



CHAPTER 16

STRUCTURAL CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in chapters 5–14, and the social frames highlighted in chapter 15, prompt certain structural conclusions. The split's reconfiguration of population was principally articulated via conjugal households; with few exceptions, households remained together. Titiev and Levy argued that marital rearrangements by factional allegiance occurred in the years before 1906, and while this may be true to some extent, the argument that such rearrangements thus predicated the split is teleological. The *conjugal* household (rather than Titiev's sense of the household as a matrilineal lineage or lineage segment) remained the essential structural form throughout, reflecting its status as the basal unit for the reproduction of Hopi society. Moreover, this probably represents a paradigmatic pattern in Hopi history: commenting, in 1888, on the migration from old Songòopavi (below Second Mesa) to the new village on the mesa-top after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Stephen's informant reported, "the people moved by households, not clans" (Stephen, 1936: 1086).

In chapter 3, I argued that the house model, with its allowance for conjugal and affinal relations, fits the facts of Orayvi social structure better than the lineage model. Of course, not every Orayvi household comprised a house in the Lévi-Straussian sense, but households were the constitutive form of houses (i.e., in the marked instance, of [a] leading household[s] residing in the *wungwki*, clanhouse). While, as the "maternal house" in Parsons' term, it had an im-

portant matrilineal aspect, the household distinguished its members, among other means, by the intersection of patrification with matrilineality. The interplay of kinship and affinity in the household provided the processual social mechanism through which structures transformed through time and events. Reproducing via the developmental cycle, households served as the engine for the formation of new "houses", especially when their members emphasized a distinct matrilineal name. In this way, household segmentation (or, to use Parsons' term, "budding") was a constant, regular process of differentiation in Orayvi social structure, and thus the predictable matrix for social divisions in the split. While articulated through the maximal clan sets, marriage alliances were realized in the household and the house. It is thus no surprise that the redistribution of households at the split was echoed in the bifurcation of *all* the maximal sets. While a few whole "clans" were either entirely Friendly or Hostile, there were no such instances for maximal sets: *all* divided (see below).

In contrast to clans themselves, most clan-houses (see chap. 5; some were more clearly "houses"—in accordance with the relative distinctness of their respective "clans"—than others) were aligned factionally. Following Titiev's clan designations (with a few name modifications), the Friendly clanhouses were: Katsina, Raven, Bear, Lizard, Greasewood (most members already at Mùnqapi), Reed (most already at Mùnqapi), Bow, Maa-saw/Kwan (some already at Kiqòtsmovi),

Real Badger, Piikyas (most already at Mùnqapi), Patki, Rabbitbrush, Sparrowhawk, and Crane. The Hostile clanhouses were: Parrot, Spider, Sun, Gray Hawk, Eagle, Coyote, Millet, Desert Fox (mostly), Kookop, Gray Badger, and Squash. The houses that split were: Rabbit, Sand, Snake, Butterfly, and Navajo Badger. In terms of clans themselves, for the few that were entirely Friendly or Hostile (Maasaw, Sparrowhawk, Spider, Kookop, Millet, Gray Hawk—again if, just for temporary hypothetical purposes, we accept Titiev's designation of the latter as a "clan"), the split entrenched totemic realignment; Tawakwaptiwa's and/or Titiev's identifications are much more distinctive in these cases than those by White, Voth, or Stephen.

Where households or clanhouses split, marriage alliances dialectically influenced matrilineal cleavages. Extended into a diachronic principle, this would corroborate Leslie White's model of socio-evolutionary fission (quoted in chap. 3) as the most parsimonious explanation for differentiated clan groups with maximal sets. I conclude that this model probably best accounts for such distinctions as Bear-Spider, Parrot-Raven-Katsina, Sparrowhawk-Crane-Squash, Patki-Piikyas-Rabbitbrush, Greasewood-Reed, Snake-Lizard-Sand, Kookop-Cedar-Maasaw, Coyote-Desert Fox-Millet, and Badger-Butterfly. Thus, first households newly separated at marriage, then houses, became the mechanism for the growth of new "clans" (confirming Parsons in this regard).

Social formations are not only evolutionary, however; they are also historical, responding particularly to "resounding events" (in Braudel's terms) of various kinds. Rapid population loss (through infertility, disease, or famine) or migration produced consolidation and social fusion in some cases. Occasional influxes represented by the Second Mesa move to Orayvi in March 1906 (had they been permitted to remain), or as suggested by Hopi designations of certain clans as originally Tanoan (e.g., Piikyas/Rabbitbrush, Eagle, and, at First Mesa, Aasa/Tsa'kwayna), Keresan (e.g., Snake, perhaps Badger), or Paiute (Greasewood-Reed), corroborate a model of social amalgamation. Clan relationships between Second Mesa Bluebird (and its Sun affines) and Third

Mesa Spider (-Bluebird) framed the alliance in Orayvi just prior to the split. Titiev's "Gray Badger" and White's Badger lineage "from Awat'ovi" together suggest inter-village clan fusion after the redistribution of Awat'ovi survivors in 1700 (cf. Whiteley 2002).

Clan distinctions in Hopi discourse point both to original admittance of discrete migrant groups and agonistic intra-group separations—corresponding with (historical) fusion and (evolutionary) fission, respectively, as the causes of clan associations and differences. Again, households and *houses* provided the social and physical frameworks of both absorptions and segmentations. Since one woman, and via her, a conjugal household, may be the origin of a new clan, the households-cum-houses model is a critical key for unlocking processes of distinction and association among clans. The lineage model is both too unilateral and too mechanistic to explain such diachronic processes in Orayvi social structure.

Orayvi clanhouses were also defined by their ritual hereditaments and roles in the total sociocultural system. The counterpoint between Soyalangw (Solstice, winter) and Leenangw (Flute, summer), and the association of both with the legitimation of village leadership, was noted in chapter 2. The split transformed a structural rhythm of seasonal alternations into a historical irruption of disjunct alternatives. The Bear clanhouse, legitimated through Soyalangw, remained in Orayvi. The Spider clan, principals in Leenangw, all left for Hotvela and Paaqavi. Moreover, Leenangw's biennial summer counterpart sodalities, Snake and Antelope (the latter another Spider prerogative), were predominantly Hostile, and also left for Hotvela and Paaqavi. While it would be excessive to read this in terms of a Rio Grande Pueblo Summer-Winter/Turquoise-Squash model, as structural principles, seasonally alternating socio-ritual pairing and dualism (on an axis including both ritual associations and kinship ties) were clearly expressed in the overall pattern of Orayvi's fission.

Kivas (which Parsons, again, regarded as another form of clanhouses) also divided, some remaining at Orayvi, others relocating to the new villages. As the *mong.kiva* (chief

kiva), Sakwalenvi, presided over by the Spider clanhouse, became a Hostile center, most of whose members left at the split. Tsu'kiva, the Snake kiva, controlled by the Snake clanhouse and sodality, was also principally Hostile; nearly all members of the Wuwtsim sodality at that kiva left at the split. The other Wuwtsim kivas were also aligned factionally: Tawa'ovi was exclusively Friendly, Hano primarily so; Hawiwvi, the largest Wuwtsim kiva, and the center of the ceremony, was $\frac{3}{4}$ Friendly to $\frac{1}{4}$ Hostile; after the withdrawals to Pongovi, Sakwalenvi had an inverse— $\frac{3}{4}$ Hostile to $\frac{1}{4}$ Friendly—complement of Wuwtsim members. The other Wuwtsim sodalities—Taatawkyam (Singers), Kwaakwant (One-Horn), and Aa'alt (Two-Horn)—were more evenly split. However, in its joint housing of the Two-Horn and Antelope societies, Naasavi kiva was a major Hostile nexus. This was Yukiwma's kiva: he was a member of both those sodalities, as was the kiva chief Qötsventiwa (see above; although his Antelope membership was not recorded by Titiev). Hostile members of the Parrot and Rabbit clan withdrew from Taw (Singers') kiva to build Kyarsurkiva. The Katsina clanhouse's Katsin kiva was also Hostile. Hotsitsivi (Powamuy kiva) and the Badger clanhouse (leaders of Powamuy) remained Friendly, as did the Lizard clanhouse, head of the Maraw society and its kiva.

With the decline of Wuwtsim at Orayvi after the split (the last initiation occurring in 1909), the Wuwtsim kivas fell out of use. Of the seven Wuwtsim kivas (i.e., excluding Tawa'ovi), Hawiwvi alone remained active in 1933. Only three other kivas (the three that are still in use today)—Tawa'ovi, Powamuy (i.e., Hotsitsivi), and Maraw (Titiev, 1972: 326)—were then active, thus echoing the social shape of the split. Hotvela and Paaqavi in effect transplanted the kivas over which the Hostiles had held sway, retaining the names and sodality associations directly in some cases. At Hotvela, the six named kivas are: Naasavi (for Two-Horn and Antelope), Tsu' (Snake), Hawiwvi (Wuwtsim), Kwan (One-Horn), Taw (Singers, also used for Powamuy), and Tsor'ovi ("bluebird above place", i.e., a kiva led by the Spider clan, as the replacement for Sakwalenvi). When Lomahongiawma moved to Paaqavi, he reestab-

lished Sakwalenvi by name; it remains the *mong.kiva* today; later on Paaqavi also built its own Kwan and Al kivas. Thus in name and effect, Hotvela and Paaqavi took six Orayvi kivas with them: the first five listed at Hotvela and Sakwalenvi at Paaqavi. Initially, Mũnqapi had only one kiva: Letaykiva ("fox kiva"), but established an Is kiva ("coyote kiva") not long after, both kivas thus reflecting Is kiva's clan association at Orayvi (Mũnqapi also added Kawàykiva ["watermelon kiva"], owned by the relocated Greasewood clanhouse, and in later years at the upper village, Kootalkiva ["firelight kiva"]). Kiqötsmovi built its first kiva (Wuyo kiva, "old kiva") after the split, just for Katsina ceremonies; by 1932 (Brainard, 1935: 161), it had a second (Wupa'kiva, "long kiva," presided over by Sparrowhawk/Crane descendants), and later built a third, Kooyemsi ("Mudhead") kiva. All the Mũnqapi and Kiqötsmovi kivas are *söqavung* (commoner) kivas, lacking even historical association with *wiimi* (higher order ritual).

If the split within maximal set II—Bear/Soyalangw/Winter vs. Spider/Leenangw/Summer—reflects one key dualism in Orayvi social structure, another appears between maximal sets II and VI, also paired structurally in some significant respects. Each respectively was associated with principal internal or external governance offices: set II with the Kikmongwi ("peace chief"), and set VI with the Qaletaqmongwi ("war chief"). Seen from this perspective, the split separated these counterpoint leadership functions. In each set, there was a structurally isomorphous fission, between the Bear and Spider clans on the one hand, and Kookop and Maasaw clans on the other. In set VI, the Kookopngyam left the village as a group, while all the Masngyam remained in Orayvi. Kookop was the principal clan (with Spider) owning the Qaletaqmongwi position and its undergirding Mòmtsit (Warriors society); Maasaw owned the Kwaakwant (One-Horn society), whose defensive-warrior associations partly replicate Mòmtsit. In set II, the principal Bear household remained at Orayvi, while the Spider clan all removed. Complicating the isomorphism with set VI somewhat, the Bear clan also split internally (but note that the apparent neatness of the Kook-

op—Maasaw division has been questioned in chapter 3). The senior Bear household shifted, when the chosen heirs to Loololma and Sakwhongiwma as Kikmongwi and Soyalmongwi died between 1898 and 1904. The household (with only males in the succeeding generation) that then assumed the privileges forced out the other, even though the latter contained the only fertile Bear women who could ensure perpetuation of the clan. This is where Levy's argument for shifts in "lineage" status is best supported; indeed he focused on this same example. It seems, however, to have been a special case rather than normative, not least because it wrought the clan's extinction at Orayvi. The shift occurred at the expense of both matrilineality and residence rules: the line of succession left the village as Hostiles, while Tawakwaptiwa consolidated his status in the Bear clanhouse by maintaining a highly unusual virilocal marriage (after his death in 1960, chiefly authority at the village shifted to his adoptive Parrot clan children, who had removed to other houses; the Bear clanhouse itself fell into disrepair).

Identifying a parallel split in sets II and VI is a simplification of course (especially with regard to an alliance between Kookop and Spider in Mõmtsit, and to the neglect of other clans in VI), but the suggested pattern of dialectical structural interplay is, I believe, significant. Overall, maximal-set splitting (as shown in fig. 15.44) clearly produced an approximate balance throughout Orayvi's kinship-and-marriage structure: every single set divided factionally, often with a noticeable balance in the numerical alignment of adults: Sets IV, V and VI have an approximate or precise ratio of 1:1, and in no set is the factional ratio even as high as 2:1. The relationship of descent and alliance—with the combination of kinship and affinal ties foregrounded in the house model—is clearly salient in this regard too. The symmetrical nature of the division pointed out at the "clan" level (especially for Kookop and Maasaw), is very probably a reflection of the split itself: in other words, formerly more labile clan descriptors became solidified in the actual separation into factions, and also reflected affinal ties within leading houses.

Older Hopis speak of marriages as more

regulated in the past, especially among higher-status clans. Both Loololma and Lomahongiwma, associated with set II's "peace chief" positions, married women from set VI, associated with the "war chief": Nakwavenqa (Loololma's wife) was Maasaw "clan", Qötsyamqa (Lomahongiwma's wife), was Desert Fox. The census data show that marriage alliance with set VI was multiplex for both the Bear and Spider clans in set II, especially if patrilateral linkages between generations are allowed for. Loololma's father, Kuyngwu—Orayvi's "regent" during Sakwhongiwma and Loololma's juniority—was, like Lomahongiwma's wife, Desert Fox. In the two Bear households of Loololma's generation, his sister, Humiwunsi, and cousin, Tuvewunqa, both married Maasaw men (Tawakwaptiwa's father was Maasaw), while for his brother, Sakwhongiwma (who married Badger), the alliance skipped a generation: Sakwhongiwma's daughter, Tsorhoynöm, first married Lomahongvi (Kookop, father of Siletstiwa, the future Powamuy chief). In that next generation, Tuvewunqa's daughter, Kuwanhongqa, married Pongyaletstiwa (Coyote), and two of Tawakwaptiwa's brothers married into set VI: Tuvahoyiwma married a Coyote woman, and Laapu a Maasaw woman. After this generation, my marriage data are not systematic, but Kuwanhongqa's son, Tanagqyawma, married a Desert Fox woman.

While there were of course marriages with other sets, the number of marriage ties between Bear and set VI is entirely disproportionate. For Spider, the same is true. In Lomahongiwma's generation, Tuvewuhiwma was married to a Millet clan woman; Tuvengöytiwa's Eagle wife was the daughter of a Maasaw man. Tuvamana, Spider clan matriarch at the clanhouse (sister of Tuvewuhiwma and Tuvengöytiwa, possibly a sister to Lomahongiwma), was married to a Desert Fox man. In the next generation, (Lomahongiwma's brother) Lomayestiwa's daughter, Tsorwisnöm (Greasewood), married a Maasaw man. Similarly, two children of Hookuna (Tuvamana's MZD or possibly her sister), married Desert Fox individuals, and a third married Qötshongva (Sun), the son of Yukiwma (Kookop). None of the daughters of Tuvamana, as far as my data go, married into

set VI (one of her sons, Nasiwisiwma, did, to a Desert Fox woman), but in the generation below that, two of her daughter's daughters did (Kyelwaysi to a Maasaw man, Ora to a Coyote man).

While, as Crow and semi-complex, Hopi marriage rules are negative, only proscribing marriage within the maximal set, and not proscribing marriage with other specific sets, the extent of intermarriage between sets II and VI suggests partially symmetrical (or at least "preferential") marriage exchange. I have not presented the total array of marriages for members of both sets (so far as my data would allow), and I have only included particular marriages, rather than all those for each individual mentioned. Yet, allowing for differences in population size among sets, if governed only by a negative rule, marriage exchanges among Orayvi's nine clan sets should produce a much more even pattern. Although beyond my present scope, there appear to be binary marriage pairings among other sets, or clans within sets; for example, sets I and VII (cf. Whiteley, 2002). The theoretically possible varieties of Crow-Omaha marriage exchange in a multiple-clan system proved intractable for Lévi-Strauss's (1949) model. In this Orayvi case at least, however, other normative conditions, including hierarchy and maximal set pairing, modified or restricted the actual array of exchanges. Marriage alliances between sets II and VI echoed their generally dialectical roles in village governance. The split between factions was among paired clan-set relatives intertwined by long-term patterns of marriage exchange. At the shrine of Atsamali, where the lines were drawn in the sand, Tawakwaptiwa's leading opponents were his (extended) matrilineal and patrilineal kin: his Spider clan "uncles" and his Kookop clan "fathers".

If the archetypal structure of a Hopi village's governance depended in some regard on the management of internal affairs, controlled by the Bear and Spider groups and their ritual sodalities, and the management of external affairs by the Kookop and Maasaw clans and *their* ritual sodalities, at one level the split produced a fairly neat meiosis. After the split, Bear in Orayvi retained a strong presence of its defense-oriented (ritually speaking), and multiply affinal counterpart

Maasaw, as well as of Maasaw's related Coyote clan. At Hotvela and Paaqavi, likewise, the Spider, Kookop and/or Desert Fox clans, whose houses were interwoven by sodality ties as much as by marriages, reproduced a parallel functional combination. Spider and especially one of its prominent men, Lomahongiwma, had already been proposed to replace Bear and Loololma as the Kikmongwi at Orayvi in the 1890's. The relationship between the Spider clanhouse (notably involving Lomahongiwma, Lomayestiwa, Tuvengöytiwa, and Tuvewuhiwma) with the Kookop clanhouse (notably Heevi'yima and Yukiwma)—especially through the ritual sodalities—mirrored that between the Bear clanhouse (notably, Loololma and Sakwhongiwma, and then Tawakwaptiwa) with the Maasaw/Kwan clanhouse (especially in Soyalangw, and via Loololma's affinal ties).

Kroeber's (1917: 143–145) remarks on the tendency of Pueblo clans to go in pairs, "or perhaps a tendency toward polarity within what is really one clan" (which we might modify to one maximal set) was borne out in the breach of these prominent associations at Orayvi. And considered via that other central structural form, the house, emphasized by Kroeber, Parsons, and Strong, and theoretically reiterated in Lévi-Strauss's "house" model—with its emphasis on affines as well as kin—and its structurally parallel Crow kinship system, Orayvi's alliances and divisions reflected in the split are more parsimoniously explained by the house-clan model than by a model of unilineal descent groups.

The rearrangement of Orayvi's social structure centrally involved household, house, clan, maximal set, sodality, and kiva components. But the split was not merely a structural event, it was saturated with historical significance, in the conjuncture with the dominant society. As shown in chapter 4, key historical circumstances included circumscription, both socially and environmentally. The imposition of government authority was a palpable force, especially via enforced acculturative education, and an active allotment program. An aggressive missionary presented a competing religious ideology. And internal political actions, including both resistance and accommodation, responded direct-

ly to these forces. Part II takes up these and other historical elements as represented in historical documents.

To reiterate my point of beginning, the Orayvi split was a total social fact that resonated throughout the several planes of Orayvi life. Numerous variables—demographic, material, structural, and historical—interacted to produce the conditions in which this dramatic transformation of a middle-range, semicomplex social system occurred. No unicausal explanation is sufficient to the transformation, which is reducible neither to material praxis, societal form, ideological difference, or agential vectors alone. Sound explanation must take into account the interaction of all these forces, both structural and historical.

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Abbreviations:

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 BIA: Bureau of Indian Affairs.
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 KCL: Keam's Canyon Letterbooks. 1899–1912. Letterpress copies of correspondence from Superintendents of the Keam's Canyon School and the Moqui Agency to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and others. Hopi Indian Agency, Keam's Canyon, Arizona.
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