chief." The male deity rtc'ts'it'y'i<sup>1</sup> is also called "father," and in one case we find the Spanish form "our father god." Salt Woman, Masā'wi and Oyo'yā'wi are conjointly spoken of as "mother and fathers," and sometimes the tc'aiya'n'y'i are called "those who are fathers."

<sup>1</sup>Originally undoubtedly a female deity.

In the same way the terms "son," "daughter," and "child" are used, not to express actual but social relation. The Squirrel Woman calls a youth whom she protects "my son"; the owner of turkeys calls them "her children"; the sun and the deities Nau'ts'ir'i, ꞑtc'ts'zt'i, the hunter's protector, cai'yaik', call human beings "their children," and the tc'aiya'n'i use the same terms when talking to or about the people.

The terms for "brother" and "sister" are also used in this manner. Thus some female birds call a coyote-woman "sister," and the k'a'ts'in'a speak of a woman who used to feed them first as "mother," later on, after they have rescued her, as "sister." A girl also calls an unrelated man of about equal age "brother." In the story of a marriage, the young man who is to marry a certain girl, addresses her as "sister" and asks her whether she wants to marry him.

The terms for "grandparents" and "grandchildren" are constantly used in a social sense without implying relationship. Particularly the Old-Spider-Woman is always addressed as "grandmother" and calls those whom she helps "grandchildren." Cases of this kind are very numerous.

#### AGE AND SEX TERMS USED BY KIN

We noted the use of "child" ('i'ach')<sup>1</sup> and of "girl" (maa'k') and "boy" (mu'iti) used as daughter and son, narrowly and extensively. Although the latter terms are established as kinship terms, their meaning as age class terms now and again finds expression. For example, your father's sister's son calls you, a female, s'amaa'k', before your marriage, whereas afterwards he may call you naiye',<sup>2</sup> matron.

Naiye', somewhat curiously, is used by a child in addressing his or her mother. The usage may be in imitation of the father, for a man commonly calls his wife naiye'.

It seems highly probable, as noted, that the term k'u'ya, father's sister, is derived from k'oya, old woman. This derivation finds support in the fact that there is no reciprocal proper for k'u'ya. S'a'yach', my child, is said, or "daughter" or "son."

Among the Hopi there are also separate terms for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp. A man has a distinctive term for younger

<sup>1</sup>See p. 157. Also Parsons (f), 116 where Mother iyatik'a addresses ma'sewi as s'a'yach'. Jesus is hochstiti (üshstiti) or nautsiti (God) k'ayach' (his son). The name of one of the Earth mothers is regularly given at Laguna for God.

<sup>2</sup>The term corresponds to makyi in Zuni, both referring to maternity, not to mating. Recently in conversation at Zuni the distinction was strikingly made. One Ts'atilutsa was referred to as ellashtokyi, girl. "But isn't she married?"—"Got husband, not got baby. How call her makyi? Not got baby. She ellashtokyi, old maid."

sister. For younger sister, w. sp., and for younger brother, m. and w. sp., there is the same term.

In this connection comparison with Zuni nomenclature is of interest. The father's sister, *kuku*, calls her nephew *tale*, a term which a man also uses in ritual as a reciprocal for "father." The father's sister calls her niece *eye*, a term which seems to be connected with *e'le*, girl. I surmise that "boy" and "girl" terms may have been anciently at Zuni, as at Laguna, the terms used by father and father's sister for offspring and brother's children.

TABLE 5: AGE AND SEX TERMS.

*uwak* (o'a'k), baby (girl or boy)

*iach*, child

*ma'sch'ă* or *makūr*, girl (virgin, or rather, childless); *makūrts'a* (mo'gūrts'a)—*ts'a*, a verbal suffix, she or he is

*muṭi* (mūrūt') or *mūrūdyets'a*, boy

*shuyeti*<sup>1</sup> (*shoyati*, *shuichi*), youth, unmarried

*kitōnis*<sup>2</sup>, youth (*sitōnime'*, I am a youth)

*kwits'a*, (*kwits'a*), female<sup>2</sup> (mature? old<sup>3</sup>)

*hashch*,<sup>4</sup> male (mature? old)<sup>5</sup>

*naiye'* or *naiye'ts'a*, woman with a child, matron

*hachtsetsatsich*, married man

*kwitsich* or *kwitōseshi*, old woman

*kuyotseichē* or *kuyautseshi*, very old woman

*hashchitseichē* or *hashtsichtsatsich hachtse*, old man

At Zuni and elsewhere among Pueblo Indians,<sup>6</sup> seniority among *geschwister* is indicated in kinship terms proper; at Laguna it is not thus indicated, but descriptive terms are in use for the eldest child in the family—*tsaia'* (*tsaiyatsa*)—and for the youngest—*chetsa* (*chaitsa*).

*Nawai'* is a term meaning senior. It was applied to the head of a society and it is still applied somewhat vaguely to clan heads or seniors or even to any clansman. Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) said, "I call my uncle

<sup>1</sup>*Paiyetemu* in the folktales and in *k'atsina* ritual is used as a complementary term to *kuchinninaku* (yellow woman). The term *paiyetemu* occurs in the ceremonial vocabulary of Zuni and of the Hopi. According to some, at Laguna the term is also used in daily life.

<sup>2</sup>In the mind of one informant associated with *s'akwich*, the man's term for "sister" (and perhaps "wife"?). Compare Zuni usage, *hom okya*, my woman, for sister. Parsons, (e), 263.

<sup>3</sup>A female mountain lion is *mukaich kwitseshē*, a male, *mukaich hachtse*.

<sup>4</sup>*ha'chdzē mē*, be a man, is a common expression.

<sup>5</sup>*hashchits'a*, he is an old man.

<sup>6</sup>Kroeber, 84.

At Zuni there are separate terms for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp. A man has a distinctive term for younger brother. For younger sister, m. sp., and for younger sister and brother, w. sp., there is the same term.

Among the Tewa of Hano there are separate terms for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp., and for younger brother and sister, m. and w. sp., the same term. (Freire-Marecco, 275-8). Among the Northern Tewa there is the same term for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp., and the same term for younger brother and sister, m. and w. sp., something like the Laguna use of terms for the eldest and youngest in the family. See p. 170, n. 1. At Jemez and Taos there is a separate term for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp. (Harrington, 482).



or brother *s'anawaia* or *sdranawai'* (*s'a*, my; *sdra* (*sdja*), our) when I don't want to name him, and anyone would know I meant a clansman. But I don't like to speak of my brother by this word." Dzira'ai (Gen. II, 35), the senior male among those whom we would call her nearby blood kindred,<sup>1</sup> is to Dzaid'yuwi' her distinctive *nawai'*, and were she to say *s'anawaia* or *s'anawai' tsaia'* or *sdranawaia* *tsaia'* any blood relative would know she meant Dzira'ai.<sup>2</sup>

#### TERMS OF ADDRESS

As noted, *naiye'* is a common vocative term for mother, and the age class terms of "eldest" and "youngest" are used in address in the family and even outside. There are no special vocative terms. The application of terms, however, may be somewhat different in address than in reference. You refer to your father's sister as *s'a'k'u'ya* and you may call her *s'a'k'u'ya* or *k'u'ya*; but you may also call her "mother." Any kinswoman, maternal or paternal, in whose house you grow up you are pretty sure, as already noted, to call mother. Thus Go'ty'iai' (Gen. III, 32) called his father's sister (Gen. III, 232) who reared him, an orphan; and thus, for like reason, K'awaity'id'yuwe' (Gen. II, 119) calls her father's sister (Gen. II, 53).

Again you may address your relatives by marriage as *piye* or *wati*, but more commonly you call them by the term which corresponds to the term for the connecting relative i.e., you may call your brother-in-law or the husband of your mother's sister, *wati*, but usually you call him brother or father, since his wife you call sister or mother. For example, Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls Yo'kwi (Gen. II, 126), Kaiyai' (Gen. II, 245), and Gwi'd'zirai' (Gen. II, 120), all in turn, brother, because she calls the wife of each man, sister, Yo'kwi's wife being actually her sister, Kaiyai's wife being her stepsister, and Gwi'd'zirai's wife being her mother's brother's daughter, but called sister because of household association.

How far the effects of this principle may spread is illustrated in Gen. I. Dyai'is'its'a (Gen. I, 9) called her brother-in-law Yu'si (Gen. I, 8) brother (or son). Their connecting relative died and Yu'si remarried; his second wife (Gen. I, 74) Dyai'is'its'a called sister. Again, since Yu'si calls Dyai'is'its'a, mother, her son (Gen. I, 18) he calls brother.

<sup>1</sup>At first I inferred that Dzaid'yuwi' had made a mistake in the relative ages of the mothers of Dzira'ai and Dzai'siyai' (Gen. II, 26), the latter descending, as the genealogical table stands, from the senior branch; but, on re-examination, Dzaid'yuwi' re-affirmed the tabular data. The senior branch does not live at Laguna and in this fact may lie the explanation for referring to Dzira'ai as family elder.

<sup>2</sup>See table 9 where Dzira'ai is also cited as the *nawai'* of the Water clan.

Again, you will call your father's brother's wife, mother, since your father's brother you call father. It is of interest that although you do not call your mother's brother, 'father,' his wife you do call, "mother," showing that conceptually your mother's brother is, as might be expected, of a senior age class.

#### TEKNONYMY

Teknonymous usages occur at Laguna as elsewhere among the Pueblo Indians. A Laguna woman may refer to her husband as 'i'ach' *ganaishdyashi* (child, his father), and a man refers similarly to his wife as 'i'ach' *ganaiyashi*. In address the terms *ganaishdiesh* and *ganaiesh* will be used.

Adults in the family may call each other by the terms the children use. Thus Juana (Gen. I, 13) would sometimes call Dyai'is'ts'ă (Gen. I, 9), her maternal aunt, not "mother," but "grandmother" because, I infer, Juana's little daughter called Dyai'is'ts'ă, "grandmother."<sup>1</sup> Analogously, Juana's father (Gen. I, 8) would call Dyai'is'ts'ă, his wife's sister, "mother" because Juana called her, "mother." And Dyai'is'ts'ă in turn called her brother-in-law, "son."

#### USE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS OUTSIDE OF RELATIONSHIP

A form of teknonymous custom or closely related to it is the use of the Spanish terms—*comare* (Sp., *comadre*) and *compare* (Sp., *compadre*). The rite of Catholic baptism is observed at Laguna, more especially after a woman has had misfortune with her children. In these circumstances she will choose a woman who has had several children and lost none to act as her *comare*.<sup>2</sup> I knew one fortunate woman who was *comare* in seven or eight families.

To invite a woman to become your *comare*, you take her some cornmeal (*shk'atina*) saying:—

shaugyi	s'a'yach	tsitsp' chaaich' <sup>3</sup>
I give	my child	to be baptized

The woman goes out and sprinkles the meal on the ground and says a prayer. The same woman will continue to act as your *comare*; but for later children you do not repeat the rite of invitation.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 272; Lowie, (b), 108. See too Parsons, (e), 259.

<sup>2</sup>Just as in identical circumstances, at Zufi, a propitious woman is invited in at the birth to pick up the child and breathe into his mouth. The husband of this woman becomes the ceremonial father of the boy at the initiation into the *kotikyane*, the Zufi *k'atsina* organization. (Parsons, (a), 172). Among the Tewa of Hano a sick child may be given to a woman "to make it live." The child will call the woman and her husband, "mother" and "father." (Freire-Marecco, 272, 278.)

<sup>3</sup>*tsits*, water, *chaachpanashu*, wash head ceremonially.

With your *comare* you associate her husband as *compare*, and to their children you apply the daughter-son terms. Reciprocally they apply parent terms to you and your husband, just as your children apply parent terms to your *comare* and *compare*. The Spanish terms for god-parents, *padriño* and *madriña*, are not used. To one another the children of the two *comare* use sister-brother terms.

As in Spanish custom, the use of *comare-compare* terms is not confined to those who are thus ceremonially connected. The terms are convenient general terms of friendly address. A contemporary in an Acoma household I once visited for a few days would address me as *comare*. Dzaid'yui' (Gen. II, 122) sometimes calls her brother-in-law Yo'kwi (Gen. II, 126) *compare*, instead of *wati*, or "brother," although, I believe, there is no ritualistic relation between them. She also calls her father's brother (Gen. II, 235) *compare*, although in this case the man is actually her *compare*. From this case as from others, I get the impression that where the ritualistic relationship has been established between relatives the *comare-compare* terms will be given the preference over kinship terms.

Kinship terms are applied in address to wedding sponsors—to the *madriña* and *padriño de casamiento* (see p. 175), and the children of the two families make use of corresponding terms. Alice and Pedro Martin' (Houses 11, 29, 31) were *madriña* and *padriño* to Dzaid'yui' (Gen. II, 122) and her husband, I'g'ugāi, and they are therefore called mother and father by the latter,<sup>1</sup> and grandmother and grandfather by the latter's children.

As at Zuñi, relationship terms appear to have been applied in connection with initiation into the societies. The head *cheani* chose a member to become the "father" of the initiate, *k'anaishdyi'ya*, "his father."<sup>2</sup> It was the duty of "his father" to prepare the society outfit of the initiate during the four days of retreat before the initiation. The initiate joined in this retreat. On the fourth night the two heads of the *cheani* society put on the masks of the society,<sup>3</sup> "to pretend they were real *kupishtaiya*,"<sup>4</sup> and to breathe into the mouth of the initiate, thereby

<sup>1</sup>Did she not use the term of the ceremonial relationship, Alice would call I'g'ugāi, *papa*, as she does his brother (see p. 140, n. 5). As it is, Alice is calling one brother, "son," another brother, "grandson (grandfather)." It is a double illustration first of the indifference to generation we are to observe again more fully, second, of the priority of the terms of the ceremonial relation observed above.

<sup>2</sup>In the curing ceremonial of Cochiti the *chaiani* in charge is called *kanaishdia*, his father, i. e., the patient's father. (Dumarest, 154).

At Cochiti, *kanaishdia* and *kanaiya* are also applied to godparents. (*Ibid*, 143).

<sup>3</sup>"The *cheani* could not get on without masks." Each society had two masks to initiate with. Initiation in masks occurs at Jemez and at Zuñi, if not everywhere among the Pueblo Indians. Among the Keresan there is quite a little evidence to indicate that the *cheani* controlled the use of masks in general. I have little doubt that the efflorescent mask cult, the *kachina*—*k'atsina*—*koko* cult, developed out of the more restricted society use of masks.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 181.

giving him new life and a new name.<sup>1</sup> The rite is called *cheani ts'iya* (new born). After the head *cheani* breathed or blew, "his father" blew. Then "his father" took the initiate to his wife's house, summoning his clanswomen to wash the head and body of the initiate.<sup>2</sup> If there were several women present, from ten to twenty, each woman in turn applied a little water and then two women settled down to giving a thorough wash. Presents were given to the initiate. Thereafter the initiate was called "child of the clan" i.e., of "his father" and of the officiating women; for example, were they of the Sun clan, the initiate would be called, *oshach washjiti*, Sun child.<sup>3</sup>

It is more than likely that the given features of this initiation are carried out to-day, as at Zuñi,<sup>4</sup> in the *k'atsina* initiation. An equivalent term is used for "making *k'atsina*" the native rendering of *k'atsina ts'iya*; but secretiveness about present day ways interfered with getting positive general information or concrete applications of terms. I feel pretty sure that as in the case of the *comare* and *compare* terms, and as happens in Zuñi with the *koko* initiate, the Laguna *k'atsina* initiate will apply parent and sister-brother terms to the family of "his father."

We noted that in giving a light to the *cheani* father-son terms are used. Somewhat curiously, since the ceremonial connotation is obscure, the *cheani* is usually addressed as "mother."<sup>5</sup> On entering a room in which a *cheani* is, you say *gwa dzi shanaiya shauchani* (*gwa dzi*, how is everything?, the usual entrance formula,<sup>6</sup> our mother chief). In praying to *iyatik'u* you say also *shanaiya shauchani*. In praying to a *k'atsina* or a *santu* you would say *shanaishdyi'ya shauchani*, our father chief. The supreme god of the Catholics is called *naishdyi'ya dios*.

As among the Hopi and at Zuñi kinship may be assumed between one *k'atsina* and another. In the *chakwena* group there is or was an impersonation called *oyatsikina* who carries a gourd rattle in the right hand, an *iyatik'u*, in the left. She is called *chakwena ganaiyashi*, their

<sup>1</sup>For Zuñi cp. Parsons, (a), 171. As among other Indian tribes, the Pueblo Indian initiation is or was undoubtedly thought of as dying and coming to life again.

<sup>2</sup>In the cure for lightning shock described on p. 275, the doctor's sister was called in to wash the patient's head. Henceforward she would be "his aunt," *k'ak'u'ya*.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 206.

<sup>4</sup>Parsons, (a), 172.

<sup>5</sup>Cp. Dumarest, 197.

I surmise that the *cheani* is thought of as the representative of *iyatik'u*, the great mother supernatural.

Among the Northern Tewa the winter cacique is called father, the summer cacique, mother. (Harrington, 478-9).

<sup>6</sup>The rejoinder is *dawa'e'*, well it is. And you are told to "come in from the East" or from whatever direction the door actually faces, a striking little illustration of that sense of orientation so ubiquitous in the mind of the Pueblo Indian.

Incidentally, let me say, that greetings on the road are quite similar in tone to those at Zuñi, where an observation of coming or going is formulaic. At Laguna you say, *ditcha'?* (sing.; *dicheha*, dual; *ditdyie'*, pl.). Are you here?

mother. *Kaya'petsit*<sup>a</sup> and *kauk'a'kaya*, star *k'atsina*,<sup>1</sup> are a pair of brothers to be identified probably with that famous brother pair, *maasewi* and *oyoyewi*.

At Laguna as everywhere in Pueblo Indian life terms of relationship are used to express ideas of species, class, or category. The select ears of corn referred to on p. 214 are called "their mothers," the horned toad referred to on p. 196 is instructed to report to his grandmother; in folk-tale<sup>2</sup> and in daily usage similar expressions abound.

#### STEP RELATIVES

Step relatives, like half relatives, receive the same terms as full or actual relatives. A good illustration of this usage was seen in the household of Kuyu'd'yuwe (Gen. I, 68). Here there were three sets of children, the children of Kuyu'd'yuwe by her first husband and by her second and present husband, and the children of her second husband by his first wife. There was no discrimination in address between these three sets of offspring. Yu'si (Gen. I, 8), for example, who calls Kuyu'd'yuwe, sister, calls all the children in her household *naiya* or *s'anawe*.

#### KINSHIP TERMS FOR MAN-WOMAN

Fortunately one of the few men-women (*kokwimu*, *kok'we''mä*) I have heard of at Laguna<sup>3</sup> appeared in one of the genealogies—Gen. II, 161. He retained his masculine name;<sup>4</sup> but my informant referred to him, her grandfather's brother, as grandmother, and she expressed a naïve surprise at the suggestion that any kinship terms but those for women should be applied to him<sup>5</sup>—perhaps the strongest evidence of any we have of how thoroughly a change of sex is imputed to the man-woman.

#### WIFE AND HUSBAND TERMS

*S'aukwi* (*s'au'kwe*) is the term for wife in reference; it is never used in address. (Literally, my wife; *gaukwi*, "his wife"). *S'a'che* (Acoma, *s'a'ch*) is a term of reference for husband. Kroeber has recorded (*s*)*atü*, a term which I also got at Zuñi from an Acoma man as *staatsu*. *S'a'ch* may be related to *s'a'yach*, "my child." In Zuñi folktales, I note, a woman

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), 95.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 159-160.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 237, 272; also Parsons, (b), 181-2.

<sup>4</sup>Of the three men-women of Zuñi one had changed his name, from Tsalamuni, a man's name, to Tsalatitsa, a woman's name. Tsalatitsa died, by the way, in 1918.

<sup>5</sup>Or of course that any but terms used by women should be used by him. One of the men-women of Zuñi is ridiculed by people, according to some, "because she goes on talking like a man, she says *ikina* younger sister, m. sp.] instead of *hani* [younger sister, w. sp.]."

may call her husband, "my child," and he calls her, "my mother" even before she has a child<sup>1</sup>. . . . *Stuitunushi*, translated to me as "two thinking alike," is a term that may be used at Laguna by either spouse of the other. *Gaish* is a term for boy as sweetheart.

As noted, one spouse will address the other teknonymously, and a man will call his wife *naiye'*. If she is elderly he will also call her *kuyotseich*<sup>2</sup>, old woman; and she will call him *hashchitseich*<sup>2</sup>, old man.<sup>2</sup>

Dzaid'yuiwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls her husband *chetsa*, youngest, the term he is called by in his own family, and there is nothing uncommon about Dzaid'yuiwi's practice.

*Tsuyuchusti* is a term I recorded at Acoma for widow or widower.

#### COLLECTIVE TERMS

*T'emishy*<sup>3</sup> is a suffix indicating plurality which is used in describing a kinship class e.g., *s'at'u'mēt'emishyē*, all my brothers, or *s'akwich t'emishyē*, all my sisters, or *s'anawet'emishyē*, all my mother's brothers or sister's sons.<sup>3</sup> *Shtraiaiyet'emishyē*, a parent might say, meaning "our children." *S'apiyet'emishyē*, or, in the pronominal objective form, *skopiyet'emish*, means my husband's people, *sku(w)atit'emish*, my wife's people. *S'anantiyemish*<sup>3</sup>, a man might say of his grandchildren. Here the male sex terms would include the female terms; but when Gen. I, 13, a female, uses the term *s'agyauiu't'emishyē* to include all the children of 18 or 11, female and male, the female sex term includes the male term. In other words, when the collective term has to include both sexes, the consideration in the mind of the speaker seems to be sex identity rather than priority of either sex. Unfortunately I did not note to what extent this principle may be implicitly expressed in the use of the collective terms for father's people—*s'a'k'uyat'emishyē*, literally, "all my father's sisters," and *naisht'emishyē*, "all my fathers." Explicitly all my father's clanspeople, men and women, are *naishdyi'ya gawit'emishyē*. Speaking of a man's father's people you would say *gak'u'yachi*, a woman informant stated.

*Papatyich* is also a collective term for grandchildren, and *nanatyich* for grandsons.

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Kroeber (72) has explained an apparently like usage as a reference to the relationship between the woman and her sister's children, *an tsita*, their mother, she is called by her husband. Folktales references may have a different implication. (See p. 197, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup>This is Zuni and Tewa usage.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 159 for *sa'wi'ty'*, all my people.

## USE OF ENGLISH TERMS

English terms are used much as might be expected from the foregoing observations i.e., mother, father, sister, brother terms are used not only as in English but in certain wider applications—mother's sister or father's brother would always be called mother or father and the sister-brother cousins would be called sister or brother. The term cousin is but little if ever used, rather "a kind of relation" will be said where sister or brother is not to be applied. The terms aunt and uncle are given a quite definite application to father's sister or kinswomen and to mother's brother or kinsmen. In other words aunt and uncle are not used as in English, but are fitted into the Indian habit of differentiating between the maternal and paternal collaterals. This extremely interesting instance of adapting a new form to an old habit of thought<sup>1</sup> I found also among the Hopi and at Zuñi—aunt always means paternal aunt, and uncle, maternal uncle.

## MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

*Naiyase'sha* and *naishdiase'sha* are terms for house mother and house father in the sense of trustee of the household property.

*Shtanaishdyëshě?* (? *shja*, pronominal first person pl.—our father) is a term for the oldest man in the house.

*Tsaachich* is a term for household I recorded at Acoma.

*She* is a suffix equivalent to deceased or late. "From whom did you learn that lullaby?" I asked an old lady. "From *s'anaiyashe* (my mother gone)." *Gyiaushe gamuiteshe*, deceased grandmother's deceased uncle, you might say. The opposite idea is expressed by the suffix *tyě* e.g. *s'gyiautyě* means "my grandmother present" in distinction to *s'gyiaushe*, "my grandmother passed away." The suffix may be used for personal names—e.g., *Juliashe*, the late Julia or *Tsik'ayashe* (Gen. I, 66), the late *Tsik'aya*.

*Choasedyu* is a term that may be used by a man for his own begotten child. "It is a man's word" i.e., used only by men. It may be used in referring to a mare and her colt.

At Cochiti<sup>2</sup> and at San Felipe *yaya* is a term for "mother";<sup>3</sup> at Laguna *yaya* is a nursery term. *Chichi*, a term for "sister" at Acoma in the mouth of adults,<sup>4</sup> is at Laguna merely a nursery term, used to or by children.

<sup>1</sup>Analogously, I found a child of mixed blood calling her mother's brother not *s'amuiti*, but *naish-dyi'ya*.

<sup>2</sup>Dumarest, 144, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup>At Santo Domingo, *iya*, among the Tewa, *yiya*.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 200.



## PRINCIPLES

## INDIFFERENCE TO GENERATION

Dyai'is'ts'ă (Gen. I, 9), we noted, was called grandmother by her niece, and mother by her brother-in-law who in consequence called Dyai'is'ts'ă's son, "brother"<sup>1</sup>—all primarily teknonymous expressions, but also to be taken as illustration of that indifference to expressing actual generation which is a notable feature of Laguna kinship terminology<sup>2</sup>. One could find many similar illustrations. For example, you may call the same person by different generation terms according to whether you are thinking of the relationship through their father or through their mother, persons whom you happen to call by different generation terms. Dzaid'yui' (Gen. II, 122) may call Gen. II, 189, granddaughter because she calls the father of 189, son; or Dzaid'yui' may call 189, daughter because, as it happens, she calls the mother of 189, sister.<sup>3</sup> Again, there being no term for stepsister, Dzaid'yui' calls Dyaiyo'wăi', her stepsister, sister; now Dyaiyo'wăi's mother, the wife of Dzaid'yui' 's father, Dzaid'yui' calls daughter—because the latter is the child of Dzaid'yui's clan. "Daughter" to a woman whose own daughter is called "sister!" Go'ty'iai' (Gen. III, 32) calls his father's sisters, mother—he grew up in their house; but the son of one of them he calls, not brother, but father. "Mother" and "father" to a woman and her son! Or, since you may call the husband of your father's sister, "father," you call both father and son, "father."

Again indifference to generation is seen in the cases where persons of successive generations are called by the same term.<sup>4</sup> For example, Yai'yaăi (Gen. II, 151) would call both Sh'au's'imăi' (Gen. II, 156) and G'yi'mi (Gen. II, 166), the son of Sh'au's'imăi', father. G'yi'mi is his father's clansman, and hence called father, and Sh'au's'imăi is called *papa* by Yai'yaăi's mother (her grandfather's brother) and so by Yai'yaăi is to be called father. Again, as a man, you call your brother's son, son, as well as your mother's brother's son; or your brother's daughter's daughter you call *papa* as well as your mother's brother's daughter's daughter.

In these cases indifference may be thought of as due to the juxtaposition of clan terms and kinship terms<sup>5</sup>. In another case, the indiffer-

<sup>1</sup>See p. 163.

<sup>2</sup>As it is of Zuni terminology (Kroeber, 60).

<sup>3</sup>Here we have a good instance of what Kroeber calls the looseness of Pueblo Indian kinship nomenclature. It seems to me, however, not looseness as much as freedom of choice among various fixed principles.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 77.

<sup>5</sup>In one case where a man calls both his father's sister's son and his father's sister's son's son, "brother", the indifference seems to result from the juxtaposition of two kindred systems—the systems of Acoma and Laguna.

ence cannot be thought of as thus originating. A woman calls her mother's brother, son, and his wife, if the affinity term (*piye*) is dropped, sister. Thus Dzaid'yuwi' called Gau's'in'äi' (Gen. II, 52), the wife of the mother's brother she called son. Again the daughter of Gau's'in'äi', the cross-cousin already noted, Dzaid'yuwi' calls *gyiau'*. "Grand-daughter" to a woman whose mother is called "sister"! (A sense of coherency will be recovered when we recall that the grandparent-grandchild terms between cross-cousin are based on the mother-son terms between mother's brother and niece).

Again, persons of the same generation will have different generation terms for the same person. A man, you call your mother's brother's son, son; but your sister calls him grandson.

In the application of clanish terms a confusion of generation is involved as may be seen, for example, in the fact that a male of any age in your father's clan is called father.

In discussing cousin terms we observed that it was well to think of kinship terms in mutual correlation, a closer approximation to the native habit of thought. When terms for grandparent, parent, or offspring are not thought of as generation terms at all, but merely as terms in a fixed relation to other terms, the positive character of the facts we have been reciting disappears, instead of a denial of difference of generation we have merely indifference to expressing generation.

#### SENIORITY

Indifference to generation does not mean indifference or rather thoroughgoing indifference to seniority. Terms for oldest child and youngest are used, as noted, in the family and sometimes outside. In the cross-cousin nomenclature priority is attributed to the female line, just as at Zuñi, although the expression is different. At Zuñi sister-brother terms are applied to all cousins, and priority in line is expressed in the seniority distinctions between sister-brother terms<sup>1</sup>. Since at Laguna these distinctions do not exist in the sister-brother terms proper, another way is taken. The elder generation terms are applied in cross-cousin terminology to the offspring of the female line. There is one marked case in the genealogical record where parallel cousins are referred to by terms of different generation (Gen. I, 13>18)<sup>2</sup>. The cousins are

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 59. If it is true, as Kroeber suggests, that the principle of seniority in sister-brother terms gave way at Laguna to the Spanish descriptive terms of oldest and youngest, then the desire to express seniority of line between cross-cousins may have led to the introduction of different generation terms for cross-cousins.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 152.

nearly a generation apart and it is quite possible that the difference in age accounts here, as it would at Zuñi,<sup>1</sup> for the terminology, i.e., a mother's sister's son, if much older, being accounted an "uncle" or senior clansman rather than a brother or contemporaneous clansman.

There appears to be a slight preference by seniority in the inheritance of the house (see p. 248). Among the clans, with possibly one exception (see p. 232), there is no priority based on seniority or any other principle.

Clan headship<sup>2</sup> appears to have an association of seniority, not with the individual *per se*, but rather with the individual through his family i.e., it is not the oldest member of the clan that is thought of as *nawai'*, but the oldest member in the family which is thought of as the senior family in the clan. It must not be understood that anything as definite as this is ever stated by a native about this most obscure subject of clan headship. From different informants, as we shall see, we get different lists of the clan heads, and it seems impossible for an informant to explain lucidly why such and such a man is accounted a clan *nawai'*.

Kin terms used as clan terms are applied, as we are to note later in detail,<sup>3</sup> according to seniority.

#### FAMILY IMITATION

As already suggested, terms of address and even terms of reference may be determined by other terms familiar in the family. Dzaid'yuiwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls K'awaity'id'yuwe' (Gen. II, 119) sister because K'awaity'id'yuwe' grew up in Dzaid'yuiwi's house and called Dzaid'yuiwi' 's mother, "mother." Strictly, the latter, a father's sister, should be called *k'u'ya*, and K'awaity'id'yuwe' and Dzaid'yuiwi' who are cross-cousins should call each other by the reciprocal *gyiau'*. The change in address between these two cousins will alter the address of their descendants. Dzaid'yuiwi' may call the child of K'awaity'id'yuwe', daughter or son, instead of sister or brother, the proper terms for the children of a collateral whom you call by the grandparent-grandchild terms.

Here we touch upon the general Laguna principle that the child bases his use of kinship terms upon that of his mother.<sup>4</sup> In many instances Dzaid'yuiwi' did not know why she used a term except that it corresponded to a term used by her mother. Persons a woman calls by daughter-son terms, her children will call by sister-brother terms. For

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 54.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 212.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 208.

<sup>4</sup>Rivers noted the same practice among the Todas where "the mode of relationship is handed down from generation to generation." (Rivers, 491).

example, Dzaid'yuwi's son (Gen. II, 151) calls his great-uncle, Hai'yuwǎisiwǎ' (Gen. II, 51), brother, because Dzaid'yuwi' calls him son; or because Dzaid'yuwi' calls a very distant collateral, (Gen. II, 227), son, the son of Dzaid'yuwi' would call him brother.

Again, persons a woman calls by the grandparent-grandchild terms, her children will call by the great grandparent or, what is the same, the parent terms. For example, were Dzaid'yuwi' to call her cross-cousin K'awaity'id'yuwe' (Gen. II, 119) *gyiau''*, the daughter of Dzaid'yuwi' would call K'awaity'id'yuwe' great-grandmother or mother. Or persons a woman calls by the parent terms, her children call by the grandparent terms. For example, Dzaid'yuwi's mother calls Djai'd'ziě (Gen. II, 184), father (he is her father's sister's son), so Dzaid'yuwi' calls him grandfather, and in turn Dzaid'yuwi's son (Gen. II, 151) calls him father. To further illustrate, according to whether Dzaid'yuwi' calls Ko'ri (Gen. I, 31, Gen. II, 189, Gen. III, 193) granddaughter or daughter ("granddaughter" because Ko'ri is her mother's father's brother's son's daughter; "daughter" because Ko'ri is her (step) father's brother's daughter's daughter), the son of Dzaid'yuwi' will call Ko'ri mother or sister.

Where kinship terms are applied to such remote kin as in some of the preceding cases, it is fairly obvious that some mechanical principle like taking the cue from the mother's application of terms, is indispensable. And to the native mind what more natural? "If our mother calls a man, *naishdyi'ya*, we call him *papa*." And to the speaker that was all there was to it.

Application of terms by analogous rules of thumb are notable in various particulars. For example, Go'ty'iǎi' (Gen. III, 32) who by courtesy calls an illegitimate cousin (Gen. III, 38), sister (instead of daughter); calls her son (Gen. III, 114), son (instead of grandson).

There is conjugal imitation. We noted that you might call a relative by marriage by a term corresponding to what you call the connecting relative, you may also call the relative by marriage by the same term your husband or wife calls him. The two practices, of course, commonly dovetail. For example Yo'kwi (Gen. II, 126) calls Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) sister because Yo'kwi's wife calls her sister or because Dzaid'yuwi' calls him brother, since she calls his wife, sister. Similarly you may call your mother-in-law or father-in-law, mother or father, because your husband does, or because they call you daughter since your husband they call son. But there are instances where the emphasis falls upon the fact of imitating your spouse, as, for example, where a woman

gives up the term she has used before marriage for a certain person in preference for the term used for the same person by her husband. Before her marriage Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) called Dyai'is'its'ă (Gen. II, 157), grandmother. Dyai'is'its'ă was the wife of Dzaid'yuwi''s grandfather's brother; but after marriage, because Dzaid'yuwi''s husband called Dyai'is'its'ă, mother (she was his cousin in the maternal line), Dzaid'yuwi' also called her, mother. On the other hand such conjugal imitation may not occur. Tsiwakwits'a, Corn (House 123) called Go'ty'iăi', Corn (Gen. III, 32), brother; but Tsiwakwits'a's husband, Wik'ai, does not call him brother, but, grandfather, since Wik'ai's mother, being child of Corn, called Go'ty'iăi', father.

The imitation may be blind. Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls Guwaidityě (Go'w'ăi') (Gen. II, 23) mother because Dzaid'yuwi''s husband calls Guwaidityě, mother, for what reason our genealogical tables do not indicate *nor does Dzaid'yuwi' know*.

#### TERM CORRELATION

To be included under this subject are reciprocity of terms and the application of terms serially. *Gyiau''*, *pa'pa*, *nana*, the grandparent-grandchild terms, *anawe*, uncle-nephew, *gauau'*, sister and *t'u'mě*, brother, are reciprocals in the strictest sense, both relatives using the single term; in the wider sense of reciprocity, it may be said that whomsoever you call *nai'ya* or *naishdyi'ya* calls you *s'amaa'k'* or *s'amuiti*, and similarly the sister-brother terms between the opposite sexes are reciprocal.

Serially, there are regular associations in the use of terms. The son of anyone you, a man, call sister, you call *s'anawe*. The son or daughter of anyone you call *s'anawe*, you call *s'amuiti* or *s'amaa'k'*. The children of those you call daughter or son you call grandchildren; and, in turn, the children of those you call grandchildren, you call daughter or son. Hence we get such series as:—

m. sp. > <i>s'anawe</i>	> <i>s'amuiti</i>	> <i>nana</i>	> <i>s'amuiti</i>
mother's	mother's	mother's	mother's brother's
brother	brother's	brother's	son's son's son
	son	son's son	
w. sp. > <i>gyiau''</i>		> <i>nai'ya</i>	> <i>au'</i>
mother's mother's		mother's mother's	mother's mother's mother's
mother's sister's		mother's sister's	sister's daughter's
daughter		daughter's daughter	daughter's daughter

As we have already pointed out, much of the bizarre character of the nomenclature disappears when we consider the nomenclature in terms of correlation rather than in terms of literal translation.

## PATRONYMICS

The use of Spanish names is, as we know, a long established practice among the Pueblo Indians.<sup>1</sup> There are today in Laguna ten women who are known as Wana (Juana) and one man,<sup>2</sup> perhaps more, as Wan (Juan);<sup>3</sup> and there are several Pe[d]ros and at least one José. And many other children undoubtedly have been given Spanish names.<sup>4</sup> Spanish names may be used also as patronymics. Pisano is one (See Houses 1, 33, 116),<sup>5</sup> Pino, another<sup>6</sup>, and Pedro and Alice Martin', had they children, would undoubtedly pass on their name. This use of a patronymic, is probably not a very recent development in Laguna, but the use has been promoted, I incline to think, by English White example, notably the example of three White men who married Laguna women and whose children are known by the paternal name, Pradt or Marmon. (See House 59).

Yu'si (Gen. I, 8) borrowed the latter name. He is called Robert Marmon, and his daughter (Gen. I, 13) was called Margaret Marmon. Kai and Johnson seem to be patronymics in other families, as in each case two or more brothers (Gen. II, 235, 238; Gen. IV, 15, 17) go by the same name. In the families of Bert Wetmore, Jefferson, Perry, Reilly and Day the patronymic seems likely to be passed down; and no doubt a more general acquaintance would have revealed other instances. In one case an English name (perhaps Spanish anglicized) and an Indian name were combined as given name and surname—Thomas K'aityima.

<sup>1</sup>A study of the circulation of Spanish names among the Hopi and at Zuñi compared with the thoroughgoing circulation in some of the eastern pueblos would be of considerable interest. (Cp. Harrington, 476-7).

<sup>2</sup>John Reilly or G'yi'mi (Gen. I, 16, Gen. II, 166, Gen. III, 90; House 56).

<sup>3</sup>Tsi'wak'k' (Juana) and I made the enumeration on the eve of St. John's Day, *sawatsaschi*, June 24. On that day, in the afternoon, a few men will assemble at the house of the *sextana* (House 13, and pp. 260ff.), hence proceed to House 56 (see p. 242) where they will shout, "Come out! Come out!" The inmates will throw bread, mutton, etc. see p. 279) to them, calling "This way! This way!" and then douse them with buckets of water, calling *ohai! ohai!* (Children caught out in a downpour of rain are taught to call out *ohai!*) The dousing "shows that rain will come." The party of men, reinforced by any who wish to join, goes on to every house in which lives a Juana or a Juan, to repeat the performance.

On St. Peter's Day, *saperotsaschi*, June 29, there is the same ceremonial, with the house of every Pero and Paura substituted.

Formerly at Zuñi a like water-pouring rite took place during the summer solstice ceremonial (Stevenson, (b), 152). The water was poured by the inmates of the houses on the *koyemshi* who during the rite were called *dumichimchi*. (The cry of the *koyemshi* is *ahai!* compare the Laguna cry *ohai!*). Formerly at Zuñi, too, there was a nighttime firing of pottery during the summer solstice ceremonial. (Stevenson, (b), 150) I incline to think that both practices, firing and water pouring, were introduced from the cult of San Juan, a cult well acculturated among the Pueblo Indians. See Parsons, (l). Incidentally I recall that June at Laguna is called *sawatauwach*, St. John's moon.

<sup>4</sup>In the genealogies we find Mariano, Dolivio, Garcia, and Lopez (Lope, Lupi, Lopina).

<sup>5</sup>The relationship between Edith Pisano (Houses 1, 33) and Frank Pisano (House 116) was given to me through their paternal lines—their paternal grandfathers were brothers. But for the patronymic I doubt if this relationship would have been known to my informant, instead she would have mentioned the fact that both persons happened to belong to the same clan, Turkey clan. My informant was, to be sure, of mixed-blood, no full-blood would as yet mention paternal descent to the exclusion of clan membership. Nevertheless we may see here, I think, a forerunner incident.

<sup>6</sup>See House 38, Gen. III, 39. George Pino's daughter Tsi'wa'k'k' (Gen. III, 116) is also known as Mary Pino.—She is married, but her husband appears not to have an American name. Dzaid yuwi' or Jennie Johnson (Gen. III, 122), the wife of Joe Johnson, Mrs. Reilly (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89, House 56) and Katie Day (Gen. III, 76; Houses 119, 120) are the only women I heard of, exclusive of the native wives of Whites, by their husband's name.

(Gen. IV, 14; Houses 39, 66). Another Indian name, Wik'ai, is also used as a surname—Annie Wik'ai (House 123). There are, too, several instances of Spanish surnames; but they do not appear to be used as patronymics proper or family names. For example, Go'ty'iaï' (Gen. III, 32) has the Spanish surname of Lancisco, but it is not used in connection with his children or with his brothers. One of his brother's daughter's has the surname, Santiago, Bertha Santiago (Tsaishdyiaï', Gen. III, 98). On the other hand, Go'ty'iaï''s English name, Brown, was used by his stepdaughter, Jennie, before she married.

## FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

### COMPOUND TYPE

As elsewhere among Pueblo Indians family organization tends to be of the compound family type, consisting of three rather than of two generations. Married daughters and sometimes married sons go on living at home. In many households there are, too, collateral ascendants and, even after his wife dies, a man, unless he remarries, will live on with his children. This practice is more common at Laguna, I get the impression, than at Zuñi, where a widower, immediately after the burial, unless he is an old man, will return to the house of his mother or sister. The difference in custom is readily explained as a corollary of the Laguna theory that a man may own a house.<sup>1</sup>—As the Laguna household grows, new rooms may be added to accommodate the increments. These rooms may be attached to the old building or detached. It is by this process, I believe, that houses of the same clan come to be clustered together, i.e., the grouping is intrinsically a kin, not a clan, expression. But of this matter more later on.

### MARRIAGE.

As in other Pueblo Indian towns, marriage at Laguna is monogamous. Laguna monogamy is more or less brittle, probably less brittle in practice, certainly less brittle in native theory than at Zuñi. Most, if not all, go through the marriage ceremony in the Catholic church, although couples may live together before the ceremony; and at church people hear considerably about fidelity and permanence in marriage.<sup>2</sup> That the

<sup>1</sup>See p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>In a simple and exceedingly well preached sermon I heard one Sunday on the Catholic moralities of economic honesty, obedience to parents, etc., exhortation to conjugal fidelity was included. On another occasion we attended a double wedding at which the exhortation to be faithful unto death was translated to be faithful for a little while—perhaps the mention of death was deemed untimely by the interpreter; perhaps, conscious of his own past (See p. 272) he had his tongue in his cheek; or perhaps he merely misunderstood the English phrase.

Catholic standard is quite familiar at Laguna is apparent from criticisms one hears expressed, as I have said before, of the brittle Zúñi system. Nevertheless as one hears the gossip of the town, it becomes quite plain that changing mate does not seem to people unnatural or reprehensible. Hiedyedye (Houses 11, 29, 31) was not blamed for marrying in Laguna although he had a wife and children in Isleta; nor was the husband of Gen. III, 118 blamed for leaving her because he could not put up with the American extravagance in her household;<sup>1</sup> the separation of the parents of Gai's'iwă (Gen. III, 179, House 51) and of Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) was mentioned in a matter of fact way.

This last divorce appears definitely in the genealogical table; but the separation of Gen. III, 118 and her husband does not appear. The girl was merely described as unmarried, i.e., not having at that time a husband. I incline to think that there may be other cases in which the tables do not show the entire conjugal history;<sup>2</sup> but this omission is due to my own inadvertence and to the reluctance in general to contribute information at a critical time on the part of my principal informant rather than to the withholding of information on this specific subject. Since writing the foregoing, data in the List of Houses have been carefully revised from the point of view of remarriage and of illegitimacy. Separation after marriage has been recorded in but three additional cases<sup>3</sup>; but several cases of illegitimacy come to notice. It becomes clear, indeed, that there is little if any more permanency in mating at Laguna than at Zúñi, the only difference is that the matches in early life are at Zúñi frank relationships and, at Laguna, surreptitious.

At marriage a Laguna man goes to live in his wife's household,<sup>4</sup> However, if there is no younger woman in his mother's house, his wife will go there to live.<sup>5</sup> A number of cases where the woman settles in the house of her husband's people are recorded.<sup>6</sup>

Where a couple in a younger generation wish to have their own house, either the man or the woman may acquire the new house, by purchase or building. In several instances a house was said to have been built for a woman by male relatives; and in several instances a man had established his family in the house he had inherited or bought. The house belongs to the acquirer, or, should husband and wife acquire the

<sup>1</sup>See p. 209, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Tsiwi'yai (Gen. III, 30) was the father of Shi'ye (House 106) and this first marriage of Tsiwi'yai was unrecorded.

<sup>3</sup>Among those were Gen. I, 97, Gen. III, 153; Gen. III, 40.

<sup>4</sup>*S'odyáu*, I live in my wife's household; *sodyama*, my wife's house; *k'audyama*, her house (Boas).

<sup>5</sup>*Sekoó*, I live in my husband's house; *s'agoo*, his house (Boas).

<sup>6</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 105. See pp. 236, 238, 246.



house together, one room may belong to the husband, another room to the wife. A man might work on his wife's house without putting in any claim to it, but, contrary to Zuñi custom, the money he put into it would entitle him, I believe, to a degree of proprietorship. Male proprietorship in houses is a familiar idea at Laguna.<sup>1</sup>

The householding experience of Dzaid'yuwi' and I'g'ugäi appears to be characteristic. After living a few years in the rather large household of Dzaid'yuwi's mother, they decided to move out. I'g'ugäi never got on with his stepfather-in-law whom both he and Dzaid'yuwi' condemned as lazy. Dzaid'yuwi's maternal grandfather Si'rowaisiwa (Gen. II, 14) who lived in the household and who as a weaver and sheep owner was well off, bought for Dzaid'yuwi' the rear room of her present house. In course of time the couple bought with money from sheep given Dzaid'yuwi' by the same grandfather and from I'g'ugäi's daily wages—he worked for Whites—the two front rooms of the house. The rear room and one of the front rooms belong to Dzaid'yuwi', the other front room to I'g'ugäi. It was Dzaid'yuwi's two rooms we occupied, and she said quite emphatically that she did not have to consult her husband about renting, for the rooms were hers.

As with houses or parts of houses, so with other property. In practice there is conjugal pooling of property but no pooling in the theory of ownership. In theory, as at Zuñi, husband and wife continue to hold in severalty what each came by individually—fields, sheep, horses, blankets, and jewelry. Unfortunately in my notes concrete cases of partition at death<sup>2</sup> or of sale and purchase are scant. I may cite one case where I was negotiating with an old woman for some *shuhuna*, stone fetish animals used by hunters,<sup>3</sup> which had come down to her and her deceased elder sister from their father, a *cheani*.<sup>4</sup> The widower of the elder sister, a member of the household, was at the time out herding, and the old woman sent a boy to ask him about consummating the sale.—He might sometime want to use the *shuhuna*. Word came back that the *shuhuna* were hers to do with as she wished. (They are now in the

<sup>1</sup>But there is nothing exigent about the idea as there appears to be in the eastern pueblos. No man at Laguna would have told me as did a man at San Felipe how he had "got ashamed" of living in his wife's house, the house her father had given her at marriage, so he had gone out to the edge of the town and built a house to belong, not to his wife, but to himself. A house "of my own name," he said, adding, "I am a man, I should have my own house." To be sure, there are men in Laguna who have done the same thing (see House 58), but they would not express their motives in these terms, I think, these very Spanish terms.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 195.

<sup>3</sup>At San Felipe and Santo Domingo *tshürshki*, Coyote, becomes *shuztsuna* and it occurs to me that here may be the etymology of *shuhuna*. And it is perhaps a not irrelevant fact that at Isleta the fetish animal of the hunt is the wolf.

<sup>4</sup>It is of interest that among the Hopi, a stone fetish animal belongs in every house as the property of the woman of the house. She has to feed it daily; it is the guardian of her house.

American Museum of Natural History).<sup>1</sup> I also recall the complete indifference of Hiedyedye to his wife's dealings with us in eggs—the fowl were hers.

There may of course be conjugal disputes about property at Laguna as well as about other conjugal concerns, but with the exceptions already cited and one other, I heard of none. Like other Pueblo peoples Laguna people are of an equable temper and given to household peace. The exceptions cited were solved in characteristic Pueblo fashion—by separation. The exception to be described in another connection (see p. 272) has another solution—by murder. It read like an American newspaper story.

#### ILLEGITIMACY

There is a large amount of illegitimacy at Laguna. The illegitimate is called, as at Zuñi and by the Hopi, a “stolen child,” *yani wahshtyi*. When the girls come back from the boarding-schools, they do as they like, people say, going up on the hill (just to the north of town) with the boys, and there are several cases of women who have worked out having fatherless children. The father or fathers of the children of Gen. I, 13 were unknown. From the looks of the eldest it is likely that the father was a White, probably a man in one of the families where the girl had worked. A little girl in House 47 has White blood. The father of Gen. II, 186 is said to have been a Mexican met by her mother while she was away working at Cubero, a Mexican town. “She may know who he is; we don’t know,” said my informant, a connection of the woman by marriage.

In her turn, Gen. II, 186 had two illegitimate children, one, it was rumored, by a gallant of the town, another by a Sant’ Ana man who had lived first in the tuberculosis sanitarium near by and subsequently in the house of the gallant. Finally, the stepfather together with the gallant saw to it that the Sant’ Ana man married the girl. The girl continues to live at home in a room built for her next to her mother’s rooms (see p. 242), and here her Sant’ Ana husband visits her.

There are several other cases of illegitimacy which runs in the family, so to speak. The aforesaid gallant is reputed to be the father of two children in House 4, each a child of each of the twin daughters of the house. The second child of one of these twins is said to be the child of a man notorious for other irregularities of conduct (see p. 272). Now the

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 20.

maternal grandmother of these twins had a like history, in her case after marriage, and the people say of the twins, "Well, their grandmother was the same." . . . House 27 belongs to a woman who had been the mother of three unfathered children. Their reputed father, the hunchback of House 123, is the son of a woman who had two illegitimate children. In House 19 lived a pregnant unmarried woman who was said to be the daughter of her mother's brother-in-law.

As might be expected, the fact of illegitimacy is not revealed in the application of kinship terms. The usual terms are in use, and when the mother was married, her illegitimate child is reckoned, as far as the familiar application of terms is concerned, as the child of her husband. In the application of terms I noted but one exception. Go'ty'iäi' (Gen. III, 32) calls Gen. III, 38, the illegitimate daughter of the wife of his mother's brother, "sister" not "daughter," and Go'ty'aiäi' definitely stated that he did not call her "daughter" because of the fact of illegitimacy. From this case, regrettably limited as is the evidence, I surmise that the illegitimate child is not thought of as the child of the clan of his adoptive or stepfather—unless, as happened in one of the families of House 4, the husband claims or recognizes the children as his own. In House 4 the husband, a Sant' Ana man, sent for his sisters, telling them that the two children were his, and his sisters washed their heads, i.e., made them children of their clan.

Among the Hopi this headwashing and naming rite is quite obviously a rite of adoption or initiation into another group—in the case in point the father's clan. The clan, like the fraternity, is grateful for receiving a new child. The "stolen child" is thought of by the Hopi as stolen by the woman from the father's clan. I doubt if this point of view finds expression at Laguna where the rights and duties of the father's clan are less marked. At Laguna, whatever disapproval of illegitimacy there is, appears to be based on economic grounds, on the failure to add an economic supporter to the family connection. In the case of the Sant' Ana man of House 56 who was forced to marry and in the case of the woman of House 27 whose "uncle," i.e., mother's brother, was said to have refused her help even when her children were ill—pressure came from the woman's people.

At any rate, illegitimacy is merely a family concern; outsiders are not called upon to express opinion. From outsiders disapproval extends but little, if at all, to the woman, and to offspring no odium attaches at all. For example, when the illegitimate children in House 27 were sick of the influenza, of which they died, Dzaid'yuwi', frequently a sharp-

tongued critic of social delinquencies, sent her own daughter to the house with presents of food, she felt so sorry, as she said, for the poor solitary woman, and in Dzaid'yuwi's own house, as at Alice Martin's (Houses 29, 31), the sprightly young woman of House 1, another mother of an unfathered child, was a constant visitor. At Casa Blanca she had been a neighbor of Alice Martin' and though Mrs. Martin' was a strict guardian of her own conjugal relationship, she was not necessarily a censor of others.

#### PRESENTING TO THE SUN AND NAMING

After four days, at the close, as we would say, of the confinement, the infant is presented to the Sun. First an altar is laid out on the floor of the house by the *cheani*<sup>1</sup> and then at sunrise the infant is taken outdoors where meal is sprinkled and a prayer said to the Sun. The mother is present, but it is the maternal grandmother who holds the infant and says the prayer.<sup>2</sup> The *cheani* also prays.<sup>3</sup>

At this time, according to several informants, no name is given to the child,—the name is not given until the child is over a year old,<sup>4</sup> when any member of the family on either side of the family may suggest a name. On the other hand, I have heard of names given soon after birth. For example, according to the genealogical record (Gen. II, 149) a child who died within a few days of birth was given a name. (The mother showed me the Catholic prayerbook in which she had written the names and birthdays of her children). Moreover, in a text collected by Dr. Boas, a name is given at the rite of presenting the child to the Sun.

Sometimes an old person who has led a fortunate, vigorous life is asked to give his or her name to the child, the name carrying with it a promise of happiness and long life. In this connection an account given by Go'ty'iaï' (Gen. III, 32) to Dr. Boas is of considerable interest. Go'ty'iaï' related that when his wife was about to give birth they talked about who should give their children names. "I said, 'Father Si'rowaisiwa (his wife's father, Gen. II, 14) shall give them a name.'—'All right' said my wife. I told Father Si'rowaisiwa, 'Father, I ask you to give a name to your grandson.'—'It is good' said he. He took up pollen and beads and meal, and early the next morning he prayed there on the

<sup>1</sup>See p. 261.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (c), 37-36.

<sup>3</sup>No sacerdotalist figures in the presentation rite at Zuñi or among the Hopi. The appearance of the *cheani* in the Laguna rite is an effect, I surmise, of the influence of Christian baptism.

<sup>4</sup>The name is not given at an early age because, people say, were the child to die, they would not want to remember it by name [Parsons, (c), 36].

north hill. . . . He asked all the *kopershtaia* (supernaturals)<sup>1</sup> how he should name his grandson, and some one said to Si'rowaisiwa, 'Give to your grandson your own first name . . . because you are getting old, and you have lived for a long time. . . .'<sup>2</sup> Father Si'rowaisiwa went from there and said, 'Give me my grandson. . . . Grandson, I will give you my own name. Your name shall be Dzio'k'-wid<sup>y</sup>iwa (Dzio'kwid'yū'ā, Gen. II, 124). From now on everybody will know you and will call your name. . . . Therefore<sup>3</sup> you will grow and you will become old.' And he blew<sup>4</sup> into his mouth four times. Then, indeed, he gave him back. Thus we, ourselves, give names to our children when they are born."

On p. 179 there is a reference to the sisters of a Sant' Ana man coming to Laguna to wash the heads of his children and give them names. This widespread Pueblo custom seemed quite familiar to the narrator of the incident, and I am not at all sure that the custom is not followed in some Laguna families. In fact it was stated definitely by Dzaid'yui' that on the fourth morning after the birth, before sunrise, the paternal grandmother came in to wash the head of the baby and give the baby a name which belonged to the clan of the grandmother. Dzaid'yui's oldest boy was thus named by Hieguma (Gen. IV, 3). After Hieguma's death, her daughter, Dzamai', the paternal aunt of Dzaid'yui's children, acted as their godmother. . . . Probably different naming practices are followed in different families.

In Laguna theory, as in Hopi,<sup>5</sup> names are supposed to have clan significance, not always, but commonly. And as indicated in the list of names by clan (Table 6) there are cases where the clan name indubitably suggested the personal name. To these I may add a few other names heard of in other connections: Two girls of the Corn clan are called Kuchini, Yellow (Corn understood), and another Corn clanswoman is

<sup>1</sup>A comprehensive collective term—*iyatik'u*, *k'atsina*, and *santu*, all are *kopershtaia* (*kopishtaya*).

<sup>2</sup>We have here an extremely interesting fact of personal supernatural experience, experience familiar enough among other Indian peoples, but little noted among the Pueblo Indians. That it occurs, however, I am much inclined to believe, although it has been so scantily recorded. (But see, Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (3), 329).

At Zuñi I know a girl whose father's father gave her a name which he had dreamed.

<sup>3</sup>The practice of a healthy old person giving his or her name to a child exists also at Zuñi. A young person does not give his name because it conveys no assurance of longevity. "He doesn't know if he is going to be old." Of a girl to whom her father's mother, an old woman, had given her name it was said, "May be she too get old." It is regularly *an wowa*, the father's mother of the child, who gives the name, her own or another. If the child is a boy and if *an wowa*'s brother is old and robust, she might give the child her brother's name. According to one informant, when her *wowa* dies, her mother's brother (*kyakya*), the eldest brother, will give names to the children to be born to the daughters of the family i. e., the maternal great-uncle will take the place of the paternal great-grandmother.

<sup>4</sup>An ubiquitous Pueblo Indian rite, in Keresan, *oputs*. See p. 191. Cp. Parsons, (f), 125-126, where however, *g'oputs* was confused in name with *kaiashats*, a more violent expulsion of breath. *Kaiashats* appears to be a rite of exorcism. The snake-bitten, e. g., will *kaiashats* on the sore navel of a baby. The breath is expelled onto one's own hands, held clasped together.

<sup>5</sup>Lowie, (b), 119; Voth, (a), 68. Unfortunately, we have no study of names at Zuñi, among the Tewa, or among the eastern Keresans. I note incidentally that Dumarest mentions Mitch as a Corn clan name at Cochiti. (Dumarest, 154). *Mi* (*le*) is the ceremonial term for corn at Zuñi.

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN<sup>1</sup>

Water Clan	
F	M
Dzai'ity'i	Dzauwai'd'yāi'
Gawai'y'unāi'	K'aai'd'ziāi's'lwā
Gaiyais'dyaits'a'	(Shaking Medicine)
	Tsshka'a(siwa) <sup>2</sup>
(Gaiyai's'dyuits'a).	Shkashi
	Dziwai'id'yirāi'
	Id'yim'e
	Watye
Kowai'd'yui	Shawisiyē
(Puddle)	Aiyudyaisiwa
Go'w'aits'a	Ok'aiyā
Go'wai	(A plant which grows at a spring)
Go'w'aid'yuits'a	Yu'si
G'awaid'yuwi	(Yo's'ia'i')
Goaisdywits'a	Dzā'yu
Goyai'd'yuwē'	Tyi'k'amāi
Hānai'sits'a	(Name of a <i>shivanna</i> )
K'oaisiē	Dziwaikch'
Hityi	Shaiyo's'iē
Osharani	Dzai'si(yai')
Tsaaimadyaita	Re'ni(d'yai')
K'tai'd'yuwē'	Tsi'shdy'wā
(People on earth surrounded by water,	(Tail Feather)
?Islanders)	K'au'winā'
Dziu'nits'ā	(Moss)
Kāai'd'yuwē	Dzira'ai
Dzia'yots'a	Shaa'yunā'i
(Nearly running (?))	Kawi'd'yāi'
Dzai'ity'e(d'yuwits'a)	Mid'yai's'wā
Dya'g'ūrū	Shaatse
(Bud)	Ko'ya'shdyiē
Gowa'k'ād'yāi'	Yai'yaāi(siwā)
(End of water)	Dzlo'kwid'yu'ā
Howa'k'ā(d'yuits'a)	Hē'nadyi
(Sky)	(Cloud)
Ga'i'tsdyui(ts'ā')	Ka'chānsh'
Dziwaiid'yi	(Rain water)
Dziai'd'yuwe	Kaau's'iyāi'
Dzi'yāi'	Hai'yuwāi(s'wā)
Naiyai's'iro'	Wā'k'aine'shu'
Dziwai'd'yuē('ts'a)	(Wakaenishe)
Dzanāi'(d'yuits'a)	(All ready, (?) <i>wakainashi</i> , heavy
Dz'wi'	clouds)
(Julia)	

<sup>1</sup>Of name bearer. Had we more data, it would probably be preferable to classify personal names according to the clan of the name giver.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosed in brackets is the longer form used by one informant.

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

F	M
Naau'g'ŷyāi'	Dziuniyē
Tsh'ais'āi'	
Dzidzai'd'yuwé	
(Horizon)	
Dziwŷshdyāwi'	
(Stratus cloud)	
Dzaid'yui'(ts'ā')	
Kwid'yaid'yui(ts'a)	
Kaw'i'ts'i(rāi')	
(Offering-of-Meal-and-Pollen)	
Parrot Clan	
F	M
Kāau'shurts'ā	Dzawai'is'
(Rays-of-Rising-Sun)	Onāi'
Wamai's(i'ts'a)	Gaishpidja'ty'
(Spotted Corn)	(Sunrise)
{Hea'si	Hea'sh'dyŷwā
{Hea's'dyuwe	Dyāi'yuwe
Hai'ty'imai'	Shau'd'yiye
K'shie'nā	Yo'd'yidyāi'
Tsi'wa'k'ā	Sh'au's'imāi'
Koadyuma	Ni'yuyāi'
Dyayonai	Gawai'd'yirāi'
Wa'ganidyuwits'ā	( <i>gawai'd'yich'</i> , middle of water)
Lopina (Sp.)	Da'yū'
Lope (Sp.)	(Eagle's friend)
Kiwaait's'ā	Djai'd'zie
Yo'nimait's'ā	( <i>djait's</i> , a throwing stick of oak)
Kyiai'sdyuwits'ā	Tsiyusiē
	Dziwishpirāi'
	( <i>dziwishpityat</i> , sunlight)
	Tsa'shumāi
	Dzaai'y'unāi'(siwā)
	Peau'siwā
	K'awi'rāi
	Oshare
	Ha'd'yai'yāni(siwā)
	Ship'a'p'
	Doli'vio (Sp.)
	Dziwi's'iyāi(d'yiwā)
	Oy'o'ri
	Tsi'sh'(dyiwā)

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

Turkey Clan	
F	M
Dziwai'y'unāi'	Dzī'nats'ī'd'yiwā (dzī'nats'īdja'ty', clouds come up)
Sāp'	Djo's'iyāi' (A flower called djo's')
Dzid'zai'd'yuwi	Ya'od'yidyāi'(siwā')
Sho''ty'i(dyuits'ā)	Wiyāi'd'yua'
(A bird so named)	Ga'ai'(s'iwā)
	Mais'iwā
K'ayo's'īāi	Dzawi'rāi
Dzio'rīāi	Shuwai'ri
Shi'k'āyāi	Dzai'tsdyiwā (Piñon-tree)
	K'ais'iyāi'
	Ai''ty'īāi
	Ga'g'iri
	Tsaau's'diyai
Sun Clan	
F	M
Dziwai'isiro	Owi'd'zīrai
Kuyai'd'yid'yuwe'	Na's'iyai'
{ Laiyidyuwe	Ky'iau'd'yāīai
{ Iaedyuwe	Kio'd'y
Shau'k'āmā	Ma'rani
Na'yow'aits'ā	Gyi'mi
He'yāis'its'ā	Kowāu' sh'dyiwā
Dziwai'īdyits'ā'	(kowaushdyērits'ā, spread tail)
Dzai'is'ts'ā	K'u'na'sh'
Yuwai'd'yaits'ā	Au'y'unāi'(s'iwā)
Shaya'ai	K'āwai'sh'
Ai's(dyūwits'ā)	Dya'gāiyai
K'a'winā	Tsi'raai
(Moss)	Kāwe'sh'dyemā
Go'isdyuits'ā	(North Mountain)
A'waid'yid'yuwi(ts'ā)	Ko'raity'i'
Gau's dyūwi(ts'a)	(Field)
Hiai'g'unā	No'raai
Dzio'koish	Gat'a'yā
(Pleiades)	Yaai's'dyiwā'
Dzamai'(d'yuits'a)	I'g'ugāi
Dzai'ty'iyai'	Na'yabuni
Tsa's'īro	Dzirai'ity'i
Gau's'ire	Shta'yāi
Gwi't'y'i(dyuits'a)	Dzawai'y'unāi'



TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

F	M
	Yo'rimăi'
	Shta'y'ăi
	Witeie
	Gai's'iwă
	Tsa'sdiye
	Dzawaid'yăi'
Ts'i'd'yuwi'(ts'ă)	
Dzi'd'ja'ai	
Shaa'i'shdyiăi	
Sai'yap <sup>a</sup>	
Dziomăi'(ts'ă)	
Dyia'ro	
(Parrot in Hopi, In correct Hopi <i>kyaro</i> )	
Gwi'shk <sup>a</sup> ië	
(Blue)	
Bear Clan	
F	M
Dzai'r'inăi'	Ma'ts'at'yăi'
Dzaai'y'ăi	Gwi'd'zirăi'
Dzi's'dyuwi'(ts'a)	Niăi'
Kio'd'yiăi'	Sh'auwiăi'
Sep <sup>a</sup>	Ha'g'uye
Gau's'iro	Au'd'yăi
Dzit'ai'd'yuwi	Koi's
Gaa'i'd'yuits'a	Kăya's'iwă
Onăi'	Ki'owăi'
Dziwai'ty'inăi'	
İya's'İ'	
(A shell used for beads, Olivella? <sup>1</sup> )	
Kio'ty'iăi	
Shăai'dyid'yuwits'ă	
Gaiya'ts'Imăi	
(gaiya'ats'ëshe, mixed Corn, blue and white)	
Lizard Clan	
F	M
Ky'iwis'dyuwi(ts'ă)	Dzio'ty'
{Kowai'(d'yuits'ă)	Goa'ty'imăi(siwă)
{Go'w'ăi'(d'yuits'ă)	
Dzïu'ty'ityi	Shtowain'ă'(siwă)
E'd'ă	K'aiyai'ty'i(siwă)
Ais'dyuwits'ă	Dyai'riyăi
Dzi'rai'(d'yuwits'ă)	Gayai'd'yăi
Hi'n'ăits'ă	T'api'noshkă'(siwă)
Me'yu'shk'ă	(Horned Toad?)

<sup>1</sup>It was worn by the *u'pi*, the war priests; it is tied to the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>.

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN, (Continued)

F	M
K'o'ty'imai (Mountain)	P'e'nits'ä'yo
Dzaai'd'yi(d'yuwits'ä)	Ai's'iyē'
	Dzai'gäi
Ha'ts'e (Earth)	Ya'dôky'
Gau's'ën'äi'	(Sun in Zuni)
K'ä'waity'id'yuwé	Dzai'd'yiäi'
Gu'miyai'	Koi'ch'inä
(Water dammed up)	
Dzaai'd'yid'yuwe'(ts'ä)	
Chaparral Cock Clan	
F	M
Dziwai'ity'i	Dziwa'häyäi
K'ä'ya'sh <sup>a</sup>	(Kashare cheani name)
(Mixed)	Gau'sh'dyunäi
Yo's'iro	K'äai'g'ürü
Shuwäi	Shla'shk'ä
	(Chaparral Cock)
Dzi'tydziro	Yo'kwi
Dziwi's'dyui	Dyumai'
Na's'äi	Yai'ty'imäi
Dyä'wait's'i	Mo'k'aich'
K'auwimait's'ä	(Mountain lion)
Dzamai'd'yuwits'ä	Shu'uty'i
Dyi'd'zai'd'yui	Shau'wag'o'ye
(End of earth)	Rau's'lyäi
	Dyuityie
Badger Clan	
F	M
Gawai' idyid'yui(ts'ä)	Goa's'iro
Yu'yait's'ä	
Waiaye	Ho'pydiwa
Gai'siro(ts'ä')	Shau'w'är
Güyai'ts'ä	Dziw'ai's'iwä
Tsa'ts'i'	We'd'yumä
Shu'mäi	Ka'yo'
Dzai'sdyui(ts'ä)	Gä'pydyëwä
Dziwi'd'yäi	Dziwi'd'yäi
Dzäiyai'(d'yuwits'ä)	K'äwai'siyäi
Kaai'yunäi'	
Chuetsa	
Dzai'shdyiäi(ts'ä)	
K'a'pok'ä	
Kwi'n'ye'ts'a	

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

Eagle Clan	
F	M
Gaity'i'ait's'ă	{ Riyo' Lio'
Dzawai'g'uits'ă	(From the song of a bird)
Ganai'	Dziwai'id'yirăi
Ts'a' 'shdjdyuwě'	Shau'w'ăi'
(Dawn)	Kaau'styiăi'
Ts'a' 'sh'umăi'	Oyo'y'ăi
Koyo'd'yŭwe'	(Oyo'yewi)
Dzaai't'y'iě	Dzi'y'aid'y'i'wă
Tsik'ayăai'ts'ă	
Go'yăi	Oshă'
Dzaiyě°wăi'	
Shăts'ăi'	
Gauw'ai'd'yuwi(ts'ă)	
Tsai'shdyiăi'(ts'ă)	
(Squash Flower)	
Dzaăi'ty'id'yuwits'z	
Ga'w'iaits'ă	
Corn Clan	
F	M
Kyi'waaid'yuwi(ts'ă)	Na'tsiwă
Dzaiaai'd'yuwits'ă	Tsiwi''yai
Wayaid'yuwits'ă	Garashdyi'
Wakăi	Dyi'nă
Dzi'w'ămai'	A'ts'ăyě
Kăau'd'yuwits'a	{ Wai's'iro Waiyais'iro
Hîwai'	Tsita
Tsiwaisie	A'ushuyăi'
(Ma'na, Moki name) <sup>1</sup>	{ Go'ty'iăi' (siwă) Go'ty'i'amŭr
Nîwi'	(First to come out from <i>ship'ap</i> )
	Hio'd'yăi
	Gai'd'ori
Oak Clan	
F	M
Sha'wity' <sup>1</sup>	Ai'wanăi
(Parrot)	Dyăitsdyămŭr
Nămăi(d'yuwi)	(an evergreen)
Shăai'ty'id'yuwe'	Shgawa''yu'
Ki'wa'd'yuwi(ts'ă)	Ai'shin'i'
(Tree called <i>kiwa</i> )	A'wiy'ăi'

<sup>1</sup>i.e., Hopi term for girl.

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

F	M
Ko'ri(d'yuwits'a)	Yo'rāni
Sha'ty'i(d'yūwits'a)	K'o'sima
Sh'aw'i'	(Cloud like smoke)
Tsa'k'wits'ā	Īyai's'dyiwā'
(? I am a woman)	Ha'p' ai
(Flat Corn)	Ts'gai's'iwā'
Dzai'ch'u	Tsi'd'yime'
(Field in Santo Domingo speech)	Īya'n'ā
Shi'mānai	Dz'is'ty''
(Hopi name)	(Low oak)
	Kaw'a'k'āyā
	(With melon vines)
	Shiwānā
	(Storm cloud)
	Gai'ty'imāi
Locust Clan	
F	M
Dzi'wai'sh'u	Ho'ak'ā'
Kāau's'iyē	(Sky)
Osha'rad'yē'	Shka''guri
(Sun ?)	(Shka''shgo is the name of an animal)
	Gai''s'iro
Antelope Clan	
F	M
	Wi'sh'gā
	(Robin)
Turquoise Clan	
F	M
Kiw'ai'ity'i	Yā'wif'yāi'
	Kāiyai'd'yai'
	Gawai's'

called Kashesh, White (Corn understood); K'itishtata, meaning growing corn which is not quite ripe, and Ashini, corn tassel, are said to be Corn clan names; Gaishpiisho, Great Rays of Light, is the name of a Sun clansman. In other cases<sup>1</sup> the name etymology is, Dr. Boas concludes, merely fanciful, in order to fit the facts to the native theory.

It is more than doubtful, too, as to names being clan property, so to speak, a given name to be appropriated only by a given clan member. Blue (Corn understood), is said to be a Corn clan name, but it is borne by a Sun clanswoman (Gen. III, 76), child of the Corn clan. In this connection we should note that persons of different clans in some cases

<sup>1</sup>For example, Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122), Water clanswoman, had her name translated as Clouds Above.

have the same name. An Eagle clansman (Gen. I, 65) and a Water clansman (Gen. III, 167) have the same name—Dziwai'id'yirāi. So have a Water clanswoman (Gen. II, 127) and a Locust clansman (Gen. IV, 21)—Ho'ak'ā', Sky; a Water clanswoman (Gen. II, 105) and a Turkey clanswoman (Gen. II, 136)—Dzidzai'd'yuwe; a Water clanswoman (House 15) and a Sun clanswoman (Gen. I, 15)—G'awina (K'āwinā, K'auwinā'); a Parrot clansman (I Gen., 79) and an Eagle clansman (House 74)—Dziwishpirāi'; a Corn clansman (House 115), a Parrot clansman (p. 226), a Chaparral Cock clansman (p. 224)—K'awimaisewa; a Parrot clansman (p. 224) and an Oak clanswoman (Gen. III, 227); a Lizard clanswoman (Gen. III, 10) and a Sun clanswoman (Gen. I, 14)—Ais;<sup>1</sup> a Badger clanswoman (Gen. I, 76) and a Parrot clanswoman (House 12)—Dziwi'dyāi; a Bear clanswoman (Gen. II, 209) and a Parrot clansman (Gen. I, 41)—Onāi'. In this last case the fathers of the persons in question are Sun clansmen, and the name Onāi' may be in native opinion a Sun clan name. In fact the appearance of the same name in different clans might be in general accounted for by name giving through the paternal line. In which case the fact of the appearance of the same name in different clans would be no argument against the existence of clan proprietorship in names.

In a number of cases names were said to have been given by or through the father and in still other cases the name as translated is obviously a name associated with the father's clan. See Table 7.

From these instances one might infer that, as among the Hopi,<sup>2</sup> naming was indeed a function of the father's people but for the fact that certain names appear, according to the genealogical tables, to run in the maternal clan, or, more correctly perhaps, in the mother's line.

The name Go'w'aid'yuits'a occurs among Water clanswomen four or possibly six times. In three instances the name is within the same family or family connection. It is likely that the older woman, Gen. II, 11, gave the name to the younger, Gen. II, 73, her mother's sister's daughter's daughter. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth instances the name or what seems to be a variant was borne by three sisters. Again Dzaid'yuwi' appears to be a Water clan or family name (assuming that slight variations are due to differences in pronunciation or observation.) Dziwaid'yui (Gen. II, 33) may have given her name to Gen. II, 105 (?Dzidzaid'yuwe'), her mother's sister's daughter's daughter. The name A'ud'yāi' occurs twice among Bear clansmen (Gen. I, 52 and Gen. III, 250) who, as far as I know, are not related by blood. The name Go'w'ai-

<sup>1</sup>It was stated, definitely, that the latter got her name from the former who was called *nai'ya* by the latter's father, for what reason my informant did not know.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (b), 65. Voth is self-contradictory in this matter. [Parsons, (k), 101.]

d'yuits'a occurs twice among presumedly unrelated Lizard clanswomen (Gen. II, 23 and Gen. III, 166).—Skyashka, Chaparral Cock, occurs twice in the Chaparral Cock clan.

TABLE 7. NAMES RECOGNIZED AS GIVEN THROUGH THE FATHER<sup>1</sup>

Place in Genealogy	Clan	Name	Father's Clan
Gen. I, 18	Sun	Kowāush'dyiwā (Spread Tail)	Parrot
Gen. II, 152	Water	Tsi'shdyi'wā (Tail Feather)	Chaparral Cock
Gen. II, 184	Parrot	Djai'd'zie (Throwing-stick of oak)	Oak
Gen. I, 40	Parrot	Kāau' shurts'ā (Rays-of-Rising-Sun)	Sun
Gen. II, 199	Parrot	Gaishpidja'ty <sup>a</sup> (Sunrise)	Sun
Gen. IV, 24	Locust	Osha'radyē (Sun (?) )	Sun
Gen. IV, 21	Locust	Ho'ak'ā' (Sky)	Sun
Gen. III, 154	Lizard	Ya'dōky' (Sun in Zūñi)	Sun
Gen. I, 15	Sun	G'awina (Moss)	Water
Gen. III, 55	Bear	Gaiya' 'atsimāi (Mixed Corn)	Corn
Gen. III, 76	Sun	Gwi' 'shkaiē (Blue Corn)	Corn
Gen. III, 43	Oak	Tsa'k'wits'a <sup>2</sup> (Flat corn)	Corn

We noted that the names Sky, Moss, and Onāi' were borne each by a woman and a man. I note a few other instances where a name is indifferently female or male—Ts'a' 'sh'umāi' is the name of an Eagle clanswoman (Gen. I, 57) and of a Parrot clansman (Gen. IV, 7); Ais'yiē' is the name of a Lizard clansman, (Gen. II, 146) and of a Bear clanswoman (House 16); Shawityi (Parrot) is the name of a Parrot clansman (p. 224) and of an Oak clanswoman (Gen. III, 227), Shawi is the name of a Corn clanswoman (House 1) and of a Chaparral Cock clansman (House 4). But as these are the only instances out of a total of about 450

<sup>1</sup>The first four names were stated incidentally to have been given by or through the father. The other names which are among the comparatively small number of translated names, were quite obviously, from their meaning, given by the father or his people. The bulk of the names were untranslated or untranslatable and what proportion of them may have been got from the paternal side of the family is not known.

<sup>2</sup>This kind of an ear is said to be fed to stock to promote fertility. Among the Hopi, after an eagle's head is washed with whitewash, the bird is given water with an ear of flat corn. A flat or branching ear, at Zūñi, is thought of as mother and child, and it is this kind of an ear which is left alongside an infant for protection. (Parsons, (a), 170).

names in which the same name is given to both sexes,<sup>1</sup> it is fair to say that names are commonly associated with one sex or the other. This is native theory, too. There are, moreover, distinctive sex suffixes—for females,<sup>2</sup> *dyuwe*, *dyuwits'a* (said to mean "touched" or "touching on top"), for males, *s'iwa*.

These sex suffixes are commonly dropped in speaking. Two of my women informants rarely, if ever, used them. They and others shortened up names in other respects as well<sup>3</sup>. Ts'iwairo became Rairo, for example, or K'ashiena, Shena, or Dyai's'its'ă, Ges, or Tsik'ayăai'ts'a, Tsik'ayă. On the other hand, Go'ty'iaï', Dr. Boas' chief informant on names, always gave a name punctiliously in its fullest form.

There are several instances of naming from ceremonial personage or circumstance—Iyats'a from *iyatik'u*; Oyo'y'ăi from *oyo'yewi*, one of the two war gods; Tyi'k'amăi, a *shiwanna*; Hemish (House 123) from a *k'atsina* dance; Ais, the name of a woman, *aistye*, who became tired as they came up out of *ship'a'p'*; K'a'pok'ă is the name of one of the *iyatik'u*; Kaw'i'ts'irăi', offering of meal and pollen; İya's'İ', the white shell used for beads or for the shell mixture of offerings;<sup>4</sup> Ko'raity'i' is the name of the eagle and chaparral cock feathers tied together and worn on the head by women in dances. Tsi'raăi is a *shiwanna* name; No'-raai, Field, is the *k'atsina* term for field; Ship'a'p' is the mythological place of emergence of the whole people; Go'ty'iaï's'iwa is from *go'ty'i'amür*, first to come out from *ship'a'p'*; Gawiretsa (House 92) is the name of the Morning Star, a *kopishtaya*. Obviously, the mythological name or circumstance is not esoteric or taboo for secular use. . . . These names may be given directly by the ceremonial impersonation or chosen in connection with ceremonial performance. Kisuwets'a, an old lady of the Sun clan (House 92), told me that she got her name as a little child because her family liked the name as they heard it sung by the *k'atsina*. Her people asked the *k'atsina* for the name. The child was led out into the plaza during the dance and the *k'atsina* breathed upon her (*guputstani*). She was "washed" by the family of the war captain in charge of the dance. Wamais (Gen. I, 42) is said to have got her name from a song, too—she was named by a *cheani*. The name We'd'yumă is from the song of the four *ts'itsinuts* at the *k'atsina* initiation. *Wenimatse*

<sup>1</sup>Outside of our tables and lists I have heard the name *Shyashka*, Chaparral Cock, applied to a woman as well as to men.

<sup>2</sup>Cp. Voth, (a), 71, 72; Fewkes, (d), 261 n. 1. In Zuni, *titsa* is a suffix for female proper names.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Harrington, 476.

<sup>4</sup>White Shell Woman figures in Pueblo Indian mythology.

brother (*tiumě*) was the suggested derivation. There is at Zuñi and among the Hopi<sup>1</sup> a like use of religious names as personal names<sup>2</sup>.

At Laguna, too, as at Zuñi, the society name of a society member or *cheani* may be used secularly. *Dziwa'ňăyăi* is a *kashare cheani* name; but whether or not the bearer was a *kashare* I do not know. *Tsinadyuwi*, the *cheani* name of *Dzai'ty'i* (Gen. II, 19), is commonly used. . . . It appears that the initiate into the *k'atsina* gets a new name as well as the initiates into societies. The present head of the *k'atsina* is known by his *k'atsina* name—*Tsajsi* (House 4). The *k'atsina* name is given by the initiator (see p. 264).

Several foreign names or names said to be derived from another language are recorded—*Ma'na*, Hopi for girl; *Shi'mănai* [Flower-girl], also Tusayan; *Dyia'ro*, Hopi for parrot; *Dzai'ch'u*, a Santo Domingo word for field; *Yu'kwi*, a Zuñi word; *Awiloya* (House 73), a Zuñi name; *Ya'doky'*, Zuñi for sun,<sup>3</sup> *K'u'na'sh'u*, a *shloroka*<sup>4</sup> word for mountain. On the other hand, the Zuñi name, *Siu'rosits'ă*, of a Badger immigrant from Zuñi, is said to have been changed for a Laguna name—*Yu'yait'sa*.

Laguna people may acquire foreign names through a headwashing and naming rite performed in another town. Thus at Sant' Ana I'g'ugăi had his head washed and was given three names—*Tsauwawak*, *Wiyut-sima*, and *Heash* (vapor after rain). He received the bowl his head was washed in and an ear of corn. This rite of adoption, so to speak, is performed at Zuñi and among the Hopi. It is not practised, I think, at Laguna.

At Laguna a few cases of nicknames came to my notice. *K'aish'-dôwă* (arrow) (Gen. II, 14) was so named because he was a famous hunter. One *Tsitosh* was so named from his small round mouth.<sup>5</sup> *Tsiwema* (House 13, p. 260) was called *Tsipehus*, (his, ear, god) because a prospective mother-in-law once boasted of him as a rich suitor visiting the house wearing a silver belt and handsome earrings. The joke spread—surreptitiously, for I was cautioned not to refer to the nickname in *Tsiwema's* presence.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Voth, (a), 83-84, 93.

I note *Tshakwania*, Bear clansman, and *Polakka*, Corn clansman [Fewkes, (d), 256]. A Laguna man resident at Zuñi is called *Polaka*. The name *Polaka* has a special interest since it was given me at Zuñi as a synonym for *iatiko* (the Keresan corn ear fetish and earth supernatural) and both *polaka* and *iatiko* at Zuñi are accounted synonyms of *poshaiyanki*, the male supernatural to whom all the Zuñi societies pray. *Poshaiyanki* is to be equated with the Hopi *myingwu* or germ god, sometimes called goddess. There were formerly among the Hopi a *poshwymykiya* (*wymykiya*, society member) to cure the bewitched [Fewkes, (e), 7]. A Hopi doctor's curing ceremony is called *poshwimi*. In Zuñi myth the first corn bringers were witches [Parsons, (n)]. In the East *poshaiyanki* is identifiable with Montezuma or Jesus and at Laguna with *bacheani* [Parsons, (f), 115.]

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 171. Parsons, (j), 329.

<sup>3</sup>A man out of House 109 is called *Pëkwi*, from the Zuñi word *pekwin*, speaker.

<sup>4</sup>The *shloroka* are the legendary people known at Zuñi as *ky'anakwe* with whom the Pueblo Indians once fought. There is a *shloroka* "dance" and it is possible that my informant was merely referring to a dance word.

<sup>5</sup>Parsons, (f), 122 n. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (j), 256. Fewkes mentions a Hopi nickname "Baldhead" or "Curly-Hair" objected to by the bearer. [Fewkes, (d), 263 n. 1.]



In one case the name of a man's clan is prefixed to his personal name—Tsurshk<sup>y</sup> (Coyote) Goyuna (Table 9).

#### CHILD-REARING

Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have described several of the practices, precautionary and educational, carried out for the benefit of the child. To these practices, which are mostly of a magical nature, I may add the following: After the birth an ear of corn is left near the cradle for four days. Thereafter, when the baby is left alone, a corn ear or a poker<sup>2</sup> or a spruce twig should be left near him. When Dzaid'yuwi's baby was a year and a half old, she still had in her possession, she told me, the protector ear of corn. . . . The cradle board (*witsimā*) should be made of lightning-struck wood, and an arrow point tied to the board. . . . If dentition is backward, one who has been snake-bitten would rub the child's gums with his finger—a practice noted at Zuñi. . . .<sup>3</sup> If a child is slow to talk, you put a key in his mouth and turn it as if unlocking a door—obviously a practice borrowed from Whites. If you want a child to learn English easily, you hold a mockingbird to his lips<sup>4</sup> and have him draw in his breath, "kiss" commented my interpreter. (This was not the first time I had to note both at Laguna and Zuñi that the rite of breathing in was associated with kissing). . . . For backwardness in walking, you rub the white of egg on the child's legs—chickens run around quickly—another borrowing from the Whites.<sup>5</sup>

Of practices not based on reasoning by analogy, observation, I regret, was limited. Lactation lasts presumedly as long as the milk supply. I refer elsewhere<sup>6</sup> to the child in our household who was being suckled after he could run about; and I have seen even older children take the breast.

At Laguna, as in other Pueblo Indian towns, babies and older children are looked after a good deal by the old people of the household; grandmother or grandfather is the natural custodian of the baby at all times, and more particularly when household work compels attention. Go'ty'ia'i' regularly brought his three-year-old grandson to our house when he reported for work in the morning, and at any hour of the day Go'ty'ia'i' and the boy could be seen going about town hand in hand.

This sturdy little boy's cousin, the spoiled child I have referred to elsewhere, was never looked after by Go'ty'ia'i,' his step-grandfather, he

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (c), 34-38; 168 ft.

<sup>2</sup>Dumarest, 142 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Parsons, (a), 172.

<sup>4</sup>Parsons, (a), 172; Parsons, (k), 103.

<sup>5</sup>See, too, p. 270, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 266.

did not live in Go'ty'iäi's household; he tagged on to his mother or more especially his little sister. The little girls as well as the old people look after the babies, carrying them in a blanket on their back. I never saw younger men, young fathers, carry children, as in Acoma or Jemez, so that in this respect the Laguna way may be like the way of Zuñi, where the younger men play with the little children, but would not dream of toting them about or walking the floor with them to soothe them.

According to the genealogies there is much the same kind of adoption of children at Laguna as at Zuñi, and, I suppose, elsewhere. Parents lacking, children are brought up by other kindred. Go'ty'iäi' (Gen. III, 32) we recall, was brought up by a paternal aunt, and, as it happened, Go'ty'iäi's wife (Gen. II, 53, Gen. III, 33, House 41) brought up her brother's children (Gen. II, 119, 121). Tshuwai (House 3) and his brother were brought up by a maternal kinswoman, and so were Nāmāi' (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89, House 56) and Tsiwidyë (House 12). Kuyu'd'yuwe (Gen. I, 68, Houses 24, 33, 118) has brought up her deceased sister's sons. In one case of separation the child remained with the father (House 4). I heard of no case where offspring were transferred from a parental household to another. Dzaid'yuwi' could recall no case of a child adopted by non-relatives except the girl referred to on p. 276. The orphan girls adopted by Miss Dissett of Santa Fé we did not count. The only term for adoptive child known to Dzaid'yuwi' was *k'aonamat-sanishë*, which means, I think, one without relations.

Little children are sent to the American day school. The little girl in our house went most regularly together with two or three neighbors from across the way. And older boys and girls go to the Government boarding-school at Albuquerque or even to Riverside in California, or to the Catholic Sisters' School at Santa Fé. However, I met young women who had been only a year or two in day school, and the school children are shy about speaking even the little English they know, considerably less shy, however, than at Zuñi, where outdoors, in street or plaza, a child may whisper *e'l'o!* to you as you pass, or even shout, but where no child will talk to any *Melika*.

#### DUTIES OF SPECIAL RELATIVES.

At Laguna, as at Zuñi, the household rather than the family is the unit of service. Economic duties and obligations belong primarily to the household. But services, economic and ceremonial, are rendered by kin outside of the normally constituted household.

*Mother's Brother.* There is little doubt that this relationship is thought of as close. References to the oversight or guardianship ex-

pected of "uncles" i.e., mother's brothers, are not lacking,<sup>1</sup> although definite cases of services rendered are unfortunately scant. I heard of one case where an "uncle" sent money to his drafted nephew about whom he was much worried, and another case of a man (Gen. II, 45)<sup>2</sup> giving a large field to his sister's daughter's son.<sup>3</sup> (The boy's father, I'g'ugäi, [Gen. II, 123] holds the field in trust and cultivates it).<sup>4</sup> In another case a woman's grave was dug by her "uncle" and I believe that this is the regular procedure. In several cases the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> in the family custody was said definitely to be inherited from an "uncle," and although there are also cases where the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> has come to a woman from her father, I get the impression that in native theory these most sacred fetishes descend in the maternal line. Personal masks, on the other hand, are inherited from the father.<sup>5</sup> Fields and sheep, the chief forms of material property outside of houses (for the holding and inheritance of houses see pp. 248ff.), are inherited in equal shares by offspring, male and female, but, offspring lacking, a sister, I was told, will be preferred to a brother. No instances of such inheritance came under notice, however, nor of direct inheritance from a maternal uncle.<sup>6</sup> In one instance noted (Gen. II, 47), offspring lacking, sheep and fields were inherited by the widow, not by the sister of the deceased or his brothers.

*Father's Sister.* At initiation into the societies the head of the initiate was washed by the father's sister of the introducer or ceremonial father, as at Zuñi. And we are to note that in the Laguna salt collecting ceremonial the father's sister distributed the salt and washed the nephew, giving him balls of clay and of corn and breathing on him. After a deer hunt the head and eyes of the deer are taken to the father's sister of the hunter. She prays that they may have venison the coming year.<sup>7</sup>

At death, a father's clanswoman is called in to wash the corpse, but this means, I believe, the nearest female kin to the father, i.e., the father's

<sup>1</sup>For example, see p. 238 for a case where an "uncle" censured a woman because, as I was told, "she would not live the way he wanted." In referring to the unmarried life of Juana (Gen. I, 13), an informant expressed surprise that her "uncles" did nothing about it.

See Parsons, (e), 271 n. 1 for a striking assertion of authority at Zuñi by a maternal uncle. Among the Hopi the maternal uncle acts as instructor. [Lowie, (b), 82].

<sup>2</sup>After all the offspring of the man had died.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Zuñi practices, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup>In 1920 I'g'ugäi was away, and the field was cultivated by Yo'kwi' (Gen. II, 126), husband of the boy's mother's sister. The day he was cutting the alfalfa I met the boy's mother taking him his lunch.

<sup>5</sup>See pp. 241, 243.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 238.

<sup>7</sup>This information was contributed by Miss Esther Schiff who learned it from Gen. II, 120. He also related that when a man is going on a hunt he tells his wife the direction he is to take. Every morning she sprinkles meal four times outdoors [presumably from the direction followed by the hunter to the threshold], and she or some woman of the household must stay indoors i. e., a woman must be at home all the time. And the door must be left open that the deer may walk in. . . . At this time the women houseclean and whitewash the walls, using flowers in the wash—to attract the deer. These data throw light on scattering references elsewhere to the behavior of the hunter's household. Obviously their behavior should be pleasing to the spirit of the deer. [Cp. Parsons, (f), 128].

sister, only if paternal kinswomen were lacking, would a mere clanswoman be summoned.<sup>1</sup> Juana (Gen. I, 13) daughter of Yu'si of the Water clan, died in 1918, and, as Yu'si has no kinswomen,<sup>2</sup> Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122), a Water clanswoman, was called in. In this case Dzaid'yuwi' took the place of her mother, too blind to officiate.

The paternal Eagle clan relatives of Gawiretsa (House 92) live at Tsiamia and when Gawiretsa visited them there they always gave her a very warm welcome, killing a cow for her. When Gawiretsa died in 1918 these ladies came to her house, one in particular, her nearest *k'u'ya*, taking charge, washing her body and head and singing the Eagle clan grinding song that Gawiretsa had asked them to sing when she died.

While we were staying with Dzaid'yuwi', her husband's paternal aunt (Gen. IV, 63) fell sick. Considerable concern was expressed about her, and her nephew, I'g'ug'äi, went twice to Mesita to visit her.

Gawiretsa used to joke a lot with her paternal relatives; but in the absence of other data about relatives joked with I cannot hazard speculation about any stereotyped joking-relationship. The regular conclusion of Laguna folktales, however, should not be overlooked in this connection. The farcical nominee is: "Thus long is the backbone of my aunt." (*tometsish s'ak'oya k'ayodzeshpot'its*).

*Cross-Cousin Marriage.* One day in getting a list of words for snakes, toads,<sup>3</sup> lizards, etc., I was told of the *tsasje*, presumably the chameleon, and my informant added that when a child was bashful about calling anybody *pa'pa* people told the child that *tsasje* would dart at it. "Why should a child be shy about saying *pa'pa*?" of course I queried. "It is just like saying 'husband' or 'wife'. . . . So we say to a boy, 'If you don't want to become her husband, *tsasje* will chase you. . . . If *tsasje* runs at you, you must dance a circle around

<sup>1</sup>This is so also at Züñi. Recently, at the death of an old woman, a Badger clanswoman and the child of the *pikchikwe* clan, the corpse was washed by the deceased's daughter, son-in-law, and sister of son-in-law. The deceased had no close paternal relatives, and none of her father's clan, the *pikchikwe*, was called in. Later, certain *pikchikwe* said to my informant, the deceased's granddaughter, "Why didn't you call us?" And my informant added, "People don't like to wash old, very old persons, the body looks so bad. That is why my mother did not call in the *pikchikwe*." . . . The grave was dug by the deceased's son-in-law and his two sons, one of them unrelated to the deceased.

Among the Tewa of Hano, a paternal kinswoman (*kyiu*) comes in at death, presenting a blanket or a piece of cotton cloth. (Züñi usage, also. See p. 197 and Parsons, (p), 252). . . . The father or the maternal kinsman of the deceased carries away the corpse.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 237.

<sup>3</sup>Horned toad is *d'upinushka*. You may tie a bit of red or green yarn around the neck of a *d'upinushka* for whatever you want, say a new belt, and say:—

Pag'ücha	pa'pa	chupe'
give	grandmother	tell

"Tell your grandmother to give me" etc.—There are corresponding Züñi and Pima practices. At Züñi, to cure a sore, a *klechokyapa* (a little red, rough-skinned creature with a tail) will be caught and in case of a woman a bit from belt, in case of a man, from *banda* or shirt, will be tied around the neck of the animal. It is payment to it for taking away the sore. "I make you *kihe*" (ceremonial friend) is said. Among the Pima, "If one accidentally steps on a horned toad he must tie a red string around its neck and let it go, saying 'nyu u-ut hok', my blood eat. This is to cause the subtle toad to eat the bad blood that may cause disease in the person." (Russell, 264).

him and call out *pa'pa*, then *tsasje* will let you alone'<sup>1</sup> . . . My *pa'pa* is my wife too—*s'apa'pa e s'aukwi* (my *pa'pa* and my wife)." More than that could not be elicited, but my informant himself undoubtedly had the sense of this identification.

The information, detached though it was, was startling.<sup>2</sup> It suggested that you might think of your father's sister's daughter, as a potential wife, or of your mother's brother's son as a potential husband. Notable in this connection are the facts that you call your mother's brother's wife, "mother" and your father's sister's husband "father."<sup>3</sup> Again, if the term for husband is connected with the term for "child"<sup>4</sup> and if the term for mother's brother's son was "child" before the use of "son" for mother's brother involved the use of "grandchild" for his offspring, we get another etymological argument for cross-cousin marriage.

#### NOTE ON INHERITANCE AT ZUÑI.

The following scattering observations at Zuñi are of interest in connection with the relation of the family to property. As far as I know, the facts might be paralleled at Laguna.—Flora's mother owns a cornfield which she inherited from her father. While he was still alive, he told her she was to have the field, otherwise her two brothers would have taken this field, together with the other fields of their father. Flora will not inherit this field from her mother, it will go back to her mother's *kuku* or father's people—unless they fail to contribute something, perhaps a dress, at the funeral. Then the family of the deceased woman would say, "We have spent much for our mother, you have spent nothing, you may not have the field." . . . Flora's father has two fields, one at Caliente, one on the north side. He has already stated that the Caliente field is to go to Flora's younger sister, and the north side field to Flora and her older sister. There is a son, but he will not

<sup>1</sup>Among the Hopi a large yellow and green lizard is called *manaña'* and if a boy married into his father's clan he would be told that the *manaña'* would dart at him.

<sup>2</sup>And on a par with the indications of sometime cross-cousin marriage among the Tewa. "When a boy baby is brought to visit in the house of his father's clan, he is loudly welcomed as the "husband" of one of the girls of the clan . . . a woman speaks of her son's sons in jest as "our bridegrooms" . . . etc. (Freire-Marecco, 286). Among the Hopi as well as the Tewa of the First Mesa, I was told, women might refer at any time to their brother's son as "our son-in-law." Your aunts i. e., father's sisters are always given to laugh at you, whether you are a boy or a girl, but they joke more particularly when they see you after an absence. "They pretend to be mad with the girl you [their brother's son] are going to marry." A mock fight of water and mud slinging is customary between the women of the groom's family, mother, sisters, etc., and his "aunts" or paternal kinswomen who attack.

<sup>3</sup>Analogous facts of nomenclature have been noted at Zuñi. A woman calls her brother's son, *talle*, and the term for bridegroom or male connection by marriage is *talakyi*. "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" (Kroeber, 67), i. e., one to whom he is an *chale*, "child" (See p. 167, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup>See p. 166.

share in this inheritance "because he is a man and can get a field for himself." . . . Flora's sister's husband inherited one of his father's two fields. The other field went to a daughter. Flora's husband owns three fields, one he staked out for himself on the north side (land opened to cultivation by the Black Rock irrigation works), one he got from his father, one he got from his mother's brother (*kyakya*) who had no children. This field Flora's husband will give to their son. Half or less of the north side field Flora's husband has given to his sister's son (*gyase*) because when the boy married he had no field. . . . Were there but one field to be inherited, said Flora, and a son and daughter to inherit, were the daughter married to a poor man, she would get the field, otherwise the son would get it. . . . As to sheep or cows—Flora's father got his cows from his father through his elder brother, a half-brother. At the death of their father, they were his only children, all the cows went to the elder boy, who, later when the younger boy grew up, shared them with him. His sheep, Flora's father got from his mother's brother who has two daughters. Flora's husband got his sheep from his still living mother's father for whom as a boy he herded sheep—the forty sheep are now two hundred. These sheep will go, not to Flora, but to their children, half to the boy, half to the girl. A while ago Flora's husband bought a wagon for Flora's father. At the death of Flora's father this wagon will go not to Flora's brother, but to Flora's son. . . . Another family connection: Nick has two fields, one he bought, one he inherited from his mother's father. Nick has a daughter, two sons, and a sister, and among them his two fields will be evenly divided, unless the daughter take the sons' shares, "they can pick up some ground after a while." Or unless Nick's children failed to treat him well, or his widow, trustee for the children, remarried too soon, before a year or so. Then Nick's sister would go to the governor and be given the fields. . . . The governor and the *tenientes* sometimes hold long sessions over the disposition of fields—"talk three nights, two days, eat nothing"<sup>1</sup> . . . . When Nick's father died, Nick's sister got the peach orchard, the fields and the stock. His two brothers may have got something, he got nothing. Subsequently one of these brothers herded Nick's sheep with his own, while Nick looked after the brother's horses with his own. The brother died, his son took all the sheep. Nick went and said to him, "You give me sheep, I give you horses." But he would not agree, he kept all the sheep and Nick kept all the horses. Nor would this nephew share with his half-brother and half-sister. "He was a bad one, but he was my

<sup>1</sup>See Cushing, (c), 135-151.

nephew, and I wouldn't tell the governor." A good man would have earmarked the sheep and shared them with his relatives. Had the case been taken to the governor, two *tenientes* would have visited the flock and supervised the division. . . . Nick undoubtedly felt that a man's sister has a strong claim on his property—subject always to considerate behavior. "If my sister treat me nice, I give her something—sheep. When I die, my sister will take it all unless she treat my wife nice, then she don't take it all." The widow has no absolute claim. "When I die my wife like to have something. Sometimes my children (her step-children) take all from her. . . . That ain't right." The right of the man's sister to inherit his property appears again in the matter of the tiny gardens, chili gardens, the women cultivate and exclusively inherit. Were a man to buy a garden for his wife, paying a shawl or a belt for it, the garden would descend to their daughter, but if there were no daughter, the garden would be inherited by the purchaser's sister. —Obviously a systematic study of property holding at Zúñi<sup>1</sup> would be rewarding.

## KINSHIP NOMENCLATURE IN OTHER KERESAN TOWNS

### ACOMA KINSHIP TERMS

Acoma kinship terms correspond closely to Laguna terms, the chief difference being in the application of sister-brother terms to all cousins. This is the Zúñi system likewise. But at Zúñi, there is, too, in practice a cross-cousin nomenclature which is remarkably like that of Laguna, of the Hopi and of Hano, a practice based on classifying the father's sister's children with the father or father's sister. It would be surprising, if further familiarity with Acoma nomenclature did not reveal similar classifications.<sup>2</sup> The same observation holds good of the cross-cousin nomenclature of the Eastern Keresan.

Unlike Kroeber's composite Acoma-Laguna list, and my own Laguna list, my Acoma list contains no special term for father's sister. This may be an oversight on the part of my informants; although I note that one of my Laguna informants who grew up in Acoma referred to his

<sup>1</sup>Likewise among the Hopi where the old system is breaking down through the introduction of American laws of inheritance, offspring inheriting rather than brothers and sisters and collateral kinsfolk, particularly in the case of stock and of "beads." For fields the old rule still holds. Fields are inherited by the family connection within the clan. . . . Formerly stock or sheep were also inherited by clanspeople. Were a man to leave fifty sheep, his connections consisting of wife, daughter, son, sister, brother and clanspeople, the widow, son and daughter would inherit none, half the flock would go to the sister, half to the brother, each keeping ten sheep and distributing the other fifteen among the clanspeople, or if the deceased had so requested, giving a certain number to the daughter or son. All the clanspeople would have a claim, even a Navajo of an equated clan.

<sup>2</sup>In one of the Acoma kinship lists I recorded, mother's brother's daughter and son were given as *s'ama'k* and *s'amuiti*.

father's sister there not as *k'u'ya* but as *nai'ya*, mother. He explained his practice, to be sure, on the ground that he grew up in her house.

The following lists were made from Acoma informants in Acoma; but there was little or no opportunity to observe applications.

*naiya* (voc.) *senaiya* (desc.) mother, stepmother, mother's mother's mother, mother's sister, father's sister, sister's daughter, m. sp.

#### Reciprocal Terms

*s'amaak* (voc. and desc.) w.

*s'amuiti*<sup>1</sup> (voc. and desc.) m.

*naishdia* (voc.) *senaisdia* (desc.) father, stepfather, father's father's father, father's brother.

*papa*<sup>2</sup> (voc.) *s'apapa* (desc.), mother's mother, m. sp., mother's father, w. sp., father's mother, m. sp., father's father, w. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*papa* (voc.) *s'papa* (desc.)

*dyiau*<sup>3</sup> (voc.) *s'adiu* (desc.), mother's mother, w. sp., father's mother, w. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*dyiau* (voc.) *s'adyiau* (desc.)

*nana* (voc.) *s'anana* (desc.), mother's father m. sp. father's father m. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*nana* (voc.) *s'anana* (desc.)

*gaau* (voc.) *shaau* (desc.), w. sp., sister, mother's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter.

*chichi* (voc.) *s'akuich* (desc.), m. sp., sister, mother's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter.

*chichi* (voc.) *stauwach* (desc.), w. sp., brother, mother's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, father's brother's son.

*tiuma* (voc.) *s'atiuma* (desc.), m. sp., brother, mother's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, father's brother's son, clansmen of same generation.

*anaue* (voc.) *stanaue* (desc.), mother's brother, m. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*anaue* (voc.) *stanaue* (desc.)

*s'awilemish*, my mother's people, i.e., blood kindred, but to what degree it is reckoned appears uncertain. [This term and the following are probably, as at Laguna, inclusive clan terms; but I leave my earlier Acoma definition as illustrative of the difficulty of distinguishing with informants between blood relations and clanspeople.]

*s'akuyatemish*, my father's people.

Relationships by affinity are expressed by consanguineous terms; but, as at Laguna, there are special terms.

<sup>1</sup>The consonant is written above the line to indicate that it is not fully sounded. The degree of sounding varies considerably. The glottalized *s* at Laguna might often be written *s'*. It is a very elusive sound.

<sup>2</sup>p = indeterminate.

<sup>3</sup>*Dyiau* may be heard for *gyiau* at Laguna likewise.



*piye*, wife of male relative; kin of husband  
*wati*, husband of female relative; kin of wife

Affinity terms are the same as at Laguna;<sup>1</sup> but their application as reciprocals appears more usual. It was definitely stated that your wife's mother or father you call *shuwati* [*shgu* ?], and all her people, *shuwati-temish*; and that your husband's mother or father you call *shupiye* and his people, *shupiyetemish*.

From the point of view of cross-cousin nomenclature Acoma practice is closer to Zúñi than to Laguna practice, and in this particular presents an interesting illustration of the independence between sameness of custom and sameness of language.

On the other hand, the Acoma and Laguna (and San Felipe and Santo Domingo) systems agree in their grandparent-grandchild terminology and differ from the Zúñi (and Hano and Isleta) system. In the latter, in the grandmother-grandchild terms difference of line is expressed; in the former, the principle of sameness or opposition of sex.

#### SAN FELIPE KINSHIP TERMS

*yaya*<sup>2</sup> (voc.), *s'a'naiya* (desc.), mother, mother's sister, father's sister.

##### Reciprocal Terms

*s'amak* (voc. and desc.) w.

*s'amuit'* (*s'amuiñt'*) (voc. and desc.) m. or (mother's and father's sister)  
 (*s'a'wishe* (*s'a'washe*) (child)

*umũ*, *tata* (child's term)<sup>3</sup> (voc.), *s'a'naishd'yě* (*s'anaish'*) (desc.)

##### Reciprocal Terms

*s'amak*

*s'amuit'*

or

*s'a'wishe*, w. and m.

*'ao'* (*taau'*) (voc.), *s'a't'ao'* (*s'a'taau'*) (desc.), mother's mother, w. sp., father's mother, w. sp.

##### Reciprocal Terms

*t'ao'* (voc.), *s'a't'ao'* (desc.)

*papa* (voc.), *s'a'papa* (desc.), mother's mother, m. sp., father's mother, m. sp., mother's father, w. sp., father's father, w. sp.

##### Reciprocal Term

*papa* (voc.), *s'a'papa* (desc.)

*mumũ* (voc.) *s'a'mumũ* (*s'au'mumũ*) (desc.), mother's father, m. sp., father's father, m. sp.

<sup>1</sup>The affinity terms and translations recorded by Kroeber, 84, are due, I think, to slight misunderstandings between informant and recorder.

<sup>2</sup>Woman's term, *ya* is the man's term (Boas).

<sup>3</sup>Woman's term, *omũ* is the man's term (Boas)

## Reciprocal Term

*mumū* (voc.), *s'a'mumū* (desc.)

- so'she* (*sau'shi*), *shkashgau* (voc. and desc.), w. sp., sister
- meme* (voc.), *s'ameme* (desc.), m. sp., sister, w. sp., brother
- tyumū* (voc.), *s'a'tyumū* (desc.), m. sp., brother
- nyenye* (voc.), *s'a'nyenye* (desc.), w. sp., mother's brother

## Reciprocal Term

*nyenye* (voc.) *s'a'nyenye* (desc.)

- s'anawa'* (voc. and desc.), m. sp., mother's brother

## Reciprocal Term

*s'anawa'*

- s'atroshtse* (*s'ad'esh'e*)<sup>1</sup>, husband (desc.)
- s'au'k'o*, wife (desc.)
- shk'ui'biya*, parent-in-law, w. sp
- shk'ui'wati*, parent-in-law, m. sp.
- s'abiya*, daughter-in-law
- s'awati*, son-in-law

In address the teknonymous terms *g'a'naishd'y*<sup>2</sup> (his father) or *g'a'naiya* (his mother) would be used, or *naishdya*, old man,<sup>2</sup> or *k'uyau*, old woman. A child's name with "his mother" or "his father" suffixed is also used in teknonymous reference. *Biuro* (Sp. viudo) is a term for widowed. For great grandparents there is none but grandparent terms. Sister-brother terms are said to be applied to cousins. *S'ak'-oyatya'me*, a woman would say of all her brother's children. *S'ahachts-tya'me*, a man would say of all his sister's children. *Saianichume* is a term for all my near relatives, maternal or paternal. The eldest child in the family may be referred to or called *s'eatsa*, the youngest, *cheatsa*.

## SANTO DOMINGO KINSHIP TERMS

- iya'* (voc.), *s'a'naiya* (desc., a child's term?), mother, mother's sister, father's sister.

## Reciprocal Terms

*s'a'mak*, w.*s'awishe*, m.

or

*s'awishe*, w. and m.

- omū*<sup>3</sup> (voc.), *s'anashd'*<sup>4</sup>, father

<sup>1</sup>Boas.

<sup>2</sup>Old man is *naishdyuuts'a*, old woman, *kuyats'a*. The Laguna term *s'ak'uya* for father's sister was entirely unfamiliar to one informant and by another as *s'a'koya'*, it was translated as "sister" and equated with *s'akwich*, a Laguna term he had learned, if not a Tewa term, *k'wi* meaning in Tewa a woman in her prime, and *kwiye*, an old woman. (Harrington, 491, 492.)

<sup>3</sup>*O'm* recorded by Dr. Boas from another informant who stated that this term was used by men only, *tata* being used by women.

<sup>4</sup>*S'a'nurshiy'* (Boas).

## Reciprocal Terms

*s'a'mak*, w.*s'awishe*, m.*s'a't'ao'* (desc.), mother's mother, w. sp., father's mother, w. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

(s) *a't'ao'**s'a'papa* (desc.), mother's mother, m. sp., father's mother, m. sp., mother's father, w. sp., father's father, w. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'a'papa**s'aumumũ*, mother's father, m. sp., father's father, m. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'aumumũ**t'ao'na* (voc.), *s'a't'ao'na* (desc.) w. sp., sister*meme* (voc.), *s'ameme* (desc.), sister, m. sp., brother, w. sp.*tyumi* (voc.) *s'atyumi* (desc.), m. sp., brother*s'anyenye* (desc.<sup>2</sup>), mother's brother, w. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'anyenye**s'a'naishd<sup>1</sup>* (desc.), mother's brother, m. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'awishe*<sup>3</sup>*s'a'kwishe*, *s'a'kuya*<sup>4</sup> (desc.), father's sister*tata*,<sup>5</sup> father's brother

## Reciprocal Term

*s'awishe**s'anye*, cousin, w.<sup>6</sup>*ana'*, cousin, m.*s'aiyichime'*, all my maternal relatives*s'awityeme'*, all my paternal relatives*s'auk'<sup>u</sup>*, wife*s'a shasod<sup>7</sup>*, husband

For relatives by affinity only parent-child and sister-brother terms are used.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*S'a'hawish'ive* (Boas).<sup>2</sup>*S'a'nve* (Boas).<sup>3</sup>*S'a'nawa'* (Boas).<sup>4</sup>*K'uyas*, old woman, *naishdyuya'*, old man.<sup>5</sup>Father, w. sp. (Boas).<sup>6</sup>This may be a term used between female and male cousins, as *ana'* may be used between male cousins; but in this case, as in others, cousin nomenclature remains uncertain until tested by observation.<sup>7</sup>*S'a'drishye* (Boas).<sup>8</sup>*Shk'ui'bi'a*, father-in-law, w. sp.; *shk'ui'wat'i*, father-in-law, m. sp.; *s'a'biv<sup>a</sup>*, daughter-in-law; *s'a'wat'i*, son-in-law (Boas).

COMPARATIVE NOTES ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE EASTERN  
KERESANS

At San Felipe and at Santo Domingo, also at Cochiti,<sup>1</sup> we find one of the two Laguna terms for brother, *umu'*, used as a man's vocative for father. We also find that the Eastern reciprocal for grandfather-grandson, *s'a'mumũ*,<sup>2</sup> (*s'aumumũ*) differs from the Laguna-Acoma reciprocal, *nana*, a term identical with the Zuñi term. There is no doubt, I presume, that the term *nana* was borrowed from Zuñi. How the change came about<sup>3</sup> in the meaning of the term *umũ* is perplexing. It is possible that there may be some etymological connection between *tyumũ*, *umũ*, and *mumũ* and that *tyumũ* and *umũ* came to be identified at Laguna subsequent to the introduction of *nana* for *mumũ*.

As at Acoma, the father's sister is classified in terminology with the mother and the mother's sister. Although the term *s'akuya* is not unfamiliar, it is not used in address nor as commonly even in reference as at Laguna. The surmise that it is identifiable as an age term is substantiated by Eastern data.

The surmise that *akwi*, the Laguna term for a man's sister, is merely a sex term, is also substantiated by Eastern data; for the sister-brother reciprocal of the Eastern Keresans,<sup>4</sup> *meme*, is not found at Laguna.

It is notable that *meme* is the term for mother's brother at Isleta and Hano, that at San Felipe and San Domingo *nyenye* is the term for mother's brother and that at Cochiti *māme* or *n'en'e* is the exact reciprocal between sister and brother and between sister's daughter and mother's brother. Now neither *meme* nor *nyenye* is found at Laguna, but *akwi*, as noted above, for sister, with a reflexive from the woman's term for sister as a reciprocal, and the term *s'amuiti* for the woman's maternal uncle.

Another surmise or inference is substantiated. The use of *s'amuiti*, my boy or kinsman, for a woman's maternal uncle is seen to be a differentiation peculiar to Laguna and responsible for further differentiations in the Laguna nomenclature, more particularly, in the cross-cousin nomenclature and in the man's application of the term for mother to his sister's daughter.

<sup>1</sup>Through the kindness of Dr. Lowie, I am able to refer to a kinship list collected by Dr. Paul Radin from a Cochiti man in Santa Fé.

<sup>2</sup>Same at Cochiti.

<sup>3</sup>It antedates 1853. See Whipple, 36.

<sup>4</sup>Including Cochiti.

It is of interest that the term *s'amuiti* has reached San Felipe as a reciprocal of parent, but that even in this limited use it has not spread to San Domingo.

Even this limited survey of comparative terms makes it plain that Keresan kinship nomenclature can not be understood, even partially, without a comparison of the kinship terms of neighbor tribes. It is to be hoped that nomenclature data for all the Pueblo tribes may become available, so that a comprehensive study of the entire nomenclature system will become possible.

## II. CLANSHIP

### CLAN DESCENT AND EXOGAMY

The Laguna clan (*hano*)<sup>1</sup>, like other Keresan clans, is maternal; but, as in the Zufi clanship system, and the systems of other matrilineal Indian peoples<sup>2</sup> the father's clan is not disregarded. Of your father's clan you are, as at Zufi and among the Hopi, the child (*wahashtyi*, *wa'ashch'e*).

The clan is exogamous, and marriage into your father's clan is or was also disapproved. So was marriage with connections by marriage. The old exogamous usage is breaking down.<sup>3</sup> The old people of Laguna had a saying some years ago that once the young people put on horse (hide) shoes they would be flown, meaning that they would depart from custom, particularly exogamous marriage custom. In the Laguna genealogies three marriages into the clan are recorded,<sup>4</sup> and in the List of Houses one marriage into the clan (House 44). This last marriage is also into the father's clan, a Sun, child of Corn, woman marrying a Sun, child of Corn, man. In the genealogies occur nine<sup>5</sup> marriages into the father's clan,<sup>6</sup> and in the List of Houses, one such marriage (House 31). I note one marriage between parallel cousins—a man is married to his father's brother's daughter (Gen. III, 91, 92); one between cross-cousins, a man is married to his father's sister's daughter (Gen. II, 168, 169), one by a man with his father's brother's daughter's daughter (Gen. II, 126, 125), one by a man with his mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter (Gen. III, 124, 125). One marriage with a deceased wife's sister is recorded (Gen. I, 62, 63, 64). Gossip goes that the couple in this case had had intimate relations before the death of the first wife,<sup>7</sup> and that their oldest child was born before their marriage.

<sup>1</sup>*Hano* means people, a generic term having the same meaning as the Zufi suffix *kue* or the Tewa *towa*. The clans are referred to as *tsits hano*, *yaka hano*, etc.

For the Laguna native or group the terms used are *g'awekame* (sing.), *g'awekamech* (pl.).

For "Pueblo Indians" after some hesitation I was given what seemed to be merely a translation—*skaashjitsama* (town) *s'chauoo* (living) *hanotich* (people).

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (b), 65.

<sup>3</sup>But here, as in other particulars at Laguna, some reservation is called for. At Laguna it is extremely difficult to distinguish always between what may be disintegration and what may be original or archaic custom. In view of preceding evidence about cross-cousin marriage it is not at all impossible that marriage into your father's clan was archaic custom.

<sup>4</sup>I, 20, 21; II, 19, 21; IV, 10, 12.

<sup>5</sup>Besides I heard of another instance. Shruisits'a, a daughter of Giwire (House 92), the *shikani-kurena cheani*, married Yashuna, her father's sister's son, (son of Kisuwets'a), her father's clansman and her cross-cousin. At Pohwati there were three cases of marriage within the clan, I was told, and at Paraje, three cases.

At Acoma I heard of two marriages within the clan, one in the Eagle clan, the other in the Sun clan. In the latter instance the husband himself explained to me that as his wife's mother's mother was a Laguna woman, it made a difference. The man was a non-conformist in several particulars. However a Santo Domingo man has explained that although both his parents were of the Coyote clan, his father was Grey Coyote from Sia, and that made a difference.

<sup>6</sup>I, 3, 4; I, 18, 19; I, 26, 27; I, 56, 57; II, 47, 48; II, 122, 123; III, 60, 61; III, 76, 77; III, 181, 182.

III, 38, 39 appears as a marriage into the father's clan, but it may not be so reckoned as No. 38 is an illegitimate child.

<sup>7</sup>There are two other cases of reported intimacy with a brother-in-law. See p. 276. A folktale collected by Dr. Boas is based on a like incident.

Curiously enough in commenting on these specific cases, informants, young and old, were never condemnatory, whether the marriage was within their family or outside.<sup>1</sup> No penalty either in this life or the next<sup>2</sup> appears to attach to clan incest. At Zuñi such marriage will be ridiculed, but not, it appears, at Laguna.

Similar indifference seems to attach to marriage with Whites, "American" or Mexican,<sup>3</sup> although in one case a woman did refer somewhat scornfully to an acquaintance who had got rid of her Indian husband to marry a White man. People vary in their feeling about inter-marriage with Navajo. In one case a woman was said to make a boast of her Navajo blood, but in other families the fact will be concealed from shame. In Genealogy I, the Navajo marriages were in fact concealed from me by my otherwise frank informant and by her aunt. The Navajo clans appearing in the genealogies are Sun and Water and, inferably, Oak (Gen. III, 15).

#### FICTITIOUS CLANSHIP

Clanship, students of Indian society have found, is an immutable condition; neither man nor woman changes clan at marriage, and even with adoption, if the adopted one comes of a group with clan organization, he preserves his original clan membership or at least fits into some conceptually affiliable clan. The most striking instance I know of is that of Margaret Lewis of Zuñi. Coming to Zuñi from Oklahoma, a Cherokee of the Wolf clan, she was associated with the Coyote clan, there being no Zuñi Wolf clan, and her children by a Zuñi man of the Sandhill Crane are accounted Coyote clan members.

It was startling, therefore, to hear at Laguna of the possibility of a change of clan or, more strictly speaking, of clan adoption—to meet a ceremonial exigency. The case of Kăiyăid'yai' (Gen. IV, 64) of Mesita is in point. He is a Turquoise clansman married to a Corn clanswoman. From old Corn clansmen he learned the Corn clan songs and prayers and he is accounted a Corn clan head or elder (*nawai'*)<sup>4</sup>. From him his brother is now learning the songs.

<sup>1</sup>The one case of reputed incest in the narrower sense of which I have heard (the father of an illegitimate child was said to be her mother's brother) was referred to as a scandal, the first *gumeyoish* (see p. 220) case on record, but the comment was far less drastic than it would be in White circles.

<sup>2</sup>An Acoma man remarked in general that if you married into your clan your children would not be strong. Another Acoma man, with Mexican affiliations, once said more or less as a joke that after death the Pueblo Indian spouse of a Navajo would become a deer, of a Mexican, a mule, of an American, a horse. Later I heard the same fancy expressed at Zuñi where I had also heard an old man express as a theory the idea that after death the incestuous would be burned. All these concepts are borrowed, I believe, from Whites.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Harrington, 475.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 212. One more instance, and striking at that, would not Dr. Kroeber say, of how clan headship is merely a ceremonial affair. But see p. 214.

The particular exigency in this case is not plain—perhaps if we knew more about the descent of Kăikăi'd'yăi's wife in her clan, the matter would be clearer. But when I asked what would happen in connection with the *k'atsina* cult if Badger clansmen failed—the prospect at Laguna is imminent<sup>1</sup>—there was no hesitation in answering that some one would “be made Badger clan.”<sup>2</sup> At Mesita, indeed, men have been “made Antelope clan” to father the *k'atsina*, Guwai of the Parrot clan and, since his death, Keasiro of the Bear clan.<sup>3</sup> Again in the Laguna colony at Isleta I am told that G'eonaï, Lizard clansman, (see p. 255) was made Antelope clan to father the *k'atsina*. At G'eonaï's death, his son Nashu, a Sun clansman, took his office.

My Laguna informants always referred to initiation into the *k'atsina* or *cheani* groups in identical terms—“he was *made cheani*.” Indeed, it is inferable, I think, that in Laguna opinion a clan in its ceremonial aspects is like any other ceremonial group, and may lend itself to the same organization and functions as such groups. Out of the same point of view there seems little doubt that the *shiwanni* or rain priesthood system of Zuñi developed.

#### CLAN TERMS

*s'a'wi*, meaning a member of my own clan, is the only distinctive clan term learned. My clanspeople altogether I call *s'a'wit'emishě* (see p. 167); but “all my blood relations” I also call *s'a'wit'emishě*, so that the term is after all inclusive rather than distinctive, or, we had better say, there is no distinctive term for blood relations or kin viewed collectively. Possibly between the terms (*s'*)*a'wi* and (*s'*)*anawe*, the man's term for mother's brother or senior clansman, there is etymological connection.

All the kin terms are commonly used for clanship, except perhaps the grandparent-grandchild terms, and they may be used. A senior clanswoman you call mother, referring to her as *stranaiyashe* (*sdjanaiyashe*), “our mother”; a senior clansman, you, a woman, call *s'amuiti*, my mother's brother; a man, you call him, *anawe*. However, the terms “father” and “grandfather” might also be used for a senior clansman. The oldest man in your clan you refer to as *stranawaiaishe*. Contemporary clanspeople will use the sister-brother terms. To junior clanspeople, if you are a woman, you use the daughter-son terms; if you are a man, the sister-brother terms<sup>4</sup> or the terms you would use to your sister's

<sup>1</sup>See p. 222.

<sup>2</sup>But see p. 278.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 222.

<sup>4</sup>As one man put it, “If I call a clanswoman, ‘sister’, I call her son, ‘brother’.”



children, *anawe* and *naiya*. You refer to any clanswoman of your father as *s'ak'u'ya*, but in address, if the woman is your senior, you call her "mother," the reciprocal being, of course, "daughter" or "son." The reciprocal of *s'ak'u'ya* is *s'a'yach'*, my child. Between "my child" said by a parent and "my child" said by a paternal clanswoman, one informant insisted there was a difference in pronunciation, *sa'yach'* in the first case, *s'ai'ach'* in the second case; but the distinction in actual speech was difficult, if not impossible, for me to recognize. Any paternal clansman you call "father;"<sup>1</sup> the reciprocal being "daughter," except when he is addressing you, and you are a mother, when he will call you *naiye'* (matron). The wife of any clansman you may call *piye* (reciprocal, *shkupiye'e*), and the husband of any clanswoman, *wati*.

The kinship terms are not limited to clanspeople and father's clanspeople; they may be applied to others with whom you have a more indirect clan connection. For example, I'g'ugäi (Gen. IV, 17) calls Tsi'wa'k'ä (Gen. III, 116), sister because they are both children of Corn<sup>2</sup> (*yaka wash*).<sup>3</sup> For the same reason I'g'ugäi called Gau's'in'ai (Gen. II, 52), sister. Wik'ai', Oak (House 123), calls Go'dy'iai', Corn, (Gen. III, 32), grandfather because Wik'ai''s mother who was child of Corn called Go'dy'iai', father.<sup>4</sup> Alice Martin', Turkey (Houses 29, 31), calls Yaai'-s'dyiwa', Sun, (Gen. IV, 15), *papa* because his mother was child of Turkey. Indeed you are expected to know not only the members of your parents' clans but of their fathers' clans, at least of your mother's father's clan. For example, one day I overheard Yonimait's'a of House 90 express surprise to Mrs. Eckerman because she did not remember that one Dyure' was an Eagle clansman, since Mrs. Eckerman's mother's father belonged to the Eagle clan. Again, I heard Dzaid'yuwi' call an Acoma visitor, a Parrot clanswoman, *gyiau'*, because the woman belonged to the clan of Dzaid'yuwi''s mother's father. In this instance we have an illustration, by the way, of the general Pueblo practice of applying clan terms to clanspeople of another pueblo.

Most of these principles of nomenclature are illustrated in the following observations:—

Gen. II, 122 > 15, *amuiti*, senior clansman; 254, 256, "sister," contemporary clanswoman; 258, "brother," contemporary clansman; 273, "daughter", junior clanswoman; 234, "daughter," child of her clan.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 277.

<sup>2</sup>Because of this relationship, it was stated explicitly, I'g'ugäi felt justified in expostulating to Tsi'wa'k'ä upon her household extravagance—she would buy boxes of crackers, e. g., instead of making bread.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 276.

<sup>4</sup>Here is a case of the principle of conjugal imitation not applied, since Wik'ai''s wife, being a Corn clanswoman, called Go'dy'iai', brother.

Gen. II, 151 > 166, "father," father's clansman.

Gen. II, 123 > 52 or Gen. IV, 17 > Gen. II, 52, "sister," the fathers of both are clansmen.

Gen. III, 32 > 116, "daughter," daughter of clansman; 212, "grandson," because he is the son of 116.

Gen. III, 32 > 179, "son" because 181 is the child of his clan. (See House 51.)

Gen. III, 32 > 226, "grandson" because 226 is the son of 179.

Go'dy'ik'i', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls K'awaityi, Corn clansman (House 45) *anawe*.

Go'dy'ik'i', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls Tsaisiro, Corn clansman (House 52), a junior, *anawe*.

Juana, Sun clanswoman (Gen. I, 13), calls Giwire, senior Sun Clansman (House 92), "my father."

Hiedyedye, Bear clansman (House 11), refers to İya'si, Bear clanswoman (Houses 25, 34), as *sdranaiyashe*, our mother.

Hiedyedye refers to Keasiro (see p. 208) as *sdranawaiashe*,<sup>1</sup> our elder.

Go'dy'ik'i', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls Tsiokoish, daughter of Kiwisiro, Corn (Houses 95, 98), "daughter"; and the son of Tsiokoish, "grandson."

Go'dy'ik'i', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls Shiai, child of Corn (Houses 44, 45), "daughter;" and her son, "grandson."

Gawiretsa, Sun clanswoman and child of Eagle (House 92), refers to Kuyu'd-yuwe, Eagle (Gen. I, 68), as *s'ak'u'ya*. (See p. 219.)

#### PREFERENCE OF CLAN TO KIN TERMS

In several cases I noted that terms due to clan connection were preferred to terms due to kin connection. Her father's brother's children Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls "sister" and "brother" because, said she, they happen to belong to her clan, not, as we would say, because they are cousins. (We must note that Dzaid'yuwi's father and mother separated when Dzaid'yuwi' was an infant). One of Dzaid'yuwi's paternal uncles is married to a Mohave woman and their children (Gen. II, 268, 269) Dzaid'yuwi' refers to as *muhave washsich*, Mohave children, she does not refer to them as children of her father's clan, let alone cousins. Again Dzaid'yuwi' once said that she would call her father's sister's son, "father" because he belonged to her father's clan, and all her father's clansmen she would call "father." Asked on another occasion what she would call Gen. II, 265, her father's sister's son, curiously enough, she said she did not know what she would call him. She probably thought she was being asked for a kinship term in distinction to a clanship term. The father of I'g'ugăi (Gen. IV, 17, Gen. II, 123) and the father of Gau's'in'ăi' (Gen. II, 52) were Corn clansmen and I'g'ugăi and Gau's'in'ăi' therefore called each other "brother" and "sister."

<sup>1</sup>Cp. p. 212.

TABLE 8: LAGUNA CLAN LISTS.

Parsons <sup>1</sup>	Bandelier <sup>2</sup>	Hodge <sup>3</sup>
ts'its, Water (7)	Water	Sits, Water
shawiti, Parrot (5)	Parrot	Shawiti, Parrot
ts'ina, Turkey (5)	.....	Tsina, Turkey
osha'ch', Sun (4)	Sun	Oshshahsh, Sun
kwâyâ, Bear (4)	Bear	Kohaia, Bear
me'yu', (4) Lizard (3)	.....	Meyo, Lizard
.....	.....	#Hatsi, Earth or Sand
.shia'ashk'a, Chaparral	(Roadrunner, Chaparral	Shiaska, Chaparral Cock
Cock (3)	Cock)	
dyupi, Badger (2)	Badger	Chopi, Badger
dla'mî, Eagle (1)	Eagle	Tyami, Eagle
ya'k'a, Corn (5)	Corn	.....
.....	.....	Kûkinishyaka, Red Corn
.....	.....	Kochinishyaka, Yellow
		Corn
ha'pân'i, Oak (1)	.....	Hapai, Oak
ts'i'gâ, <sup>4</sup> Locust (1)	.....	.....
kûrtsi, Antelope	Antelope	Kûrtsi, Antelope
shuwimi, Turquoise	Turquoise	Shûwimi, Turquoise
tsurshk', Coyote	Coyote	Tsîshki, Coyote
#dyê'n'i, Deer	.....	.....
#ta'n'i, <sup>7</sup> Pumpkin	.....	.....
#âshân'i, <sup>8</sup> Wheat	.....	.....
#shuwi, Snake	Rattlesnake	Sqowi, Rattlesnake
.....	.....	Shûrshka, Watersnake
.....	.....	Kakhan, Wolf
.....	.....	#Mokaiqch, Mt. Lion

<sup>1</sup>Figures in line refer to the women heads of households ascertainable from data given in the list of Houses (pp. 235-248) supplemented by the genealogical data of Tables, 1, 2, 3, 4. Unnumbered clans are either extinct or unrepresented by households at Laguna. \* means extinct.

<sup>2</sup>Bandelier, 273. Of the fourteen clans enumerated two are unnamed.

<sup>3</sup>Hodge, (a), 348-352.

<sup>4</sup>Also called *hatse*, earth, "because the lizard goes on the earth," a characteristic explanation, and identical with the Hopi explanation (Voth, (f), 142).

Kroeber cites the Lizard and Earth clans as an illustration of the association of clans in pairs in the general Pueblo clan system. At Laguna, as at Mishongnovi, the Lizard-Earth people form but one group, a single group with two names. I see no tendency at Laguna towards what Kroeber calls clan polarity (Kroeber, 142ff) nor do I understand clearly what he means by his own data. See p. 232.

<sup>5</sup>There are no divisions or subdivisions of Corn people; but answers to your questions at first seem indecisive, for people are apt to think you are asking about individual members of the Corn clan, who are named White or Yellow or Blue.

<sup>6</sup>Equated with the Tansy Mustard (*ise*) clan of Acoma, according to one informant.

<sup>7</sup>Never existent, according to one informant. Another informant remembered a Pumpkin clansman.

<sup>8</sup>The grandfather of the Turquoise clansman who was a war captain in 1918 and in the *chakwena* dance of October 3-4 led the line, was a Wheat clansman. He, too, had been a war captain, and it was his family that washed the head of the child who took her name on that occasion from the *k'atsina* (See p. 191.) Rather curiously, since there is no other evidence of the kind, the old woman informant thought that the office of war captain might have been "handed down."

Consequently Gau's'in'ăi' called I'g'ugăi's son, "son," and by him was called, "mother." Now the little boy's mother also called Gau's'in'ăi', "sister," since Gau's'in'ăi' was her mother's brother's wife, and Gau's'in'ăi' and the little boy might have called each other, "mother" and "son" because of this connection. The terminology was accounted for, however, on the clan connection, not on the affinity connection.

Again when people refer to a person's mother's sister's sons, they are apt to call them, not so-and-so's "brothers," but so-and-so's "uncles" (*amuiti*) or clansmen. For example, G'yi'mi, Kowău'sh'dyiwă, K'u'-na'sh<sup>u</sup>, and Dzirai'ity'i (Gen. I, 16, 18, 20, 22) were always referred to as the "uncles" of Juana (Gen. I, 13), although, strictly speaking, they were her maternal cousins and should have, therefore, been called her "brothers."<sup>1</sup>

From this case, as from others, indeed, it is apparent that the term *s'amuiti*, my boy, is intrinsically a clan term, used by the women of the clan for the males of the clan, irrespective of blood nearness. In accordance with this theory, the maternal great-uncle, female line, is called, not by a grandparent term, but by the clan term, *s'amuiti*, and analogously the paternal great-uncle, female line, is called "father" as are all male members of the father's clan.

## CLAN ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

### CLAN HEADS OR ELDERS

There is little doubt that formerly at Laguna, within the memory of the older people, each clan had senior members, men or women, but more commonly men, who were considered clan heads or elders, *hano nawai'* (*nawaai'*). The names of persons, living or deceased, who may still be referred to as clan *nawai'* are given in Table 9. The data as given by the three informants have been kept distinct the better to show the agreement or disagreement between informants.

If a man wants his clanspeople to help him in his fields, to help cut his wheat, for example, he makes cigarettes and takes them to his *hano nawai'*, his clan head or elder. The *hano nawai'* will smoke in all the directions (*kaiyawai'hots*, *kaiya*, all kinds), a rite which is a summons to the *shiwanna* to come and help, and he prays to the beings connected with his clan to help too—to the *na'wish* and *shonata* of the *k'atsina*, if he is of the Corn clan, to the bears if he is of the Bear clan, to frogs, fish and all water creatures, if he is of the Water clan, to turquoise and *tsatyini*

<sup>1</sup>*Mama*, the Tewa equivalent for *amuiti*, is applied to mother's sister's son, if senior to speaker, as well as to all senior clansmen (Freire-Marecco, 274).

(shell mixture used in offerings), if he is of the Turquoise clan. This is the closest approximation to the totemic idea, let me note, that I ever heard expressed in the Southwest<sup>1</sup>—a truly surprising expression. At Zuñi, totemic associations are always positively repudiated.<sup>2</sup> Then the *hano nawai'* will summon his clansmen, giving each a cigarette<sup>3</sup> and telling him to come and work the following day.<sup>4</sup> After the work is finished, the *hano nawai'* will pray again to the beings of his clan. The rites thus engaged in by the *hano nawai'* may be referred to as *k'oach'aiyanit'iya*, they act like *cheani* (*ch'aiyani*), and the *hano nawai'* thus acting, will be referred to as *shuts cheani hano nawai'*.<sup>5</sup>

We should note in connection with this subject that if a man is a *chakwena* he may call on the members of that *k'atsina* group (see p. 223) for help in cutting wheat. He would apply to We'd'yumã or Ts'iwairu and they would call together the *chakwena* members, supplying cigarettes.<sup>5</sup>

According to Hiedyedye, a middle-aged man who grew up in Isleta, where his Laguna parents had migrated, the clan heads, four men to each clan, were chosen for life at meetings of the clan, by women as well as men, held on the eve of the summer solstice ceremonial which is due on June<sup>7</sup> 5<sup>8</sup>. These clan heads, beginning with the Sun clan on June

<sup>1</sup>Since this writing I have visited the Hopi and heard some of their clan migration legends in which the totemic idea is conspicuous. (See, too, Voth, (d), 17.)

<sup>2</sup>That they may be found, however, at least to the Laguna extent, in the rituals of the *ashiwanni* or rain priests, is not at all improbable. The *ashiwanni* are organized along clan lines, corresponding in a way to the clan *nawai'* of the Keresans, (see p. 227) and it is among the *ashiwanni* that any clan esotericism would be preserved. We know little or nothing of *shiwanni* prayers and songs. Until we know more of this subject it is premature to assert that "There is no belief . . . in spiritual connection with the animal or object that names the clan." (Kroeber, 48).

There are other facts, too, which make the assertion questionable. The Zuñi Bear clan are associated with the war god cult. Bear clansmen and women make the war god images and paraphernalia, including prayer-sticks, during the winter solstice ceremonials. As the war gods are associated with the bear, I can but interpret the facts as pointing to a "belief in spiritual connection with the animal . . . that names the clan." Similarly, according to Cushing, there is a connection between the Eagle and Coyote clans and the prey animal gods, i. e., Eagle and Coyote. At each full moon Eagle and Coyote clansmen plant prayer-sticks to the prey animal gods. Moreover the head of the Eagle clan is usually, if not always, the "Keeper of the Medicine of the Bear." (Cushing, (b), 19, 31). At the summer solstice Badger clansmen make prayer-sticks for *shulawitsi*, a firemaking *koko*. Fire "belongs to" the Badger clan.

<sup>3</sup>A rite of ceremonial request. At Zuñi, for example, if a kiva dance group invite the *ne'wekwe* to come out and "play," a cigarette will be given to their head, the *ne'mosi*. Ultimately he buries it with the prayer-sticks he makes for the occasion.

<sup>4</sup>In this clan farming system at Laguna and in the women's gardens at Zuñi, Dr. Lowie may find support for his suggestion that joint gardening or farming as well as joint house occupancy may be the source of the maternal clan or, to use his term, sib. (Lowie, (a), 38-9). The ceremonial identification of women with the maize cult which is so conspicuous in the Southwest may point in the same direction.

<sup>5</sup>See p. 216, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Similarly at Zuñi a man's kiva (or *shiwanni*) group may help him in field-work (or in house building). And there is cooperation by relatives in threshing wheat and in other agricultural work at Zuñi, but whether or not the clan in distinction to the kin is called upon is doubtful. I believe that only the family connection would be called upon. I have heard, however, of other cases of economic cooperation within the clan. It is customary for a household that is to entertain the *shalako* to invite clanspeople to come in and breathe on (*yechu*) the prayer-stick insignia (*telawe*). A woman of the Coyote clan married to a Crane clansman, told me of four instances where she and her husband had been invited to contribute services or supplies during the ceremonial year. One invitation was from a Coyote house, two from Crane houses, and one from a Badger house (the husband was child of the Badger). (Parsons, (b), 99-100).

<sup>7</sup>*Shawuntshoutis' tauwach* (moon). This is the May moon. Cp. Parsons, (f), 112 n. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Hiedyedye held that this date was set in the old calendar the people went by given in a book owned by the Marmon family. This was a book brought up from Mexico by Kwime', a *kurena cheani*, and the father of Giwira, a *shikani-kurena cheani*, a Sun clansman, (House 92) and Mrs. W. G. Marmon. (Parsons, (f), 87).

5, went successively into a rain retreat of four days when they made prayer-sticks for the Sun with the assistance of any clansman who volunteered. The clan heads had no altars and no corn fetishes (*iyatik*<sup>1</sup>) proper; but they kept in a basket the completely kernelled ears of corn (*kotona* or *yaka* [corn] *kotona*) of which the *iyatik*<sup>2</sup> is made. Arrow points would be tied to the *kotona* as to the *iyatik*<sup>3</sup>, and the *kotona* would be set out on sacred meal. The clan heads would send out to notify clansmen to bring them all the *kotona*<sup>4</sup> found in their harvest.<sup>5</sup> The clan heads kept fetish animals (*shuhuna*), also terraced medicine-bowls (*waitichaini*). Clan heads assisted the *cheani* at the winter solstice ceremonial to cut prayer-sticks for the Sun and for property.

Although Hiedyedye was extremely positive about this ceremonial clan system, having heard about it, he said, from his own father, I failed in repeated endeavors with other informants to substantiate his account.<sup>6</sup> The concept of clan heads was quite familiar to other informants, but their ideas about the functions of these heads were indeterminate. *Nawai*<sup>7</sup> means senior or rather qualified senior, for seniority is not indispensable; whereas knowledge of the duties of office is indispensable. A *hano nawai*<sup>8</sup> must be a man who *knows*. There is no doubt that in Pueblo Indian opinion it is knowledge, and for the most part ritual knowledge is meant, that is always the basis of leadership, not age, or birth, or wealth, secular wealth, but knowledge. That is why the *ashiwanni* of Zuni are the dictators of town affairs and why even today at Laguna there is a tendency to theocratic control.

#### CLAN JUDICIARY

In case of dispute within the clan the controversy would be taken to the oldest member of the clan, not necessarily the clan *nawai*<sup>9</sup>,<sup>5</sup> for

<sup>1</sup>The ear of corn placed inside the cradleboard as a protector for a baby is, according to Hiedyedye, a *kotona* (as at Cochiti, Dumarest, 142), and, according to Hiedyedye also, the clans used *kotona* of different colors, the Sun clan using white corn; Lizard clan, blue; Chaparral Cock, dark blue; Corn, variegated; Eagle, red and white; Eagle of Zuni, white sprinkled with black; Bear, black-purple; Bear of Hopi, small, black; Parrot, blue-white; Badger, yellow; Turkey, greyish. This statement was denied by Tsindadyuwi who also said that only an ordinary ear of corn, not a *kotona*, was left near the cradle.

<sup>2</sup>People always keep four large ears of corn unhusked until all their store of corn is used up. These four ears are called "their mothers" (*ganaiyashe*).

The branching ear of corn which is used as a child protector at Zuni is not eaten at Laguna, but otherwise no fetish character attaches to *yakaachini*, corn sprouts, as it is called. It is fed to stock to promote fertility magically. In this connection I may note that Laguna sheep herders are supposed to sprinkle cornmeal and corn pollen early in the morning to the *kopishitaya* that rain may fall for the sheep and for the health of the sheep. Zuni herders do likewise. Besides they put meal in the center of the corral, asking the Old Ones (*atashinaue*) to guard the sheep at night, against wild beasts.

<sup>3</sup>According to an Acoma informant, the custom is not observed at Acoma, although the *hano nawai*<sup>4</sup> does cut prayer-sticks.

<sup>4</sup>The term is also applied to *cheani*; the ranking *cheani* of his group being called *cheani nawai*. A *cheani* is called *honawai* (See Stevenson, (a), *passim*) [*? ho > hochehi*, chief; *nawai* > *nawai*] when in the ceremonial he represents the bear, mountain lion, eagle.

<sup>5</sup>On this particular an Acoma informant differs. He is *osha'ch' hano nawai*, Sun clan head, and he is not the oldest man in the clan. (He is about fifty). He is *hano nawai* because he *knows*. Now disputes within the clan, he says, would be referred to him—disputes about land or stock.

settlement, and only if not settled by this procedure, to the governor or officers. The right to store hay in an unoccupied house was mentioned as a typical matter of dispute.

## CLAN GRINDING SONGS

One day I was conducted by the little daughter (Gen. II, 148) of Dzaid'yuwī' to the house of her kinswoman Hai'ty'imāi' (Gen. II, 169) to get permission to listen to the grinding songs a woman's party were singing in the adjacent grinding room. (House 70). Permission was refused<sup>1</sup> unless I paid a dollar to each of the eight women in the gathering, an impolitic procedure which I declined, but as I stood in the doorway I heard the conclusion of a song and noted the arrangement of the grinding stones—eight stones, four in a row, and the two rows of women knelt facing one another and facing in, one row facing the east, the other, the west. On another occasion the following grinding songs of the Water clan were sung to me privately:—

## 1

hamaidyia	koasaya	k'awaik' mūkaityi	kotiko ktie'ku
Corn mother (?)	old name of Laguna	Laguna behold	nicely you going
iariko <sup>2</sup>	chokoya		
iyatik' <sup>u</sup>	sits down		

## 2

dyityiabūrnā	itiakui	aidyuna	shiwana	wūri
Northwest	they go	against the sky	storm clouds	start (?)
chakoyo aiyamata	chaairē	eme hama	chaairē	
wonderful things (?)	did it	long ago	did it	
a—a—a—a	e—e—e—e			
kochininaku	melinaku <sup>3</sup>	chakoyo		
Yellow woman				
wūri wūri	eme hama	chaairē		
about here and there	long ago	did it		
shkotikomish	wūri wūri	chakoyo		
sound nicely	about here and there			
emee	chaairē	hama		
	did it	long ago		

<sup>1</sup>Hai'ty'imāi, herself was not grinding, nor did she go with me to the grinding room or make any effort in my behalf. Nor, apart from sending her little daughter with me, did my own hostess, Dzaid'yuwī'. One must expect in Laguna to be treated as a tourist in spite of patient endeavor to differentiate oneself. And for a tourist nobody wants to be responsible.

<sup>2</sup>The Cochiti and Sia term for the corn ear fetish and the earth mother supernatural.

<sup>3</sup>Melinaku was referred to as the mother of Yellow Woman, Blue Woman, Red Woman, White Woman.

## 3

koa koanyiko	dyia	iariko <sup>1</sup>
How will they make a living	with this	
heya towaya	shiwana	dyianyiko
with this	storm clouds	with this make a living
dyiale	iariko <sup>2</sup>	

Īy'as'Ī', Bear clanswoman (Gen. III, 16, Houses 25, 34) knows the grinding songs of the Bear clan. She sang them to me in circumstances where I was not able to make records.—Each clan, everyone testified, has its own grinding songs.

Men will sing to the women's grinding, ceremonial grinding (see p. 223, n. 4), but the songs are not clan songs. These male singers are called *tsaiagaiyat'*. They beat a rope-tied wagon cover bundle.

## CLANSHIP AT CHEANI INITIATION

When a person considers becoming a *cheani*, all his clanspeople have to be consulted.<sup>3</sup> Messengers will be sent out even to clanspeople in outlying towns, to come to the house of the proposed initiate<sup>4</sup> and consult. It was a Bear clansman (and a *cheani*, although this fact was never mentioned between us) who made this statement and he mentioned as Bear clanspeople who in his supposititious case would be summoned Keasiro of Mesita and Īya's'Ī' (Gen. III, 16) of Laguna, and Tsasji (Houses 4, 6), the last, perhaps all three, belonging merely to the clan.

## CLAN FUNCTIONS AT DEATH

Clans have their peculiar face painting at death, according to some informants, "to show who it is to our mother." According to several informants, the face is painted (*tsashwit'awo*, make new face for the dead) by a *cheani*, who sings as he paints, and according to one man the patterns are known only to the *cheani*. This informant was a *shuts*<sup>5</sup> *shiwanna*<sup>6</sup> *cheani*, and he gave me quite a list of the colors used in the different clans; but when it came to making pictures, after putting down the colors used in his own Corn clan (see Fig. 1), he balked and claimed that

<sup>1</sup>Tsaid:yuwi' interpreted imperfectly; but the use of the term *iariko* is interesting, also the reference to *melinaku*, and the general structure of the songs comes out. In the opening song there were no words whatsoever.

<sup>2</sup>The corresponding fetishes of the Zufii, the *eltowe*, meaning, after Cushing (b, 44), the contained, are referred to as "what they live by." They are the *eltelowe*, again after Cushing, the relics of the gods, given directly to mankind.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Stevenson, (a), 74.

<sup>4</sup>There is no consultation on a marriage as at Cochiti (Dumarest, 147), or among Cochiti's Tewa neighbors (Harrington, 474), or at Isleta.

<sup>5</sup>The word means raw, unripe, and, applied ceremonially, uninitiated, one who acts as helper, understudy, substitute, not in his own right, one who has not been through the retreat of four days.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 264.



the knowledge belonged to the *cheani* and should not be imparted. I incline to think that the color list he had previously given me was fictitious.

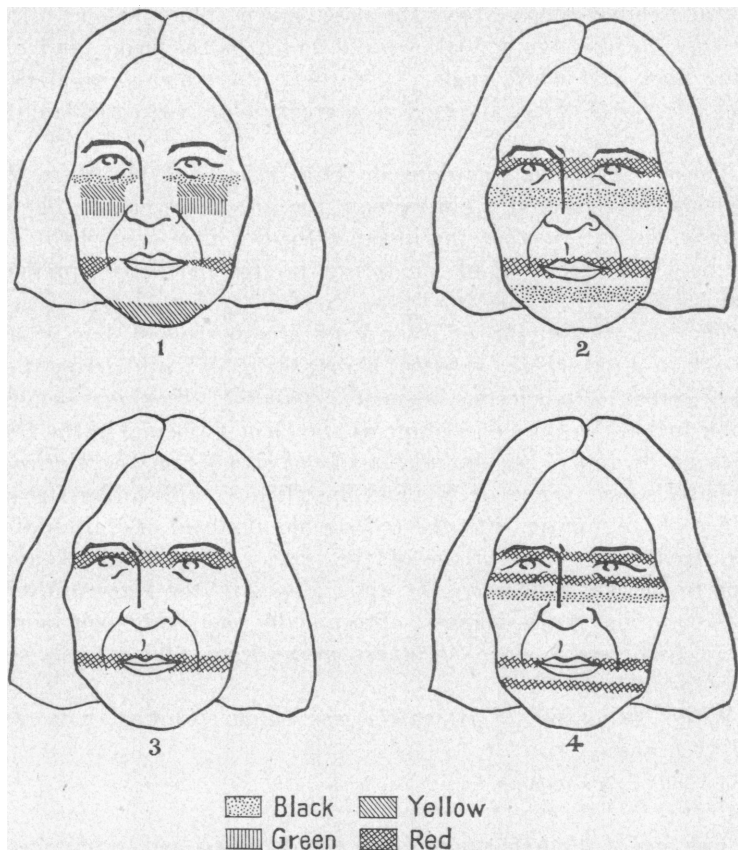


Fig. 1. Face Painting at Death of a Corn Clansman.

Fig. 2. Face Painting at Death of a *cheani*.

Fig. 3. Face Painting of a *k'atsina* Impersonator.

Fig. 4. Face Painting of a Hunter.

According to another informant, glib as usual in assigning foreign origins to clans, the Corn, Eagle, and Badger clans being from Zuñi, follow Zuñi practices at death—covering the face with corn pollen if available, otherwise with cornmeal, and the body with cornmeal. Tsaishdyiäi' of Powati (Gen. III, 98) whose mother is in fact an Eagle

clanswoman from Zūñi, told me that this was indeed the death practice in her family and that it was followed when her sister died in 1918.<sup>1</sup>

When Howa'k'a (Gen. II, 127), a Water clanswoman, died, her face was painted yellow above the nose, green (blue) below. In this same case, cotton [commercial] was put on top of the head, and on the cotton black and white eagle (?) feathers. A cross of wood painted yellow, the butts black, and tied with green (blue) yarn was laid on the corpse.

The face painting was done by Dzai'ty'i (Gen. II, 19; p. 269) a Water clanswoman and a kinswoman, too, of the deceased; likewise a *shiwanna cheani*. So that the instance throws little or no light on the question whether clanspeople or *cheani*, in this particular, prepare the corpse.

The face of every *cheani*<sup>2</sup> after death, irrespective of clan, is painted as in Fig. 2, a red streak (*yakacha*) across the eyelids and across the lips, a black streak of micaceous hematite (*chamuně, shamona*)<sup>3</sup> below. Of possible interest in this connection are the facial paintings of the *k'atsina* impersonator and of the hunter—two red streaks on the *k'atsina* impersonator's face, across eyelids and lips (Fig. 3) and similar streaks on the face of the hunter with the red streaks doubled and an additional black streak across the bridge of the nose. (Fig. 4) Black and red belong to the war gods, *maasewi*<sup>4</sup> and *uyuyě*, and the pigmentation precludes scare and scare-sickness. Presumably the hunter pigmentation also precludes scare, since "sickness comes from wild animals scaring you in the hills."

While the corpse of Howa'k'a was being sprinkled with water,<sup>5</sup> Dzai'ty'i sang:—

Shiwanna dyig'a hotaatsi he. . . e he . . . e.

You will be with the storm clouds.<sup>6</sup>

This was one of the four songs which the deceased had to have to meet her Mother, *naiya iyatik*<sup>7</sup>. These songs were said to be Water clan songs (*tsito hano gaiushe shtraiyushi*). However, the near kinswoman of the dead girl did not know the songs, only her remote kinswoman, Dzai'ty'i, who was a *cheani*. According to Dzai'ty'i herself, any

<sup>1</sup>Unfortunately, I did not ascertain if there was any singing at the funeral. See below. Funeral singing is not a Zūñi practice, and there are no Zūñi clan songs.

<sup>2</sup>But see below.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Stevenon, (a), 98.

<sup>4</sup>At his death, Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani*, was said to have been painted like *maasewi*—two red lines across the nose, two red lines across the lips and four lines on each cheek.

<sup>5</sup>Water is sprinkled also at Zūñi—on the face. At the death in 1914 of Tsatiselu, Badger clansman, after he had been washed by his father's kinswoman his face was sprinkled by Yususi, an old Badger clanswoman, not kinswoman. (Then all the household sprinkled meal on his face.)

<sup>6</sup>This is an extremely interesting reference to the concept of the dead as rain makers, a concept prominent and definite at Zūñi, but uncertain at Laguna. (Cp. Dumarest, 174). Nor are the *k'atsina* associated with the dead at Laguna.

of the Water clan songs would be sung at the death of a clan member, there are no special death songs. Again we are left in the dark as to whether the funeral singing is a *cheani* or kin function. From the observance at Gawiretsa's death (see p. 196) however, we may infer that it is a function of kindred.

The coöperation of the father's clanswoman is expected at death, although just what they are expected to do is obscure. (Besides the washing, dressing, painting and sprinkling of the corpse there is much to do in the way of exorcism. All the property of the deceased must be washed and then fumigated in cedar wood smoke.)<sup>1</sup> After the death of Gawiretsa (House 92), child of Eagle, Kuyu'd'yuwe, Eagle (Gen. I, 68), came in to help in washing the corpse. Kuyu'd'yuwe was not a blood relation.<sup>2</sup> I have already related how when Juana (Gen. I, 13) died, Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) was sent for as the clanswoman of Juana's father, Dzaid'yuwi', eldest daughter, taking the place of her mother, too blind to be of service.

Juana's grave was dug<sup>3</sup> and she was carried to it by her mother's sister's sons, (Gen. I, 16, 18, 20, 22). An Acoma informant stated that if there were no near relatives clanspeople were expected to "help" at the burial.

#### CLAN STICK-RACES

Stick-races which were run until very recently at Laguna, on Sundays, are said to have been formerly run by clan. As at Zufi and among the Hopi, clan symbols were painted on the back of the runner. A Bear clansman stated that his clan painted in black; but he did not know the symbol. The kick-stick was "painted" according to clan. According to one informant, each clan had its own building or *k'a'ch* where the racers dressed.

#### CLANSHIP IN THE K'ATSINA CULT

Clanship figures in the *k'atsina* cult. A few of the masked impersonations "belong to" certain clans, and *k'atsina* management in general is a function of the Antelope and Badger clans. Antelope and Badger clans are said "to make *iani* (i. e. the road) for the *k'atsina*." The term

<sup>1</sup>See p. 269. Parsons, (b), 129. There is death fumigation at Zufi (Parsons, (p), 254). Similarly among the Tewa of Hano, gum and cedar are burned and face, hands, and feet are fumigated—to stop thinking or dreaming of the deceased.

<sup>2</sup>She and Gawiretsa were *comadres*. When one of the girls in Koyu'd'yuwe's household was upset from a wagon into the river and badly frightened, Giwire, Gawiretsa's brother, was called in to cure her. See Parsons, (f), 121.

<sup>3</sup>After a burial the gravediggers take a purge of cedar and vomit; as do the household on the fourth day after the death.

may be used figuratively; but there are concrete expressions. For example, Antelope and Badger clans i.e., individuals in office, will smoke before the *k'atsina* go out to see what the weather will be. If their smoke rises slowly and heavily, there will be rain, if fast, wind. (The war captains also smoke for omens. If the *k'atsina* are already out and winds arise, a war captain may recall the *k'atsina*, and with medicine in his mouth he will go out to the hills and spit out the medicine. This will hush the winds.) I infer that it is, too, the officiating Antelope or Badger man who sprinkles meal on the ground for the *k'atsina* i.e., makes the road for them in the dance.

Badger clan, i.e., its representative, exercises a right of trusteeship over the body pigments of white and red used by *k'atsina* impersonators. The impersonator will stand before the Badger clansman who will apply a dab of white above the right knee and a dab of red on the right side of the trunk. From those dabs the impersonator will proceed to color his legs white and his trunk red, singing as he paints.

Formerly, associated with the Antelope and Badger clans, were other clans, the Wheat clan and, according to some informants, the Deer Clan, according to others, the Squash Clan. As there are no Squash, Deer, or Wheat clanspeople today in Laguna, and but one Antelope clansman qualified for leadership (Ts'iwairo or Rairu who lives at Paraje), leadership is vested in We'd'yumă (Gen. I, 56). The *k'atsina* are "his children."<sup>1</sup> He is their "father", he takes care of them (*kwatseishe k'atsina dyupi hano*). In the line of *k'atsina* he walks towards the head, after the war captain<sup>2</sup>. In his house (House 33) are kept the set of *gumeyoish* masks and the *ts'itsinuts* masks. It is We'd'yumă's sister's daughter (Gen. I, 76) who does the housework for the *k'atsina* dancers. She is referred to as *dyup naiye'ts'a* or Badger matron, as before marriage she was referred to as Badger maiden (*dyup makürts'a*). She took the place of Tsa'ts'i<sup>3</sup> (Gen. I, 78), her mother's sister's daughter. Tsa'ts'i was also called Badger matron.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Voth, (c), 93, 105.

<sup>2</sup>And before the *shiwanna cheani* who is also associated with the *k'atsina* [Parsons, (f), 103 n. 5]. In the *shiwanna cheani* may be seen, I surmise, influence from the Zuni *ashiwanni*, rain society members, associated likewise with the *kachina*. In the other Keresan towns there is no *shiwanna cheani*. The *shiwanna cheani* have had no house of their own, a fact in support of the theory of acculturation from Zuni.

<sup>3</sup>This woman was a "stolen child." She had a reputation for dishonesty and witchcraft, a reputation which attaches to her descendants. The household was poor and they always seemed to have plenty of food; they were supposed to steal corn at night. Besides, Tsa'ts'i was quarrelsome and reckless in what she said of others. Tsa'ts'i's reputation for witchcraft was enough to make my old lady informant warn her own daughter never to let Tsa'ts'i hold the baby. But reputation did not preclude Tsa'ts'i from having, by virtue of her position as senior woman in the Badger clan, a distinctive position in the *k'atsina* cult.—Such evidence of indifference to personal repute in ceremonial position is characteristic of Pueblo Indian society. Tsa'ts'i's fate was characteristic, too, of the lack of immunity ceremonial position brings. Tsa'ts'i is said to have been shot as a witch by the war captain. The specific charge was brought by a man from Powati who one day in 1906 entered Tsa'ts'i's house (House 24) from the rear to see hanging over a beam in the dark rear room a wolfskin, the paws arranged as moccasins with tie

Mask guardianship has fallen to the Badger clan i.e., to We'd'yumă, who is commonly referred to as Badger clan (*dyup hano*)<sup>1</sup> as if he were the whole clan as a result of ceremonial disintegration<sup>2</sup>—a result of the extinction of the *shahaiye* and Flint *cheani*. Formerly the *gumeyoish hocheni* (chief) belonged to the *shahaiye cheani*,<sup>3</sup> and formerly impersonators were from the Parrot clan. New *gumeyoish* masks<sup>4</sup> are made by the Parrot clan.<sup>5</sup> Formerly the *ts'itsinuts* masks were kept in House 26, a Parrot clan house. Tsashume, a man out of this house, habitually impersonates *ts'itsinuts*. In "making new *k'atsina*" i.e., in initiations<sup>6</sup> the *ts'itsinuts* mask was worn by the Flint *cheani*.<sup>7</sup> In *k'atsina* initiations two *gumeyoish* came first and then *ts'itsinuts*. Today *gumeyoish* appear "four" days in advance of the *k'atsina* to announce them. This is also Hopi practice.

Formerly, according to one informant, *k'atsina* masks were made by the Giant (*shkuyu*) *cheani*;<sup>8</sup> nowadays, the right to make masks vests in the Badger and Antelope clans, but who actually makes the masks I do not know. Masks, as at Zuñi, are either group or personal property. A personal mask is inherited by the owner's son. If there is no qualified, i.e., initiated, son to inherit, the mask is buried in the river. When a man wants a personal mask, he applies to the *k'atsina hocheni*, and he is called upon to supply a feast to all members of the *k'atsina*

strings in front. The visitor was frightened, he went out and reentered by the front door, proceeding, after his visit, to report to the war captains. My informant got the story from the wife of the accuser—after Tsa'tsi's death, of course. "Until a witch is dead you must never talk about him for he will bewitch you." It may not be irrelevant to note that my informant had a ceremonial, if not a personal, grievance against the Badger people, encroachers through the *k'atsina* upon the privileges of the *shikani cheani* (Parsons, (f), 208, n. 1). Besides both Tsa'tsi and her husband, the one of Zuñi, the other of Acoma, descent, may have been thought of as foreigners; but this is mere surmise.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 133-4.

<sup>2</sup>Also as *dyup hashtji*, Badger old man.

<sup>3</sup>And, according to one informant, of the extinction of the Wheat clan, formerly guardians of the *gumeyoish* masks.

<sup>4</sup>This connection is suggested also by the fact that the *gumeyoish*, like the *cheani*, are possessed of a specific medicine, *gumeyoish wawa*.

<sup>5</sup>Worn-out masks are put into the river "because the *gumeyoish* live under water."

<sup>6</sup>See p. 278 to learn how in 1920 the *gumeyoish* and *ts'itsinuts* masks came to be removed to a Parrot house.

<sup>7</sup>At other times, others wore the four *ts'itsinuts* masks. The habitual impersonators were (i. e., just happened to be, I think,) Badger, Bear, Corn, Turkey, and in that order they would stand. All these men are dead.

<sup>8</sup>The snake on the kilt of *ts'itsinuts*, the whipper *k'atsina* to be equated with the *sayia* of Zuñi, represents lightning, and lightning was associated with the Flint *cheani*. One of his prayer-sticks was a lightning stick.

<sup>9</sup>I have been told that the giants came from Mexico. On the other hand, there is an origin tale of the Giant *cheani* which points to native origin. The daughter of the chief (*hocheni*) spent the night with a witch who put medicine on her to turn her into a giantess. Then the *hainaiya cheani* made a ball of corn pollen and put it into a bowl and covered it with buckskin. After a while the ball of pollen became a *tuapaashit* (a big fly) and began to buzz. The fly flew out and asked them: "What do you want me for?" "We want to know if she is really a giantess or if she is bewitched?" The fly went out and flew under her clothes and learned that she was not really a giantess. The *cheani* were inside three days, on the fourth night they were to have the ceremonial. Then the head *cheani* went out and caught the giantess. He took a flint knife and running from the north he slashed at the clothes of the giantess. Then he slashed at the clothes, running from the west, then from the south, then from the east. Then the clothes fell off like a skin, and sitting there was Yellow Woman (*kochinninaku*). Yellow Woman said to them, "Since you have saved my life, change your name to Giant *cheani*."

organization.<sup>1</sup> Group masks are or were in the trusteeship of *cheani* or of *k'atsina* officials. The mask of *shonata* appears to be thought of as clan property and was associated with the stock house of the Corn clan.

We'd'yumă is very old, and blind, and Ts'iwairo is being urged, several tell me, to take his place. There is no adult Badger male. At any rate there seems to be an opinion that the Antelope clan had an original precedence over the Badger clan in the *k'atsina* cult. Before We'd'yumă became head, leadership was vested in Dyaiyu of the Antelope clan.<sup>2</sup>

Since *k'atsina* dances<sup>3</sup> are given not alone at Laguna, but in the outlying settlements,<sup>4</sup> it is important or, at any rate, convenient, to have local leaders. Now, as no Badger or Antelope clansmen are to be had, other clansmen, as already noted, are "made Antelope clan." At Mesita, Guwai', Parrot clansman, was "made Antelope clan" and, since his death, Keasiro, Bear clansman, one of the two *kashare cheani* of Mesita.

One of the *nawish* impersonations is mentioned as belonging to the Antelope clan, i.e., the impersonator has to be from the Antelope clan. The mask of this *kürts hano nawish*<sup>5</sup> is parti-colored, yellow and blue, and spotted like corn. The *nawish*<sup>6</sup> figure in the *yakahano* or corn dance. Formerly there was a mask called *tsaaidyiutseshe* (leader?) *k'atsina* who had strings of corn around his body and who belonged to the Corn clan.

The *chonata* impersonation belongs to the Corn clan. The same Corn clansman would always impersonate. Were he absent or sick, another Corn clansman would volunteer. *Shonata*'s mask and body are black, spotted white. He wears a kilt of buckskin, a cowhide belt, parrot feathers in his hair, and goes barefoot. He carries a firedrill.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>At Zuñi the applicant is also whipped, by the Badger clan members of his *kiva*, a pretty conclusive indication of the association at Zuñi between the Badger clan and the mask supernaturals.

<sup>2</sup>Badger is the animal associated with the south at Zuñi and among the Keresans. Antelope, I note, is also, after Cushing, associated with the south. (Cushing, (b), 22, 23, 24).

<sup>3</sup>The solstice ceremonials are also repeated—at Powati and Mesita at intervals of four days. See p. 275.

<sup>4</sup>The Mesita solstice ceremonial of June 18, 1919, was attended by Tsasji (House 4), the *k'atsina hochen*, and his wife, I was told, but by nobody else from Laguna.

<sup>5</sup>This is Zuñi practice too; but the *koko* dances in the Zuñi colonies are, as might be expected from the comparatively greater importance of the mother town, more infrequent than in the Laguna colonies.

<sup>6</sup>According to another informant there are two *kürts hano nawish* who are leaders (*tsaiyatshur-sayawishe*) of all the *nawish*. They do not belong to the Antelope clan; they were merely chosen by all the *k'atsina* as leaders.

<sup>7</sup>*Nawish* figure in the *shturuka* myth, and the *shturuka* dance or ceremony is associated by some with the Corn clan, as is the identical ceremony, the *ky'anakwe*, at Zuñi. The fact that a man in Mesita was reviving the *shturuka* when there was nobody left who had a right to it, created considerable excitement in Laguna in 1918. Unfortunately, I did not get the name of the revivalist at the time. I have since wondered if it could have been Káiyáid'yai' of Mesita. (See p. 255.) It is plain, however, that the *shturuka* was thought of as a clan ceremony or rather as a ceremony belonging to a particular family connection within the clan, just like some of the Hopi ceremonies.

<sup>8</sup>He is to be equated with *shulawitsi* of Zuñi. There is at Laguna another spotted mask, *shuraidja* (*shoradja*), perhaps as the name suggests, a direct imitation of the Zuñi mask. In the *yakahano* dance *shuraidja* comes first followed by *shonata*, both figures are accounted *shonata* . . . *Shónata*, in Hopi, means the dots in the squares of the corn symbol, "the living germ in the heart of the kernel". (Fewkes and Stephen, 240, n. 2).

*Shonata*'s mask was said to be like that pictured in Stevenson, (a), Pl. XXXI, A.

At corn (harvest) time, *shonata* comes first in the dance line. Formerly, given a midsummer drought, *shonata* would be summoned out by the Antelope and Badger clans, i.e., leaders, to perform a bonfire lighting ceremonial. He would set fire to twelve piles of wood laid at intervals south of the town, and he would run fast from pile to pile, running from southwest to southeast. The fire for *shonata*'s brand would be kindled with a drill kept or once kept in House 120. It is or was there that *shonata*'s mask is or was kept and fed. Possibly, since the people of House 120 have become progressive (see p. 247), drill and mask have been moved to the house (House 97) of Tsita who appears to be thought of as a Corn clansman of distinction, although of a junior branch of the Corn clan family coming out of House 120. Tsita is in charge of the choir of Corn clansmen and others who sing for the *yakahano* dance, and ceremonial<sup>1</sup> performances of this dance are held in his house if not in the house of a war captain. House 95 which formerly belonged to Tsita was called *chupakwi* (*chupaki*<sup>1</sup>, *chupakü*),<sup>2</sup> and in it *k'atsina* and *cheani* dances were once held. It is said that only the Corn clan has dance songs.

Impersonation of a few *k'atsina*, comparatively very few, is vested in certain clans, as at Zuñi, and leadership of the *k'atsina* is vested in the Badger and, theoretically or potentially, in the Antelope clan;<sup>3</sup> but, again as at Zuñi, there is also *k'atsina* organization in which clanship does not figure. There are, we should note, three<sup>4</sup> *k'atsina* organizations or sub-groups in Laguna today, each with its own head or chief, its *hochení*—(1) *chakwena* (to which *maasewi* belongs or rather which belong to *maasewi* and which is more or less identified as a war cult group<sup>5</sup>); (2) *waiyush* (duck) or *chupakwe* (esoteric term, i.e., the Zuñi kiva which presents this dance at Zuñi); (3) *gwapeuts'* or *haimatatsime* (esoteric term), they also dance *hemish*<sup>6</sup> with female impersonations

<sup>1</sup>*Yakahano* is secularized, i.e., it is danced without masks, in any house, large enough, at any season. For example, it was danced June 18, 1919 in House 90, and again on June 24 in House 4. As a ceremonial, it is danced only in the autumn, when anyone may request a performance.

<sup>2</sup>*Chupa* is the name of the Zuñi kiva that is associated with the Corn clan.

<sup>3</sup>The *komosona* (*k'atsina hochení*) of Zuñi, the head of the kiva organization, must belong to the Antelope clan; and the next in position, the *kopekwín*, to the Badger clan. To what extent the Laguna *k'atsina* organization is modeled on the Zuñi system or imported from Zuñi is an interesting question. Some will tell you at Laguna that "the people of Zuñi found the *k'atsina*" or that "Laguna people learned about the *k'atsina* from Zuñi people."

The Badger clan is associated by the Hopi with the *kachina*. (Voth, (c), 119 ft.).

<sup>4</sup>Exclusive of these three is a special group of which Uwaitiina, the father of Gen. III, 37 is head—the *kohashloch*. Their dance opens the fall hunting season. It is the *ololowishkya* of Zuñi with *ololowishkya* dropped out. (Parsons, (g), 195-9). In the ceremony there are thirty or more *kohashloch* whose grinding songs (*k'atsina k'aiakaitiyia*, cp. p. 216) as men would sing for women to grind in the *hochenits'a*. And there are two *payatamu*, flutists wearing a mask like that of *kuchinninaku* (Yellow woman, the *k'atsina* girl), two *navish* to carry the grindstones and the buckskins to set them on, and four *kuchinninaku*, two to grind, two to dance, the two sets alternating. The dancing girls give two balls of *hati* mixed with water (*hoshumeti*) to each onlooker.

<sup>5</sup>For example, it is said that *shuts maasevi cheani* help the *chakwena*, although just who are meant is obscure.

<sup>6</sup>According to one informant, *hemish* used to belong to *haimatatsime*; but nowadays the *shuts k'atsina cheani* may help. The meaning of this term is still obscure, although I incline to think it is applied to anyone who has been initiated as a *k'atsina*.

(*kuchinnaku*), and *kaiyaa'*. The *chakwena* group has a kind of priority from the fact that if a man has been initiated into the *chakwena* group he may dance with the other groups without special initiation, but initiation into one of the other groups does not entitle him to dance with the *chakwena* group. Over all these groups there is one head, the *k'atsina hocheni*,<sup>1</sup> and each group has its own head.<sup>2</sup> Now, in these offices or organizations, clanship, I believe, does not intrude, just as at Zuñi, into the corresponding kiva groups it does not intrude.

Besides general statements to this effect I have in evidence a list of the *chakwena hocheni* within the memory of an elderly informant. K'ausiro, Eagle (Gen. I, 55) of Zuñi, the father of We'd'yumä, Badger (Gen. I, 56), and of Ka'yo', was the first *chakwena hocheni* my informant could cite. K'ausiro's successors were: Shawityi, Parrot; Tsaiyo, Turkey; Tsas'dya, Sun (Gen. III, 69); Yuk'aidyo, Badger (Gen. I, 58, Ka'yo')<sup>3</sup> and the brother of We'd'yumä; and the present incumbent, K'awimaisewa, Chaparral Cock. K'awimaisewa's assistant, chosen by himself, is Hiai'ai (Gen. III, 39), son of Gen. III, 69, and in due course Hiai'ai will succeed K'awimaisewa, just as, presumed, Sha'shk<sup>a</sup>, (Gen. III, 117), Hiai'ai's son-in-law who cuts prayersticks for Hiai'ai when he is away, will succeed.<sup>4</sup> It appears that the office holding pattern here is head and assistant who succeeds,<sup>5</sup> a pattern familiar at Sia and Cochiti, no doubt a characteristically Keresan if not Pueblo Indian establishment.

That the father and brother of We'd'yumä should have held the office, and that now the son-in-law of Hiai'ai should be in training for it, Hiai'ai himself the son of a former incumbent, indicate that a man is likely, as we should expect, to choose his assistant from his household. It is a fact analogous to the distribution of society membership at Zuñi based on household or family associations.<sup>6</sup> Developed further among the Hopi this distribution results in a partial identification of clan and society.

<sup>1</sup>Tsajji, Bear, holds the office at Laguna (see p. 275); Uwaityima, Oak, at Powati, K'awimaisewa Chaparral Cock, at Encinal.

<sup>2</sup>But the same man may head more than one group. Tsajji is not only *k'atsina hocheni*, but *hemish* (i. e., *gwapeuts'*) *hocheni*. (He also belongs to the *chakwena*). K'awimaisewa is both *k'atsina hocheni* at Encinal and, at large, *chakwena hocheni*.

<sup>3</sup>Ka'yo's son, Yu'si (Gen. I, 8), is a *chakwena*.

<sup>4</sup>Here I may append a list of the twenty *chakwena* members: At Encinal, K'awimaisewa, (House 115); at Laguna, Hiai'ai (Houses 38, 103; Gen. III, 39), Tsajji (House 4), Dyaiuwi (Dyai'yuwe) (House 47; Gen. II, 43), Tsiwaimai (House 51), Wik'ai (House 123), Auudyai (? Gen. III, 250; House 108), Tsiwshipiré (Gen. I, 79, Gen. III, 243; House 22), Gaishdyia (House 19); at Tsiamä, Tsiwaisia, Tsairi, Matoyé; at Paraje, Wakori, Yaimi, Wiridyé, Waita'; at Powati, Tsiw'iyai (Gen. III, 30), Mūnish, Dyawaisiro (Houses 9, 12), Hishdyia.

Of these men eight had served as war captains—K'awimaisewa, Hiai'ai, Tsajji, Wik'ai, Tsairi, Wakori, Yaimi, Tsiw'iyai.

<sup>5</sup>The second in office is called *wikoli*, as is second in office among *cheani*. According to one informant there used to be four officers in the *chakwena* organization, but two died and their places were not filled.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (i), 329.



## SALT-GATHERING AND THE PARROT CLAN.

Salt Place (the Zuñi Salt Lake) belongs to the Parrot clan. This proprietorship is explained in a tale<sup>1</sup> about the wanderings of Salt Woman and the War Gods. These supernaturals were once entertained hospitably by a family of the Parrot clan when all the other households denied them. As a punishment the children of that place were turned to birds and the adults to stone. Only the Parrot people were spared. This affair happened while *Dzi'd'sho'ts'a*, Salt Woman, was looking for a place to settle. She had thought of settling at Casa Blanca, but, said she, "My body would spoil. There are too many people. They would make dirt upon it." And so she moved on south. On her way she met some Zuñi people who were also Parrot people. These people carried prayer-sticks and beads and birds' down. The tale concludes with Salt Woman giving "her house" to the Zuñi Parrot people.

However, Laguna informants state that neither the Hopi nor the people of Zuñi knew how to get out the salt until Laguna people showed them how, showed them the proper observances.<sup>2</sup> The collector has to offer his prayer-sticks and pray. Before putting the sticks and cigarettes and shell-meal down in the water he must rub on some salt. He has taken off his clothes and stands in the water. He feels for the salt with his feet and treads it out, carrying it in his hands, using neither pick nor shovel. And he must be careful to make "no dirt" round about.

The salt collector may get omens at Salt Place. If you are going to have good harvests of wheat, watermelon, etc., or if you are going to kill deer, you will see in the water wheat, watermelon,<sup>3</sup> deer. If you are going to die, you will see yourself lying dead. Medicine water is brought back from Salt Place.

There also are the houses of *gumeyoish*,<sup>4</sup> of *ts'i'dzanüts* (*ts'itsinuts*), of the *shturuka*, and of *maasewi*.

The journey to Salt Place is or was made in September. It was made in company with Acoma collectors, a rare instance of inter-pueblo co-operation. Parrot men went in the lead, and during the expedition Parrot people at home were praying in their house. On the return journey, one day before arrival, the war captain accompanying the ex-

<sup>1</sup>Collected by Dr. Boas.

<sup>2</sup>An amusing tribal conceit. The Hopi visit the Grand Canyon also to collect salt. Here they offer prayer-sticks to Salt Woman and the war god. (Fewkes, (c), 352-3).

<sup>3</sup>Similarly at *kotuwela* lake, west of Zuñi, where the dead go, there are to be seen omens (*teluina*) of good crops, i. e., growing wheat and corn. Also the tracks of the lately deceased.

<sup>4</sup>The association of the *gumeyoish* with the Parrot clan (see p. 221) may be thus explained. At Zuñi, their homologues, the *koyemshi*, live not at Salt Lake, but at a lake farther to the west, as do the *saiyatia*, the homologues of *ts'i'dzanüts*. Whereas the *ky'anakwe* (*shturuka*) and the war gods do live at Salt Lake or in that direction. My Laguna informant may have just been confusing the two lakes.

pedition would send on a messenger to go to the house of the Parrot people and get from them two donkeys. All the Parrot clanswomen together with the *kurena cheani* came out to meet the returning expedition. They all sang for the Salt Woman. The Salt Woman of the Parrot clan [Senior Parrot clanswoman representing Salt Woman ?] carried salt on her back. The salt was subsequently distributed by the women. "Our aunts (father's sisters) carry salt and corn on their backs to our houses. Then we [the collectors] go to our aunt's house where our heads and bodies are washed. They give us balls of clay and of corn. They blow on us."

If an individual wants to go salt collecting on his own account, he will go to the Parrot clansman salt manager (*minatyika*, salt, *koatseshe*, manager, *shawiti*, parrot, *hano*, people, clan) to ask him to make prayer-sticks for him. If your salt gives out, you may go and ask the Parrot clan mother to give you some. (Inferably the same woman who was referred to as Salt Woman of the Parrot clan).

K'ai'sh'dōwă' (Gen. II, 14) was in his day Parrot clan Salt Manager. Until his death<sup>1</sup> in 1918 K'awimaisewa, of the Parrot clan was Salt Manager. It is said that the son of K'awimaisewa is to succeed him.

#### ZUÑI CLAN HEADS AND FETISHES

From the foregoing data it appears that ceremonial, juridical, and economic functions attach to the Keresan clan. Our account of salt-collecting illustrates in particular how knit together these functions are. In the Southwest, ceremonialism is ever a system of economic instrumentalism, and attempts to differentiate nicely between the ceremonial and the economic are apt to be merely attempts to read distinctions of our own culture into that of the Pueblo Indians. "Zuñi Kin and Clan" is open to this criticism, and, in supporting his thesis that the clan was a ceremonial and not an economic unit, Dr. Kroeber not only over-emphasized a somewhat misleading distinction, but he failed to probe into the meaning of certain facts of the ceremonial organization. I refer in particular to his discussion of clan heads,<sup>2</sup> and his explanation of the fact that certain households were accounted as "name having" merely because of the Zuñi tendency to avoid personal names.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In driving a wagon across the railroad tracks he was run over by the train. They tell you that for two or three months afterwards, at night, people heard horses galloping at that place, coming to a standstill, and some one getting out of the wagon and crying.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 133-4.

<sup>3</sup>I have been told definitely at Zuñi that the "name having" houses were the houses occupied when the people first came up i.e., they are the oldest houses or rather families, since after people remove from their old house they are still "name having".

As Dr. Kroeber is himself careful to note, these distinctive households or clan-named houses are, in five instances, the same houses in which are kept the respective clan fetishes or *ettowe*. For two of the clan-named houses facts are lacking bearing on the identification; the other six houses do not correspond to the houses of the respective clan fetishes. Unfortunately, except in one case, the matter of this non-correspondence was not followed up to see if the clan fetishes involved had been subject to removal<sup>1</sup> at some time, or if persons in the clan-named houses had "come out of" or were connected with the fetish-holding houses. In the one exception of the Bear clan it seems that the fetish guardians came out of the same house that the clan-named people came out of. There are some significant facts in connection with House 369 of the Coyote "name having" people and House 373, formerly a Coyote house. It is stated<sup>2</sup> that after the rest of the household moved out of House 373 one old woman remained behind, remained obviously enough, to care for the Coyote clan fetish which was in her house.<sup>3</sup> At her death, her house was sold and, for some obscure reason, no doubt of family connection, the fetish was moved to a Sun house instead of to the house next door, House 373, with whose inmates, I have no doubt, the old woman was connected. The clan fetish was removed, but the old house connection is still remembered and the people of House 373 are still referred to as Coyote "name having". Again it is significant that in the case of the Chaparral Cock clan whose fetish had been buried i.e., definitely disposed of, no clan-named house was mentioned.

Now the clan-named people of Zuñi are to be equated, I believe, with the Laguna clan elders, while the Zuñi houses containing clan fetishes may be compared, if not equated, with the Laguna houses containing *iyatik*<sup>4</sup>. Part of the feeling about the *ettone*—*iyatik*<sup>4</sup> type of fetish is extreme reluctance to disturb it, to remove it;<sup>4</sup> so that as long as there is a woman who can be trusted to safeguard the fetish properly in its house i.e., to feed it and to preclude intrusion, the fetish will be left in the house it is associated with. On the other hand, men rather than women are supposed to know the songs and prayers associated with the fetish. Now men marry out from the house. It comes about, therefore, that the men who know the fetish ritual may be only indirectly associated with the house of the fetish. At times, as in several cases of *shiwanni* organization at Zuñi, the association between the fetish house

<sup>1</sup>For example, there are now two fetishes in the Badger house 387; one is as listed no. 3, the other, suspect, may have been removed from House 247.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 107.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Dumarest, 189.

and the fetish priest is quite indirect—if the women of the house have no brothers or sons to qualify, the son of a brother or even a more distant relative will have to be chosen. I believe that this twofold theory of house custody and priestcraft will suffice, as it comes to be followed up in individual cases, to explain the ambiguous and baffling facts of clan *ashiwanni* and clan *nawai'* at Zuñi and at Laguna.

As for the paramount Zuñi *ashiwanni*, the *ashiwanni* sets of the six directions, that hierarchic organization was an outcome of the house fetish complex of the clan and the weather control and curing organization of the society or fraternity; but how the development came about, or how the weather control and curing functions of the society of the Keresan type became differentiated at Zuñi<sup>1</sup> are subjects that must be considered elsewhere.

#### DUAL DIVISION

At Laguna as elsewhere among the Pueblo Indians, there has been a tendency towards dual division in the ceremonial life. The moieties among the Isletans are known as the Black Eyes and the Red Eyes; among the eastern Keresans they are known as the Squash people and the Turquoise; among the Tewa, as the Winter people and the Summer people; and among the Hopi and at Zuñi the ceremonial moieties also exist, although in the exuberance of the ceremonial life they have been more or less overlooked by observers. In a footnote to a Hopi *powamu* song Voth writes:

From January, when the Flute priests make *bahos* especially to the sun, until the summer solstice, when they do so again, it is their business to see that the sun receives his proper prayer offerings; while from the summer to the winter solstice the sun is under the "care" of the Soyal priest, who also controls the Soyal ceremony by which the sun is supposed to be induced to return from his southward course.<sup>1</sup>

At Zuñi the winter is in general appropriated to the curing societies, and particularly to the *tewekwe* society,<sup>2</sup> and the summer to the *ashiwanni* or rain priests; and the seasonal distinction between the *koyemshi* and the *ne'wekwe*, the two sets of sacred clowns, appears in the rule that although the *koyemshi* or their understudies may come out to play at any time, the appointed *koyemshi* must come out at the summer series of rain

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Parsons, (i), 333-5.

<sup>2</sup>Voth, (c), 152 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup>The Knife-Ice society. The Winter people of the Tewa of San Ildefonso are called the Ice people (Stevenson, (c), 13). The cacique or winter cacique of certain Keresan towns is or was the head of the Knife or Flint society. At San Ildefonso there are but two "rain priests"—the head of the Sun people (compare the *pekwin* of Zuñi) and the head of the Ice people. At Taos there is a society, the Hail people, in charge of a winter period. Their chief is also chief of the three kivas of the North side of town, chief of the council, and crier of the winter solstice. The chief of the three kivas of the South side is crier of the summer solstice and is referred to as cacique.

dances, and in the practice of the *ne'wekwe* coming out in winter rather than in summer. There is little doubt in my mind that the double ceremonial system is to be seen also in the two offices of the *kyakweamosi*, rain priest of the North (winter cacique), and of the *pekwin*, Speaker i.e., to the Sun (summer cacique). As for the set of six kivas of Zuñi, we find them grouped in two opposing or alternating sets in the ceremonials of the war cult and the *santu*. Ordinarily they are classified in sets of two as older and younger brothers to each other, the three resulting sets corresponding perhaps to the three sets of *k'atsina* we noted at Laguna.<sup>1</sup> Primacy among the kivas is given to *he'iwa*, the kiva of the North.

At Laguna the *chakwena* group is assigned to the cloud spirits of the North (*sha'k'ak shiwanna*), identified with winter, and we noted the peculiar position of the *chakwena* initiate who does not have to be initiated into the other groups, whereas other initiates have to be taken into the *chakwena*.<sup>2</sup> The *hemish* group is assigned to the cloud spirits of the South (*maiychū'nā shiwanna*), identified with summer. All the other *k'atsina*<sup>3</sup> belong to all the other *shiwanna*.<sup>4</sup> In the war and *santu* dances at Laguna the alignment is not by *k'atsina* sets, as at Zuñi, but by clan, the clans being divided into an East group (*hanityumě*) and a West group (*pūnityumě*) according to their assignment to buildings on the east and west sides of the plaza (*kakati*). See p. 253. In the East group are Sun, Corn, Turkey, Water, Turquoise; in the West group, Bear, Parrot, Coyote, Chaparral Cock, Oak.<sup>5</sup> A man may have the right to dance in both groups, *if his father's clan happens to be in the opposite group to his mother's*. Here are two implications of considerable interest—first the grouping is understood as ceremonial merely, in no way indicating any exogamous attitude; second it appears that at Laguna, as in other pueblos, a person may get ceremonial right or status through his father as well as through his mother.

Elsewhere<sup>6</sup> I have discussed the associations of the *tiamoni hocheni* or cacique with the Flint *cheani* and the *kashare*, and the somewhat

<sup>1</sup>See p. 223.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 224.

<sup>3</sup>This accounts for the *kaiya* or mixed set corresponding to the *wotempla* (all kinds of *wo'we* i.e., servants, i.e., *koko*) of Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup>*Mashtijichue* (*mastuicoi*) belongs with the *chakwena*. He may be equated with *tomtsinapa* among the Zuñi *koko*.

<sup>5</sup>This alignment as far as it goes, corresponds with two exceptions to the Summer-Winter alignment Cushing gives for Zuñi (Cushing, (a), 386). There are several correspondences with the alignments recorded for Sant' Ans and for Isleta and there are several differentiations (Parsons, (h), 56-7, 64). I infer that there is a considerable degree of sameness in the conceptual principles of classification in the different pueblos, but no fixed moiety alignment *per se*.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (h), 57 n. 2.

TABLE 10: LAGUNA MARRIAGES.<sup>1</sup>

	Water	Parrot	Turkey	Sun	Bear	Lizard	Chaparral Cock	Badger	Eagle	Corn	Oak	Locust	Antelope	Turquoise
Water	1													
Parrot		4	4	8	4	7	2	4	3	9	1	1	0	1
Turkey		↗	3	6	4	3	3	1	2	5	3	0	2	0
Sun			↕	5	3	1	1	2	2	3	3	0	0	2
Bear			↗	3	7	4	4	0	3	12	4	1	0	0
Lizard					↗	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Chaparral Cock						↗	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	0
Badger							↗	4	0	2	1	0	0	0
Eagle								↗	2	2	0	0	0	0
Corn									↗	3	0	0	0	0
Oak										↗	5	0	1	1
Locust											↗	0	1	1
Antelope												↗	0	0
Turquoise													↗	0

TABLE 11: SISTER-BROTHER MARRIAGES INTO SAME CLAN.

I, 7, 11	Sun sister and brother marry	Water
I, 58, 62, 64,	Badger brother and two sisters marry	Water <sup>1</sup>
I, 66, 68	Eagle sisters	Turkey <sup>2</sup>
I, 76, 77	Badger sisters	Turkey <sup>2</sup>
II, 26, 33	Water brother and sister	Bear
II, 38, 42	Water brother and sister	Parrot
II, 156, 158	Parrot brothers	Sun
II, 54, 235	Sun brothers	Water
III, 9, 19	Corn brothers	Lizard <sup>3</sup>
III, 27, 32	Corn brothers	Water
III, 56, 58, 62	Badger brother and sisters	Chaparral Cock
III, 162, 166	Lizard sisters	Water
IV, 10, 15	Sun brothers	Chaparral Cock

<sup>1</sup>Same Water man becomes husband of the two Badger sisters.<sup>2</sup>Same as Two Turkey men; and Eagle women are first cousins of Badger women.<sup>3</sup>Two sisters.

dubious relationship of the *shikani-kurena cheani*<sup>1</sup> to the cacique.<sup>2</sup> Was the latter the summer cacique and the former, the winter cacique, or was the *shikani-kurena cheani*, as at Cochiti, one of the two assistants of the single cacique; in other words, did the Cochiti and Sia and San Felipe system, apparently the normal Keresan system, prevail, or the double headed, Tewa-Taos system?<sup>3</sup>

The existence of this ceremonial moiety organization among the Pueblo Indians has led students to query whether or not the moiety or phratry system was a factor in marriage. There is no evidence of the kind in any Pueblo Indian group, and at Laguna, as we noted incidentally in connection with the alternating dance pattern, there is certainly no feeling that, outside of the usual clan exogamy, one clan more than another should be preferred or precluded in marrying. Nevertheless I have drawn up a table of marriages (Table 10) similar to that compiled by Dr. Kroeber for Zuñi. The marriages are those recorded in the genealogies and in the List of Houses. It is evident from this table that no moiety alignment occurs in marriage choices, since there are inter-marriages between all the clans, except where the numerical representation of a clan is small.

There appears to be a tendency for sisters and brothers to marry into the same clan. (See Table 11.) In a few cases the facts are obviously explicable on the basis of household intimacies; and it is probable that the other facts might be explained on the same basis had we fuller knowledge of the household relations involved. In other words, the tendency is analogous to that noted at Zuñi in joining fraternities where two or more members of a household join the same fraternity—the affiliation is a family or household, not a clan arrangement.

#### LINKED CLANS

This term has been applied in what I cannot but consider a loose way by observers at Zuñi and among the Hopi and Tewa. Among the

<sup>1</sup>This group has been equated with the *ashiwanni* of the East, from whom the *pekwin* is nominally selected, and the *shi'wannakwe* society. (Parsons, (i), 333-4).

<sup>2</sup>According to one Laguna informant there was a group of four *hachamunvi kayukai* "remembering prayer-sticks," men, not *cheani*, from whom the *tiamoni hocheni* was chosen. The group assisted him. This is practically the Zuñi and the Hopi system.

<sup>3</sup>Since writing the above, information from Jemez and, through Dr. Boas, from Laguna inclines me strongly to the theory that Laguna organization was not an exception to the Keresan norm of single headship with the moiety principle expressed through the clown societies. Such organization is found also at Jemez where the Ice society of *ts'unta tabosh* are to be equated with the *shikani-kurena* of Laguna, and the *tabosh*, with the *kashare*. At Laguna, Dr. Boas learns, the singing of *kashare* (*k'asha'li*) songs begins with the winter solstice (when the sun turns back to summer), from the harvest to the winter solstice *ku'raina* songs are sung.

In the days of a *tiamuni hocheni* the people husked corn for him, the corn carried from his field on donkey back, with the *ku'raina* singing in the lead. They sang: "Let us two go to the north outside. Let us two go to the field. Let us go for the yellow corn. There inside Laguna let us put it there forever. Lake."

In the *u'pi* dance the *kashare* were in charge of the East kiva, the *ku'raina* of the West kiva.

Keresans, at any rate, there is nothing to justify the idea of particular intimacy between two or more clans. I have heard of but one exception; according to one Laguna informant the Sun clanspeople think of the Eagle clanspeople as in some way related, calling them their elders, *nawai'*. This notion, whatever it amounts to, does not preclude inter-clan marriage. (See Table 10.)

#### CLAN MOVEMENTS AND MYTHS

Four clans, cited in my list of Laguna clans, are referred to by Laguna informants as extinct—the Snake, Deer, Pumpkin, and Wheat clans. None of these clans figures in the genealogies or in the list of house proprietors; and their sometime existence remains, I think, more or less hypothetical. Of the sometime existence of one other extinct clan, the Coyote, the house map supplies evidence, and it is also stated that there are Coyote clanspeople living today at Paraje. There are five Locust clanspeople recorded in the genealogies, mother and four children, two of whom are girls, and they form the one Locust clan household in Laguna. Of the four recorded Turquoise clanspeople three are males and there is no Turquoise clan household in Laguna. But one Antelope is recorded in the genealogies and at Laguna the clan is not represented. The Locust, Turquoise, and Antelope clans may be near extinction.

The extinction of clans is a fact familiar elsewhere, and the process of extinction is plain enough. The founding of a new clan is more obscure. How does it come about? Assuming the sometime existence of a Wheat clan at Laguna, how did the clan originate? Given the introduction of Wheat by the Spaniards, the Wheat clan was a comparatively modern clan. Was it an old clan renamed, or a certain family connection within an old clan, perhaps the Corn clan? There is an alternate hypothesis for the founding of a new clan; a clan might originate through the adoption into the tribe of a clanless female, although this hypothesis is not always tenable, since it is more than likely that such a girl or woman would take the clan of the household in which she lived,—unless as an adult she married into the tribe from a people without clans, like the Mexican.<sup>1</sup>

Again new clans may be introduced by women from tribes, Pueblo Indian or other, with a clan organization, but whose clans cannot be identified with those of the adoptive group. There is a conspicuous case at Laguna. All the Badger clanspeople now at Laguna are descendants

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<sup>1</sup>*Kastila* is one of the names taken on by the Bear clan of the Tewa among the Hopi.



of Chuetsa (Gen. I, 54) who came from Zuñi three or four generations ago. Before her arrival, it is said, there were no Badger clanspeople at Laguna.<sup>1</sup> I heard of Badger clanspeople at Powati, but they, too, were said to have come from Zuñi and, although the genealogical records fail to indicate it, from other reference I surmise that they are direct or collateral descendants of Chuetsa.

A Mohave woman and her offspring by a Laguna man figure in the genealogical tables (Gen. II, 243, 268, 269). The children are referred to merely as the Mohave's children. They live at present in California. Were they to come to Laguna to live there permanently, it would be of interest to know how they would be grouped by clan.

In the genealogical records there are several cases of other alien women immigrants to Laguna, but they belong to clans already in existence at Laguna. In a few cases descendants are definitely referred to as, for example, of the Hopi Bear clan or of the Navajo Sun clan. The Sun clan is indeed more or less definitely partitioned according to the provenience of its families, or rather, ancestresses. There are said to be four Sun clan subgroups: Zuñi, Muki (Hopi), Jemez, Navajo. Gawiretsa of House 92 told me she belonged to the Muki subgroup; the Navajo subgroup figures in two of the genealogies; one old woman was pointed out to me as a member of the Jemez Sun clan; no Zuñi representative came under my observation, but I note that the Sun clansman of House 73 bears a Zuñi name, also that another Zuñi named man (Gen. III, 154) is the child of a Sun clansman. Aisiye and her sister (House 16) were referred to as descendants of a Muki Bear clanswoman,—I will presently recite the legend. At Powati live Lopez (Gen. III, 31) and her family, of the Eagle clan. The mother of Lopez was from Zuñi.<sup>2</sup> The father of Go'ty'ia'i' (Gen. III, 32) was an Acoma man. It follows that several Parrot people cited in the table and elsewhere are of Acoma descent.

In the Oak clan there are descendants of Acoma women. Tsiwema, Oak, told me that his mother was from Acoma. The mother of Shawi' (Gen. III, 28) was an Acoma woman. Shawi's father, Kainari, Lizard, was, I infer, a Laguna man. He was mentioned, by the way, as the last *u'pi* or war priest.<sup>3</sup> I learned of the Acoma blood of Shawi' and her

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<sup>1</sup>According to Hodge, of the five Keresan pueblos listed only Laguna and Sia had a Badger clan (Hodge, (a), Pl. VII). Stevenson does not list a Badger clan for Sia. (Stevenson, (a), 19.) There is no Badger clan in Santo Domingo.

<sup>2</sup>It was interesting to find Zuñi traditions in the family. There were pictures of the *koko avia* ceremonial of Zuñi on the walls, and the daughter of Lopez, a frank and charming young woman, told me that her mother had always told her not to be "stingy" about describing the dances of Laguna. Laguna people were "stingy," but Zuñi people were not "stingy."—A daughter in this family (Gen. III, 99) had recently died, and her face had been "painted" yellow with corn pollen, "as they do at Zuñi."

<sup>3</sup>Parsons, (f), 122.

daughter Nāmāi' (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89) casually, not in course of genealogical work, and although several foreign marriages are recorded in the genealogies, there are cases, I surmise, where the fact of intermarriage was not disclosed.

Intermarriage between the different Pueblo Indian peoples or between Pueblo Indian and Navajo is a familiar fact, and that a particularly large amount of immigration has occurred at Laguna has always been taken for granted. In our close examination of these facts it becomes plain that memory of intermarriage or of foreign origin is maintained through the clanship system, and that when clan migrations are referred to natives have in mind merely the migration of individuals or families of the given clan, i.e., immigrant or emigrant individuals or families are referred to in clan terms. For example, when you are told at Laguna that the Chaparral Cock clan came from Zufi, or the Oak clan from Acoma, or the Turkey or Snake<sup>1</sup> clans from San Felipe or that the Lizard, Sun, Eagle and Chaparral Cock clans went at the time of the Religious Split to Isleta,<sup>2</sup> all it means, as you learn by further questioning, is that an individual or a family or two, probably blood relatives, were concerned, and that their descendants have multiplied, preserving the memory of the ancestral migration for a few generations. Before the immigration or after the emigration there were other people of the same clan resident at Laguna.

There were other Chaparral Cock people in Laguna before certain Chaparral Cock people arrived from Zufi, just as there were other Bear people in Laguna before the Hopi Bear clan girl escaped there from her Ute captors. The legend goes that as her captors were passing by Laguna at night she lingered behind on the pretext of relieving herself and then hid under squash leaves. In the morning she came up to Laguna.

The general tradition that the Water clan came from the North, from Cochiti or Sia,<sup>3</sup> and the Coyote clan from Zufi<sup>4</sup> is incorporated in the following myth told by Dzai'ty'i or Tsinadyuwi, Water clanswoman (Gen. II, 19, House 40, pp. 269-70).

All the clans were led out from *sh'ipap'p'* by the Water Clan.<sup>5</sup> The *gamaitisai-shumč*, ruins, are where the ancestors lived after coming out from *sh'ipap'p'*. . . . There was a great flood, the survivors were the ancestors of people today. . . . To

<sup>1</sup>Hodge, (b), 134, 135 ft. heard of a Hopi origin for the Snake clan. His informant was probably thinking of one Snake family, mine, of another.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (f), 109 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup>By one informant I was told that the only people from Sia belonged to the Oak clan and the Corn clan.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Hodge, (b), 135 ft.

<sup>5</sup>*Koi'ch'inā* is the name of a spring where the Lizard clan turned back, inferably in connection with the emergence. See p. 186.

*okatsaani* or *kuateshshkütisho* or *k'onataiyuma* (see map) came a Water clansman from Sia and a Coyote clanswoman from Zufi. They met there and sat down. The Coyote clansman asked, "What are you doing here?"—"I am looking for land for my people. See that beautiful water [meaning the old lake to the west]. I will settle my people here at *k'shtitigauwaik* (Laguna)."—"That is why I am here, too," the other said. They stood up. "Well, let us look about," they said. They went to the middle of *kakati*. From there they went down to the East. The Water clansman said, "If our people lived here they might be careless and dirty this lake." The Coyote clansman said, "Well, let us go back to the first place we thought of, to *kakati*." They went back. "Well, we shall build this side," said the Water clansman. "And we shall build this side," said the Coyote clansman. They began to build. After that men came hunting down from Acoma and chased them back to the mesa, to *natitishunotso*<sup>1</sup> where they had been living after they came down from *sh'ipa'p'*. They said to each other, "If other people come from other towns, we will not chase them away." . . . *Akome'* men chased them away again. They said, "Well, we cannot live here because of the *akome'*; let us go to *sodjamuni* (where the Zufi live). They will help us." . . . At *sodjamuni* they first saw a priest (*tutachu*). He had been at Acoma and they chased him away. They threw him over the cliff, but he came down straight and he was not killed. The people of this priest heard where he was. They came to look for him. *Sodjamuni*<sup>2</sup> was a high place like Acoma. They called up and asked if the priest was still up there. "Yes, he is up here. Come up!"—"No, we are afraid."—"Do not be afraid. We are not like the others." They cut off a piece of buckskin, and he wrote on it and threw it down, and they believed he was there. . . . The people from here said, "Let us talk to the priest. Let us ask him how we can be good people, and how we can pray, and how we can have a church." And they talked to him. "All right," said the priest, "You can have a church and San José. Go back and build a little house. Wait about a year for me, and then start from your home. I will start from my home and we shall meet at *hanichiniyiani* (Isleta)."

### III. THE TOWN.

#### LIST OF HOUSES.<sup>3</sup>

- House 1. Occupied by tenant. Owner, F., Sh'awi', Corn. Lives at El Rito. Rents to Edith Pisano, Turkey, daughter of William Pisano (House 33). Edith Pisano (aged 30) keeps store here and lives here with her little girl, returning frequently to her family at Casa Blanca.
- House 2. Vacant. Owner, F., Haitiyë, Corn. Lives at Paraje. As "cousin" she brought up the owner of House 3.
- House 3. Vacant. Owner M., Tshuwai, Oak. Lives at Powati, but keeps the house in repair to stay in when he comes to town for ceremonials or to loan for ceremonials. This was one of the two houses in which was celebrated the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919. The father of

<sup>1</sup>To the north of Laguna.

<sup>2</sup>Apparently the mesa *towa yallene* is referred to, but the term may be related to that for the place of Emergence (see p. 191).

<sup>3</sup>A cluster of contiguous rooms under the same proprietorship is counted with a few exceptions as one house; where the rooms are separated they are counted as separate units.

- Tshuwai lived here. He was the brother of the mother of the owner of House 1. Tshuwai had one brother and no sisters. The two boys were brought up by the owner of House 2. Houses 1, 2, 3, appear to have belonged to one kinship group of Corn clanspeople.<sup>1</sup>
- House 4. Occupied. Owner, M., Nautyiš or Tsasji (Lizard, his *k'atsina* name), Bear. He is about sixty-eight years old. He got the house from his mother, his sister Bora having gone to live in her husband's house (House 21). He lives here with his wife, Chaparral Cock, twin daughters, Tsaiyuna married to a Sant' Ana man, Tsiwiye married to a Turkey clansman, and four sons, three (Shiashka, Tsiwaigye, Aiyu) unmarried, and one (Shawi) separated from his wife. The son of this couple lives in this house. Tsaiyuna and her family were living temporarily in one of the railway cabins at New Laguna, her husband being a railroad employee. Tsasji is the *k'atsina hochení*. He is a *chakwena*, and presumably keeps his *chakwena* mask<sup>2</sup> in this house. In 1918 he was war captain.<sup>3</sup> He assisted as *shuts k'atsina cheani* at the summer solstice ceremonial, 1919, in House 47. See p. 264.
- House 5. Vacant. Owner, F., K'āshiš'ná, Parrot (Gen. III, 40; p. 277). Her first husband, from whom she separated, was Wawakuri, Corn clan. On marrying Hiai'ai (George Pino), K'āshiš'ná went to live with him in the house of his deceased first wife. (House 38).
- House 6. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsasji, Bear. (House 4). Used to store hay.
- House 7. Occupied. Owner, M., Dzirai'ty'i, Sun. (Gen. I, 22, II, 172). He got the house from his mother (Gen. I, 9). He lives here with his children and mother-in-law, Bora of the Bear clan. (But see House 21).
- House 8. Vacant. Owner, F., Tsiyets'a, Lizard. Mother of Gen. II, 23. She lives in Mesita.
- House 9. Vacant. Owner, M., G'awai', Sun. He lives at Powati, where he is married to a Sun clanswoman. He got the house from his father Dyawais'iro, Oak (House 12), who is still living.
- House 10. Occupied. Owners, F., Ais, Sun, F., K'ā'winā, Sun. (Gen. I, 14, 15). They got the house from their mother or mother's sister, the sometime owner of House 7. It looks as if there had been here a kinship group of the Sun clan; but the genealogies contain no explanation of how the intervening house, Houses 8 and 9 passed out of the group. Ais and K'ā'winā live here with their father, Yu'si' (Gen. I, 8), and their deceased elder sister's daughter, Go'isdyyuits'ā (Gen. I, 28). There is or was in 1918, before the death of the girls' aunt, an *iyatik'*<sup>4</sup> in this house. (See p. 255). Yu'si' has three masks, *hemish*, *kohashtoch'*, and *chakwena*. While his mother was alive

<sup>1</sup>From another informant I got a different account. Haiityiš of House 2 was said to be an Oak clanswoman, the mother's sister of Tshuwai of House 3. Tshuwai got the house from his mother, who died after he was grown up, and Tshuwai's younger brother Kaaiwüre, was to have got House 2; but Haiityiš wanted it and made a fuss. "Let her have it," said Kaaiwüre.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (f), Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920 he was head war captain. See p. 275.

Kowăush'dyiwă (Gen. I, 18; House 69) kept his *hemish* mask<sup>1</sup> here, and *talawaiye* head tablets<sup>2</sup> were kept here.

House 11. Vacant. Owner, M., Hiedyedye (Hi't'id'yäi) (Pedro Martin'), Bear, child of Sun. He stores hay here and lives in Houses 29 and 31. He got the house from his mother (?who was born in it). She was the sister of the mother of Tsiwaitina (House 63). She moved to Isleta.

House 12. Occupied. F., Tsiwi'dyiš, Parrot and M., Shawai', Sun, son of Kwisiro of House 95, live here, owning jointly the house which they bought from Dyawais'iro of House 9. Dyawais'iro had rebuilt this house. Tsiwi'dyiš was brought up in House 62 by K'aisdyia, her deceased mother's sister. Hiwais, another maternal aunt, lives with Tsiwidyiš; likewise a child Tsiwi'dyiš gave birth to before she married.

House 13. Occupied. Owner, M., Tsiwema, Oak. *Shiwanna cheani*, and sexton of the Catholic Church. He bought the house when on his third marriage he returned from Powati. Widowed, he lives here alone. Dyawais'iro of Houses 9, 12 is his brother. Two altars are kept in this house (see p. 255), likewise two *iyatik'*<sup>3</sup>.

House 13a. Ruin. Said to be the oldest house of the Coyote clan.

House 14. Ruin. Formerly a communal building, *k'a'ch*, or *kiva*. It was the west side *kiva* from which in dances of alternating groups like the *santu* and the war dances the west side group came out. It is also referred to as a *shakaiya* i.e., *cheani* house, and as the house which the *shaiyaik cheani* or hunter *cheani* used.

House 15. Vacant. Owner, F., K'ă'wină, Water. She lives at Encinal. The house formerly belonged to the mother of Yu'si', Water (Gen. I, 8). Yu'si' was born in it, but as he subsequently lived in the houses of his two wives, and now lives with the daughters of his first wife, and as there was none of his family to use the house (Go'w'aid'yuits'a (Gen. I, 88), the only surviving daughter of Yu'si''s sister, has been at Miss Dissett's school at Santa Fé), the house passed into the possession of K'ă'wină, said to be merely a clanswoman. The statement is probably correct since Yu'si''s mother was a Navajo. I note that Yu'si''s third daughter (Gen. I, 15) bears the same name—K'ă'wină. The name is said to have been given her, however, by Yu'si''s sister.

House 16. Vacant. Owners, Aisiye (Mrs. Pradt) and her sister, Bear. Major Pradt came to Laguna as a surveyor in the early seventies. He first lived in this house with his wife. Now he and his wife and children live in a house near the old railway station, on the northeast outskirts of town, House 60.

House 17. Vacant. Formerly belonged to M.-F., Dyamu, Chaparral Cock. With his mother, Dyamu, a man-woman (*kokwimu*), once lived here. They moved to Paraje.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (f), Figs. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup>While the Pradts were still living next door, Major Pradt one night found his wife in intense excitement and fear because she had seen a black dog near the house and she believed it was Dyamu, then dead. (Cp. Dumarest, 151).

- House 18. Vacant. Owner, M., K'akire, Eagle. Lives at Mesita, stores hay in this house. (House 121). If this house was formerly part of House 120-121, it was Corn a clan house.
- House 19. Occupied. Owner, F., Lit' (Sp. Rita) (Juanita), Turkey. Lit' is over seventy. A married daughter, Kaaihië, and an unmarried, Torai, together with their children and the husband of Kaaihië, Gaishdyia, Water, live with Lit'. Gaishdyia, said to be a "brother" (of Yu'si' (Gen. I, 8), but unrecorded in the genealogical table, is a *chakwena* and probably keeps his mask in this house.
- House 20. Vacant. Belonged to M., Dyawaisi, Water. The children of his deceased sister at Flower Mountain are heirs.
- House 21. Occupied. Owner, F., Bora, Bear. She got the house from her deceased husband, Dziwaishshudyuwa, Corn. Her widowed son-in-law, Dzirai'ty'i (Gen. I, 22; II, 172; House 7), and her grandchildren live here with her when in town. For the time they all live at the section house of the railway at New Laguna where Dzirai'ty'i works.
- House 22. Occupied. Owner, F., Shumai', Badger. (Gen. I, 97, Gen. III, 153). She was born here, and got the house from her mother. With her live he sister, Dzaisdyuwe, her father, Dziwishpiräi' (Gen. III, 243), her second husband and children. All sometimes occupy this house, sometimes House 112. With Dzi'wid'yäi (Gen. I, 76, House 110) Shumai' washes the heads of *k'atsina* initiates. In this house is probably kept the mask of *shalopia* or the *tsatio chakwena hochen* whom Dziwishpiräi' personates.
- House 23. Vacant. Belonged to F., Kaiasi, Parrot. Her two unfathered daughters are in Miss Dissett's school.
- House 24. Vacant. Owner, F., Kuyu'd'yuwe (Juanita), Eagle. (Gen. I, 68; Houses 30, 33, 118). She got it from her father. He is still alive.
- House 25. Occupied. Owner, M., Koi's, Bear. (Gen. III, 49). This house was built for his sister, Kio'ty'iäi, by her father, when she married. Subsequently she traded it for House 49 where her brother Koi's had been living. In this house live Koi's, his wife, Dyuwi, Chaparral Cock, and children, and his mother, İya'si, and brother, Kaiya-siwa.
- House 26. Occupied. Formerly occupied by F., Minni, Lizard (Gen. II, 27, III, 162) and M., Dzai'siyäi', Water (Gen. II, 26, III, 163), and their children; now, since Minni's death, by Dzai'siyäi', and his second wife.<sup>1</sup>
- House 27. Vacant. Owner, F., Tsiurimait'sa, Corn. Her parents and brothers and sisters are dead, and she lived here unmarried. She had three children who died from the influenza of 1918. Her mother's

<sup>1</sup>From another informant I got an entirely different account of this house. It belongs to M. G'awagaiya, Oak (Gen. III, 124) who got it from his mother's father, Atsaiye, Corn (Gen. III, 14). For three or four years G'awagaiya and his wife Dzirai left the house vacant to live with Dzirai's mother, Lilly (Gen. III, 72). There is probability in this account, since it was Atsaiye who built the house next door (House 25) for one of his daughters. On the other hand the same informant told me, in 1919, that Dzai'siyäi's second wife was a Bear clanswoman and, in 1920, that she was a Parrot clanswoman called Dzaisina.

brother would not help her, because she would not live as he wished. She has left town to work for a White woman.

- House 28. Formerly the east side *k'a'ch* from which east side dancers came out, corresponding to House 14.
- House 29. Occupied. Rented by M., Hiedyedye, Bear (House 11), from F., Shayaaïš, Sun (Gen. I, 21; II, 171, Gen. III, 74). Shayaaïš was born in this house. With her husband, K'u'n'ash<sup>a</sup>, she now lives in House 58.
- House 30. Occupied. Owner, M., Wiyäi'd'yuä, Turkey (Gen. I, 70; Houses 33, 48). He bought this house from William Pisano.
- House 31. Occupied. Owner, M., Hiedyedye, Bear. (Houses 11 and 29). He bought this house from William Pisano. His wife, Alice, Turkey, child of Bear, lived formerly near Casa Blanca. They have no children. House 29 they use as a kitchen and House 31 as a bedroom.
- House 32. Occupied. Owners, F., Dzaid'yuwi', Water (Gen. II, 122) and her husband, I'g'ugäi, Sun (Gen. II, 123; IV, 17). After her marriage, Dzaid'yuwi' continued to live with her mother and stepfather (House 41), but owing to incompatibility between her husband and stepfather she decided to move out. Her mother's father (Gen. II, 14) who lived with her mother bought for her the back room of House 32. He bought it from William Pisano. Subsequently, with money earned by I'g'ugäi by work in the Irrigation Service, and with money from sheep given Dzaid'yuwi' by her mother's father, the two front rooms were bought in turn from William Pisano.<sup>1</sup>
- House 33. Occupied. Owner, M., Wiyäi'd'yuä, Turkey. (Gen. I, 70; Houses 33, 48). This house formerly belonged to the grandmother of William Pisano, Water, and then to his mother. Pisano got it from her and he built, as noted, Houses 30, 31, 32. Pisano moved to Casa Blanca. This house he sold to F., İya's'Y' Bear (Gen. III, 16). İya'si subsequently exchanged the house for House 34 owned by Wiyäi'd'yuä. Wiyäi'd'yuä lives here with his wife Kuyu'd'yuwe (Houses 24, 118). With them live their own children, the children of each by a former marriage, the children of a deceased sister of Kuyu'd'yuwe, and the father of Kuyu'd'yuwe, We'diumä, head of the Badger clan, and ceremonially an important person. The *gumeyoish* and the *ts'its'inuts* masks are (or were, see p. 000) kept in this house<sup>2</sup>. In 1916 or before Wiyäi'd'yuä was war captain.
- House 34. Occupied. Owner, F., İya's'Y' (Juanita), Bear. (House 25).
- House 35. Occupied. Owner, F., Tsiwaküri, Chaparral Cock. She and her husband G'aautyey, Corn, are working temporarily at Isleta.<sup>3</sup> Tsiwaküri bought the house from İya's'Y'. The family of Tsiwaküri had gone to live at Powati.

<sup>1</sup>In this house Dr. Boas and I lived while he was at work on the language and I in getting the data for this study.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (f), Figs. 10, 15.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920, having settled at Isleta, Tsiwaküri sold the house to Go'ty'ikü' (Gen. III, 32, House 41) to use as a storehouse, for \$30 and a Navajo blanket worth \$20.00.

- House 36. Vacant. Owner, F., Pě'sě'ti, Oak. She lives with her sister's daughter in House 56.
- House 37. A long Spanish built house with a crenellated roof. It was formerly the Catholic Mission schoolhouse. It now serves as a meeting house for the officers and others (*aiwatyami*, gather together).
- House 38. Occupied. Owner, M., Witěiř, Sun. (Gen. III, 114). He got it from his mother, Dziomăi'ts'ă. Witěiř lives with his wife (House 74) in California. His father, Hiai'ai or George Pino (Gen. III, 39, House 103), Corn, brought his second wife, Kăshiř'nă, Parrot (House 5), to live in this house. Their two daughters, one unmarried and one married, but separated, live here. Hiai'ai and Kashiř'nă are living for the time in Gallup. Hiai'ai is assistant (*wikoli*, the officiator is called) of the chief of the *chakwena* dance group. When he fails to return to Laguna to officiate for the *chakwena*, specifically to make prayer-sticks, his son-in-law Sha'shk<sup>a</sup> takes his place. In 1912 or before Hiai'ai was a war captain.
- House 39. Vacant. Belonged to mother of M., K'aityima, Oak. (Gen. IV, 14; House 66).
- House 40. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzai'ity'i (Juana), Water. (Gen. II, 19, p. 269). With her live her second husband, and her children.
- House 41. Occupied. Owner, F., Kawi'ts'irăi', Water. (Gen. II, 53, Gen. III, 33). With her live Go'ty'iai', her second husband, one of her married daughters (Gen. II, 125), her son-in-law and grandchildren, her unmarried son, and, when not in Gallup, her widowed brother (Gen. II, 51) and his children, including a married daughter and her family.
- In this house is a *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> which has come down to Kawi'ts'i from her mother's "uncle" who was a *shuts cheani*. But this information was given uncertainly by Kawi'ts'i's daughter who appeared to be more ignorant than reticent. This *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> was taken over to House 47 for the summer solstice ceremonial.
- The day after the summer solstice ceremony (June 17) in 1922 Dr. Boas saw this fetish, he described it as follows: An ear of corn wrapped at the bottom with cotton. Tied to it are a parrot feather, small eagle feathers, turkey feathers and tail feathers of the chaparral cock. The butt is covered with deerskin. Strings of glass beads, mixed with abalone, turquoise and white stone and shell are attached. The last *cheani* to whom this fetish belonged was a deceased blood brother of Kawi'ts'irăi', a *kuraina cheani*. On another occasion (see p. 254) the *cheani* kinsman was referred to as a *shiwanna cheani*; but *kuraina* and *shiwanna cheani* were associated in ritual.
- House 42. Vacant. Owner, M., I'g'ugăi, Sun. (Gen. IV, 17; House 32). He bought this ruined room from Tsijai (Mary Kai), Sun (Gen. II, 240). Her parents lived here. I'g'ugăi uses the room for storage.
- House 43. Vacant. Owner, M., Charley Kai, Sun. (Gen. II, 235). Charley Kai lives in Houses 54, 55.



- House 44. Vacant. Owner, F., Shiai (Shiye'), Sun, child of Corn. She and her husband, Muni, Sun, child of Corn, live at New Laguna. Shiai's mother was born in House 45. Shiai was given this house when she married.
- House 45. Vacant. Owner, M., K'awaityi, Corn. He built or rebuilt the house on his marriage. He is the father of Shiai (House 44).<sup>1</sup> Subsequently the family moved to Encinal.
- House 46. This ruin is said by one informant to have been a *hochenits'a*, a place where the *hochen*i (cacique) lived, an Eagle clansman.
- House 47. Occupied. Owner, F., Goyai'd'yuwě', Water. (Gen. II, 11). She got it from her mother. With her live an unmarried and a married daughter, and a son who has never married, Dzira'ai. This house is regarded as the source or stock house of a group of Water clan houses (Houses 32, 40, 41, 49). In 1915 or before Dzira'ai was war captain. He has been called clan elder (*nawai'*), and is reputed to "know a lot." The *he'a* mask which belonged to the deceased husband of Goyai'd'yuwě' is kept here, and perhaps the *chakwena* mask of a son-in-law (Gen. II, 43) likewise. In this house, as usual, the *kashare* of Mesita performed the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919. Their masks are kept here. Their altar, the White altar, is kept in this house. It is also called the *ma'sewi* altar. On it stand fetish stones, five inches long, a face on top like a person's. They are called *tsaikoye'* and *iyaisdyuwě*. The *u'pi* altar had been in this house, but it was removed to Isleta.
- House 48. Vacant. Owner, M., Wiyäi'd'yuä, Turkey (Gen. I, 70; Houses 30, 33). He got this house through his mother. His father bought it on marrying.
- House 49. Occupied. Owner, F., Kio'ty'iai, Bear. (Gen. III, 51; House 25). This was the house she exchanged with her brother for House 25. This house formerly belonged to M., Ishür, Water. He went to Powati to live and sold the house to M., A'ts'ädë, Corn, the father of Kio'ty'iai.
- House 50. Vacant.<sup>2</sup> Owner, M., Shawiri, Corn, child of Sun. His mother was G'awamai. Shawire lives in Gallup. See House 124.
- House 51. Occupied. Owner, F., Tsaishdyië, Turkey. The house belonged to her mother. It was enlarged by her father, Tsioro, Corn. He left her mother and went to marry at Tsiamä. There he became the father of M., Gai's'iwä, Sun (Gen. III, 179) and Muni (House 44). Tsaishdyië lives here with her husband, Tsiwaimi, Oak, and their children. Tsiwaimi is a *chakwena* and probably keeps his mask here.
- House 52. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsaisiro, Corn. He is the son of Tsioro's sister, and the house presumably came to him directly or through his mother from his uncle. He is married to Hanai', Turkey, and they live at New Laguna.

<sup>1</sup>According to one informant the house belonged to the parents of Shiai's mother, and now belongs to Shiai.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (J), 260 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920 the house was bought by Tsiwaimi of House 51.

- House 53. Vacant. Owner, M., Id'yim'ë, Water (Gen. III, 91). He got it from his father (Gen. III, 27) who built it. Id'yim'ë lives in Powati in the household of his wife, his father's brother's daughter. His mother-in-law—aunt-by-marriage and his father-in-law-uncle rented the house to us as a study. The business was negotiated with the man, but in receiving the money he handed it to his wife.
- House 54. Occupied. Owner, F., Kaweishdyitr, Water. (Gen. II, 236). She was born here. Lives here with her second husband, Charley Kai (she had been widowed, a fact not indicated in the genealogical table), and her children.
- House 55. Occupied. Owner, M., Charley Kai, Sun. Bought by him. (Gen. II, 235, Houses 42, 43).
- House 56. Occupied. Not on the map; 300–400 yards northeast of town, near the Northeast reservoir (*tvā'iahanūr k'awayānīshau*). Owner, F., Nāmāi', (Juanita, Mrs. John Reilly), Oak. (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89). Occupied by her and her husband and children and by her mother's sister who brought her up. (See House 36). It was the husband of this aunt who built the house for Nāmāi'. He gave an adjoining room to Nāmāi's married daughter whose Sant' Ana husband now and again visits her.
- House 57. Vacant. Not on the map. 300–400 yards northeast of House 56. Owner, F., Hiwai', Corn (Gen. II, 37). She lives at Isleta.
- House 58. Occupied. Not on the map. About  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile north of town. Owner, M., K'una'shū, Sun (Gen. I, 20; Gen. II, 170). He lives here with his wife (House 29) and children. This frame, tin-roofed house, was built for him by all the men, who also furnished all the materials. It was built by them in return for K'una'shū's services. For seven months he had taken care of the town corral of horses and donkeys. Ordinarily the men take turns by the day. They take turns according to residence, each man after his service notifying his next neighbor, e.g., Go'ty'iāi (Gen. II, 55, Gen. III, 32) in House 41 would notify Dyai'yuwe (Gen. II, 43) in House 47, the next occupied house. "Why not Dzira'ai, the eldest son of the house, instead of Dyai'yuwe, a son-in-law?" I asked. "Because Dyai'yuwe stays home and Dzira'ai is always away herding."
- House 58. Occupied. Not on the map. About  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile northeast of town. Owner, Robert S. Marmon, Sun. He is the son of William G. Marmon, a White. Mrs. W. G. Marmon lived in part of this house until her death in 1918. She was born in House 92. Mrs. Robert O. Marmon (Hawais) is Turkey clan. Her father is Dziu'neš', Water.
- House 60. Occupied. Not on the map. Next to House 59. Owner, Major Pradt, a White man. He is married to Aisiye, Bear. (House 16). They have nine children.
- House 61. Occupied. Not on the map. Frame, tin-roofed house, about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile northeast of town. Owner, Robert G. Marmon, a White man who came to Laguna in 1872. He is married to a Laguna woman, and they have one daughter and five sons.

- House 62. Vacant. Belonged to F., K'aisdyia, Parrot, who died in 1918. *Ts'i-ts'inuts* masks were kept formerly in this house.
- House 63. Occupied. Owner, F., Tsiwaitina, Bear. (Gen. IV, 6). She got it from her mother. This house is thought of as the stock or mother house of the Bear clan. S'dyuesiwa, Bear clan elder (*nawai'*) used to live here (Table 9). Today Tsiwaitina lives here with her husband Tsa'sh'umäi', Parrot, son of K'aisdyia of House 62. They keep K'aisdyia's *iyatik*<sup>4</sup>. In 1914 or before Tsa'sh'umai' was war captain. He is commonly the impersonator of *ts'its'inuts*.
- House 64. Occupied. Formerly belonged to F. Shawaik'yetsa, Parrot, deceased. Her husband, Nurai, Corn, holds the house in trust for their children. The family live at Casa Blanca. House rented by Tsiwaitina and Tsa'sh'umäi' of House 63.
- House 65. Vacant. Here M., Dorawypa, Lizard; a *sayap cheani*, once lived.
- House 66. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzamai', Sun. (Gen. IV, 13). She got the house from her mother. She lives here with her husband K'aityima (House 39) and children. Her brother (Gen. IV, 15) has been the "head war captain," 1918-1919. He lives at Powati. It was in this house that the war captains made their prayer-sticks for the summer solstice of 1919, and in this house three of Dzamai's brothers keep their masks, Tsi'raäi, his *k'ainani* mask, Yaai's-dyiwä', his *dyenye* (Navajo) *k'atsina* mask, and I'g'ugäi his own mask which he got as a child and has now outgrown and the *navish* mask<sup>1</sup> which he inherited from his father. There are two *iyatik*<sup>4</sup> here, one descending through the people of the house, one from Dzamai's mother's father, Kiwi, Turkey.
- House 67. Vacant. Owner or trustee, F., Tsiwaitina, Bear. This house belonged to M., Naiupon (Gen. IV, 5), first husband of Tsiwaitina. It will go to their two children. Used for storage.
- House 68. Vacant. Owners, F., K'awaity'id'yuwë', Lizard (Gen. II, 119) and F., Gu'miyäi', Lizard (Gen. II, 121). They got it from their mother, Gau's'in'äi'. Go'ty'iäi', their uncle by marriage (House 41; Gen. II, 55, Gen. III, 32), stores his hay in it.
- House 69. Occupied. Owner, F., Hai'ty'imäi, Parrot. (Gen. I, 19, Gen. II, 169). She got the house from her mother. She lives here with her husband and children and married brother and his wife (Gen. II, 184, 185).
- House 70. Owner, F., Hai'ty'imäi, Parrot. This is a grinding room, containing two rows of *metates*, four in a row.
- House 71. Occupied. Owner, M., Ma'ran'i, Sun. (Gen. II, 54). He bought it from M., Mushaitsh (Buffalo), Sun, who went to live at Encinal. Occupied by Ma'ran'i and his second wife, Go'yai', Eagle, and their children.
- House 72. Occupied. Owner, M., Ma'ran'i, Sun. He bought it from F., Tsiutyië, Corn, wife of Kauushiwimi, Water, brother of William Pisano (House 33). This house was formerly a Flint Society house.

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<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 11.

- House 73. Vacant. Owner, M., Awiloya (Zufi name) Šun. He built this house. He lives at Powati.
- House 74. Vacant. Owner, F., Annie, Water. (Gen. III, 115). She got it from her father,<sup>1</sup> Tsione, Parrot. He got it from his father Tsiwishpire, Eagle, who built it.
- House 75. Occupied. Owner F., Lilly, Lizard. (Gen. III, 72). She got the house from her father who bought it from F., Dziwitira, Sun, owner of House 76. Lilly lives here with her unmarried and married daughters. Lilly's mother lived on here with her, or rather, Lilly lived on with her mother.
- House 76. Vacant. Owner, F., Dziwitira, Sun. She lives in Mesita. She is the daughter of the last "cacique" or *tiamoni hochení* of Laguna. He was named Taiowityuē or Meyu' (Lizard) and he was a Lizard clansman. Before becoming *tiamoni* he was, as a boy, a Flint *cheani* and later an *op'i* (warrior) *cheani*. This house was called a *hochenits'a*, because it was the dwelling house of the *hochení*. Taiowityuē was born in this house and after he became *hochení* the house was rebuilt for him by the people. Dziwitira is the mother of Gen. IV, 66. See p. 270ff.
- House 77. Vacant. Owner, F., Shuwakał, Sun, sister of owner of House 76. She lives at Isleta. She was a *kurena cheani*.
- House 78. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzitsdziro, Chaparral Cock (Gen. III, 220). She is the son's daughter of the owner of House 93 to whose household she is actually attached, and the great-niece of Lilly of House 74.
- House 79. Vacant. Stable. Formerly belonged to Coyote clanspeople. They moved to Isleta.
- House 80. Ruin. Formerly belonged to Coyote clanspeople. They moved to Paraje.
- House 81. Ruin. Formerly belonged to Parrot clanspeople. They moved to Powati.
- House 82. Occupied. Owner, M., Yuriwa (Martin Luther), Water. He got the house from his mother. He lives at Paraje. See p. 276. The house is used by Lilly of House 75.
- House 83. Vacant. Owner, M., Yakchoyē (Butterfly), Oak. He lives at Mesita.
- House 84. Vacant. Belonged to the sister of Yakchoyē, Oak. She is dead.
- House 85. Vacant. Owner, M., Gai'siwā (Bert Wetmore), Sun. (Gen. III, 179; of the same connection as Sun people of Houses 92, 93, 94, 99-100). He got the house from his mother. Uses it for storage. He lives in House 97. In 1919 he was one of the two "lieutenant governors" (*tyinyiinti*).
- House 86. Vacant. Owner, F., Lucia, Bear. She got the house from her parents. She lives at Casa Blanca.
- House 87. Ruin. Belonged to F., Tsioditsa, Parrot. She was the wife of Dyaiyu, the Antelope clansman who officiated as "father" for the *k'atsina*. (House 102). Tsioditsa was born and grew up in House 62. From

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<sup>1</sup>According to another informant Annie got the house from her mother, Guwadyume.

House 87 she moved to Paraje. The brother of Tsioditsa, Tsiwai-gamai (Tsiwak'ama), is the father of Tsiwairu (Rairu) (see p. 222). Ts'wairo grew up in Paraje in Tsioditsa's house.

House 88. Ruin. Belonged to M., Kawaai, Parrot. He was the first husband of Iya'si. (Gen. III, 16; Houses 25, 34).

House 89. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsinati, Oak. He lives at Powati.

House 90. Occupied. Owner F., Yonimait's'a (Juanita), Parrot. (Gen. III, 240). She lives here with her husband and children.

House 91. Vacant. Owner, F., Yonimait's'a, Parrot (House 90). She got the house from her mother i.e., perhaps through her mother, since her mother was an Acoma woman. Her father was an Oak clansman. The house is used as a storehouse by Me'yu'shk'a of Houses 92, 93.

House 92. Occupied. Owner, F., Me'yu'shk'a, Lizard. (Gen. III, 68). She bought the house from F. Gawiretsa (Morning Star, Mrs. William G. Marmon); Sun, and her brother, Giwire, head of the *shikani-kurena cheani*. Giwire had been snake-bitten and so was qualified to be a *shruie* or snake *cheani*. He was once summoned to *kaiashats* (see p. 181) for the sore navel of his sister's daughter's child; but he was never referred to as a *shruie cheani*.

After Gawiretsa moved to House 59, Giwire lived with her. When he died in 1919, he was living with another sister, Kisuwets'a, at Encinal.

In House 92 had lived also the parents of these sisters, of another sister, Kashe of Houses 99-100, and of Giwire—Salawina (Sp. name) and Kwime', Eagle clansman, likewise *shikani-kurena cheani*. "His son took his place." Here initiations took place at the time of the Great Split. Kwime' and Giwire sided, I must infer, with the American "progressive party" who had made W. G. Marmon *tapup* (governor), with the *kayomasho* (pull light) as they were called as against the *kapats* (pull) or conservatives.<sup>1</sup>

House 93. Occupied. Owner, F., Me'yu'shk'a (Juanita), Lizard (Gen. III, 68). She got it from her husband, Tsa'sdiyë, Sun, son of a sister of Salawina of House 92. Tsa'sdiyë was a *shikani-kurena cheani*.

House 94. Vacant. Owner, F., Guakami, Sun. She is the first cousin of Gawiretsa and Kisuwets'a of House 92 and of Kashe of Houses 99-100. Guakami lives at Encinal.

House 95. Occupied. Owner, M., Kwisiro, Corn. (House 98). He bought it from M., Tsita, Corn. (Houses 95 and 96). He lives here with his wife, a Sun clanswoman of sixty-five, and their children.

Formerly this house was a place for meetings to prepare for the Christmas dance. (The *kashare* appoint the Christmas dancers). The house was called *chupakti*<sup>1</sup> or *chupaktü*. Since this house was well built against intrusion from Mexicans, being two-storied and without windows, *k'atsina* and *cheani* dances were performed in it.

House 96. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsita, Corn. (Gen. III, 80). He got the house from his mother. Uses it for storage.

<sup>1</sup>Minoye' was the name of the first White man who "came and told them not to dance."

- House 97. Owner, M., Tsita, Corn. He built this house. He lives here with his wife, a Parrot clanswoman, and his mother's sister's son's children and grand-children. (Gen. III, 178-180, 224-226). Tsita is said to sing for the *yakahano* (Corn clan) dance i.e., he is in charge of the choir. *Yakahano* is danced in this house and I have heard of *talawaiye*, a Christmas time dance, (see House 95), being practised here. In this house Gai's'iwā (Gen. III, 179; House 85) keeps two masks, *nawish* and *hemish*.
- House 98. Occupied. Owner, M., Kwisiro, Corn. He got this house from his mother and enlarged it.
- House 99. Vacant. Owner, F., Kashe, Sun. She got it from her husband, Chaparral Cock clansman. She lives at Encinal. (See House 93).
- House 100. Vacant. Owner, F., Kashe, Sun. Formerly owned by M. Kaioti, Lizard. He went to Isleta.
- House 101. Ruin. Belonged to Turquoise clanswomen.
- House 102. Ruin. Belonged to Antelope clanswomen, the mother of Dyaiyu (House 87) and her sisters.
- House 103. Ruin. Belonged to Corn clanswomen, the mother of Hiai'ai (House 38) and her sister.
- House 104. Ruin of which traces only are left since the road cuts through. Belonged to sister of mother of M., G'awaiti, Sun. (See House 105).
- House 105. Vacant. Owner, M., G'awaiti, Sun. He got the house from his mother. He lives at Encinal.
- House 106. Occupied. Owner, M., Shi'ye, Oak. Gen. III, 30 was his father, but the marriage is not recorded in the table. Shi'ye got the house from his mother. His mother's mother, Gowaimā, lives with him. His wife is Lizzie Yuina (Juanita), Chaparral Cock. Shi'ye keeps the mask of K'ok'aikaiya.<sup>1</sup> K'ok'aikaiya belongs to the *kaiyaa'*.
- House 107. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsiutiai (?Stautiye, Gen. I, 72), Lizard. He lives at Tsiamā.
- House 108. Occupied. Owners, F., Kyiai'sdyuwits'ā, Parrot (Gen. III, 249) and her husband A'ud'yāi', Bear. Bought from F., Dziwi's'dy'uwi, Chaparral Cock (Gen. II, 239). She lives at New Laguna. Presumably a *chakwena* mask is kept here.
- House 108a. Vacant. Owner, F., Dziwi's'dy'uwi, Chaparral Cock.
- House 109. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzi'wai'sh'u, Locust (Gen. IV, 9). She got the house from her mother. She lives here with her husband and children and her brother, Kyiyuna.
- House 110. Occupied. Owner, F., Dziwi'd'yāi, Badger. (Gen. I, 77, II, 62). She got the house from her mother. As the senior woman in the Badger clan she serves the *k'atsina*.
- House 111. Vacant. Owner, F., Jessie, Lizard. She got the house from her mother. Her father was Uwasdyč, Parrot. She lives at Tsiamā.
- House 112. Occupied. Owner, F., Shumai', Badger. (See House 22). She got the house from her father. She lives here more constantly, especially in winter, than in House 22.

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 5.

- House 113. Occupied. Owner, F., Kiwaidyi, Turquoise. She lives at Mesita; but stays in this house when she comes to Laguna. Kiwaidyi keeps a *shthuruka* mask of which there are many at Mesita.<sup>1</sup> This house is occupied by her brother (Gen. II, 59) and his wife and wife's father, Dzǎ'yu (see House 114). Of both Houses 113 and 114 Dzǎ'yu is thought of as the head. House 113 was formerly a *kash-are cheani* house.
- House 114. Occupied. Owner, M., Dzǎ'yu, Water. He got the house from his father, according to one informant; according to another, the house belonged to his wife. He lives here with his married daughter K'oyo's'ǎi, Turkey, her husband and children (House 113).
- House 115. Vacant. Owner, M., G'awimaisiwa, Corn (?). He lives at Encinal. (See p. 224.)
- House 116. Ruin. Belonged to F., Tsaiaitya, Turkey, the mother of Frank Pisano, in 1919 governor of Laguna. He lives in Powati.
- House 117. Formerly a *k'apina cheani* house. (Turkey clan ?).
- House 118. Vacant. Owner, F., Kuyu'd'yuwe, Eagle. (Houses 24, 30, 33). She got the house from her mother. Used as a storehouse.
- House 119. Occupied. Owner, F., Gwi'shkaiǎ or Katie Day, Sun (Gen. III, 76; House 120). Bought from F., Hi'tyi, Water (Gen. III, 178; House 97) who got the house from her father, Waiyaisiro, Corn, who got it, inferably, from his mother, descendant in a junior line from the Corn people of House 120.
- House 120. Occupied. Owner, F., Gwi'shkaiǎ, Sun. She got the house from her father, A'ushuyǎi, Corn (Gen. III, 19). The house would have gone to Natsiwa, son of A'ushuyǎi's sister, but Natsiwa's wife did not want the house. This is the mother house of the Corn people of Genealogy III. The mask of *shonata*, a *k'atsina* belonging to the Corn clan, is or was kept in this house, likewise his fire-drill. The dance songs of the Corn clan were formerly practised in this house, and according to one informant, this house was that "the *k'atsina* came out of" before they came out from We'd'yumǎ's house. A'ushuyǎi appears to have put an end to all this, however, since he was a progressive and "tried to make the people burn up their masks and altars."  
Gwi'shkaiǎ is the younger sister of Shayaaǎi (Gen. I, 21, Gen. II, 171, Gen. III, 74) and was born in House 29.
- House 121. Vacant. Formerly part of House 120. Bought by M., K'a'kire, Eagle (House 18), who lives at Mesita, but likes to have a house to stay in when he comes to Laguna.
- House 122. Vacant. Owner, F., Hiwai, Corn. She got the house from her mother. She lives at Tsiamia. (Same as owner of House 57?).
- House 123. Occupied. Owner, M., Wik'ai', Oak, aged 60. Bought from Awaie, Lizard, who lives at Mesita. Wik'ai's wife, Tsiwakwitsa, Corn, died 1917. Her brother Hemish lives with Wik'ai', also Wik'ai's daughter Annie (Juanita). Hemish is a hunchback. He was

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 6.

treated by the *saiyap cheani* who lived in House 65, but, unlike the cripple who lives at Powati, he was not initiated. Wik'ai' is a *chakwena* and his mask is probably kept in this house. He was "warcaptain," *tsatio hochení aikatyanotseshe* (see p. 139, n. 3), in 1919.

House 124. Vacant. Owner, F., Tsitshaai, Parrot. She got the house from her mother. She lives at Gallup with her husband, Shawire (House 50).

#### HOUSE PROPRIETORSHIP: BY SEX, CLAN, FAMILY.

At Zufi the house belongs to the women, not so much to individual women, but to the women of the family, descending from generation to generation in the maternal line. At Laguna, on the other hand, male proprietorship in houses is common enough—of the 109 houses for which the sex of the proprietor<sup>1</sup> or proprietors was ascertained 44 belong to men as against 62 (including one to a man-woman) to women, 3 houses belonging jointly to a man and woman; but it is probable that a woman has priority over a man in inheriting the house both grew up in, and, if a daughter were still living at home at the time of the inheritance, she would certainly not be dispossessed in favor of a son. The existence of the western Pueblo system of householding by women is marked, overgrown though it be with modern innovation.

As between daughters the principle of seniority is probably observed if the oldest daughter is still living at home;<sup>2</sup> but if the elder daughter is established elsewhere the younger daughter inherits. In other words, the house is likely to be inherited by those who are in it. We have a good illustration of this principle in the case of the Lizard family of Gen. III, 20, 68, etc., 72 etc., and of Houses 27, 75, 93. Lilly (Gen. III, 72), the youngest daughter, inherited the house from her father because she was still part of the household at her father's death, whereas Me'yu'shk'ă, the eldest daughter, had gone to live in her husband's establishment. Now Lilly's eldest daughter (Gen. III, 162) also went to live in what was presumably a marital house, so that presumably one of the younger daughters will in turn inherit Lilly's house. So much is the theory of undisturbed possession held to, that if a married son and his family happened to be living with the man's mother at the time of her death, whereas a daughter was married out, I doubt if the son would be dispossessed in

<sup>1</sup>In the case of several vacant houses the last proprietor known, even when deceased, was included in the list of proprietors.

I may say that my chief and on the whole most reliable informant about house proprietorship had a noticeable tendency to impute proprietorship to men.

<sup>2</sup>Take, for example, the house history of the two sisters Shaya'ai and Gwi'shkaîš of the Sun clan (Gen. III, 74, 76; Houses 29, 120). The older sister stayed on in her mother's house until she moved into the house of her husband, a house built by the men of the town in return for service at the town corral. Meanwhile the younger sister had settled down into a house she got through her father's people. The mother house is therefore thought of as belonging to the older sister who rents it out of the family.



favor of the daughter. Of course the contingency is unlikely, for a girl would not leave her mother's house at marriage if she were the only girl.

But there may be no daughter at all to inherit. In this case the house descends to sons,<sup>1</sup> not to female collaterals, much less to mere clanswomen i.e., the house is thought of as strictly family property. In giving me the history of House 120, the house he was born in, Go'ty'iǎi' made this point of view particularly plain. This house is now owned by Gwi'shkaiě of the Sun clan, she getting it through her father, a Corn clansman and a younger brother of the last woman owner. To this woman's oldest son, Natsiwa, the house would have gone—the woman had no daughters and no sisters—but it happened that Natsiwa's wife did not want the house. Thanks to analogous circumstances Natsiwa's younger brothers appear also to have been passed by.

In native theory a parent has the right to name the heir or heirs to his or her house or other property, and a parent is likely to name the child who "has been taking care of him best" i.e., living at home. According to this view, questions of seniority or of sex are merely incidental. I incline to think that the principle of inheritance in return for service may be, if not applied to houses, then to other property, an underlying and ancient Pueblo principle.

After all family claims have been met, clanspeople—I infer only from one case (House 15) together with the discussion involved—clanspeople may fall heir; although even in these circumstances it is impossible to be sure that the inheritor is not thought of by somebody involved as kin, distant kin, rather than clan member. The reference of disputes over houses to the clan elder for settlement appears to imply a conceptual association between the house and the clan.

Men may acquire houses, not only as noted, by inheritance, but by purchase or by building. Of the 44 houses under male proprietorship 18 were inherited, 11 were purchased, and 4 were built by the owner, the history of the remaining 11 being unknown. Of the 18 inherited houses, 13 were inherited from the mother, and 5 from the father and of those 5, 2 appear to have come down in the maternal line. It is a notable fact that in several instances women who have available houses of their own are living in their husband's house. For example, K'ashiě'nǎ lives not in House 5, her own house, but in House 38, her husband's. Kuyu'd'yuwe has two houses, one from her mother, one from her father (Houses 118, 24), but she, too, lives in her husband's house (Houses 30, 33). Shaya'ai has left her own house (House 29) for her husband's American built house (House 58).

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<sup>1</sup>Kroeber notes such a case at Zúfi, 127.

Male proprietorship would very quickly break down any grouping of houses by family or by clan, did such grouping ever exist. In many instances grouping by family appears to have existed, in fact still exists. Of grouping by clan there is no evidence, but given the factors of male proprietorship and of house purchase, no evidence is to be expected, even if once upon a time, generations ago, clan grouping did exist.

Houses are thought of as property, they are traded and sold<sup>1</sup> and they may even be rented. (See Houses 1, 29, 64). Nevertheless we should not read into the Laguna householding system our own strictly proprietary attitude. The Laguna spirit about householding is in large part, let me reiterate, the spirit that you are entitled to go on living where you have been accustomed to live; the right of proprietorship is rather a right of preëmption.

The desertion of Laguna for outlying settlements encourages loose conditions of proprietorship; there is comparatively little economic pressure to define proprietorship. Several persons own more than one house, and change from one to the other according to fancy. Nor is the history of Houses 5 and 38 exceptional. Here a second wife and her married children are living in the house of the deceased first wife, rather than in their own house, because the only heir of the deceased woman lives in California.

There are approximately 51 occupied houses to 63 vacant houses.<sup>2</sup> Several of the latter are ruins or near ruins and several, 7 at least and probably more, are used as storerooms for hay<sup>3</sup> or other goods.

Of absentee owners, living and dead, the dispersal, according to data in the List of Houses, is as follows:—

Powati	9: 2 Sun, 2 Oak, 2 Water, 1 Turkey, 1 Parrot, 1 Chaparral Cock.
Encinal	7: 4 Sun, 2 Corn, 1 Water.
Mésita	6: 2 Lizard, 1 Eagle, 1 Oak, 1 Sun, 1 Turquoise.
Isleta	6: 1 Corn, 1 Sun, 1 Coyote, 1 Lizard, 1 Bear, 1 Chaparral Cock.
Paraje	5: 1 Corn, 1 Chaparral Cock, 1 Coyote, 1 Water, 1 Parrot.
New Laguna	4: 2 Corn, 1 Sun, 1 Chaparral Cock.
Casa Blanca	4: 1 Water, 1 Parrot, 1 Corn, 1 Bear.
Tsiamá	3: 2 Lizard, 1 Corn.
Gallup	2: 1 Corn, 1 Parrot.
El Rito	1: 1 Corn.
California	1: 1 Sun.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Kroeber, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>In several cases I have counted vacant rooms listed as separate houses as part of an occupied unit, and occupied rooms also listed as separate houses as part of a larger occupied unit.

<sup>3</sup>Incidentally I note that hay which is provender for stock is associated with the men; so that the use of houses as storerooms for hay (likewise for harness and wagon equipments) is a new factor for male proprietorship.

According to house proprietorship the clan distribution in Laguna has been approximately as follows:

Clan of House Proprietor	Houses
Sun	21
Corn	12
Water	12
Parrot	12
Bear	11
Oak	10
Lizard	7
Turkey	4
Chaparral Cock	4
Eagle	2
Badger	2
Coyote	3
Turquoise	3
Antelope	1
Locust	1

As vacant houses are considered in the above reckoning, as well as the factor of male proprietorship, an estimate of the actual clan distribution is not conveyed. This may be arrived at or more nearly arrived at by considering only the houses occupied and the clan of the woman head of the house.

Clan of Woman Head of House	Houses
Parrot	6
Turkey	6
Sun	5
Bear	5
Water	5
Chaparral Cock	5
Eagle	2
Lizard	2
Badger	2
Corn	1
Oak	1
Locust	1

As I have said already, there appears to be no evidence in the Laguna house distribution for grouping by clan. In several instances there is grouping by family. Corn clan families live or lived in Houses 1, 2, 3; in Houses 95-8, 103; in Houses 119-122, and houses adjacent since torn down. Houses 7, 9, 10, perhaps in the same family connection Houses 11, 29; Houses 92-4, 99-100, and Houses 42-44 are or were associated with Sun clan families; Parrot clan families are associated with Houses 87, 88, 90, 91; and Water clan families with Houses 30-33, 40; 41, 47,

49, 53, 54. I have little doubt that a more intimate knowledge of the histories of the houses would reveal similar grouping for other houses.<sup>1</sup>

It is plain how this family grouping comes about. It may occur in two ways. The parental house may be subdivided in inheritance, two or more sisters (Houses 16, 76 and 77, 104 and 105) or even a sister and brother (See Houses 1 and 3; 83 and 84) getting different rooms of the house, or a girl at marriage or afterwards may have a room built or bought for her next to or near the parental house. At first it seems hardly necessary to consider this room a separate establishment, but as the woman's family grows other rooms may be added and a distinct unit is formed. Houses 56 and 32 are cases in point. When Shăaity'id'yuwe' of House 56 (Gen. III, 190) was formally married to her visiting Sant' Ana husband, her great uncle built her a room next to her mother's house, just as he had originally built the house for her mother. As far as I could see Shăaity'id'yuwe' enters into the household life of her mother in much the same way as the unmarried children. In course of time, however, some differentiation of interests is likely to arise and one may predict the addition of more rooms or even quasi detached houses for Shăaity'id'yuwe's growing and marrying children, as well as for the prospective families of Shăaity'id'yuwe's younger sisters. As there is plenty of space about this outlying house, it is safe to foresee, say fifty years hence, a row of Oak clan houses quite similar to the present row of Water clan houses to the south, a row which our Genealogy II proves to have developed years ago by the method of accretion which I have described.

House 32 in this group of Water clan houses is another recent instance of growth by accretion. Tsaid'yuwi' went on living in her mother's house for some years after her marriage. Then, as already recited,<sup>2</sup> because of incompatibility between her husband and her stepfather, she decided to leave or rather to provide for some degree of privacy for her family. Her grandfather bought a room for her "across the street," so to speak, from her mother. That room has been added to by further purchases, so that now, economically, Tsaid'yuwi's establishment is quite separate from her mother's, although she still spends more than half her time in her mother's house.

<sup>1</sup>Such data cannot be obtained, however, by direct questioning, as it is certain that informants do not think of clanspeople as inclined to live together and, as any such idea is novel to informants, they do not readily recall houses grouped by clan. On putting such a query to Hiedyedye, for example, he could mention first only a group of Chaparral Cock houses in the South Prairie block. In the List of Houses only House 78 is at present, at any rate, a Chaparral Cock house. (Here is an instance, by the way, of where a daughter by a second marriage inherits the house in preference to a son by a first marriage. He lives in the house of his wife's mother). When I pushed the enquiry, Hiedyedye named Houses 42-44 as Sun clan houses, but he was far from meaning that originally all the Sun clanspeople lived in this section.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 239.

Now what will happen when Tsaid'yuwi's daughters grow up and one of them wishes for a separate house? Since Tsaid'yuwi's younger sister remained at home, she and her daughters will have a claim on the maternal house. Tsaid'yuwi's daughter will have to be independently provided for. Perhaps her father will build her a house, as near her mother's or grandmother's as possible—not contiguous, there is no unoccupied space—perhaps he will buy an old house for her nearby or in another part of town, perhaps her husband will own a house she can move into, or her husband may himself buy or build. In several of the latter contingencies what may be predicted to become the stock house of a new group of Water clan houses may be founded, situated in another part of town from the old Water clan houses on the north side.<sup>1</sup> To build this house permission will have to be had from the governor and council. When building contiguously no permission is necessary.

In short, clan grouping appears to be very much like clan migration, it is not grouping or migration by clan at all, it is grouping or migration by families. This conclusion from Laguna data is the same as that arrived at from Zúñi data by Dr. Kroeber.<sup>2</sup>

#### CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATION WITH HOUSES.

Information about ceremonial rooms or houses is hard to get since such places have long since, perhaps at the time of the Great Split, fallen into disuse. The house where the *hochení* or cacique lived was called *hochenits'a*, and the *hochenits'a* of Taiowityuë, of the Lizard Clan, the last cacique, was indicated. Another even more ruined house was indicated as a *hochenits'a*, the cacique being an Eagle clansman. Other ruins, to the east and to the west of the plaza were said to have been *k'a'ach* or kivas.<sup>3</sup> These two buildings were used by all the ceremonial groups, including the clan heads. Information here is uncertain, the only clear fact being that in dances of the alternating group pattern, like the war and saint dances, the two groups came out from these two buildings. I incline to think that these buildings corresponded to the double kiva system of the Eastern Keresans and of Jemez. According to one informant, the *k'atsina* dancers had formerly five or six rooms at their service,

<sup>1</sup>A Water clan house has already been founded on the South side—House 74, a house acquired apparently, through paternal inheritance.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 103.

<sup>3</sup>According to Robert G. Marmon there were never any kivas at Laguna. No doubt he has in mind separate buildings. Go'ty'iaí' thinks there were three square "*k'a'ach* where they made *hadjamuni* prayer-sticks." *K'a'ach* is merely a generic term for building. Since writing the foregoing Robert S. Marmon tells me that there were two kivas at Laguna; and Dr. Boas was told that as elsewhere among the Keres a man's children belonged to his kiva and a woman at marriage joined her husband's kiva.

each group having no doubt its own room. These "*k'atsina kiva*"<sup>1</sup> were called *koch'pishuma*.<sup>2</sup> The "*cheani kiva*" were called *shakaiya*. These were special rooms, the walls decorated. There were six or seven of these rooms i.e., each *cheani* group<sup>3</sup> had its own room. The *shakaiya* indicated were:—

<i>shikani-kurena</i>	House 92
Flint	House 72 <sup>4</sup>
<i>shaiyaik</i>	House 14
<i>kashare</i>	House 47
<i>sayap</i>	South <sup>5</sup>
<i>k'apina</i>	House 117

According to one informant, there are in town in different houses eight or ten *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, the cotton wrapped corn ear representations of the Earth supernatural called *mi'we* at Zuni and *tiponi* by the Hopi. The *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> in House 10 I was once shown.<sup>6</sup> Wrapped up in a piece of buckskin it was kept in a wall niche in the rear storeroom. This *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> is loaned to the *shiwanna cheani*. Another *iyatik*<sup>u</sup><sup>7</sup> is kept in House 41. It, too, is loaned to the *shiwanni cheani*. Another because the "uncle" from whom it was inherited was a *cheani* belonging to that set. The night of the summer solstice ceremonial this *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> was sent by Kawi'ts'iräi', its custodian, to the house where the *shiwanna cheani* was in charge, and a bowl of food was sent too, but neither Kawi'ts'i herself nor any woman in her household felt called upon to attend the ceremonial. Kawi'ts'i's husband, Go'ty'ia'i', did attend and assist. He also had helped the *cheani* make prayer-sticks the afternoon before the ceremonial; but this cooperation was not connected in any way, I think, with possession of the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>. Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani*, was in possession of two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> at his death. The rest of his sacerdotal property he directed to be buried with him,<sup>8</sup> but the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> "belonged to the town" and were not buried. . . . I have been told that "long ago everybody had an *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, then they hid them." Persons who were unwilling "to take their mothers away" still have them. However, Laguna evidence for the most part indicates that the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> were

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 237, 239.

<sup>2</sup>A Masonic hall is called White man's *koch'pishuma*.

<sup>3</sup>Or *chai'ye*, meaning all around, inside, "because they are all together, inside with *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>". According to one informant, *shakaiye* (*shakaiya*) was also a term for the group, not for the building which he always referred to as *k'a'ach*. "My *cheani* society quarters" was translated, "*k'a'ach sochanisho*."

<sup>4</sup>According to other information the Flint society together with the Fire and the *k'apina* societies had the same house, in the northeast corner of the plaza.

<sup>5</sup>Torn down at building of railroad.

<sup>6</sup>See Parsons, (f), 96.

<sup>7</sup>Dr. Boas heard of proper names for *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> *k'a'pok'a*, *wa'amina'k'o*, *ha'shumain'k'o*, *sho'-chumina'k'o*. Cp. name giving by the Hopi to ceremonial pipes (Voth, (a), 73).

<sup>8</sup>But see p. 263.

associated primarily with the *cheani*.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays persons who are possessed of *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> contribute them to the altars erected at the solstice ceremonials, perhaps at other times.<sup>2</sup> The disintegration of the *cheani* system at Laguna makes the allocation of *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> difficult. The *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> I have heard of belong to:—

- Laguna    Tsiwema (House 13. He has two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, one from his father, Tsiwapoye, Locust clan; one from Gowaime, his Oak clanswoman, who gave him "their" *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>.  
             Kawi'ts'irāi' (House 41). From an uncle who was a *shuts cheani*.  
             Dzamai' (House 66). She has two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, one from her own house, one from her mother's father.  
             K'aisdyia, d. (House 62). Her *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> is kept by her son and daughter-in-law of House 63.  
             Dyai's'its'ā, d. (House 10). Since there are only school girls left in this house, the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> may have been passed on to a son of Dyai's'its'ā, perhaps to Gyi'mi of House 56.
- Mesita    *kashare cheani*. One of their *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> was given them by the granddaughter of Ka'ch, Turkey clanswoman, who came out of House 116 and lived in House 33, probably the mother-in-law of William Pisano.  
             Kāiyāid'yai' (out of House 113) or Tsiwaisie. See Table 9.  
             Shaiusi (out of House 40). He is *shuts skikani cheani* and *shiwanna cheani*, see p. 275.
- Powati    Yuwaai d. (House 13a). He was a *saiyap cheani*. His widow keeps his *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>.
- Isleta    G'onai (out of House 8), see p. 208.

There is more to be learned about the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>; but these facts are plain: these supreme fetishes are in the custody of women who are supposed to feed them daily; as collective rather than personal property *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> are passed on from generation to generation; *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> are loaned out to the *cheani* groups they have always been associated with.

Sacred properties other than *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> are in the care of the women, for example, the *k'atsina* masks. Like the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, they are fed daily by the women, and they are kept therefore in the houses of responsible kinswomen. It is thought that the younger women who have been away to school would be irresponsible and "starve them." I'g'ugāi, for example, kept his two masks, both the one he wore as a boy, which is now too small for him, and the one he inherited from his father and now wears, in the house, not of his Americanized wife, but of his conservative older sister (House 66) who is careful to feed them with meal and morsels from all the food she cooks. No doubt I'g'ugāi's masks are likewise kept in the maternal house from association; but obviously the association is not

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Voth, (c), 132.

<sup>2</sup>Among the Hopi, different parts of altar paraphernalia likewise appear to be in the keeping of different individuals.

necessarily with the maternal house, since one of the masks belonged to I'g'ugāi's father. I heard also that the *he'a'*<sup>1</sup> mask which belonged to G'ausire (Gen. II, 12) is kept in his widow's house (House 47). It may be that, as at Zuñi, a man keeps his mask in his mother's or sister's house "until he grows old and knows that he is not going to change his wife."

Masks, therefore, are cared for in proper houses, but as the personal property of men they are not identified with the house. The mask of *shonata* appears as an exception. It is associated with the Corn clan, and is kept in a Corn clan house (House 120 or House 97). This corresponds to Hopi<sup>2</sup> and, presumably, Zuñi usage. In general, we may say that among Keresans, Hopi, and Zuñi, fetishes, whether mask or corn, which are associated with a clan, are kept in an old house of the clan.

In Houses 3 and 47 was held the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919. House 3 was loaned for the occasion by the absentee owner who lives in Powati. It may have been loaned before on like occasions, but it is not definitely associated with the holding of the ceremonial, as is House 47. This house is recognized as headquarters for the *kashare*. One of the two altars they are possessed of is kept in this house—the White altar (*chamuche yapaishin*).<sup>3</sup> The other altar, the Blue altar (*kwishk' yapaishin*), is kept by a woman at Powati who brings it over to Laguna, to House 47 when necessary. We saw her and her father, a *kashare*,<sup>4</sup> arrive with the altar the day of the night ceremony; the *kashare* from Mesita arrived on the same day. The *kashare* prepare for the ceremonial at home, not in their ceremonial house at Laguna. . . . Although *kashare* are accounted *cheani*, this ceremonial was called *k'oach'aiyanit'iya*, "they act like *cheani*," not, as was the ceremonial proper in House 3, *koashiwannat'iya*, "they act like *shiwanna*."<sup>5</sup> To my question why the *kashare* masks were kept in House 47 the answer came that the dance must be given by the Water clan—"water is between earth and sky"—a characteristic answer of evasion through rationalization. The *kashare* are associated, to be sure, with water.

According to the same informant, *kurena* masks are kept in a Sun clan house, and *shumaekoli* were kept in an Eagle clan house,<sup>6</sup> and *k'apina* masks in a Turkey clan house.

<sup>1</sup>To be equated, probably, with *heruta* of Cochiti (Dumarest, 177-8) and *he'he'a* and *kiaklo* of Zuñi. The equation with *kiaklo* was suggested by the fact that *kiaklo* was called *haluta* to Dr. Fewkes (Fewkes, (a), 690).

<sup>2</sup>Fewkes, (b), 92, 93, 94, 99; Fewkes, (d), 262.

<sup>3</sup>See Parsons, (h), 57 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup>According to one informant, there are two *kashare* at Powati.

<sup>5</sup>*Soshiwannak'a*, I act like *shiwanna*.

<sup>6</sup>According to Stevenson these masks were taken in 1902 to Zuñi (Stevenson, (b), 547).



House 97, the house of Tsita, Corn clansman, is, I believe, headquarters for the *yakohanna* (*yakohano*? Corn people) dance, at least when it is given in a ceremonial way. House 95 which formerly belonged to Tsita, was a place of meeting to prepare for the Christmas dances, and *k'atsina* and *cheani* dances, too, it is said, were performed in it. It was called *chupakwi* (*chupaki'*, *chupakū*).

In making the rounds of houses on San Juan's day, it was said that they always<sup>1</sup> start at House 56. In 1919 the house-to-house round was not made, and the people in House 56 were informed early in the afternoon, although others in town waited about until sunset and after for the expected celebration. Na'mai, of House 56, is one of the Juanas of the town, and her husband Gyi'mi, also Juan, is sometimes accounted the head of the Sun clan, but whether either of these facts or the fact that the family takes a prominent place in the affairs of the church have any relation to the distinction of the house on San Juan's day, I do not know. I recall that a number of the tablet head pieces formerly worn in the *talawaiye* dance, a Christmastide or church dance,<sup>2</sup> were kept in House 10, the house of Gyi'mi's mother.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

With two exceptions the streets have no names, only the house clusters. The exceptions are West Gap, the exit on the west from the plaza, and East Gap, the exit on the east side.

In the middle of the plaza or *kakati*, there is said to be a crypt where the people came up from *sh'ipa'p*<sup>3</sup>. Prayer-sticks are buried here. In the war dance *masawe* and *uyuyewe* and their sister and *shoti*<sup>4</sup> stand around this place. The place is called *woachamuni hadjamuni* or *wana'-chumuni*, and an informant explained the term as meaning "roots of the village" or "propped up strong," (the term for house prop is *gwana-chumuni*). *Wana'chumuni* is "fixed so there will always be people here," to *wana'chumuni* the people are "tied"; in a way informants were unable to explain they felt deeply that they were dependent on the place. In the talk I got an impression curiously similar to what one gets in talk in other circles about the sense of nationality which has a topographic basis.

<sup>1</sup>See p. 279.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (f), Figs. 8, 9. See, too, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup>It corresponds to the *tiwoñapari* (*tū'wanashave*) of the Hopi. (Voth, (e), 250; Voth, (d), 27 n. 3, 157; Voth, (c), 27 n. 3). In 1681 Mendoza comments on a shrine in the middle of the plaza of San Felipe (Bandelier, Pt. IV, 189 n. 2).

<sup>4</sup>*Shoti* are lifelong officials who are named after birds (Cp. Dumarest, 202).—white-breasted brown birds that nest in rocks and whose feathers are used in prayer-sticks,—because they go out early in the morning. During the war dance the *shoti* went about collecting seeds, four seeds from each house, to take to the two *k'a'ach* and subsequently to return them to people to plant, so there would be no witch-sent grasshoppers.

*K'a'ts'inā k'augoyān'ishau*, *k'a'ts'inā* Sitting Place<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 19) lies about a hundred yards west of the church, below a ledge of rock. Nowadays *k'atsina* prayer-sticks are offered here, stuck into the rock crevices and laid under a cedar bush. Formerly the dancers spent their time here between dances, and food was carried out here to them. Now they stay indoors between dances and eat indoors. On top of the ledge of rock there is a small natural reservoir filled by rain water. The water used by the *k'atsina* impersonators, presumed for their pigments, must be drawn from this reservoir.

Along the very edge of the low shelf of rock bounding the northern side of *k'atsina* Sitting Place runs a rut of an inch or more in the stone for about fifty feet. In two places a small circular rut breaks the straight line, and formerly, before the stone shelf wore away, there were two other circles, making four. Here, in the days when there were *k'apina cheani* at Laguna, the *cheani* brought his patient, bidding him direct a pebble placed under the sole of his left foot four times along the straight rut, passing in an anti-sunwise circuit around each of the circular ruts as he reached them. If the pebble did not slip from under the patient's foot, he would recover, otherwise he would die.<sup>2</sup>

Similar ruts, five of them, with stepping places alongside, are to be seen in the face of a rather sheer wall of rock in the hilly district about half a mile north of the town proper (See Fig. 20). Nowadays the school children slide down the rock face and the scratches of their tin toboggans are fresh. Years ago little girls would slide down, it was said, with their water jars on their heads. (The entire lack of sherds on the spot rather belies this statement.) But before that the ruts must have served some other purpose, and like the rut near *k'atsina* Sitting Place the purpose was, I have little doubt, ceremonial. If not a *cheani* property, it may have served as a place of omen-getting by stick-racers, like the rut on the mesa north of Zufii. (See Fig. 21.) Here if the prospective

<sup>1</sup>According to Fewkes, a *kachina* may be called by the Hopi a sitter, possibly a reference, he suggests, to the custom of burying the dead in a sitting posture. (Fewkes, (b), 351 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup>At the risk of irrelevancy, I would like to record here the origin myth, so to speak, of the *k'apina cheani*, heard at the same time. When the people were moving south a woman left her baby behind. The baby was found by an old woman who chewed up piñon nuts into a food for the baby. When the child grew up, he wanted to follow his people to the south. After four days of preparation, during which he killed game to leave as a supply for the old woman, he looked up into the rafters, and sticking up there he saw an awl. "What is that, grandmother?" "An awl for mending moccasins." He took the awl and started to mend. The awl said to him, "Don't push me so hard, I am weak from not eating." "Are you alive?" "Yes. I can talk like you. I am connected with the *k'apina cheani*, I am a stick swallower." "All right. I will take you with me." The young man took the awl with him and after he had overtaken his people in the south, he said to them, "You left us behind." The man and the awl became *k'apina cheani*, and the awl is referred to as *heatsi hachtse*, Awl Man. (Cp. the San Felipe story given by Bandelier, Final Report, Pt. II, 188.) Awl Man stayed at *sh'ipa'p'* and he is prayed to for power by all stick swallowing *cheani*, *k'apina*, Fire, *kashale*. The "*sh'ipa'p'*" name of *k'anaishdiashe*, "their late father" *kashale*, one of the two initiators into the *kashale*, is *heatsi hachtse*. (The other initiator is *tsaiachechaku*, *sh'ipa'p'* name, *shinohaiye*). Formerly in coloring moccasins you had first to go to the *k'apina cheani* to have him put on a bit of the color you wanted to use.

racer succeeds in keeping the pebble under his foot, it is an omen (*tehiuna*) of victory, and the omen seeker may bet on his success. This rut was made by the war gods.

The conspicuous large boulder which is variously called *k'onat'a'-yumä* (*k'a'na't'ya'yoma*, cave) *okatsaani*, *kuateshshkütisho*, in the south-east part of town (Fig. 5) is said to have been the place for taking solar observations.<sup>1</sup> It is a spot where the war captain stands to call out orders. It figures, as we noted (see p. 235), as a meeting place in a tale about the founding of Laguna.

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<sup>1</sup>Sunrise observations for the solstices were taken, according to one informant, at *osha'ch gama*, the sun his house, a little hill about three miles to the east of town, beyond the sand plains. Here the *cheani* took observations in sets of two in turn, Flint and *shikani*, *shayaiye* and Fire, *kurena* and *k'apina* or *kashale* or Giant. (This informant held to a separate organization for the *shahaiye* and Giant societies.)

## V. TOWN GOSSIP: PERSONAL NOTES

Like any other small town, Laguna is rife with gossip, and the character of the gossip is pretty much that of a White townsman alert to the jobs and deals of his acquaintances and relatives and interested in the sicknesses and deaths, the love affairs, the family quarrels, and the goings and comings of his neighbors.

At Zuñi a large part of town gossip is concerned with the public ceremonies—one hears, for example, that if the *komosona* instead of the *kopekwin* had led in the whipper masks come in to whip because a dancer's mask had fallen off in sight of the assembled townspeople, then the whipping would have been less perfunctory; or one hears of a dispute in the ranking priesthood about the date for announcing the winter solstice ceremonial. At Laguna, I have heard exactly the same kind of sacerdotal gossip; but I get the impression that it figures less in the daily life, as is certainly to be expected since ceremonialism itself figures less. However, at Zuñi I have lived in a household in close touch with Zuñi sacerdotalism, whereas at Laguna my hostesses have been too Americanized to preserve any considerable interest in non-economic affairs; moreover, reserve with Whites about the ceremonial life is far greater at Laguna than at Zuñi. People will talk to you, to be sure, about the ceremonial to which you have not been an admitted looker-on, and they will talk about the meaning of ritual more freely, indeed, than at Zuñi; but the fact that you have not witnessed ceremonials precludes many opportunities for gossip about the personnel engaged in them.

In repeating gossip I have been frank in the same way that the native is frank; and prudent, I hope, in the way he would wish. Incriminating evidence about "selling information" about ceremonial particulars I have withheld; and the one witchcraft case I have cited in particular is past history, the principal is dead. Moreover there is hardly a possibility of these records ever falling into the hands of a Laguna townsman, or, if they did, of his ever reading them. At Laguna, as elsewhere, gossip must follow certain lines to be considered interesting, lines which I trust I can be charged with avoiding.

### I

Today Tsiwema of the Oak clan is the outstanding sacerdotal personage of Laguna. He is a *shahaiye cheani* or was, for he referred to the office as if with the organization it were extinct; and he is a *shu'wana* (storm cloud) *cheani*, which means that he is called upon for lightning shock.<sup>1</sup> He is, in fact, called upon as a doctor in other circumstances,

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<sup>1</sup>But not necessarily, see p. 275.

notably in childbirth cases. Once when I showed him a sprained ankle, he examined it with assurance and laid claim to knowledge of treating broken bones;<sup>1</sup> and his practice was superior he said, to that of White doctors, who merely cut off the limb. People also buy medicine from Tsiwema—and complain of the price he asks.

Tsiwema is also called upon at funerals. It is he who makes the four prayer-sticks which are set in a bowl of cornmeal and on the fourth day after death taken up the hill just north of town to be deposited there for the deceased. (Even if the deceased relative has died away from Laguna; even if she be married to a White, the meal will be set out.) Tsiwema sets out the deposit on the hill, leaving his *iyatik*<sup>2</sup> meanwhile in the house of the deceased, and on his return Tsiwema performs the final rite of exorcism, going around the house with his *hishami* or eagle-wing feathers, and cutting one feather against the other to cut away and discard the machinations of witches.

A *cheani* who is himself a witch—and it is the easiest thing in the world for a *cheani* to become a witch; indeed the first witches were *cheani*, people say, and of a recent years the *cheani* have died out because they were witches—will eat the funerary food instead of breaking the funerary bowl and scattering the food. Therefore the *cheani* will be watched on his funerary journey by the relatives of the deceased, to be shot if caught offending.

I heard of one case where Tsiwema was called in to perform the rite of presenting the infant to the Sun; but how commonly he may officiate at this rite I do not know. The infant, in this case, was said to be his own—by a White man who added, “The old devil! old enough to be the girl’s grandfather!”

To the girl’s house Tsiwema was, to be sure, a frequent visitor; his own house was nearby. Here he lives alone, doing his own housework. I have seen him washing his garments, a strange sight in a town where laundry work, like other housework, is so strictly a woman’s job. Tsiwema was thrice married and widowed. As far as I know he has no children at Laguna with whom to live. He visits a daughter married at Isleta.

Although he speaks no English, and but little Spanish, Tsiwema or José, to change to his Spanish name, is sexton of the Catholic Church or *sextana*, as he is often called. Go’ty’iäi’ acts as his assistant to ring the

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<sup>1</sup>According to Bandelier, the cacique was among the Keresans, the surgeon and nurse, attending to the wounded. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, 281). Such practice, where the cacique has been a Flint *cheani*, is quite in accordance with native point of view—like cures like.

bell when he is away, or open the church. During parts of the service José stands at the right hand of the priest as he faces the congregation with Go'ty'iäi' next to José. On the left of the priest stand two of the secular officers, the two ranking officers who happen to be in town. After the priest leaves the church it is customary for the officers in turn to address the congregation. On one occasion I heard Gai's'iwă (Bert Wetmore) (Gen. III, 179; Houses 85, 97), one of the two lieutenant governors, orate for a quarter of an hour or more, José and Go'ty'iäi' punctuating his speech with exclamations of assent. Such visible participation of native state and church in the Spanish institution at Laguna gives vivid color to the point of view that the governorship of the Pueblo Indians was a Spanish introduction and that much of native ceremonialism—the elaborate altars, the smoking or incensing rite, the water-sprinkling rite, much of the cult of the dead—were deeply affected by Catholic rituals.

A particularly striking example is found at Laguna in certain of its prayer-stick practices. The prayer-sticks deposited by the governor and the officers after their election consist of the pair of sticks peculiar to the Sun and a *cross* stick, the crosspiece tied with yarn. Similar sticks are made by the officers and by any Catholic so disposed on the seven Fridays after Ash Wednesday. The sticks are made in the house of José and then carried off in the different directions. On deposit the sticks are pointed towards the church and meal is sprinkled towards the church, a road between church and offering, just as when José puts down *tauwaka* or kick-stick offering to the *shiwanna* he sprinkles meal or pollen from above or skyward to below, to the irrigation ditch.

José has been sexton for the past half century, at no time getting any pay, according to his own account; but at times, according to a critical townswoman, charging admission to the church—as much as seventy-five cents—and the critic of such avariciousness added, "That is the reason they put him out as *sextana*, and put Go'ty'iäi' in his place." She may have meant that Go'ty'iäi' had been given the keys, for the next day at mass José was still in the position of honor at the altar,—a distinguished figure, tall and grave, his thick white hair encircled with a scarlet *banda*.

And as hinted at above, José or Tsiwema is accused of overcharging for his medicines too. Theoretically no charge should be made by a *cheani* for "medicine." When you go to ask a *cheani* for medicine you take him a native tobacco-filled cane cigarette (*wishpi*) just as you do the supernaturals from whom you ask favors, and the cigarette is the

pay to the *cheani*. To be sure, presents of food after the cure are in order, for we hear of the women relatives of the invalid preparing gifts of food,<sup>1</sup> and we hear, too, that when *cheani* are hungry they will make people sick to get presents of food.

*Sextana*, *shiwanna cheani*, practitioner at large, Tsiwema has also come into some of the functions of the Flint *cheani* who was the cacique, the *tiamoni hocheni* of the people, before the Religious Revolution of the Sixties which ended in the great split to Isleta. This connection of Tsiwema with the office of *tiamoni hocheni* is never formulated—I doubt if it is recognized—and it is ascertainable only by indirect evidence; but little by little this evidence becomes strong. In the first place, Tsiwema uses the same prayer-sticks as the Flint *cheani*—a lightning stick with a button-topped mate.<sup>2</sup> Moreover forked lightning symbols, distinctly Flint *cheani* property, have to be made by Tsiwema, as, for example, the lightning pieces on the *hemish* mask. Arrows and guns are associated with lightning in the war cult, and to Tsiwema in the capacity of surgeon we have already referred. In the second place the performance of the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 was said to be dependent upon the presence of Tsiwema—at the last ceremonial [at the winter solstice?] Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani*, had had the ceremonial in charge, and now it was the turn of Tsiwema. Whether or not we have here a reference to the dual division of functions is speculative; it is certain, however, that Giwire, before he became decrepit, and Tsiwema, coöperated in some ways in ceremonials.<sup>3</sup> In this connection it is not insignificant that at the summer solstice ceremonial Tsiwema wore in his hair on the left<sup>4</sup> two sparrow-hawk feathers (*kurena*<sup>5</sup> feathers) and that in his prayer-stick offering for the summer solstice a sparrow-hawk feather was included.

The cacique or caciques have controlling functions among the Eastern Keresans in connection with the *k'atsina* cult. Giwire still laid claim to this control; but, in recent years his claim had been disallowed. Nor does Tsiwema appear to have any special connection with the *k'atsina* organization. In a *chakwena* dance in 1918 I heard of him figuring towards the head of the line, coming after We'd'yumä, "their

<sup>1</sup>See, too, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup>But the crook stick of the Flint *cheani* and of the *shikani cheani* Tsiwema does not use.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920 I heard that Giwire's altar had been entrusted to Tsiwema, so that Tsiwema is now in charge of two altars, both *shikani-kurena* altars, one from Giwire and one from Dzäa 'yats'a (Gen. II, 13). Tsiwema also has stone fetish animals, *shuhuna*, which, according to one of his assistants, he feeds.

<sup>4</sup>On the right he wore four downy eagle feathers, one white, the others stained green-blue, yellow, red, representing, inferably, the directions. The *shuts cheani* assistants wore no feathers, nor did they go nude.

<sup>5</sup>Among the Keresans. Worn by members of the *mamzrau* society of the Hopi and by members of the *shi'wanakwe* society at Zuni.

father''; but except for this instance, which is open to other explanation, Tsiwema seems not to have come in for the *k'atsina* functions of the cacique or Flint *cheani*. Unlike the Flint *cheani*, he neither wears nor guards the *ts'itsinuts* mask, the mask of the exorciser who whips at *k'atsina* initiations. . . . It seems likely that after the Religious Revolution and the lapse at Laguna of the office of cacique, the cacique functions or some of them, were undertaken, in course of time, on the one hand by the Zuñi Badger clan and, on the other, by Tsiwema, the ubiquitous sacerdotalist, Tsiwema, with his compelling personality, forceful, unscrupulous and avaricious, and of so vigorous a physique that even now, a man over seventy, he can out-walk in his expeditions to distant shrines men much younger.

## II

Go'ty'iäi' or Go'ty'isiwa of the Corn clan (Gen. III, 32. House 41. Out of House 120), a man about sixty, is assistant sexton, as we have noted, and to Tsiwema likewise assistant in native ceremonial. Go'ty'iäi' is a *shuts k'atsina cheani*. He was "made *k'atsina*" as a boy. His *k'atsina* name is Hoseni, Eagle Father, the name given him by his ceremonial father or introducer into the *k'atsina* organization. This man was an Eagle clansman.<sup>1</sup> Go'ty'iäi's head was washed by an Antelope clanswoman, the "sister" of Dyayu (Houses 87, 102), and by a Badger clanswoman (Gen. I, 62). Four *k'atsina* brought Go'ty'iäi' fruit, and he was told that if he revealed the secrets to the other children the *k'atsina* would come after him and carry him off to *wenimatse*. The same moral lesson is taught to Zuñi boys by means of a tale where the delinquent's head is cut off and thrown to *kołuwela* (*wenimatse*), and the Tewa boys of Hano are similarly taught.<sup>2</sup>

The Laguna initiation appears to have taken place in two parts, as at Zuñi and among the Hopi; for Go'ty'iäi' related that for the very little boys the whipper *k'atsina* came, *ts'itsinuts*. The initiate was covered over with a cloth. Four days he lived without salt, i.e., on a saltless diet. To the hair of the initiate four turkey feathers were tied. These *wapanyi*<sup>3</sup> were made by the Badger clan (i. e., its representative for the *k'atsina*), and subsequently given to the *kurena cheani* to deposit in

<sup>1</sup>Among the Hopi the introducer may not be of the same clan as the mother or father of the candidate. (Voth, (c), 98).

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (k), 103.

<sup>3</sup>As feathered strings, whether used as separate offerings or attached to feather-sticks, are called.

The use here of turkey feathers in the hair is probably significant of the death of the initiate. Ordinarily turkey feathers would not be worn in the hair, I have been told at Zuñi, because of the association of the feather with death.



the river. The *kurena cheani* sang. They sang the same songs "as when you are born." New clothes were brought and four ears of corn. They blew on (*shkoaputs*, me, blow) corn and clothes. Girls as well as boys were initiated. After four days the *k'atsina* returned, bringing presents to the initiates—bows and arrows, *k'atsina uwak* (babies i.e., dolls) and cradles.

Go'ty'iäi's assistance at the summer solstice ceremonial became to us a conspicuous fact. Early that afternoon he was working with us as usual when a messenger came to summon him to Tsiwema's house to make prayer-sticks. In course of time he went—after a second summons was delivered. The following afternoon, the day after the all-night ceremonial, Go'ty'iäi' reported for work with his usual fidelity; but he was too sleepy to be of use. He remarked that the cedar purge taken the four mornings before the ceremony (*sawwetstyia*, vomit, *dyanasai*, four days) keeps you from getting tired during the ceremony, but does not preclude subsequent sleepiness.

Go'ty'iäi' went to school at Carlisle for several years. His English is passable, and it gives him satisfaction to speak. As he is the victim of trachoma in an advanced stage, having been infected some years ago, presumably by his wife, whose eyes are badly affected, and as physical labor is irksome to him, he proved a willing and, let me add, conscientious interpreter. The money he made at this was being expended in paying a couple of men to help his son-in-law tear down and rebuild a room of the house they both lived in, a house which belonged to Go'ty'iäi's wife and prospectively to his daughter, wife of the coöperating son-in-law. It is possible that the room was to be considered as belonging to Go'ty'iäi'; nevertheless it was to be a convenience to the whole household and it would be inherited in due course, together with the rest of the house, by Go'ty'iäi's daughter or son.

But this money contribution of Go'ty'iäi's did not excuse him in the eyes of his household, or at least of his stepdaughter, from joining in the labor of building, just as he was never excused from chopping wood. He was near blind and chopping wood must have been far from agreeable, but no allowance was made for him; he was condemned as lazy and the more he applied himself to our work the more irritated became his stepdaughter. She plainly did not like to see him earning money so easily, money that she had equal opportunity to earn, but would not earn because of her preference for housework. It was a truly ludicrous illustration of the contempt of the manual laborer for the intellectual, the overpaid intellectual.

It is likely that failure of eyesight is not the whole explanation of Go'ty'iäi's failure to command the respect not only of his stepdaughter but presumedly of his townspeople. He seems never to have been an officer nor to have been accounted of any importance in the town life, and his attitude toward his neighbors is curiously self-deprecatory. He is obviously aware that he has no social prestige. And yet he is not in the least unsympathetic to the life of his people. His sophistries are native, not the outcome of Carlisle, and he is quite uncritical of native custom or belief. In describing custom and belief he was ever concerned that I should understand in order to appreciate, a concern that was, to be sure, not characteristically Pueblo Indian. And his own appreciation of the æsthetic quality of ceremonial and of orderly living was more vivid, certainly more articulate, than that of any other Pueblo Indian of my acquaintance. "It was very beautiful" was a common formula on his lips, but it was more than a formula; there was no doubt that he felt that it *was* beautiful—when the returning salt-gatherers came singing into town or when *shonata*, his clan *k'atsina*, appeared in the dance.

### III

Go'ty'iäi's stepdaughter, Dzaid'yuwi', of the Water clan (Gen. II, 122; Houses in 32, 41), in whose house we lived, was an indefatigable housekeeper—as far as house cleaning was concerned; but her American stove saw little service, for her culinary efforts were of the slightest. She had no storeroom, kept no food supplies, and she could not cook from either the American or the native point of view. And in her own house I never saw her engaging in any handicraft; her mother's house, in which she spent the larger part of the day, was no doubt the center of her economic activity. She was up early and to bed late in order to provide meals, such as they were, for the husband of whom she was very fond, and as he ate in silence she would sit chattering away to him of all the doings of the day. Between whiles he was at work in the American irrigation service, and she was around the corner in the maternal household or making us uncomfortable by house cleaning or by nagging her unfortunate little boy.

Yayai was a year and a half old, and his mother was still giving him the breast, although she was advanced four months in pregnancy. However, one day she remarked that as soon as we left she and her husband had decided that the boy had better be weaned. She knew that he would cry even more than usual at the time and this she wanted to spare us. The little boy was undernourished, sickly and peevish. He was suckled

for a few minutes whenever he expressed the desire, by whining or motions. Frequently he was first slapped or threatened with *chapio*, the children's bug-a-boo.<sup>1</sup> Yayai and his mother were constantly teasing and tormenting each other; it was of its kind as pitiful a sight as could be found in civilization. "The meanest child I ever saw," his mother described him. "He don't want anybody to eat, he cries when he sees anybody eat"—certainly as abnormal and anti-social a trait in Pueblo Indian eyes as could be.

Yayai had an older sister, a girl of ten, who was more patient with him than his mother and who was made responsible for him, after day-school hours, and, after the school closed for the summer vacation, more or less all day. I remember one morning in particular when I needed a guide in house mapping. Dzaid'yuwi' would not go herself, she never cared to appear to be sponsoring us, but she sent the little girl—with the child on her back. It was fiercely hot, the child kept up an unbroken whine, and not for a moment would he let his sister lead him by the hand instead of carrying him in the blanket on her back. And yet the little girl never lost patience and attended to my questions as closely as circumstances permitted. She was more of a woman than her mother.

Nevertheless her mother would grumble about her and scold her. The child the mother seemed really attached to was the eldest son, a boy who was, during the greater part of our visit, away at school at Santa Fé. The night he returned with the other children, his parents went up to the station to meet him, and his mother, before and after, showed the emotions familiar in the mother of a boy back from boarding-school.

It was for this boy that his father had made the cross that was to be carried on Cross Day to the Church. A like cross of willow and spruce hung over the door of my room. It was carried by the little girl in the procession of the past May. Dzaid'yuwi' told me she had kept the ear of corn laid beside Yayai during her confinement. For six years she had worn in her belt an obsidian arrow-head given to her as a charm by her brother-in-law.<sup>2</sup> And one day from a miscellany of household odds and ends in a paper box under the bedstead she picked out a bit of wood which you would burn in the middle of the room to fumigate against witches.

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<sup>1</sup>Not that getting a child to mind through frightening it is peculiar to Dzaid'yuwi'. Recently in a visit to a very amiable Zufi house I saw an *atoshle* doll hanging to the door of the closet where the masks were kept. "We told the children he was so small because he was just born," observed my gentle informant, "but in four days he would be grown, and would come and cut off their hands and tongue. . . . Why doesn't he grow up? the children ask us. The children think that when *atoshle* comes (Parsons, (o), 343-5) he is paid bread and meat not to eat them up."

<sup>2</sup>Cp. Bourke, 469; Parsons, (f), 121 n. 2.  
Gen. III, 40, also wore an arrow-head in her belt. She showed me how a *cheani* would use the arrow-head to give medicine.

The wood was *kadjūrna*, and it had been got from a *cheani*.<sup>1</sup> Dumarest refers to its use as witch prophylaxis at Cochiti,<sup>2</sup> and the bit that Dzaid'yuwi' gave me was identified for me by an Isleta woman as in use against witches in Isleta. In fact the Isleta woman had a piece of it at the very time tied in her belt.

Dzaid'yuwi' was quite credulous of native belief and uncritical of ceremonial, but she was indifferent. It was prudent indeed of her husband to keep his masks in the house of his orthodox sister, for it is not at all improbable that Dzaid'yuwi' would have starved them, as she herself said that girls who had been away to school were suspected of doing. She did not trouble to go to the summer solstice ceremonial in the house of her kinswoman, although she told me that one year she and a neighbor did plan to wake each other up about four in the morning to go and get the medicine (*wawa*) which at that time, at the conclusion of the ceremony, was administered to all present.

It was this woman neighbor that was Dzaid'yuwi''s chief company when she was in her own house, although persons of all ages and of both sexes, connections for the most part by blood or marriage, were always dropping in, on errands or merely for a chat—just as is the case in every Pueblo Indian house. But the neighbor would stay by the half-hour or hour, sometimes helping to wash dishes, and the two women talked and laughed together continually. When the neighbor was there Dzaid'yuwi' would not interpret or work at genealogy. She said her friend would laugh at her English, but more than this she was suspicious of the friend, as the Pueblo Indian always is of persons who are not kin, not that at times he does not mistrust even relatives, since the most serious witchcraft practices are supposed to take place within the family. Dzaid'yuwi' in this case did not of course suspect witchcraft, but spying. "Why does she come round so much?" she said one day, after an amicable call. "Before you came, she never used to come round so much."

Dzaid'yuwi' dressed her hair in native fashion, belted club at the back, and bang drawn across the forehead. She wore the two-fold dress of the Pueblo woman, cotton slip under the blue-black native cloth dress over one shoulder, and square of silk knotted in front and hanging over the shoulders, a decorative piece suspiciously Spanish. She always wore American stockings and shoes; I never saw her barefoot or in moccasins. Her pair of misshapen yellow kid shoes with most of the buttons gone she told me she had inherited from the sister who had died a few

<sup>1</sup>According to one informant *kadjūrna* (Sp. *kachana*, Isleta, *bakūrli*, is a root, and got from Jemez).

<sup>2</sup>Dumarest, 154.

months past—after the shoes had been in due course fumigated. Badly made and ill kept store-bought shoes, shoes which have displaced the moccasins which were the outcome of native arts of hunting, tanning, sewing, and coloring, shoes which were withal exorcised after the death of their original owner, may not Dzaid'yuwi's pair of shoes be taken as a symbol of how Americanization is proceeding at Laguna, or commercialization indeed the world over?

#### IV

Dzai'ity'i of the Water clan (Gen. II, 19, House 40) is a woman over forty-five, possessed of talent and good looks. A few years ago she took as her second husband a man who was her junior by ten or fifteen years and who was also a clansman. His family disapproved the marriage; and, rather a striking fact, this disapproval was based on the disparity in years rather than on the incest involved, at least so gossip runs. I heard about the affair from a Water clanswoman, whom Dzai'ity'i called on one day to borrow a small sum of money. Dzai'ity'i was refused, she already owed \$1.80 to the family, and when you loaned her money it was "hard to get it back." She was impecunious, although her husband's family was the richest family of Laguna.

Dzai'ity'i is a *shiwanna cheani*. Her *cheani* name is Tsinadyuwi. Tsiwema, whose predecessor as *sextana* was Dzai'ity'i's father, Tsiwema is Dzai'ity'i's or Tsinadyuwi's ceremonial father, "her father." Some years ago he cured her of a grave illness, and she "joined them." The fact is interesting as evidence that initiation of patients after recovery into the curing society whose doctor effected the cure has been a Laguna as well as a Zuñi or Hopi practice. Moreover, the case shows that the *shiwanna cheani* group is or was made up, not merely of the lightning shocked,<sup>1</sup> as you are commonly told. Tsinadyuwi assists or is supposed to assist Tsiwema in his ceremonials. Until a day or two before the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 Tsiwema was away from Laguna, visiting a daughter at Isleta, and it was said that if he returned in time for the ceremonial Tsinadyuwi would take part in it, otherwise she would not. Tsiwema returned, nevertheless Tsinadyuwi did not go to his house the night of the ceremonial, but went as a looker-on to the house of her clanspeople where the *kashale cheani* were conducting the ceremonial. She was criticised for thus neglecting her own ceremonial duties. She had

<sup>1</sup>Nor are all the lightning-shocked initiated. Kawi'tsi'i (Gen. II, 53, Gen. III, 33) and others were along with Tsiwema when he had his shock experience and the others were also shocked, but Tsiwema alone was initiated,—"it is too hard to be *cheani*" (see p. 275).

After a person is shocked, I was told in connection with this incident, he must be left alone until he comes to, otherwise he will not come to (see p. 275).

been neglectful for some time past.<sup>1</sup> It is also a fact that when her son was shot by accident and badly wounded she summoned, not Tsiwema, but the American doctor and American nurse.

As is noted elsewhere (p. 218), Tsinadyuwi is called upon at funerals, to "paint" the face of the corpse and to sing. In the instance cited, the deceased was a clanswoman, but it is possible that, as assistant to Tsiwema, Tsinadyuwi officiates in some particulars at funerals in other clans. She is called upon at childbirth, but how commonly and in what capacity was somewhat obscure. For one thing she understood how to get the foetus into the proper position for delivery. She also knew of a root (*huwidyamu*) which ground fine and drunk with hot water brought in the milk. In general Tsinadyuwi was well informed on native beliefs and practices in connection with childbirth and with little children, as far as I tested her with data from Zufi and from other Laguna informants.<sup>2</sup>

Tsinadyuwi was also familiar with some of the longer tales, including the Emergence myth. On one occasion she narrated that myth at some length, but instructed our interpreter, a clanswoman to whom the myth was unfamiliar, not to translate it to me until she got to the latter part of it, in particular to the coming of the White priests. In her mind, this advent was the proper conclusion of the emergence or migration or history tale of her people. The origin myth of Zufi concludes similarly.

Tsinadyuwi's clanswoman was a poor interpreter, but Tsinadyuwi was too timid to work with any other. She was in particular fearful of our regular interpreter; he was or had been a Fire *cheani*, and, as some of our mutual acquaintances pointed out, one *cheani* does not want another *cheani* to know anything about what he or she does.

## V

Dziwitira of the Sun clan is over seventy years old. I first saw her picking to pieces a quilt on the terrace of Dzaid'yuwi's house. She had come over from Mesita for a few days to stay at the house of Dzaid'-

<sup>1</sup>By the following year she seems to have had a change of heart, for there is a fair amount of evidence that at the summer solstice of 1920 she made some of the prayer-sticks deposited by Tsiwema, her sticks being like his, but all yellow instead of alternating yellow and turquoise.

<sup>2</sup>It seems opportune to record here some of the things Tsinadyuwi told me which are not recorded in "Mothers and Children at Laguna," and "Mothers and Children at Zufi, New Mexico."—There is a root medicine to determine the sex of the expected child; the roots are small for a boy, large for a girl.—If the expectant mother drinks through reeds (*hishdua*, used for arrows) she will have a boy, and all her future children will be boys. Dark spots on cheeks indicate a boy. (Our interpreter, who was pregnant, was told that she was going to have a boy).—A nap during labor will change the sex of the child.—Deer meat cooked with other meat will cause twins, because deer have twins.—To cause you to have twins, and one of them to die, a witch will hide from you your water jar or dipper, and do something to it. As a prophylactic against twins you eat two peaches grown together or any fruit similarly grown.—If the delivery is retarded, you would hit the woman on the back with a man's moccasin; and you would pray to Badger for help. (You may have put a badger paw in your belt—cp. Parsons, (a), 168 ft.) . . . Badger digs out quickly.—The placenta is buried in the river bank with meal and bread crumbs.

yuwi's mother. She had always helped the family to make or remake their quilts and so Dzaid'yuwi' had invited her to her house to engage in the same job. Dzaid'yuwi' was going to "pay" her, probably in kind.

At the time I was engaged in genealogical work with Dzaid'yuwi', so, as I had to catch her at odd moments, this time at her own invitation I asked her a question or two about her kin as she sat over the quilt. "Don't speak their names," she warned, "the old woman will think I am selling their names to you; she will talk about it." For a Pueblo Indian that was a natural attitude—distrust of anyone not of the intimate household circle, but, in this case, unwarranted, for the old woman began at once to tell us about her own people, taking the chance, of which she was apparently unaware, of being herself talked about. Not infrequently, at Zuñi as well as at Laguna, I have found that old people of a garrulous disposition will quite naïvely give information that juniors refuse. More than once a young, Americanized interpreter, has even checked, by his own attitude, the communicative spirit of an elder.

Dziwitira was the daughter of Taiowityuë of the Lizard clan, the last cacique or *tiamoni hocheni* of Laguna, and it was about her father she wanted to talk—at a price. Taiowityuë had become in boyhood a Flint *cheani*, and later a member of the warrior group, an *opi'*. He married, and it was then, after his marriage, they began to talk about making him *hocheni*. He had many children, twelve, and I may observe that there was no suggestion that this fulfilment of paternity was out of the way. Unbroken continence in the high priesthood is, I believe, a concept of sanctity which has developed among the Pueblo Indians solely at Zuñi.

As a young girl Dziwitira was preparing to become a Flint *cheani*. With one other girl she cleaned the ceremonial room of the *cheani*, she fetched water, and she took care of the altar paraphernalia. She had carefully to sweep up the chips from making prayer-sticks, as among the Hopi, and I presume elsewhere, a function not negligible, and she had to take the refuse down to the river; her father had even taught her how to make prayer-sticks. He would put a mark on the stick to show where she was to scrape off the bark and to paint. He showed her, too, how to tie on the feathers, but as to whether she actually prepared the whole offering her recital was a little ambiguous. Cornmeal and corn pollen were fed by her daily to the *s'amahiye* and the *iyetik'*. Before ceremonials she, too, practised the four-day purge.

But Dziwitira was never an initiated *cheani*, she was merely a helper; she did not even refer to herself as *shuts* (raw, unripe) *cheani*, as do the

uninitiated men assistants. Several women *cheani*, all now dead, were enumerated by her. One of her sisters had been a *kurena*. The other women she mentioned were:—

<i>shahaiye</i>	Tsiwaiyuna
	Shauti
Fire	Shuitya
	Kaiaidyuits'a
	Saushji
<i>saiyap'</i>	Matonyi or Kauutidyuwits'a
	Saiyap'
	Saiyap' (a'junior)
<i>kashare</i>	Kauwiesië
	Tsaiityi

At the time I met her, Dziwitira had come in to Laguna with other folk from Mesita for the summer solstice ceremonial; but the day before the ceremonial she was sent for to return home to settle a family row that a troublesome daughter had precipitated. This daughter has had a very unusual history—for a Pueblo Indian woman. A few years ago she engaged in the murder of her husband. Her confederates were a lover, the son of Tsiwema (House 9, 13); and the then husband of Kuyu'd'yuwe (Gen. I, 68) and a man-woman who lived in the woman's household. The three were jailed. On their release, the lover and the woman appeared unashamed, and in time married other persons; the man-woman never went out and is said to have died of the disgrace. The father of the woman, Dziwitira's husband, once a war captain, also died of the disgrace. On his return home, after he had first heard the news, he is said to have taken off his belt and with it beaten his daughter who was at the time at home, pretending to be sick.

## VI

Hiedyedye, of the Bear clan (Houses 11, 29, 31), was born about forty years ago in Laguna; but shortly after his birth his parents joined the Laguna colony in Isleta, and Hiedyedye grew up in Isleta. As a boy he herded sheep and from that date are the designs tattooed on him—a small sun on his forehead, on his left wrist and arm a rabbit and the Laguna horse brand. Sheep herders are given to tattooing, pricking ground up charcoal into the skin with a cactus point. In the Laguna-Isleta colony Hiedyedye became a Fire *cheani*, and he married. Gossip goes that his attentions to the other sex were considered excessive and that "the men drove him out of town." At any rate he left Isleta and came to Laguna to live—and remarry. Again he disturbed the com-



munity by his gallantries. He became the reputed father of several children and he figured in the first infanticide case known at Laguna. Infanticide is, as one might expect, an odious offense in Pueblo Indian eyes, and the case came up before the governor and council. The evidence was extremely slight, and the case was dropped. But after Hiedyedye and a girl were found asleep one night in one of the deserted houses—at Laguna as at Zúñi the deserted house appears to be a *rendez-vous* for lovers—Hiedyedye was warned “by the men,” i.e., the governor and council that unless he reformed he would be driven from Laguna. Either he took the warning or with increasing years his gay spirit was sobered, for he is reported as having said lately that he had determined “to be good.”

His wife may be also a factor in sobriety. She has no children and there are no relatives in her household, so that given an impulse to watch over her husband, she is much freer to gratify it than most Pueblo Indian wives would be. And in fact she is a closer conjugal companion than any Pueblo Indian woman I know. She sits out on the terrace with her husband, of an evening, and she works with him in his fields. I have met them driving together in his buggy to or from the fields which lie near New Laguna, and there in June they were seen cultivating the corn, he in one row, she in another. Moody, forbidding, and ungracious, she is a marked contrast to the light-hearted and charming man she safeguards.

Besides his farming, Hiedyedye has a light, but paying job in the stable of the Sanitarium. His wife raises chickens and sells eggs. They are putting by money—in the bank—and they are reported as saying that it is better thus to provide for themselves than to enlarge their household with dependents—it is a departure in the direction of the American single family and as marked an instance of disintegrating native custom as any I have met in the Southwest.

Hiedyedye was the best interpreter we found in Laguna, although his native tongue he spoke, as we say, with a foreign accent. He was interpreter, too, for the Catholic priest. Like José or Tsiwema, he combines Catholic and native sacerdotalism, rather ludicrously, because so cautiously, we thought on one occasion. For the four days before the summer solstice ceremonial he was taking the cedar brew purge of mornings, and I believe that he assisted at the ceremonial conducted by Tsiwema, although he insisted that, tired out that night, he went to bed early, and slept through. He was tired out, he said, because the day before he had been in charge of a Sunday school picnic to Mt. Taylor.

Probably he did make the expedition with the children, but I have little doubt that with the charge he combined a mission of depositing prayer-sticks on this most sacred mountain, *spinna hochenits'a*.

Of his own curing group, the *hakani* or Fire *cheani*, Hiedyedye always assumed ignorance except once when he stated that the *hakani* and *shahaiye cheani* cured snake bite and drove snakes away. When he was a boy he saw a *hakani cheani* remove from the village one of the many rattlesnakes that used to be about the old houses. The *cheani* prayed and sprinkled corn pollen (*hatawe*) on the head of the snake, he chewed medicine and rubbed his hands with it. Then he invited the snake to come into his hands. The snake came and the *cheani* carried him away. The *cheani* would not kill the snake.

Hiedyedye's English was good enough and his mind open enough to discuss with him religious theory, native and Catholic, from a comparative and quasi critical<sup>1</sup> standpoint. He remarked one day that from my Zuni experience I had learned something, I understood Indian ceremonial up to a certain point; but beyond that I was ignorant, the true inner meanings I did not know. No doubt he was quite right, but of course, for obvious reasons, I had not let him know just what I did know; and in his place I would have made the same criticism. His comment was interesting, however, as showing that to his mind native beliefs were connected in a philosophic system, not on the surface, but esoterically, at least for the White, however enquiring.<sup>2</sup> "Why not let me in on this inner meaning?" I queried. "Do you tell us about your secret beliefs?" he retorted. He had in mind, it seemed, questions he had put the Catholic priest. He had once asked the priest, "How could confession forgive sins?" and "How do you get your power?" The priest had laughed and merely replied, "Are you going to be a priest?"

#### 1919-1920

In 1920 the summer solstice ceremonial was to have been performed on June 13. On June 11 there had been a dance, *kawaiyutsjia*, in House 4, on June 12 the men were out rabbit hunting<sup>3</sup> to the south when there

<sup>1</sup>It was Hiedyedye who advanced the comparison between "What you call germs" and the pernicious things sent into a person, into his clothes, mind you, not into his flesh, by witchcraft. (Parsons, (h), 62 n. 3).

<sup>2</sup>Unless the White had been connected in some way with the ceremonial life, when like another he would understand the native philosophy. One of the old time White pioneers resident at Laguna had been so closely associated with the people that at one time there was talk of initiating him into the *chakwena* group. Hiedyedye would therefore not credit me when, after a talk with the said White, I asserted that he understood nothing of Indian religion. Incidentally, I did the white man a good turn, because Hiedyedye at once inferred that the man was but loyally preserving secrecy by his seeming ignorance.

<sup>3</sup>On the ceremonial hunt always held the day before the solstice ceremony. The game is collected the following morning by the war captains to be placed that night on the altars as an offering to *iyatik'ä*

arose a terrific storm and three of the hunters, Tsashji (House 4), this year the "head war captain": Shuwai'iri (Gen. II, 60; House 110), and Dya'gälyäi (Gen. IV, 8; House 109)<sup>1</sup> were struck by lightning. Dya'gälyäi was on horseback and he tumbled off the horse and lay face downwards on the ground. They waited "a long time"<sup>2</sup> before picking him up, waiting for a second clap of thunder; but it did not come, and so they knew that he was dead. Besides had he not been seen when he was struck?<sup>3</sup>

There was much general perturbation over this tragedy, and it was decided not to hold the solstice ceremony in Laguna, but in Encinal.

Eight days later when I arrived in Laguna I was told "they had not done anything yet for Shuwai'iri," but that Tsashji had been treated.<sup>4</sup> In the upper story of the vacant house (House 1) next his own, chosen because of its old fashioned fireplace, where medicine could be boiled, Tsashji had gone into a retreat of four days under the direction of Shaiusi (Gen. II, 22) of Mesita, brother of Dzai'ty'i (see p. 269), a graduate of Carlisle and a *shuts shikani cheani*.<sup>5</sup> Doctor and patient had spent the whole period indoors, what food they took was cooked without salt and brought to them by Tsashji's wife. There had been a daily purge. The rest of the treatment I was unable to learn about. At the close, Tsashji's head was washed by Shaiusi's wife and his sister, Dzai'ty'i, in the house of the retreat. Shaiusi's head would be washed by his wife at home. Tsashji had no intention of becoming a *shiwanna cheani*.<sup>6</sup> A large quantity of things, bread, meal, meat, beans, and cloth, "a big load," was given to Shaiusi and this pay was deposited over night by Shaiusi's wife in Dzaid'yuwi's house, a house conveniently near and likewise the house of a kinswoman.

During the year another violent death had occurred, at Paraje. It was a suicide, a rare occurrence. Indeed only one other suicide is remembered in Laguna; it occurred about twenty years ago at Powati.

<sup>1</sup>Within five years all of his people, i.e., his sister's household, were said to have been lightning shocked; but whether or not he was included in the experience I do not know.

<sup>2</sup>At Zuñi they would wait until the rain ceased.

<sup>3</sup>These two beliefs, that in order to recover, a lightning-shocked person should not be seen when he is struck and that there should be a second peal of thunder or flash of lightning, I have found familiar to people of Isleta and Santo Domingo. I infer from remarks made at the time of Giwire's decease that if the storm ceases it is supposed that the deceased has been carried away by the *shiwanna*.

<sup>4</sup>There are probably more reasons than one for the necessity of being treated. How dangerous to a healthy life lightning shock is considered to be, may be inferred from the fact that stomach cramps may be caused by merely "smelling the smoke" of the lightning-struck, you may be so far away from the accident that you are unaware of it. For cramps in the stomach *henadyi wawa*, cloud medicine, is given and if the cramps have indeed been caused thus indirectly by lightning the stomach will swell up.

<sup>5</sup>Bringing with him his *iyatik*, he had officiated in the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 in House 47. At that time I was told that he was a *shuts shiwanna cheani*. I infer that it was in this capacity that he officiated in the lightning cure.

<sup>6</sup>In Zuñi I had just heard of a similar cure without initiation. Here the patient had been bit by a mad wolf. There was a retreat of four days by patient and doctor.

In both cases the suicide was a man with a jealous wife. Yuriwa (House 82) and his wife had two sons but no daughter, therefore about ten years ago they adopted an eight-year-old girl whose mother had died, and who had no recognized father. The girl, a Lizard clanswoman, was no relation,—Yuriwa is of the Water clan, his wife of the Bear clan. In January the Lizard clan girl had a baby, and Yuriwa's wife believed that he was the child's father. Besides "although Yuriwa was a good worker, his wife was always scolding him." There had been quarreling all night, it was said, and in the morning Yuriwa shot himself with a pistol. "His wife was too mean, he couldn't stand it." . . . The two sons will inherit House 82.

Several other illegitimate births had occurred during the year. Dzaid'yuwi's unmarried cousin (Gen. II, 121) had had a baby in Gallup. Hearing about it, her adoptive family sent for her and the baby. The girl's brother-in-law was believed to be the baby's father. After a while this man became sick and the same family sent to Gallup again to bring him home with his wife and children. The contiguity of sister-in-law and brother-in-law in the same house (House 41) was felt to be awkward, but apparently unavoidable. . . . The unmarried daughter of House 19 had also had a child; but, not repeating the history of Dzaid'yuwi's cousin and of her own mother, not by her brother-in-law. The father was said to be the celibate son of House 47. For several years past this man had been devoted to the woman of Houses 36, 56. The man and woman even went out together and worked in the fields together. The intimacy was said to have killed the woman's husband. During the year the woman had died, and now the celibate was going with the girls.

Prolonged celibacy is unusual, as you would expect, at Laguna. Besides the instance in House 47 and in House 27 I learned of two other instances, in these cases, of celibacy plus a reputation for chastity. The daughter of House 93, Gen. III, 159, died unmarried at the age of forty-five, and Osharani (Gen. III, 180) of House 97 is unmarried. She is about thirty and the handsomest woman in Laguna.

There had been an elopement during the year. Dzaisdyui (Gen. I, 100) who had separated from her Zufi husband ran away with one of the sons of House 4, to Gallup. The Indian agent was trying to ascertain if her Zufi husband were still alive. Indian agents, more particularly when they are Catholic, show considerable solicitude now and again over the matrimonial affairs of the Indians. It must take time, and even so, odd mistakes are sometimes made. The people of Zufi once laughed

a good deal over their agent who, upon interfering in the affairs of two couples, had shut up overnight in the same prison room a man from one couple, and a woman from the other couple, thinking the two were a married couple.

To return to Laguna, to House 19, some time during the winter, Kaaihië, the married daughter of the house, had a dream in which her grandfather appeared to her saying that he wanted her to be made *cheani* as he had been—his *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> was still in the house. Kaaihië went and told the *tsatio hochen*i and Tsiwema, the *shiwanna cheani*, about her dream, and Tsiwema undertook to initiate her. Meanwhile there were some protests. Several women went to Mrs. Eckerman, the grandniece of Giwire, the last most authentic of the *cheani*, to ask her, as a representative of Giwire, to interfere, since it would be a disgrace for Kaaihië to use Giwire's songs, she was not a fit woman to be *cheani*, not being strict enough in matters of sex. It was even said at the time that one of the two *shiwanna cheani* women had threatened to resign were Kaaihië taken in. Taken in she was, however, for Dzaid'yui' says that one day her little girl ran home saying that Kaaihië was sitting with a feather in her hair, and that Tsiwema was there with a rattle. Dzaid'yui' went and looked for herself, verifying the news. The ceremonial life at Laguna, compared with the life in other pueblos, is certainly a bit haphazard.

It was K'ashiena (Gen. III, 40; Houses 5, 38) or Shena, as she is often called, who had threatened to withdraw as *shiwanna cheani* were Kaaihië put in. I had heard before of K'ashiena as one who had helped Tsiwema. It is said that she was sickly as a child and therefore was given by her mother to the *cheani* to help them, to sweep the floor for them, to fetch water, etc. Her status as *cheani* is disputed; some say that she has never been initiated, and much of her special information, knowledge of herbs and of midwifery, she appears indeed to have acquired on her own, so to speak, at any rate she does not think of this knowledge as secret to *cheani*. Some of it she got years ago from two old men, Sohwahna, *shiwanna cheani*, and Gaushuro, *shahaiye cheani* (? Gen. I, 55). Her own father was *kurena cheani*.

K'ashiena is a woman about fifty, of a frank and responsive disposition, alert and cheerful. Dzaid'yui' says that she always sends for K'ashiena at childbirth and that K'ashiena always knows what to do and helps her through to the very end, cheerfully and ungrudgingly. I can well believe it, and I regret that my acquaintance with K'ashiena began so late in my visit.

It may be remembered that there had been talk of superseding Wed'yumě of the Badger clan, the "father" of the *k'atsina*, with Ts'i-wairo, the Antelope clansman, who had undertaken to become "their father." During the year the change had been made. Ts'i-wairo still lived at Paraje and it was said that the *gumeyoish* masks<sup>1</sup> had been taken to his Paraje house. Ts'i-wairo, Wed'yumě and the head war captain went into retreat for four days, according to one informant, into House 112, the house Wed'yumě came out of, according to another informant into House 108a, a house borrowed by the war captains. Twenty members of the *k'atsina* organization went also into retreat. ("That was only a part of them; there may be as many as one hundred members.") Contenance and a daily purge were observed in the retreat. There were four days more to the ceremony, days of non-retreat; i.e., the whole ceremony lasted eight days. Unfortunately, I could learn little or nothing more of the ceremony except the interesting fact that Ts'i-wairo had to go to Acoma to get the rules of office (*oyuk'aiye*, like the Zuni term *haitoshnawe*) from the Antelope clansmen there,<sup>2</sup> there being no Antelope clansman at Laguna and the rules of the Badger clan for the *k'atsina* not being the same as those of the Antelope clan.

In discussing this subject it became evident that it made little or no difference whether or not Ts'i-wairo was an Antelope clansman. He was "being pushed into the office" by reason of a vow probably made when he was sick,<sup>3</sup> long ago; and not because he was the only available Antelope clansman. In fact, informants were doubtful as to whether Ts'i-wairo was or was not an Antelope clansman. He was associated with the Parrot people of Houses 62, 87, who had migrated to Paraje, and his father was Tsiwak'ama; of those facts they were certain; but Tsiwak'ama had married three times; and one informant did not know the clans of any of his wives, and another thought that he was the second husband, not the brother, of Tsioditsa, she thus being the mother of Ts'i-wairo. Another informant opined that since her mother, child of the Parrot clan, called Ts'i-wairo, "brother," he too must be child of the Parrot clan. . . . It became fairly certain that Roris, an Antelope clanswoman who had lived much in Jemez, was the mother of Ts'i-wairo, he

<sup>1</sup>Ts'i-wairo has been one of the regular *gumeyoish* impersonators, I believe. Of the other three, two are Parrot clansmen, and one a Sun clansman.

<sup>2</sup>Were the Antelope clan at Acoma to die out, states an Acoma informant, the Badger clan would take its place in the *k'atsina* leadership—the Laguna practice.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 269. The only time I saw Ts'i-wairo or Antoni Davi, the silversmith of Paraje, was at Powati when he came in to forbid an old blind man to go on telling me stories—Mexican stories at that. As a result of a vow made during sickness a man may volunteer to become *kurts hano* or *k'atsina hocheni* or, if he is a Badger man, *dyup hano*.

being thus indeed an Antelope clansman. But the discussion threw light upon the feeling that to father the *k'atsina* a man could be made Antelope.

The night of San Juan, 1920, *talawaiye* was danced in House 97. This year the circuit to the houses of the saints' godchildren began at House 69 and ended at House 56. A miscellany of things were thrown to the visitors—dry goods, bracelets, money, pottery, a live rabbit, legs and saddles of mutton, and bottles were hung down from the house top. The circuit was made as usual, on foot. Some years ago when they went on horseback, as in other pueblos, there was an accident, and since then horses have been ruled out. This year in the subsequent chicken pull a Navajo got away with the rooster. The townsmen caught the Navajo, stripped off his shirt, and made him leave town. Ever since the people have been afraid that the Navajo would do something to them.

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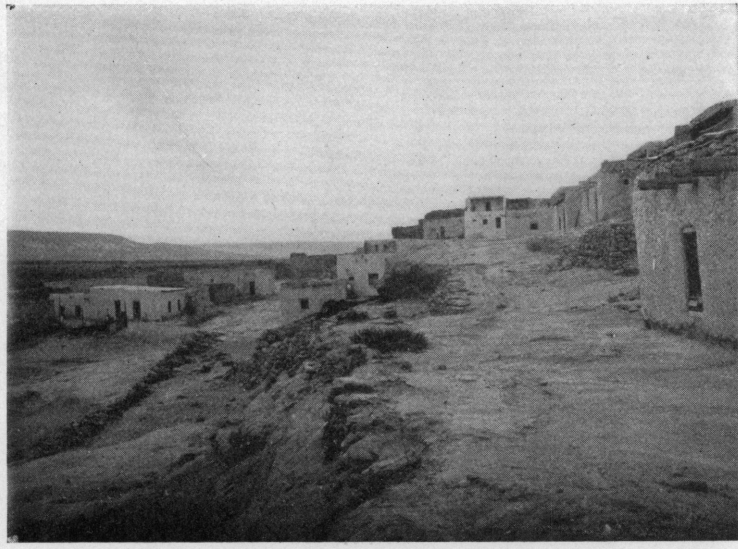


Fig. 5



Fig 6.

Fig. 5. K'onat'a'yumă. House 1 to the Right. To the Left, parts of East Ledge building and of South Prairie.

Fig. 6. The Southwest End.



Fig. 7.

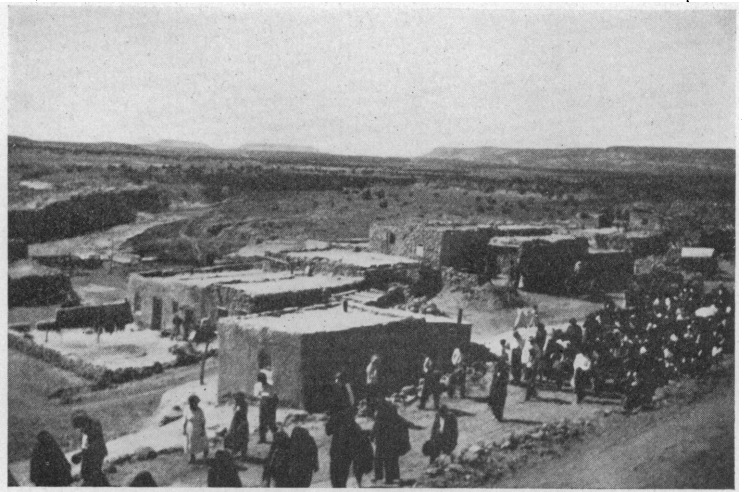


Fig. 8.

Fig. 7. To the Right of the Water Tank is House 72. Beyond, Ruins 80, 81.

Fig. 8. Houses 71-100. Procession for San José on September 19.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. "Middle". To the Right, West Gap, Houses 15, 16, and the Church Belfry. To the Left, Ruin 14, House 12.

Fig. 10. "Middle". House 15 and North-Middle Houses.



Fig. 11.

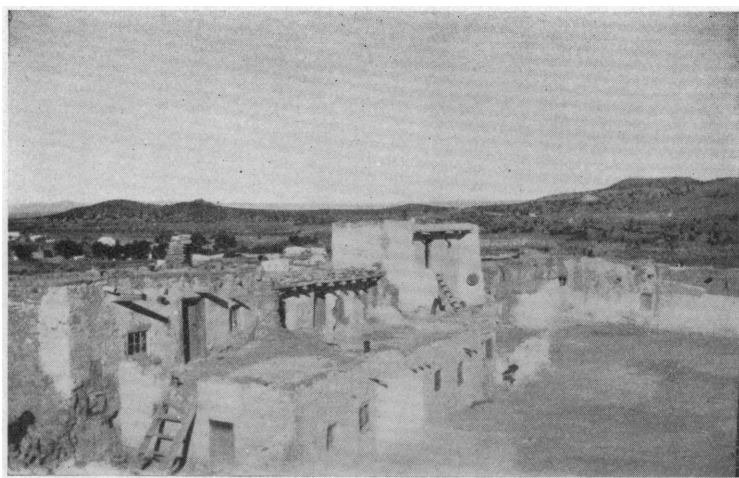


Fig. 12.

Fig. 11. "Middle", looking Northeast from Ruin 14.

Fig. 12. "Middle", North Side.

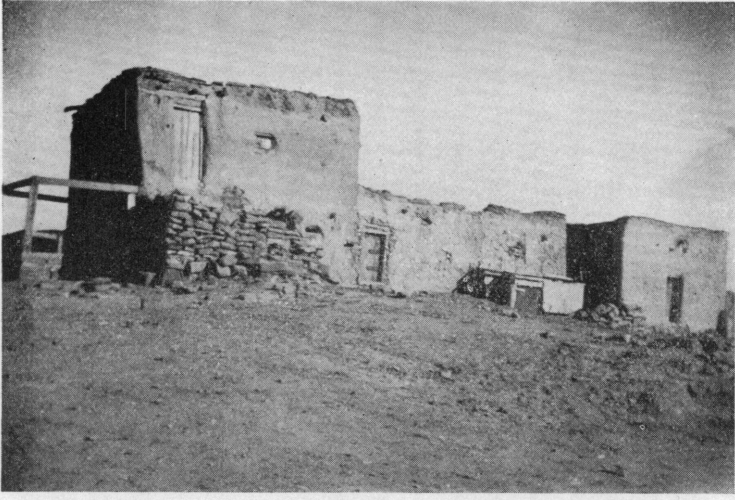


Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

Fig. 13. House 18, West Side.

Fig. 14. Northeast Houses.

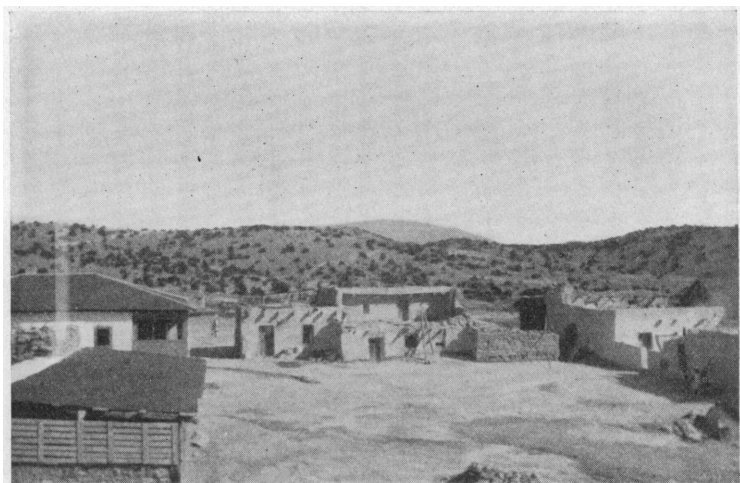


Fig. 15.

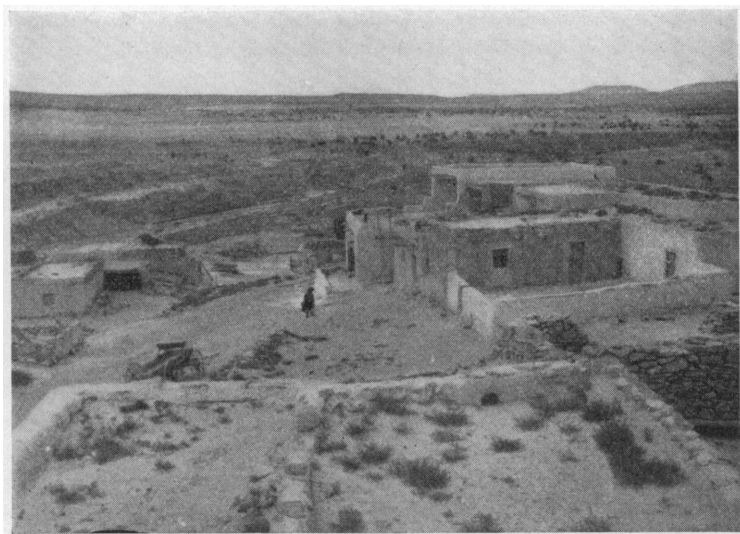
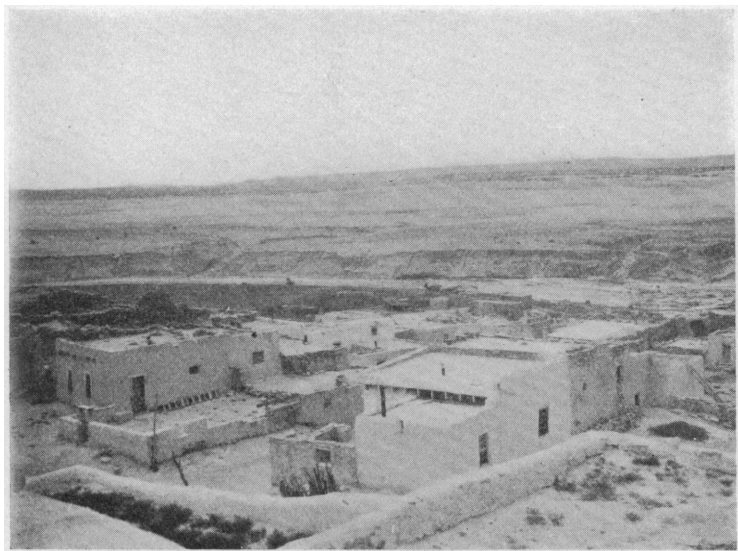


Fig. 16.

Fig. 15. Houses 41-47.

Fig. 16. West-on-top-of-hill Houses. Photographed from the roof of the church building.





**Fig. 17.**



**Fig. 18.**

**Fig. 17. West Outside Houses.**

**Fig. 18. South End from San José River.**



Fig. 19. *K'atsina* Sitting-place. The ledge in the middle of the picture and the cedar next to it are where prayer sticks are deposited. West side of church.

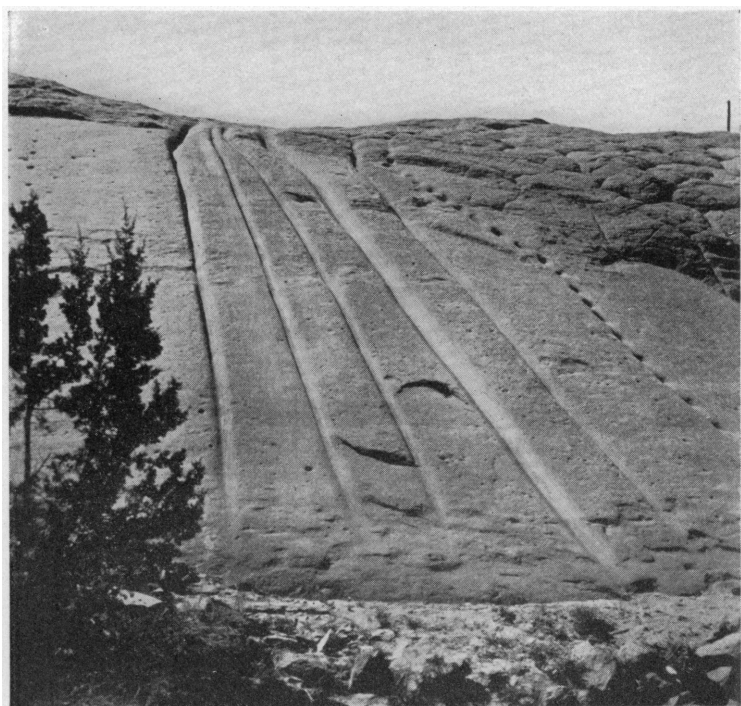


Fig. 20. Marked Rock North of Laguna, Photographed by Mr. N. C. Nelson.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

Fig. 21. Omen Rock north of Zuñi, at *atsanakwi*.

Fig. 22. Zuñi Man with Omen Pebble under his Foot.



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