

## Hopi: The Dreamers

The Hopi of northeast Arizona in the southwestern United States are part of the Pueblo culture complex, the house builders who used the earth itself to create their cities on the cliff walls and flat top mesas of the region. The Hopi are the westernmost of the Pueblo peoples. There are three Hopi Mesas, and Shongopovi ('Shungopovi', 'Shongopavi') is associated with Second or Black Mesa. There are 11 villages in Black Mesa, located at an altitude of 6,000 ft. above sea level. Black Mesa was one of the three major cultural centres of Pueblo culture in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. The Hopi have occupied Black Mesa for at least 500 years. They are surrounded by the aggressive Navajo, who have, over the years, with Spaniards and Americans, steadily driven the Hopi from the flatlands to the mesas (Adams 1963; Bartlett 1936; Kammer 1980).

The modern Hopi are famous artists with a unique iconography (see, for example, Broder 1978; Erickson 1979; Tollett 1981). They are better known, however, as pueblo-dwelling agriculturalists who also keep domesticated animals originally introduced by the colonizing Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries. As farmers the Hopi are famous for having developed many special strains of crops adapted to their desert home. Droughts are sporadic, but rainfall is never very high. Despite having to obtain water from springs below their mesas, yields from Hopi lands are generally high. They raise corn, beans, squash and fruit. Seeds are the property of the matrilineally-defined household; that is, of a woman and her brother rather than a woman and her husband.

Hopi values generally emphasize stability and peace, though in 1680 the Hopi fought successfully to throw off Spanish domination (Hargrave 1930). The Spanish had arrived in Hopiland in 1621, and immediately set up missions and recruited Hopi to work on Spanish plantations. In the revolt against Spanish rule, many Hopi groups were displaced. Despite being re-conquered, their traditions and elaborate ceremonies continue to be important. Their relative isolation on the mesas has probably contributed significantly to the continuity of Hopi traditions, although the Tewa people, who do not speak a Shoshonean language like the Hopi, have been slowly amalgamating with the Hopi for the last 200 years. This followed an invitation to Black Mesa by the Hopi after the revolt. There appears to be the basis of an ethnic division that is recognized in Hopi society, whereby Tewa are sometimes treated as social inferiors (Dozier 1954:290-297). Furthermore, Hopi appear to share many ceremonial characteristics with their neighbours (Forbes 1966; Goodwin 1937; Hawley 1950), which suggests the possibility that Hopi social and ceremonial life is less coherent and functionally integrated than Hopi ideology purports (a feature also noted in Kroeber 1918). Besides active and passive resistance to non-Hopi values, Hopi history has been marked by considerable tension and factionalism (Titiev 1944; Whiteley 1988). The continual fission of Hopi villages (Nagata 1970; Titiev 1944; Whiteley 1988) also suggests that the facts of Hopi social life are at variance with their ideology of peace and cooperation.

Yet the official Protestantism of many Hopi does not interfere with the importance of traditional values, and Hopi ceremonial life is very rich (Frigout 1979). They have a notion of an all-encompassing great spirit which imbues both nature and man with the same spiritual 'stuff'. Yet the Hopi tend towards dualism and reciprocity in their world view (a "correlative principle"; Thompson 1950:69), more so than many other North American Native groups. The Hopi divide time and space into the living world above ground and the world of the dead below (Titiev 1944:171-178). The world of the dead, as with the Klamath and other Plateau groups to the northwest, is the reverse of the world of the living. The sun sets on Hopiland in the west and rises in the west in the underworld, only to set in the east and rise again to the east as it continues its circular movement over both realms. Life and death, day and night, and summer and winter are seen as being in a relation of complementary opposition - that is, things opposed being held in an unstable accommodation to avoid being overthrown or being done away with. In this case, the elements are different part of the same cycle. The world of the living and the spirit world are seen as transformations of one another (Hieb 1979:577). *Kachinas* (spirits) take on cloud forms and rain

(*navala*) is the spiritual essence of the cloud people, just as blood is human *navala*. The expression of spirit-essence in terms of rain is a not unsurprising belief in a region with little rainfall (Haeberlin 1916; Fewkes 1896, 1905). Rain is the mediation between the Spirit and the human worlds (Emerson 1894). Corn absorbs spirit rain and is eaten by people, who in turn offer prayers and corn to the spirit world in a continual cycle of reciprocal exchange between the two realms (Hieb 1979:580). So pervasive is the imagery of reciprocity that people are sometimes described as being corn (Black 1984); that is, they are spirits.

Hopi ceremonies are also divided into two complementary halves, the masked and unmasked cycles. During the masked cycles, from January to July, the *Kachinas* live on the earth and are represented by masked performers in the ceremonials, and return to their home in the sky at the end of the ceremonial season. The unmasked ceremonials (July, the beginning of the ceremonial cycle, to December; see (Titiev 1944:109) are concerned with healing and regeneration. Unmasked ceremonies are linked to sodalities. Ceremonies are organized at the village level, not the tribe. The ceremonial cycle is complex and spans more than one year, and differs from mesa to mesa. In the masked cycle, for instance, one village holds the Snake-Antelope ceremony on alternate years and the Flute ceremony in between, but while one village is undertaking the Snake-Ceremonial cycle, another is engaged in the Flute cycle, so that throughout Hopiland all ceremonies are performed in the course of one year. The same coordination is present in the unmasked cycle.

Hopi social organization is complex and probably represents the most elaborate expression of the principle of dualism in North America. The Hopi are known for the importance they attach to their matrilineal clans (see Lowie 1929; Olson 1933), composed of one or more matri-groups descended from a common ancestor. The Hopi are matrilocal, such that a man regards the home occupied by his sister and her husband as 'his' household. He is, so to speak, merely 'on loan' (Connelly 1979) to his wife's group. In times of life crises, the Br-Si house stands for security. The matrilineal clans are exogamous, and they are linked into phratries. In theory, clans control the paraphernalia used in all rituals and provide the chief official who then leads the sodality in the performance of their (unmasked) ceremonies (Eggan 1950:89-106; Stephen 1936, 2:1169-79). Membership in the sodalities, meanwhile, does not depend on clan membership and the two networks (matrilineally defined lineages, clans and phratries on the one hand, and male-centred sodalities on the other) intersect and, according to Thompson (1950:88), are "balanced" one against the other. Furthermore, certain rites within a particular ceremony may belong to a particular clan, even though the ceremony as a whole belongs to a sodality (see Frigout 1966).

But the Hopi cannot be described in terms of their matrilineal clans alone. Eggan (1950), Titiev (1944), Parsons (1921, 1936), and Whiteley (1985/86) are clear that Hopi social life is very flexible on the mundane level of social activity while preserving the basic *kiva*-clan orientation. In general, the solidarity of the kin group is opposed to village solidarity, in the sense that simultaneous membership in both systems of identification sometimes create conflict or at least ambiguity. Sodalities, for example, which are yet another example of abstractly defined identity linking people into cross-household networks, have an important symbolic role in political life. Leaders are said to be chosen according to their contribution to Hopi life. This rule or tendency would seem to underline the importance of the village and of the incorporative-residential principle that defines village identity, but in practice the village-segment of the clan plays a key role in selecting leaders. In general, the many different identities of people (the clan, household, village, lineage and sodality) means that everyone within a village is tied to everyone else in a complex series of interlocking networks.

There are basically two intertwined and counterbalanced systems that define Hopi social categories; one, based on territorial incorporation, defines the household, the village and the mesa. The other, based on abstract and exclusive birth-substance, defines the lineage, clan, phratry and the sodality. The problem in anthropological terms is that the lineage-clan-phratric categories are a continuum only in terms of the size and inclusiveness of each category. This is consistent with widely held conventions in anthropological theory. However, for the Hopi there is another dimension to these three categories (and

others as well) that appears to be inconsistent with anthropological theory yet coherent with their world view. The lineage and the phratry are unnamed (Connelly 1979:542; Eggan 1950:111, although Eggan sometimes [Ibid.:65-66] ascribes names on the basis of the name of the dominant clan or the aggregate of clans) while the clan is named. That is, the lineage and phratry do not have a political designation like, say, Antelope clan and there is no, say, X-lineage or Y-phratry. The lineage is a small yet important group of cooperating men and women who own clearly delimited resources. There is no inherent reason that is apparent in Hopi political thought why the lineage, the clan and the phratry must be considered as expressing a single principle of social organization such that they naturally fall into a single gradient, despite the fact that the same basic organizational principle - abstract identity - underlies all three. The division into named and unnamed categories seems to be consistent with their dualistic world view. In fact, all relevant Hopi social categories can be divided into named and unnamed. Besides the unnamed lineage and phratry, households are also without designations, yet they remain vitally important in Hopi social organization. The named clan is also joined by the sodality, the village and the mesa as named categories. The named and unnamed categories can each be placed into gradients from small to large, or less-inclusive to more-inclusive:

UNNAMED	NAMED	
<b>SMALL</b>	Household	Clan
Lineage	Sodality	
Phratry	Village	
		Mesa
<b>LARGE</b>		

FIGURE 1

Strictly speaking, any category from one column is not directly equal in the numbers of people included to its opposite category in the second column, nor is there evidence that Hopi ideology overtly acknowledges the distinction between named and unnamed categories. Furthermore, the Mesas is not named in traditional (Hopi) terms, but are given American names or the name of the most conspicuous village (Connelly 1979:539). However, when another gradient, the rule of combination of elements, is added the various categories stand in a relation of complementary opposition, which is a general orientation that appears to guide Hopi life. In Figure 2, the categories are arranged according to whether they are political-social *groups* or *networks*. Each end of the gradient roughly corresponding to whether or not a principle of territorial incorporation ('aggregation') or abstract identity ('dispersal') is used as the rule of combination.

	UNNAMED	NAMED	
<b>AGGREGATION</b> (group)	Household	Clan	<b>DISPERSAL</b> (network)
	Lineage	Sodality	
	Phratry	Village	
<b>DISPERSAL</b> (network)		Mesa	<b>AGGREGATION</b> (group)

The second diagram can be read as follows: the household is the smallest unnamed yet recognized category in Hopi social life, and it is a unit whose identity is based on the shared residential histories of its members. The phratry is the largest unnamed Hopi category and is based on abstract-defined shared identity. In other words, the household tends to be less bounded than the lineage, which, like the phratry, is the most exclusive category (phratric identity cannot be negotiated like household identity). Yet it is the unnamed category that implies the most widespread network in terms of the number of people it binds together. The clan, on the other hand, is the smallest named social-political category, is based on abstract identity, and creates the most encompassing network of links between people in the named category. Mesa identity, based on the largest named category, grants few possibilities for creating far-reaching links among people.

In brief, as we move from small to large we can see that there is a general equation between the named and unnamed categories. The smallest unnamed category (the household) is the unnamed category that acknowledges the fewest links outside itself - it is the strongest incorporative unit - while the smallest named category (the clan) is the named category that, notwithstanding its exclusive membership, creates the widest social unit in terms of other categories that are broached. Hence, at each size category there is a relation of complementary opposition between aggregation and dispersal, between incorporation and abstractly defined social-political identities.

The theme of complementary opposition also finds expression in Hopi views about ranking and egalitarianism. Sodalities, which divide a village into several religious-ceremonial networks, are seen as egalitarian, where men interact on a basis of equality. Clans, on the other hand, are ranked. Yet sodalities divide men into four major age categories (there are three women's sodalities as well), while clans divide all people on the basis of inherited matrilineal identity.

Without the evidence of fieldwork, this outline can be no more than a hypothesis, yet it remains significant that the Hopi stress that they believe in a unified cosmos whose components are consistently and coherently placed in a relation of complementary opposition to one another, and that they acknowledge the existence of important social-political categories that they do not always identify by specific names, while other categories, no less important, are named. In brief, within the North American context the Hopi appear to have moved as far as it may be possible beyond an ideology that is informed by an incorporative ethic, whether this be sustained as in Algonkian or Athabaskan societies or denied as in Northwest Coast societies. They appear to have created a larger dualism - between named and unnamed categories - that attempts to bypass the limitations and structural tensions of incorporation. In the figurative sense, however, they have done this by *subtracting* something - names from particular categories - rather than positively defining a confederative pluralism. They are left with a series of structural elements in a relation of complementary opposition. This complementary opposition *almost* manifests itself at every level - household/lineage, for example - but not quite, since the relation between the different organizational principles and the social categories they link is worked out in mythic and not ideational or political terms. The theme of complementary opposition between the organizing principles of aggregation and dispersal, incorporative identity and abstract identity, are the basis of the dynamic interaction between two societies in the Hopi story, The Antelope Boy of Shongopovi.

### The Antelope Boy of Shongopovi

It was a time not at the beginning and not at the end, when the villages were standing just as they are now. And in those days, it is remembered, there lived in Shongopovi a man and his wife and one daughter. The girl was old enough to marry, but she did not want it. She met with a certain young man of the village sometimes, but mostly she kept to herself. Her parents wondered about it. They said to each other sometimes, "She is really a young woman now. Why is she always alone? Does she want to live forever without a husband?"

One day the village crier went through Shongopovi announcing that there would be a rabbit hunt the next morning...

Early the following morning the young people began to gather at the edge of the village, and the girl's mother said to her, "Well, now, all the others are going out there to have a good time together, and you are staying behind like an old woman. This is not the way it should be."

The girl replied, "All right, I will go then."...

They arrived at the valley below. They began hunting. Whenever a boy saw a rabbit he chased it and tried to knock it down with his stick. If he found a rabbit hole he wet an end of his stick, poked it into the hole and twisted it to catch in the rabbit's fur. Each time a boy caught a rabbit he held it up by its hind legs, and the girls raced to see who could get there first. The boy gave the rabbits to the first girl to arrive, and she would give him "somiviki" (a corn meal paste) in exchange.

The girl who had been reluctant to participate in the rabbit hunt had won two rabbits and given away most of her "somiviki". But she was not feeling well and was going along slowly. She fell behind the others. She could hear their voices in the distance but she could not see them. She stopped to rest. She felt pains in her stomach. She found a secluded place among the rocks and lay down. And while she was lying there she gave birth to a baby. She worried greatly. She thought, "I cannot take this baby home. My parents will be angry with me." And so, after staying there for a time, she arose, wrapped the infant in a piece of her clothing and placed it in an abandoned badger hole. Then she returned to the village.

Now, after all the young people had finished with their hunting, a female coyote came out of hiding and began to look for food. Because she was old, she could not run fast enough to catch game. She had watched the hunters, thinking that they might overlook some wounded rabbits and leave them behind. And so she went here and there where she had seen them using their sticks. She did not find any food. But she heard a sound coming from a badger hole. She approached the hole and looked inside. She saw the baby there and drew it out gently with her teeth. She thought, "This young one is hungry. If I were younger I would nurse it, but now I am dried up. I have no milk." She thought about the Antelope People living some distance north of Shongopovi. She thought, "Yes, I will bring it to them. They will take care of it."

Holding the baby carefully by its cloth wrapping, the old coyote went to the north. She came to the *kiva* of the Antelope People and set the baby down by the entrance. As was the custom, she stopped on the ground above the *kiva*, calling out, "I'm here. Is there someone below?"

An antelope person called back, "Yes, we are here."

The old coyote said, "Come up. I've brought something."

So the antelope person went up the ladder to where the coyote was waiting. The coyote said to him, "Here is a male child I found out there in a badger hole. He is hungry, but I have no milk to give him. So I've brought him to you. One of your young women can feed him."

...Because the baby drank antelope milk it grew as rapidly as an antelope. In four days, he could walk a little. When he was four weeks old he was allowed to go out of the *kiva*

to run with the antelope children. At first he was slow, but in time he could run as fast as the others. And thereafter he went out with the antelopes every day and did whatever they did. In the *kiva*, the Antelope People resembled humans, but when it was time to go out they took their antelope skins from the wall, put them on and became antelopes. At night when they returned they removed their skins and hung them on the wall again. While the boy was an adopted son of the Antelope People, he was not an antelope. He did not have a skin to put on when they went out together. He ran along on two legs.

A man of Shongopovi went out one morning to search for game. He went to the north. He saw antelopes grazing there. He approached them silently. He saw the older antelopes. He saw the young antelopes running together, and with them, a young boy running as though he too were an antelope. The hunter did not hunt anymore but returned to Shongopovi to tell what he had seen. He entered the *kiva* where other men were sitting and discussing things. He said, "Out there in the north, I was hunting. I came upon a herd of antelopes. The young ones were running together and among them was a human child."

The others answered in doubt, saying, "This is hard to believe. A human child running with the antelopes?" The antelopes are swift. No human, large or small, could run with the antelopes."

The hunter said, "What I have told you is the truth. I was there and I saw it."

The next day another man went to the north to see if a boy was there with the antelopes. He came to where the antelopes were grazing. He saw the boy with the young antelopes. He saw them run together. He returned to the village to report what he had seen. He said, "It is true. There is a boy among them, and he runs as swiftly as the others."

...In the *kivas* the people discussed what to do. Some said, "Do nothing. If the boy chooses to live with the antelopes, surely he has a reason." Others said, "No, it is not right for a boy to live among the antelopes. We must capture him and bring him to the village." So a hunt was organized to capture the antelope boy...

The chief of the antelopes was the boy's ceremonial uncle because he had taught him the knowledge and secrets of the antelope *kiva*. That morning, while the villagers were taking their positions for the hunt, the antelope chief said, "Wait, let us not go out yet. Something is happening today and there is something that must be done." He called the boy to sit with him in the *kiva*.

The chief said, "My nephew. Today the villagers are having a great antelope hunt. But it is you they are looking for. They say it is not right for a boy to be living with the antelope. They mean to capture you and take you back with them. It is true, they are your people. Therefore you must return with them. Whoever captures you will take you as his own. So it is important for you to know who among them are your parents. When we go out today do not run with the young antelopes. Stay close to me. I will tell you who is your father and who is your mother. When the time comes I will let you know what to do."

The boy said, "My uncle, I do not want to go back to the village to live. The antelopes are my people."

The antelope chief said, "It is true, you are like one of our own. If things do not go well for you in the village, if they treat you badly, you can come back to us. But as for now, today you will have to go with your parents."

Then the Antelope People prepared the boy. They washed his hair and cut it above his eyes in the Hopi fashion. They put a fluffy eagle feather in his hair. They powdered his face with white corn meal and painted his legs yellow. Around his waist they wrapped a white kilt, and around his ankles they fastened ankle bands. When this was done the Antelope People took their antelope forms and set out to their usual grazing place.

The people of the villages were waiting. They surrounded the antelopes. They moved in closer, making the circle smaller. The antelopes sought to escape but if they went one way, there were people there. If they went another way, there were people there also. So they kept going around in a circle, and as the people came closer the circle became smaller and smaller. And at last the antelopes were confined in a very small space.

The antelope chief said to the boy, "Look carefully. That young woman standing over there is your mother. And over there, that man by the rocks, he is your father. Do you see them?"

The boy said, "Yes, I see them."

The antelope chief said, "The next time we pass this way, go quickly to your mother. Otherwise someone else may take you."

...The boy left his place among the antelopes. He ran swiftly to his mother. He put his arms around her, saying, "My mother." People gathered around. He said again, "My mother."

At first the young woman said nothing. She was thinking, "How can this be? He is mistaken." But remembering at last how she had put her baby in the badger hole, she placed her arms around the boy, saying, "My son."

The young woman's uncle who had been standing nearby said to her, "Is it true? Is this boy your son?"

She answered, "Yes, he is my son."

Her uncle asked, "Where is the boy's father?"

The boy went to where his father was standing. He took his hand. He said, "My father."

His father replied, "My son."

The young woman's uncle was angry. He said, "Why have you deceived us?"

The young woman said, "I was afraid. I tied my belt tight so that no one would notice. I went on a rabbit hunt and the baby was born there. I was afraid to bring him home so I wrapped him in some of my clothing and left him in a badger hole."

Her uncle said, "It was a bad thing you did. If the antelopes had not taken care of your son he would have died." He came forward. He pulled the hair whorls from each side of her head. He straightened her hair and tied it in a knot the way it is worn by married women. He said, "Take the boy home. His father will join you there."

She returned to her parents' house, taking the boy with her. After a while the boy's father came and lived with them there, as is the custom. They went on living. The mother loved the boy. The father loved him also, but he felt restless about the way things had happened. He scolded the boy and spoke to him sharply. He loved him but he could not manage to speak to him except in hard words. He neglected him as well. He did not provide him with moccasins like other boys had. He did not make a bow for him and teach him how to hunt.

The boy was unhappy. And one day after his father scolded him sharply he went out of the village and travelled north until he came again to the place of the Antelope People. He entered the *kiva*. He said to the antelope chief, "My uncle."

The chief said, "My nephew."

The boy said, "As you told me to do, I went to Shongopovi. But I cannot live there anymore. My father is angry with me. He does not want me. Therefore I have come back. You are my people. I will live here."

His antelope uncle said, "Yes, live here. From now on you are one of us."

The Antelope People washed his hair and fixed it in the antelope style. They dressed him in the antelope manner. His uncle gave him an antelope skin and a name. He named him Yuteu. The boy became an antelope.

Back in Shongopovi they missed the boy and searched everywhere. His parents went to Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi to see if he was there. They looked on the fields on all sides of Shongopovi.

His mother said at last, "There is no use looking for him anymore. He has returned to the Antelope People who were kind to him."

...The boy's father was filled with remorse. He wanted his boy. He went north to the antelope country. He watched the antelopes, hoping to catch sight of his son. But he did not see him. Day after day he went to watch the antelopes, forgetting to take care of his fields. But there was no boy there, only the antelopes, nothing more.

In the Antelope Boy story (Courlander 1987), there are several images that must be explained before looking at the interplay of the different social organizational principles. Hopi twins are 'antelopes' because antelopes are believed to bear in twos (see Talayesva 1942:32), and antelopes were formerly hunted by two men working together (see Beaglehole 1936). There are other signs of 'twin-power' that are recognized, but the important point is that twins are seen as capable of easily overcoming great distances (like antelopes) and therefore have magical powers that are used for curing certain diseases and for protecting oneself. Witches, in fact, are known as Two-Hearts (Talayesva 1942:32,43), which Hopi discourse does not equate with our Western notion of 'falseness', but which suggests a duality of vision. Even in Waters' controversial book (1977), twins are the fourth (and fifth) creatures who make their appearance in the cosmos, and are charged with keeping the world in order after its creation (1977:3-5). Hence, in the story, the human boy, who *is* an antelope, is lacking a twin. This presents the Hopi listener with an imbalance that is never successfully explained or mediated, yet allows the anomalous boy to be a mediator himself between human and antelope society, that is, between 'real' Hopi society as it is configured in practice and in history, and the mirror image of Hopi society that is represented by the



Antelope People. This is a version of 'real' Hopi society that reverses the precedence of Hopi social-organizational principles.

And then there is the pervasive sexual imagery: boys "wet the tip of a stick" before "putting it into a rabbit hole" and "twisting it in the rabbit fur", respectively representing the penis, vagina and the act of intercourse itself. There is the 'virgin birth' of the Antelope Boy far away from the village, and the Coyote Mother who puts him back in a hole in the earth - a return to the womb - when she gives him to the Antelope People. The circumstances of the birth of Antelope Boy (after all the boys from the village have inserted their sticks in the rabbit holes) underscores the fact that he is not tied to his mother's village and hence has no residential or corporate identity; he is born after all the males of Shongopovi have symbolic intercourse with the earth. Nor is his abstract (clan or sodality) identity very clear: while he obviously inherits a clan identity by virtue of being born of a particular mother, she is not married and, more importantly, has no brother present to welcome Antelope boy into the world, who can guide Antelope Boy and instruct him in the ceremonial and religious knowledge to which his clan identity would otherwise entitle him. Clan identity controls the participation of the sodalities in the ceremonial cycle; from the outset Antelope Boy cannot become Hopi.

All these details at the outset of the myth, before the myth develops the real conflict, ensure that the coming message will be clear: Antelope Boy is ideally placed to acquire, if he can, an identity that will mediate between two conflicting systems of conferring social and political identity in Hopi society, systems which in practice ought to be ideally balanced against each other but which the dramatic moments of conflict in Hopi history tell us are not co-existing on an equal basis.

At the beginning of the story, there is an irregular domestic group, marked by the absence of a brother and the daughter's refusal to marry. During the subsequent village rabbit hunt (a ceremonial as well as economic activity; see Beaglehole 1936; Black 1967), she gives birth to Antelope Boy outside the village. As I have remarked above, he does not have a village or household identity - he is missing half of the components that together define Hopi social and political identity. The absence of the brother is not too important at this point, but it means that Antelope Boy will not have a maternal uncle to pass on ceremonial knowledge, and the absence of a father is indicative of Antelope Boy's ambiguous social identity. Being abandoned by his mother points to his not having an abstract lineage-clan-phratry identity.

Antelope Boy's mother places him in a hole in the ground, a badger hole, an imperfect precursor to his later involvement with coyotes (badger hunters). Coyotes are animals that have a territorial association because they have dens in the ground and are hunters, i.e., incorporators. Planting in soil is also meaningful for the agricultural Hopi, and prefigures Antelope Boy's later 'rebirth' and assumption of a new identity.

A female coyote tries to adopt Antelope Boy, but, as the myth makes a point of stating, she is too old and therefore probably infertile and incapable of founding a real lineage into which Antelope Boy can be 'adopted'. Normally, this is impossible, but Antelope Boy has no public social identity and is therefore malleable. This arrangement fails and is a precursor of the third arrangement presented in the story of the Antelope Boy in the world of the Antelope People, where Antelope Boy is 'adopted' and becomes an Antelope in some respects. His contact with Antelope People causes him to grow abnormally fast, like antelopes in respect of humans. This demonstrates an apparently successful case of incorporation into a group, and the boy appears to have acquired an identity since he has an uncle to guide him through life. Of course, for the Hopi the anomalous adoption is already signalled as doomed to failure by the fact that Antelope Boy and the Antelope People are fundamentally different. The myth soon makes this clear: at night he is not an antelope but a human, and he "did not have [an antelope] skin to put on" when he was running with the antelopes during the day.

Antelope Boy is re-captured by his people (with the co-operation of the Antelopes), suggesting that people do have a fundamental and unchangeable identity no matter where they live and what they do (Antelope Boy's main occupation is running, something definitely at odds with Hopi agricultural life). The fact that his antelope uncle cooperates in giving the boy up points to a fundamental truth of Hopi society: incorporation is the basis of social life since it is what defines the household the village and the

mesa as political entities. Since the boy is not incorporated, he must return to Shongopovi. On the other hand, his Antelope uncle is tacitly admitting that Antelope Boy does have some sort of other identity that transcends incorporative village identity; he is 'really' Shongopovi. Yet the ambiguity remains: his Shongopovi identity seems limited to externals: his legs are painted yellow, his hair is adorned, and bracelets are placed on his wrists and ankles. The uncle, using his ceremonial knowledge, predicts the outcome of the hunt for the Antelope Boy and is able to point out the boy's mother and father to him.

At this point the myth reverses itself. Before, incorporation was seen as fundamental in the sense that the Antelope Boy was predominantly incorporated into Antelope society. Now, the failure of the boy's mother and father to recognize him, just as he fails to recognize them until he is aided by his antelope uncle, points to the weakness of incorporation: incorporation can hide or, in this case, override, what are otherwise important aspects of political and social identity. In other words, incorporation is a fundamental yet dangerous instrument if it is not balanced by other dimensions of Hopi social identity. And, sure enough, the Antelope Boy's experiment with domesticity fails. The boy has no maternal uncle to guide him as he had when he was with the Antelope People: his father loves him and wants to speak to him, but can only say "bad words". The father also physically neglects him, as if to underscore that this household is not viable and there is no sense in continuing it. The Antelope Boy is Shongopovi, the myth seems to be saying, but to 'be' Shongopovi one must also 'be spoken to', i.e., receive ceremonial instruction.

The Antelope Boy runs away from the village and returns to the Antelope People, where he is received by his uncle, the Chief. The boy is washed (cleansed of his old identity), his external physical appearance is changed and then, finally, he is given an antelope skin, which he dons and fully assumes an Antelope identity. At the end of the story the people of Shongopovi are as blind as the Ojibwa Nanabush in their attempts to see the boy in the midst of the antelopes on the plains. He is lost to them forever.

The myth contrasts two systems of developing and presenting social and political identity: incorporation and similarity based on abstractly defined identity. The Antelope Boy, insofar as he represents the people of Shongopovi, has a clan (abstract) identity because he is born of a mother, but he has no incorporative identity since he is born outside the village and outside the household. He is an outsider. As an Antelope Boy, however, he initially fits in even though he is not really one of them. Despite having an uncle who allows him to sit in the *kiva*, the sodality 'home', he has no antelope skin, no incorporative identity that allows him to blend in completely. This may be emphasized in the story by the absence of an Antelope mother, an absence which would be, I think, disturbing in a society with matrilineal clans. He must eventually return to 'his' society, a society that is based, from Antelope Boy's point of view, on the clan principle since the Antelope Boy had no incorporatively defined home. Yet the myth switches, as I have pointed out, and we are presented with the opposite of what we expect: instead of a functioning clan-based society with the Antelope Boy assuming a clan identity (his real mother does accept him, after all), it is a version of Hopi society dominated by incorporation without the evidence of clans. The domestic group is isolated since the boy has no uncle and his father who, as the myth explains, loves the boy but cannot *speak* to him, is in no position to explain the ceremonial lore necessary to Hopi survival; the clan principle is there (the uncle sets up the household) but is impotent. Hence, the boy leaves and returns to the Antelope People, where he finally becomes indistinguishable from the 'real' antelopes.

In short, Antelope Boy moves through various arrangements that apparently succeed at first but eventually fail until a proper balance between incorporation and abstractly-defined identity is reached. In Shongopovi, the boy has a clan identity without an incorporative identity, while in Antelope society he has a stronger claim to an attenuated form of clan identity. He is at least a member of a *kiva* and has an uncle, who would in fact be more important to his education among the matrilineal Hopi than a father. This arrangement also fails since it lacks one of the structural underpinnings of the ideal image of Shongopovi society, an incorporative identity (the boy runs as a human on two legs rather than as an antelope on four). Yet Antelope society is incorporative, since all Antelope People look like antelopes to

Shongopovi people. Why not give the boy an antelope skin and be done with it, since we know that the boy's uncle has this power?

The answer lies in the fact that while Antelope society is a structural mirror image of Shongopovi society, from an individual viewpoint (the Antelope Boy's) it is an inverted mirror image. Antelope People are presented as basically incorporative with a veneer of clan-based identity. During the day, they don antelope skins, leave the ceremonial *kiva* (a network)<sup>7</sup> and run around in a herd (group). At night, they shed their antelope skins and become 'real' people, people who have a sodality (*kiva*) identity and no territorial incorporative identity. This is underscored in the story by emphasizing that the transformation from antelope to Antelope People occurs when they are underground, which is in the land of the dead and where every trait of the land of the living is reversed. In other words, by mirroring the ideal and then presenting it in an inverted context, the myth is telling us that the Hopi ideal is a society based on an incorporative social political identity with a veneer of divisions based on abstract and unchanging social-political identity, but that incorporative identity is something that one must acquire by birth rather than residence. That is, the lineages, clans and phratries which seem to divide the group are really a cohesive whole bounded by the village and the mesa, a vision that the Hopi have in reality not been completely successful in realizing.<sup>8</sup> If incorporative identity is acquired through residence, then the clans become an ineffective means of uniting people. The Antelope society 'works' (at least for the Antelope Boy) when he finally gets his skin after failing to be a Hopi. That is, after the incorporative boundary around the re-constituted domestic group has become so strong that the Antelope Boy is cut off from other people in Shongopovi. Too much incorporation, the myth seems to be saying, is bad, yet it must be emphasized in order not to fragment the village into rival clans and lineages. As Lamphere states (1983), the emphasis in southwest ceremonialism is on a strong sense of place and on establishing continuity. Peoples of the Pueblo are more determined by culture than by environment (Jorgensen 1983).

Throughout the story we are presented with one paradox after another: there is no ideal blend, the story seems to be saying, of incorporative and abstract identities. The best solution that can be hoped for is a limited incorporation, incorporation that stops at the village level. There is one figure missing from the Antelope Boy story: Antelope Boy's twin, a person who would be able to live in Shongopovi under one social-political configuration while Antelope Boy lived in Antelope society under another.