



The Archaeology of Kinship

Advancing Interpretation and
Contributions to Theory

Bradley E. Ensor

The Archaeology of Kinship

The Archaeology
of Kinship
*Advancing
Interpretation and
Contributions to Theory*

BRADLEY E. ENSOR



The University of Arizona Press
© 2013 The Arizona Board of Regents
All rights reserved

www.uapress.arizona.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ensor, Bradley E., 1966–

The archaeology of kinship : advancing interpretation and contributions to theory /
Bradley E. Ensor.

pages cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8165-3054-0 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Kinship. 2. Ethnoarchaeology. 3. Social archaeology. I. Title.

GN487.E67 2013

306.83—dc23

2013009670

Publication of this book is made possible in part by the proceeds of a permanent
endowment created with the assistance of a Challenge Grant from the National
Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency.



Manufactured in the United States of America on acid-free, archival-quality paper
containing a minimum of 30% post-consumer waste and processed chlorine free.

18 17 16 15 14 13 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	<i>ix</i>

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction	3
2. The Importance of Kinship in Archaeology	10
3. The Hohokam	28

II. HOUSEHOLDS

4. Household-Scale Social Organization	39
5. Archaeological Analysis of Household-Scale Social Organization	59
6. Hohokam Households	69

III. DESCENT GROUPS

7. Descent Group Organization	109
8. Archaeological Analysis of Descent Group Organization	141
9. Hohokam Descent Groups	161

IV. MARRIAGE, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND TRANSFORMATIONS

10. The Political Economy of Kinship and Marriage	197
---	-----

11. Archaeological Analysis of Marriage and Political Economy	226
12. Hohokam Marriage, Political Economies, and Transformations	235
V. CONTRIBUTIONS OF KINSHIP RESEARCH	
13. New Insights on the Hohokam	257
14. Archaeological Contributions to Kinship Theory	272
15. New Frontiers in Kinship Research	299
<i>Glossary</i>	307
<i>References Cited</i>	319
<i>Index</i>	347

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

3.1.	Major Hohokam sites in the Phoenix Basin	29
4.1.	Memberships in unilineal household and residential groups	43
4.2.	Memberships in cognatic household and residential groups	46
4.3.	Crow, Omaha, and Iroquois nomenclature distinguishing corporate unilineal household group memberships	55
4.4.	Hawaiian and Eskimo nomenclature, which lack unilineal group distinctions	57
6.1.	Red Mountain phase structures at Pueblo Patricio	71
6.2.	Vahki phase component 1 and 2 structures at Pueblo Patricio	74
6.3.	Vahki phase component 3 structures at Pueblo Patricio	75
6.4.	Estrella-Sweetwater and Sweetwater-Snaketown phase structures at Pueblo Patricio	77
6.5.	Sweetwater and Snaketown phase structures in the southwest-central portion of Snaketown	81
6.6.	Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase structures in the southwest-central portion of Snaketown	82
6.7.	Late Snaketown phase and Gila Butte phase structures at La Ciudad	86
6.8.	Structures of the early and middle Santa Cruz phase components at La Ciudad	88
6.9.	Late Santa Cruz phase and early Sacaton phase structures at La Ciudad	90
6.10.	Sacaton phase structures at Snaketown	92
6.11.	Sacaton phase structures at Pueblo Grande	94
6.12.	Soho phase structures at Pueblo Grande	96
6.13.	Civano phase compounds at Pueblo Grande	100
6.14.	Two compounds from the Salado region, illustrating households for patrilineal residential groups	101

6.15.	Polvorón phase structures at Pueblo Grande	103
7.1.	Crow and Omaha social organization	117
8.1.	Unilineal descent groups and local group settlement patterns	145
8.2.	Ideal community patterns for matrilineal and patrilineal descent groups and bilateral descent	160
9.1.	The Vahki and Estrella phase settlement at Snaketown	164
9.2.	The Sweetwater and Snaketown phase settlement at Snaketown	167
9.3.	The Gila Butte phase settlement at Snaketown	169
9.4.	The Santa Cruz phase settlement at Snaketown	172
9.5.	The Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase settlement at Pueblo Grande	175
9.6.	The Sacaton phase settlement at Snaketown	178
9.7.	The Sacaton phase settlement at Pueblo Grande	180
9.8.	The Soho phase settlement at Pueblo Grande	184
9.9.	The Civano phase settlement at Pueblo Grande	187
9.10.	The Polvorón phase settlement at Pueblo Grande	189
10.1.	Elementary, complex, and Crow marriage systems	211

Tables

6.1.	Structure sizes at Pueblo Patricio: Vahki-Snaketown phases	73
6.2.	Pithouse sizes at Snaketown	78
6.3.	Pithouse sizes at La Ciudad	84

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During recent conferences and lectures where I presented on kinship to archaeological audiences, a common set of comments emerged, which I keep anonymous and paraphrase here. “Wow, ‘kinship,’ that takes me back!” “I never realized kinship addressed that!” “I always thought kinship was confusing and not approachable so I never thought about it.” “Are sociocultural anthropologists still doing that stuff?” And, there is the inevitable “we tried that and failed; archaeologists can’t study kinship without written data.” When reading archaeological literature, I occasionally encounter statements about kinship research that underestimate its significance or that discouragingly treat it as the greatest mistake in archaeology (e.g., Schiffer 2011:22). The common thread is an unawareness of how kinship theory addresses major interests of contemporary archaeology. Nevertheless, archaeologists often demonstrate a fascination with kinship, as if it is somehow relevant but they are not sure how to approach it.

Kinship research informs on how people structure material patterns and exchanges within and across settlements; how active agents manipulate engendered relationships to form, perpetuate, or modify corporate resource-holding groups; how those gender relationships provide contexts for power strategies; and how ideologies and identities are formed and manipulated. Despite asking many of the same questions, archaeology has missed this theoretical ship, perhaps as the result of a period without kinship instruction and an aversion to the subject after failures in the 1960s. Meanwhile, there is a growing interest in kinship in sociocultural, physical, and linguistic anthropology that seems lacking in archaeology.

These are the challenges inspiring the goals of this book: to illustrate how kinship analysis can advance archaeological interpretation and how archaeology can advance kinship theory. The four objectives are to demonstrate the relevance of kinship to major archaeological questions, to

describe archaeological methods for kinship analysis independent of ethnological interpretation, to illustrate the use of those techniques with a case study, and to provide specific examples of how diachronic analyses address broader theory. Given the renewed awareness that kinship research can address contemporary anthropological questions, a book on kinship theory, methods, and applications devoted to archaeology is overdue.

Theoretical traditions, mentors, and constructive critics have influenced the ideas expressed herein. I owe an intellectual debt to anthropological political economists and feminists whose works have shaped my understanding of the relevance of kinship to understanding past societies. My general perspectives are also influenced and mediated by mentors' perspectives, principally John Moore and William Keegan, who have devoted much of their careers to advancing kinship research through ethnography, ethnohistory, and archaeology, and who challenged me in numerous positive ways and pointed me toward complementary research and concepts. This work would not be possible without the early efforts of Melvin Ember, William Divale, and Kwang-Chi Chang, who pioneered a "middle-range" approach to interpreting kinship relations from material culture. Although working under very different theoretical trends, and with a limited archaeological record, the relevance of their methods today demonstrates lasting contributions. I should also honor the high-quality research and reporting in Hohokam cultural resource management that enables the kinship analyses here. As for the preparation of this book, I owe thanks to Peter Peregrine and David Doyel for identifying problems and offering supportive criticism and recommendations. Although I am responsible for the final product, their careful reviews guided me toward an improved manuscript with greater appeal to student and practicing archaeologists and ethnologists. Finally, I thank the editors at the University of Arizona Press for their enthusiasm for this book. I am fortunate that Allyson Carter, Scott De Herrera, and the publishing board challenged me to make some modifications that undoubtedly improved the book's accessibility for a diverse readership.

The Archaeology of Kinship

PART ONE

Introduction

To argue, as an anthropologist, that kinship is not important to understanding any given society is problematic; to suggest it is unimportant to understanding the organization of a non-state society is ridiculous. Kinship in all non-state societies structures social relations. It defines who a person is, who their leaders are, what resources they have access to, whom they may marry, where they may live, what occupations are available to them, and spiritual practices they will follow. Kinship influences, bounds, and shapes all aspects of life.

*Peter N. Peregrine, "Matrilocality, Corporate Strategy,
and the Organization of Production in the Chacoan World"*

In brief, the idea of kinship in question is "mutuality of being": people who are intrinsic to one another's existence—thus "mutual person(s)," "life itself," "intersubjective belonging." I argue that "mutuality of being" will cover the variety of ethnographically documented ways kinship is constituted, whether by procreation, social construction, or some combination of these. Moreover, it will apply equally to interpersonal kinship relations, whether "consanguineal" or "affinal," as well as to group arrangements of descent. Finally, "mutuality of being" will logically motivate certain otherwise enigmatic effects of kinship bonds—of the kind often called "mystical"—whereby what one person does or suffers also happens to others.

Marshall D. Sahlins, "What Kinship Is (Part One)"

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Kinship research follows major theoretical trends in anthropology. Evolutionism attempted to associate forms of family organization, kin terminology, technology, and subsistence to characterize unilinear stages of human development. Functionalism viewed kin groups as sources of property and social support. Cognitivists focused on kinship nomenclature to understand classificatory relationships. Structural functionalism sought to predict social organization and marriage practices from kin terminologies. Neoevolutionism attempted to explain how normative systems of relationships, marriage, or kin terminologies emerge and transform, or to discover ecological or socioeconomic correlates. With ecological anthropology, questions were directed away from internal social relationships and kinship research became less relevant. Lévi-Strauss (1965, 1969) diverted attention from notions of descent to marital alliances as the intrinsic basis for kinship. Marxist frameworks viewed kinship as social relations of production. With the rise of political economic and gendered perspectives, kinship provided a framework for understanding the impacts of globally expanding capitalism on social organization, ideology, and gender status (e.g., Peletz 1995). Kinship principles and theory thus became diffused into those topical areas (Sousa 2003). In general, kinship emerged as a *materialistic framework* for understanding contemporary topics. Establishing a different trend, Schneider (1968, 1984) restricted “kinship” to cultural symbolic meanings arguing that models biased by Western notions of biological relatedness do not conform with practice. A resurgence in kinship research appeared at the turn of the century, either as a response to Schneider’s critique (e.g., Carsten

2000, 2004; Carsten and Hugh Jones 1995; Feinberg and Ottenheimer 2001; Franklin and McKinnon 2001) or as the continuation of the neo-evolutionary, marital alliance, materialist, and other frameworks (e.g., Godelier et al. 1998; Faubion 2001; McKnight 2004; Parkin and Stone 2004; Scheffler 2001; Stone 1997). A second wave in this resurgence is definitely under way, which is exemplified by several recent works on social organization, marriage, kin terminology, and ideology through multiple old and new theoretical perspectives (e.g., Godelier 2011; Jones and Milicik 2011; McConvell et al. 2013; Sahlins 2011; Trautmann and Whiteley 2012). Although resurfacing as a major topic in anthropology, there is a wide diversity in perspectives and interests.

Kinship resiliently maintains its relevance to anthropology and should reappear in archaeology. Despite the negative perceptions many archaeologists maintain about kinship, particularly after long periods of confusion and disappointment, and particularly following on the heels of an “antikinship” rhetorical period, this book justifies a return to the subject matter in archaeology. It challenges the pessimism on the potential for archaeology to identify kinship behaviors and for archaeological contributions to broader theory.

This book has four objectives. The first is clarifying to an archaeological readership the concepts and their importance to archaeological theoretical issues. The second is to describe and explain “middle-range” material correlates of kinship behavior. The third is to demonstrate in a case study how those techniques can identify kinship behaviors in prehistory (although equally applicable in historical archaeology). The fourth objective is to demonstrate how archaeology can evaluate ethnologically derived hypotheses in kinship theory.

Archaeology has been subjected to a wide range of misunderstandings of kinship theory and what many of the concepts actually entail. Therefore, to clarify what we are addressing when invoking kinship principles and models a significant amount of description is needed to set the record straight, so to speak. A guiding principle in the book’s preparation was to make kinship principles and theories accessible to broad audience. In so doing, I try to “demystify” kinship by transcribing the sometimes esoteric knowledge into more easily followed language. Rather than attempting to address all the concepts that are relevant in one chapter, the principles are instead discussed in different sections in a topical sequence: households, descent groups, and the political economic dynamics of marriage systems. In so doing, I sought to provide the reader with not only descriptions of what the principles entail but also, very important, their relevance to past and present topics of interest to archaeologists.

Different avenues for interpretation are discussed, leading to a focus on methods that are independent and free of ethnological biases. Other-

wise, we could simply end up projecting problematic hypotheses and interpretations onto the past or engaging in circular arguments (e.g., whereby ethnology informs our interpretations and then our statements on ethnology), and thereby failing to use archaeology to address broader theory. This is a problem described as the “tyranny of the ethnographic record” by Wobst (1978) in reference to the archaeological use of ethnographic interpretation on foraging societies, and as “ethno-tyranny” by Maclachlan and Keegan (1990) in reference to Caribbean ethnohistory and archaeology. For the skeptical archaeologists who have not paid much attention to kinship in archaeology since the failures in the 1960s, I should point out now that the methods used in this book are different than those employed in 1960s “ceramic sociology” (e.g., Deetz 1960, 1965; Longacre 1964, 1966, 1968; Hill 1966; McPherron 1967; Whallon 1968).

To demonstrate the capacity for independent archaeological interpretation on kinship behavior, analyses are presented on the Hohokam of the Phoenix Basin in Arizona. My choice for this culture is in part due to my previous research and familiarity with the region (Ensor 2000, 2003a) and in part due to an impressive tradition in broad horizontal excavations and high standards in reporting making detailed data available. Those data also enable diachronic analyses of how kinship behavior was manipulated under different contexts and over time. Despite using only the Hohokam as an illustration, the same techniques and much of the discussion are useful for most archaeological cultures around the world (e.g., Ensor 2003b, 2012, 2013). I should make clear that the case study is used to demonstrate how to interpret kinship behavior and how similar analyses can address broader theory. The results definitely provide new observations on Hohokam societies, but my intention is not to develop a generalization on the Hohokam based on the few selected sites analyzed here.

For an example of how kinship in state societies can be interpreted with the same archaeological techniques, I refer the reader to another book addressing the prehispanic Maya (Ensor 2013). That work examines the history of debate on prehispanic Maya kinship and illustrates how archaeology is necessary to identify divergent class-based kinship behaviors explainable by contexts within a state political economy. Because that study involves observations on only one chronological period, I chose not to discuss it in this book, which is largely devoted to diachronic analyses.

Finally, this book seeks to demonstrate to archaeologists and ethnologists that archaeology can indeed address deficiencies in ethnological theory. Numerous ethnological hypotheses (all requiring diachronic analyses) are evaluated in light of the archaeological evidence from the case

study. These include hypotheses on the origins of residence systems, the origins of descent groups, the origins of bilateral descent, and on political economic dynamics of marriage systems. The significance of this objective is that it transforms archaeology from a hesitant consumer of poorly tested ethnological hypotheses to a major co-contributor of anthropological theory.

The book is organized into five parts, including the present set of introductory chapters. Given the enormity of the misunderstandings and mischaracterizations of kinship principles and theory that pervade archaeological literature, and the negative resulting views on the subject, Chapter 2 seeks to clarify the importance of kinship to archaeological theory and to make the case that archaeology has an important role to play in addressing ethnological hypotheses. As an introduction to Hohokam archaeology, Chapter 3 presents a brief overview of research trends, culture history, and major questions that can be addressed through kinship analysis.

Parts II–IV are devoted to the range of kinship behavior associated with important topics for archaeologists. I follow a standard stepwise sequence (residential organization, then descent groups, followed by marriage systems) to introducing topics, archaeological methods, and demonstrations. Within each part, the first chapter describes the principles of kinship behavior and their significance. The second chapter describes and explains the methods by which archaeologists can distinguish different behaviors through material culture. The third chapter applies those methods to interpret the behaviors reflected in the Hohokam material record.

Part II introduces the first set of chapters on social organization, which are devoted to clarifying and explaining the different kinds of “corporate” social groups created and maintained by postmarital residence strategies. Chapter 4 defines the major principles and key aspects of social groups and makes a critical distinction between those residing at households and those owning the household estates. “Households” are defined as the material estates (dwellings, associated structures or work spaces, and the associated resources). A distinction is made between “residential groups,” including all those residing at a household, and “household groups,” which are the corporate groups that own the household and its resources. These distinctions are necessary for understanding social organization and social dynamics. The different postmarital residence strategies (matrilocal, patrilocal, ambilocal, and bilocal, along with others) are shown to create or reproduce different forms of resource-owning groups, each with unique characteristics, illustrating which sets of kin are members of those groups. Each is related to socioeconomic

factors, gender, and negotiation as both potential reasons for the strategies and as outcomes of the strategies. The leading hypotheses on the origins of the groups and postmarital residence strategies are also summarized for each category. Chapter 5 evaluates the use of direct historical analogy, inferences from kinship terminology, and cross-cultural correlations with subsistence, gender, and other socioeconomic factors. Those approaches are concluded to better serve as the sources for hypotheses rather than sources of evidence. Instead, cross-culturally confirmed material indicators of household organization—particularly dwelling arrangements—are argued to provide more direct evidence, without ethnological bias, for interpreting residential group organization and making plausible inferences on the associated estate-owning groups and their corresponding socioeconomic dynamics. In Chapter 6, the methods are applied to the archaeological record on households among the successive periods in the Phoenix Basin to interpret residential groups and household-owning groups, and to demonstrate how these social groups changed over time, along with discussions on their significance to negotiation, socioeconomic interaction, and gender dynamics.

Part III continues the focus on social organization, emphasizing larger descent groups. Chapter 7 provides the overview of the main principles involved in descent groups, their organizational basis, and their significance to socioeconomic dynamics and negotiation strategies. There, I describe the various known categories of descent groups, leading to some simplification (long called for by ethnologists) that will both clarify some misconceptions and prove useful for archaeological interpretation. Again, the discussion offers the opportunity to address some of the points of confusion in archaeological literature. Chapter 8 discusses the methods by which archaeologists can interpret the presence and types of descent groups through settlement and community patterns, distinguishing between those that are more useful for hypotheses and those that lead to independent interpretation without imposing an ethnological bias. Cross-culturally confirmed indicators of descent groups, largely based on settlement layouts, are favored. The chapter also resolves a problem brought up in Part II: that certain categories of postmarital residence (neolocal, uxorilocal, virilocal, and avunculocal) require evidence on specific descent groups for identification. In Chapter 9, these methods are applied to identify the presence of, and type of, descent groups among the Hohokam. The interpretations and their significance to socioeconomic interaction, gender, and negotiation strategies are discussed, along with how these changed over time.

Part IV turns the focus toward marriage systems and how these, in conjunction with social organization, form the basis of political economies

in nonstate societies. In Chapter 10, the association of specific categories of social organization and marriage systems are described and explained. Noncompetitive (“elementary”) and competitive (“Crow/Omaha” and “complex”) marriage systems are described along with their significance to social reproduction, ceremonial organization and elaboration, surplus production of food and symbolic crafts, and agency—all of which are elements holistically intertwined within kinship-based political economies. Furthermore, the internal dynamics of these political economic systems are hypothesized to lead to major social transformations. Chapter 11 focuses on the expected material manifestations of noncompetitive and competitive marriage systems. Chapter 12 applies these methods in an attempt to explain major social changes within the Phoenix Basin.

Part V is a culminating set of discussions and conclusions on the significance of the kinship analyses in the book. Chapter 13 revisits the case study in retrospect to compare where we were in archaeological understandings, questions, and debates with how much has been revealed or resolved through kinship analysis. In the case of the Hohokam, the analyses reveal far greater variation in social organization than previously recognized among and within settlements, and over time. The analyses also discover new, previously unrecognized patterns that address some of the most fundamental questions in Hohokam archaeology. In some cases, the “conventional wisdom” is challenged by the discoveries resulting from the kinship analyses. Chapter 14 revisits the ethnological hypotheses on the origins of residence strategies, on the origins of descent groups and bilateral descent, and on the political economic dynamics of marriage systems. Several ethnological hypotheses are indeed supported by the archaeological case studies, but not all; some hypotheses may require modifications in light of these tests. The chapter serves as a demonstration of how archaeology can indeed make significant contributions to broader ethnological theory, as opposed to being merely a consumer of poorly tested hypotheses. In Chapter 15, the book closes with reflections on the contribution of kinship research to archaeology and of archaeological research to kinship theory, along with suggested avenues for further productive archaeological inquiry.

In summary, this book emphasizes how archaeological diachronic analyses on kinship are independently possible, necessary, and capable of providing new insights on past cultures and on broader anthropological theory. The foundations for past societies’ social organization, particularly nonstate societies, are based on kinship. Their socioeconomic dynamics and political economies in which engendered relationships and agency were contextualized were structured by kinship. As a patterned social behavior reflected in material culture, kinship is more accessible

to archaeologists than many other topical areas. And, the subfield provides the only avenue for addressing some of anthropology's age-old but poorly tested hypotheses. For these reasons, kinship research should take center stage as a new direction for the subfield. Through an archaeology of kinship, new knowledge will be produced on individual cultures and on broader theoretical models. Although an old subject matter in anthropology, an archaeology of kinship offers new and exciting frontiers for inquiry.

CHAPTER TWO

The Importance of Kinship in Archaeology

Archaeology has an unnecessary uncomfortable relationship with kinship research. Periods when kinship was considered are marked by optimism followed by pessimism, and the sources of the latter attitudes should be addressed at the outset of a book on the subject. Nevertheless, kinship continues to appear in archaeological literature because it is indeed important to understanding past societies. Before developing an archaeology of kinship, the reasons why archaeological kinship research is so underdeveloped must be addressed before proceeding to understand why kinship should be important to the subfield. This chapter argues that kinship models are indeed essential to major contemporary themes, such as social organization, socioeconomic dynamics, gender relationships, negotiation/agency, and identity. Once establishing the importance of kinship theory to archaeology, the chapter then proceeds to illustrate anthropology's need for archaeological evaluations of ethnologically derived hypotheses that remain poorly tested.

Addressing Theoretical Doubts

Sources of apprehension about kinship include past problematic methods, limited perceptions of what kinship entails, confusion quite likely resulting from a hiatus in anthropological instruction on kinship, an unawareness of the significance of kinship to explanatory models, and explicit arguments suggesting that kinship is irrelevant. However, from a

theoretical standpoint, these perspectives and arguments can be dismissed when considering what was overemphasized, what was lacking in focus, and what was mischaracterized.

The early processual optimism of “ceramic sociology”—to identify postmarital residence by tracing pottery decoration styles and then extending interpretations on descent pioneered by Deetz (1960, 1965), Longacre (1964, 1966, 1968), Hill (1966), McPherron (1967), and Whallon (1968)—was dashed after the approach failed to adequately consider the depositional contexts from which pottery was observed. However, the resulting faded hope that archaeology could approach kinship and thus be more “anthropological” was not just a methodological issue related to formation processes. During a time when ethnologists were better understanding variation in kinship practices, becoming more aware of deviations to normative models, and when theory emphasized cognitive perspectives, Allen and Richardson (1971) recommended that archaeologists should not pursue the topic. They argued that postmarital residence cannot predict descent and that kinship is “unimportant” to the social behaviors of interest to archaeologists. This message from experts in kinship research had a profound negative effect on the willingness of archaeologists to entertain kinship, which persists to this day.

Another problem is a large degree of conceptual misunderstandings. Although predominantly trained within anthropology, much of the US higher education received by archaeologists in the 1980s and 1990s presented kinship from a cognitive perspective that emphasized emic kinship terminology systems that archaeologists could never hope to interpret from material remains. Meanwhile, the implications of kinship theory on social organization and social dynamics, which were of great interest to archaeologists, were not made sufficiently clear to those cohorts. Even by the 1960s, those materialistic frameworks were already at the forefront of ethnological kinship research (e.g., only 8 percent of Fox’s [1967] influential work was devoted to terminology). Although scaled back in expectations, some concepts that were poorly understood by archaeologists (due to poor exposure to the topic) were occasionally used to interpret social organization. Where dual organization could be inferred from material patterns, “moieties” with a vast array of relevances were often conjured up to interpret marriage and social organization (e.g., Binford 1972; Gibson 1973). However, moieties rarely regulate marriage practices. More appropriately, Fowles (2005) used archaeological data to contextualize the emergence of moieties and ceremony distribution, regardless of the specific kinship and marriage practices, to alleviate circumstances of social tension. “Kindreds,” which are never social groups, were treated as if they were. “Lineages” and “clans” were occasionally interpreted, especially in the case of Maya archaeology, yet poorly understood or modeled after

questionable ethnographic analogies. Further complicating the matter was the referencing of early classifications that made endless distinctions over what constitutes a “lineage,” a “local group,” a “sib,” a “descent group,” a “clan,” and so forth, while ignoring later simplifications that improved understandings and meaningful applications (e.g., Fox 1967:50). Meanwhile, others simply claimed that, because of disagreements over ethnohistorical reconstructions and variation in the archaeological record, kinship and kin groups cannot be observed in material remains (e.g., Chase and Chase 1992, 2004). The resulting attempts to engage the subject were poorly informed and open to criticism by expert ethnologists, thus further preventing the development of, and enthusiasm for, an archaeology of kinship.

Misunderstandings of the importance of kinship in state societies also influenced a reluctance on the part of archaeologists to approach the subject matter. With the demise of “whole society” perspectives and “external causation” for explaining cultural change, many in the subfield shifted their attention to intergroup conflict (Brumfiel 1992). Class-based exploitation and elite agency in state societies was used implicitly as a model for interpreting individual or group-oriented agency in non-state societies where kinship is more likely to be an organizing principle. Questions involved which strategies (e.g., corporate vs. network [after Blanton et al. 1996]) did leaders use to “manipulate” followers, as if they operated in a social vacuum. Although kin-based social organization structures pathways to inequality and directs agency, somehow kinship became something for emerging leaders to “dismantle” (e.g., Curet 1996; Curet and Oliver 1998). In such a way, kinship was not considered an important aspect to many questions on power.

Following on critical trends in social anthropology, the doubts more recently shifted to intensive questioning of kinship’s relevance to socioeconomic relations. Kuper (1982) argued that “descent theory” and analysis should be abandoned because former evolutionary and structural-functionalist models can’t explain all descent groups or the variation in the way people use descent. Kuper’s (1982) entire essay is on the ways anthropologists variously interpreted lineages and clans, on confusion over the relationship between local groups and descent groups, and on how universal models do not match a selection of cases. He therefore dismisses “lineage theory” (or “descent theory”) as he calls it altogether. However, the fact that variation exists in their forms and uses, or that universal models are fallible, should not be used as a logic to claim the descent groups in question don’t exist or that there is no utility in studying them (Scheffler 2001). Meanwhile, Lévi-Strauss (1982, 1987), confusing “kinship” as unilineal descent and unilocality *only*, claimed that “house societies” use “non-kinship” based means to form social groups having the

characteristics normally associated with kin groups. A small school of ethnologists began critiquing the foundations of “kinship theory” (e.g., Carsten 2000; Carsten and Hugh Jones 1995; Franklin and McKinnon 2001), pointing out that kinship is not necessarily biologically-grounded (a point already well understood), contrasting normative models of behavior with practice in greatly transformed societies, and calling for a “reinvention” of kinship studies in the 1990s. Following this one critical trend, and without considering others or the counter-critiques, a few vociferous archaeologists began to suggest that the subject of kinship was tainted and should be abandoned.

The “house” literature exploded onto the scene at the beginning of the new millennium. Although some “house” advocates actually entertain kinship in their theoretical sections, this new school was largely founded on proclamations that kinship has no role in structuring corporate groups. The main protagonists argued early on that no cultures practice the behaviors in the normative systems that ethnographers “imposed” upon them. Furthermore, they argued that ethnographies have revealed these proclamations to be fact and that kinship models can therefore be dismissed (e.g., Gillespie 2000a:1). Some argued that all kinship models were biased by false “Western” biological perceptions and can therefore be dismissed (e.g., Joyce 2000:189–191, 2007:53–54). Contributing to this perspective was a belief relegating kinship to purely symbolic and ideological realms, which was claimed to have no relevance to, or bearing on, the socioeconomics that guide group organization and negotiation (e.g., Beck 2007b:5; Brown 2007:230; Chesson 2007:319; Gillespie 2000a, 2000b, 2007:34–35; Heitman 2007:255–256; Helms 2007:490–491; Hendon 2007:293). Once founding the critique of kinship on these bases, Lévi-Strauss’s (1982:163–187, 1987) “house societies” and the resulting “house-centric” perspective was cast as the only appropriate “replacement” for kinship theory. Despite the actual diversity in “house-centric” archaeology, the broader message received by archaeologists was loud and clear: not only is kinship difficult to interpret, but also the very foundations for kinship theory are questionable, and, in the end, kinship is irrelevant to socioeconomic dynamics.

Now it is time to sort out some fact versus fiction and the resulting implications on theory. The following paragraphs summarize the points discussed at greater length in Ensor (2011). Allen and Richardson’s (1971) criticism emphasized two well-founded facts, but these need not lead to the abandonment of the subject as they espoused for archaeology. The first of these involves the inability to predict descent from postmarital residence. For example, in many ethnographically observed situations, unilocal postmarital residence (e.g., matrilocality or patrilocality) co-occurs with nonunilineal descent (cognatic kinship). Conversely, cultures

with unilineal descent sometimes have nonunilocal postmarital residence. However, *combined principles* never presented a problem for kinship research in ethnography, only a requirement that residence and descent be analyzed separately. Just as ethnographers should approach residence and descent separately, so should archaeologists.

The second criticism by Allen and Richardson (1971) involves a discrepancy between the normative rules and adherence to those rules, the same observation later used by the “house” advocates. After centuries of depopulation, marginalization, loss of collective kin-based property, dependence on wage labor, and imposed family and marriage regulations for assimilation (Peletz 1995; Ensor 2011), many indigenous cultures by the time the mid- to late twentieth-century ethnographies were conducted practiced significant deviations from their traditional ideal patterns. Moreover, the deviations recorded were synchronic observations, which prevented the realization that they are the product of historically eroded kin-based social organization. However, the observation of historically induced changes did not undermine kinship studies in anthropology since the 1970s. Instead, the historical causes of change and their consequences to kinship took center stage (Peletz 1995). This is a far cry from claims that “ethnographic descriptions have dispelled the notion that prescriptive and proscriptive kinship ‘rules’ govern social life” (Gillespie 2000a:1). As I argued elsewhere (Ensor 2011), the historical deviations relegating the normative ideals to an ideology of tradition that no longer guides behavior in dramatically altered social realities are no reason to claim that people never practice their normative strategies. These observations only illustrate how kinship changes. In fact, ethnohistorical empirical studies have demonstrated how people adhere remarkably to the “rules” prior to dramatic transformations and have demonstrated chronological shifts in behavior as responses to broader forces of change (e.g., Blackwood 2007; Eggan 1937; Ensor 2011; Godelier 1984; Hoebel 1979; Moore and Campbell 2002; White 1962:189). Therefore, the deviations in adherence provide no theoretical basis for the abandonment of kinship research among archaeologists, or in any other subfield. If anything, these observations should direct archaeologists toward diachronic explanations of change (Ensor 2011).

The belief that kinship is merely symbolic and irrelevant to social behavior appears to be based on selective representation. This misunderstanding overly emphasizes mid-twentieth-century cognitive perspectives that did not address the social aspects of kinship behavior. The “house” advocates depend heavily on Schneider’s (1968) thesis that emphasizes an interpretive (symbolic) approach to kinship. They largely ignored a materialist tradition that became critical to perspectives dominating kinship research since the 1970s (Peletz 1995; Ensor 2011). Additionally,

since the 1970s, ethnologists argued that cognitive systems of nomenclature do not reliably predict social behavior (e.g., Goodenough 1970; Keesing 1975; Pasternak 1976). The ideologically based symbolic aspects of kinship usually only make sense when explained through social organization and historical change (e.g., Moore 1988). This understanding does not prevent ethnologists from approaching kinship any more than it should for archaeologists.

The argument by archaeologists that kinship theory imposed European and Euro-American biological perceptions onto non-Western cultures relies almost entirely on Schneider's (1968, 1984) arguments. However, kinship models were always sociological models. The earlier arguments for a biological basis of kinship that Schneider critiqued had already been discredited in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g., Fortes 1958, 1959:149, 1969; Fox 1967; Gjessing 1956; Lévi-Strauss 1956). "Nuclear families" are not universal building-blocks of social organization. Descent groups are not the same as genealogical kindreds. Marriage taboos more commonly involve kin group memberships, among whom only a fraction share close genealogical relationships. Kin groups are very real sociological constructions that cannot be reduced to biological relatedness. Once again, we are left with critiques based on limited characterizations of the subject, which therefore fail to provide a valid argument against archaeological kinship research.

Part of the recent confusion lies in a failure to historically contextualize Lévi-Strauss's treatment of kinship when he described "houses." The concept of "houses" was actually introduced by Waterman (1920) and later by Spott and Kroeber (1942:166). They described what was later termed bilocality combined with bilateral descent among the Yurok and compared those to aristocratic classes in Europe (Pilling 1978:141–142). However, Lévi-Strauss's (1982:163–187, 1987) treatment of "kinship" referred only to unilocality and unilineal descent. The cognatic kinship observed in "house societies" (i.e., bilocality and the use of bilateral and affinal relations) was unfortunately treated as "nonkinship relations" (1987:152). Noticing that there were biases within these corporate groups toward patrilineal inheritance and transmission of leadership, he suggested that they maintain a symbolic ideology of kinship through real or *imaginary lines*. "Imaginary" referred to ideals of unilineal descent in the context of cognatic practices. Today, bilocality, bilateral descent, and the use of affinal relations are well-known *kinship strategies*, as are the unilineal biases that often go along with them (e.g., Fox 1967; Keesing 1975:93–94). Lévi-Strauss merely pointed out that kinship theory in Kroeber's (1925) and Boas's (1966) times (i.e., unilineal only) lacked an established category for these kinds of strategies to form corporate groups found in multiple world regions and transcending nonstate and state societies. He thus

argued in favor of adding this new category to the repertoire of kinship models. Yet, the “houses” functioned the same as all other kin-based corporate groups: they all have longevity, “heirlooms,” and “moral personhood.” Unfortunately, because of Lévi-Strauss’s restrictive use of the term “kinship,” the message widely received by many archaeologists who fail to contextualize his writing within the history of anthropology is that the corporate groups are based on “non-kin-based” relationships and/or that kinship is merely imaginary and ideological, which is inaccurate.

The reluctance of archaeologists to not embrace kinship has little to do with real theoretical problems. Instead, the doubts can be traced to the ways the subject has been presented, misunderstood, and poorly characterized in archaeological literature. Because there is a long history of promoting confusion, rather than clarification, a significant heritage of negative baggage has been imposed upon archaeology, building up over decades, creating a tradition of uneasiness that still greatly influences many archaeologists’ perceptions. Furthermore, this negative perception diverted attention from reliable methods with which to identify kinship behavior that could advance our understandings and explanations of cultural change. Archaeologists are more willing to interpret ideology than they are the social organizational aspects of kinship that leave patterned material remains. Yet when confronting these various sources of confusion, there remains no theoretical justification for the doubts, and certainly no good rationale for abandoning kinship research in archaeology. I now turn to the reasons why archaeologists *need* to better understand kinship.

Potential Contributions to Archaeology

Since the 1970s, political economic and otherwise materialist orientations, along with feminist and gendered perspectives, have collectively created a resurgence in kinship research (e.g., Godelier 1978, 1984; Leacock 1978; Meillassoux 1972, 1981; Modjeska 1982; Moore 1991; Peletz 1995; Schweizer and White 1998; Wolf 1982:88–96). “While studies of kinship as a terminological system and as a symbolic system ‘in its own terms’ have both waned, studies of kinship in terms of social relations among variably situated actors engaged in the practice of social reproduction within broader political economic contexts have become central to contemporary anthropology” (Peletz 1995:366). Meanwhile, only a handful of archaeologists had recognized this potential (e.g., Peregrine 2001; McAnany 1995; Widmer 1994), most notably William Keegan (1992a, 1992b, 2006, 2009, 2011; Keegan and Maclachlan 1989; Keegan et al. 1998).

Past and contemporary archaeological literature illustrates a general concern for social organization, settlement patterns, socioeconomic dynamics, agency/negotiation, and gender. The “house-centric” literature recently introduced a concern for corporate organization. Kinship theory provides a satisfactory framework for addressing each.

Social Organization

Whether dealing with an egalitarian society or a class-based state, archaeologists must interpret social organization: the kinds of groups that people form and how those groups interact with one another. For archaeologists in particular, social organization is the major aspect of kinship to focus on when attempting to understand any given past society and the social dynamics guiding behavior. In part, this is because our data are restricted to material evidence on patterned group behavior. We cannot observe descent or kin nomenclature. The importance of social organization in archaeology is also due to the subfield’s materialist orientation.

If archaeologists wish to understand the most basic units of society, they must understand and recognize the ways that residential and household groups are formed. Social groups have “corporate” aspects to them (otherwise, people would have no use for them). The most important question is on what basis are the groups organized. Through property ownership, household groups are formed, memberships are defined, identities are made, and internal and external relationships are structured. Postmarital residence reproduces the basis for resource-owning groups. It structures engendered mobility and the social experiences of men and women. Postmarital residence strategies define what a residential group is and from whom within or beyond the residence one finds a source of resources, inheritable property, social support, and obligations. In some systems, corporate group membership can be structured by strict residence rules to reproduce the existing nature of the social groups, while other systems are based more on negotiation to address immediate needs. Residential groups or estate-owning household groups differ considerably in membership, recruitment, and in their implications on gender. They should be significant to any archaeological modeling of past societies.

When trying to understand larger social groups, kinship is also essential. With the exception of sodalities so prevalent in modern capitalist societies, descent is the most common basis for social groups above the scale of households. Yet there are different kinds of descent groups, each structured by a different form of descent. The resulting memberships, identities, and internal relationships would not exist if the descent groups did not have a corporate socioeconomic purpose. Descent groups provide

resources and support to individual members. They define who one can or cannot marry because only certain marriage systems will reproduce those social groups and the privileges that they and future generations of members rely upon. Violating the marriage rules will dissolve the very foundations of the descent groups. Resources are passed from generation to generation. Any cohort's resources are those of the ancestors and are kept in perpetuity for the next generation of descendants. This is why ancestor veneration is so important, whether founding figures are known or mythical. Additionally, as will be seen, the organization of descent groups has a major influence on settlement patterns. Only when resources, sources of support, and other socioeconomic factors are stripped from people's control, as in the case of modern proletarians who lack productive resources with which to make a living, do descent groups become irrelevant.

In hierarchical societies, where elites have much to legitimate, descent and descent groups are critical to maintaining power. Rank is based on descent group membership. Succession and inheritance are passed only to other members of the descent groups, either from parents to children or to other members of the group (e.g., Keegan 2006). To perpetuate memberships and relationships, marriage strategies must be defined and followed to maintain power and wealth. Thus, an understanding of descent groups is critical to modeling social organization, socioeconomic dynamics, and power relations.

For many archaeologists of the West, descent groups are as exotic as any anthropological concept can get. Yet, these are real. Descent groups are still tangible and critical for survival. They are also essential identities—what Sahlins (2011) describes as “mutuality of being.” This is most apparent in many rural areas of East Africa where descent groups continue to be the basis for resource ownership, social support, inheritance, and overall well-being. Although no culture has completely resisted the disintegrating forces of neocolonialist capitalism, people around the world surprisingly find new uses for their descent groups in adapting to destitution in rural villages, in city slums, and in diasporas. Although many of the functions of descent groups in Africa, the Americas, and Asia have diminished, they are still essential to identity and for locating specific kin through which assistance may be sought, even as memberships are stretched across oceans. Because descent groups are very real and important, archaeologists should be interested in how they developed and were used in the past societies they seek to understand.

Settlement Patterns

Settlement pattern studies emerged as a major subject in the 1950s and are now a common source of information on any archaeological culture.

During their infancy there was a realization that settlement patterns reveal both land-use and social organization (e.g., Willey 1953). Earlier studies attempted to understand kinship-based social organization through settlement patterns. Unfortunately, kinship research became focused on cognition, while archaeological theory became mired in environmental and ecological adaptations. The result was a loss of kinship as a guiding perspective for interpreting social organization. The early observations on how kinship structures settlement patterns was subsequently ignored to the present, even though anthropologists came to understand in the 1970s that the distribution of people across landscapes was largely dependent upon kin-based social organization and marriage (e.g., Keesing 1975). Over time, however, many in our subfield distanced themselves further from anthropological theory when interpreting settlement patterns. Archaeology is long overdue for another infusion of anthropologically based understandings of this topic.

“Community patterns”—the ways by which people are distributed across landscapes and within settlements—are structured by kinship and marriage. The spatial arrangements of households, other structures, work areas, and so on, are physical expressions of kin group organization that socially reproduce those identities through daily lived experience. Although also well documented early on (e.g., Chang 1958), this knowledge disappeared from archaeological literature on intrasite spatial analyses as archaeologists sought methods by which they themselves could invent their own theories on the subject. But, beginning in the 1990s, archaeologists began rediscovering the well-known fact that site layouts are typically reflections of cosmologies (e.g., Ashmore and Sabloff 2002; Lewis and Stout 1998; Seigel 1999). Interestingly, a typically more materialistic subfield began to explain community patterns as resulting from ideology (a Hegelian idealist perspective) rather than as a product of social organization. Cross-culturally, however, community patterns, cosmological organization, and ceremonial organization are all structured upon kin-based social organization and ideologically reproduce that organization. To understand the social implications of settlements anthropological perspectives should be relevant, which comes to us in the form of kinship models.

Agency

The vast majority of archaeological theory since the 1990s has emphasized human agency in one manner or another. No longer seeking external environmental or demographic causation or assuming passive subjects, the outcome of the processual-postprocessual debates is a focus on intrasocietal group dynamics and negotiation strategies. Archaeologists often present agency-oriented models that carry an implicit assumption

about human behavior—that the same kinds of responses should be viewed in all cultural contexts. Thus, human agency becomes homogenized despite the vast differences in social, economic, and political organization from one nonstate society to another, or from one class to another within state societies. We are led away from asking why a “corporate” strategy for this outcome and why a “network” strategy for that outcome, but instead satisfy ourselves only with identifying assumed elite strategies. When claiming that emerging leadership controls ceremony for its own purposes, we often forget to ask what is the role of ceremony within the social, economic, religious, and political context that made leadership possible in the first place.

Kinship models provide understandings of the social contexts that direct agency. For example, some marriage systems structure agency and competition for rank or status through ceremony. The proscriptions may prevent marriage with specified groups but not other groups. Negotiations take place when selecting spouses among the groups permitted, which involve active surplus production and exchange to demonstrate or establish rank or status. Spirituality and ceremony do not exist in a social vacuum. In most nonstate societies, these are directly linked to the kinds of marriage and exchange systems that socially reproduce the types of kin-based groups within a given culture (e.g., Rosman and Rubel 1971). The themes of the ceremonies are tied to the identities of the kin groups sponsoring them. The ceremonies provide the social context for competitive marital alliances. In short, the marriage rules, maritally related material exchanges, and the competitive ceremonies, even cosmologies, are holistically intertwined with kin-based social organization (e.g., Godelier 1984). The ways these are structured may perpetuate equality or serve as instruments to manipulate by emerging leaders. But emerging elites who depend upon those dynamics for their own benefits cannot simply dissolve the very basis of their leadership. Instead, they must use and intensify those kin-based ceremonies to their own and their kin group’s advantage. By ignoring kinship, archaeologists fail to consider the foundations of agency leading to inequality. Collective group agency, along with elite agency, is structured by kinship in nonstate societies.

Gender

Gender relations are inextricably associated with kinship (Dube 1997; Ensor 2013; Godelier 1982; Modjeska 1982; Stone 1997; Tsing and Yanagisako 1983). Engendered divisions of labor are at the heart of ethnological hypotheses on postmarital residence strategies. Through residence strategies, one gender or another is dislocated from its resource- and support-bearing kin, which has significant implications on social

experience. Descent group membership, inheritance, additional resources, and obligations occur through genders, although these do not necessarily imply any predictable significance to gender status.

“Conjugal” families (to avoid any implicit assumptions on biology) involve relationships among one or more individuals and their biological or social child(ren). These may or may not be the basis for households. Most cultures have extended households, or emphasized them until recently, including multiple conjugal families that form a single resource-owning unit with memberships. One gender, or both, may be mobile after marriage, depending on the residence strategy. With *patrilocality* (living with the husband’s father), women leave their natal household yet typically remain members of that household group—they are not members of their husbands’ household group where they live and work. The brothers’ wives are likely to be unrelated and do not own the household’s resources, a situation that has implications on their social conditions. The brothers’ married sisters are displaced but still have a stake in the resources, share in the decision making, and find a source of social support among their natal household members. With *matrilocality* (living at the wife’s mother’s residence), men leave their natal households but typically remain members of that household group. Although living with their wives, they typically do not become members of those women’s resource-owning groups. They do not share ownership or decision making in their wives’ households’ resources.

No matter which postmarital strategy is favored, children belong to their natal household group. With *patrilocality*, they are members of their father’s household group, never their mother’s group. After the death of a husband or a divorce, the children remain with their deceased father’s brothers. The children are the heirs to the household’s resources. With *matrilocality*, the situation is reversed—children belong to their mother’s and her sisters’ and brothers’ group, never their father’s group. After the death of their mother, or upon a divorce, they remain in their natal household because they are the future owners of that unit’s collective resources.

Where there are larger descent groups (e.g., lineages or clans), men and women typically remain members of their patrilineal, matrilineal, or ambilineal groups no matter where postmarital residence takes them in life. And, in death, they are typically returned to those kin (e.g., Keegan 2009): with ancestors, becoming ancestors. Members of the mobile gender share in their descent group’s resources, social support, and decision making, along with obligations to other descent group members.

All forms of kin groups, except neolocal groups, seek to perpetuate themselves. Their members’ collective resources were obtained from the labor and agency of their ancestors. They must pass those resources—

the means for survival (not just its status or group ideology)—to the future generations. For these reasons, junior men and women belonging to the kin groups are used by elders and/or ranked leaders to attract marriage alliances with other kin groups. In many systems marriage is not guaranteed but competitive. Yet without marriages the kin group has no future. Kinship thus sets the stage for elder and/or rank-based control over junior members. The enormous surplus that needs to be produced to attract marriages is based on the expectation of childbearing through which to perpetuate or increase the size of the kin groups. Whereas both junior women's and men's productive capacities are controlled for group prosperity, junior women are exclusively controlled for reproductive purposes. If archaeologists seek to understand gender relations and conditions, it should seem obvious that gender should first be contextualized in kinship strategies.

Corporate Groups

Also from this brief discussion, it should be clear that household and descent groups are corporate groups and that kinship structures membership and access to resources, social support, and obligations. Without these, there would be no need for extended households or descent groups, which is why such groups tend to dissolve when people no longer own resources (as with proletarianization). The strategies to form and perpetuate kin-based corporate estate-owning groups have been recognized in kinship literature throughout much of the twentieth century: the very relationships sought by “house-centric” enthusiasts. The origins of corporate groups and how their membership criteria change over time have been hypothesized since before the 1960s. The interest in corporate groups generated by “house-centric” perspectives merely reinforces the need for archaeologists to engage in kinship research.

Change

Cultures change. Kinship changes. As a field interested in how social organization changes over time, how patterns in socioeconomic interaction develop and change, how structured negotiation/agency emerges and alters societies over time, how gender relations and conditions change, and even how “house societies” may come about, archaeologists should be interested in kinship theory. Different schools of thought have proposed models for how kinship dynamics lead to change, but this is most notable in political economic literature.

A political economic perspective views the history versus evolutionary opposition as a false dichotomy. Instead, each social system has internal

processes guiding agency in directions that eventually lead to crises. Upon reaching those crises, competing agency guides the outcome. The crises may be temporarily averted by addressing the symptoms rather than the cause, leading to a slow decay. The system may be reinitiated, starting off the long process over again. Or, numerous alternatives may be adopted, at first as de facto solutions to immediate needs or through the adoption of a new system altogether. Kinship-based political economies also generate internal processes leading eventually to crises (e.g., Ensor 2003a, 2003b; Friedman 1984; Godelier 1984; Peregrine 1999). In the absence of conquest, migration, or other social or environmental calamities, models on internal processes provide appealing explanations for social transformations.

Internal processes are not the only potential sources of transformations. Expanding states conquer, absorb, and restructure the kinship of neighboring peoples. Ancient states surely altered the kinship practices of the peoples they absorbed for tributary surplus production. Meanwhile, cultures use kinship to resist state encroachment, influencing the characteristics of states (e.g., Gailey and Patterson 1988), to adapt to the changes (e.g., Ellison 2009; Hutchinson 1996; McCurdy 2003; Shandy 2007), or when reconstituting their populations (e.g., Godelier 1984). Changing land-use patterns, caused by imposed political ecologies or by environmental changes, invariably result in altered arrangements of resource ownership and consequential changes to social organizational and marriage strategies. Early literature on ecology and changing kinship dates back at least to Steward's (1937) hypothesis on the historical development of descent groups in the US Southwest. To fully appreciate the impacts of these external factors, one must begin with an understanding of the pre- and posttransformational kinship practices.

This book illustrates how archaeologists can interpret sociological aspects of kinship, model ancient kinship, and marriage systems and can observe how they changed over time. But unlike ethnographers relying on limited temporal scales or ethnohistorians relying on historical periods with fragmentary documentation, archaeology's greater time depth and availability for systematic analysis can greatly expand understandings of how kinship and social lives change.

Potential Archaeological Contributions to Theory

Here I make the case that archaeology should provide important contributions to broader kinship theory. Skeptics may raise an eyebrow over this objective. However, we need to recognize that there are a number of limitations in the ethnographic record leading to decades-old unresolved

problems that can only be addressed through archaeology. Those problems will become increasingly apparent, as will the need for archaeological remedies, as the reader progresses through this book.

Beginning in the 1960s, general anthropological theory became focused on explaining cultural phenomenon as a consequence of evolutionary trends or using cross-cultural data to model evolutionary pathways, whether unilinear in the manner of White (1943) or multilinear as inspired by Steward (1955). Many scholars tried to use cross-cultural information to model evolutionary changes in kinship. Some of the approaches focused on how terminological systems changed, which eventually led to the development of linguistic approaches to explain historical changes. Many, however, focused on the social dimensions of kinship in efforts to explain how certain practices came about. In practically all of this latter literature, postmarital residence and descent groups were already understood to be associated with resource ownership and marriage strategies, so they were well grounded in materialist concerns for identifying correlates. Although originally pursuing evolutionary processes, the resulting models of change usually suggested that a given set of practices are historical outcomes of prior practices.

A number of hypotheses were produced, but problems in testing them nearly always arose. The greatest challenge to ethnologists, which is sometimes explicitly described in this literature, was to overcome the reliance on cross-cultural comparisons. Those methods were vital to documenting the variation that existed. However, most of the observations were obtained from ethnographic research conducted during a traditional year of field recording, which left only synchronic perspectives. Yet the models were diachronic in nature and required longitudinal observations that far exceeded the temporal depth of ethnography and even the depth of ethnohistorical research in many world regions. A few examples can be given here, but more are presented later in the book.

During this period, many cross-cultural studies led to one of the most important hypotheses in kinship theory: that residential behavior extends from engendered divisions of labor. To use a matrifocal example, matrilocality was hypothesized to be an outcome of an importance to localizing women's labor, whereas men's labor did not need to be localized (Fox 1967:77–85; Gough 1961a:551–564). Driver and Massey (1957) tested this hypothesis with cross-cultural data on North American cultures, focusing on the division of labor, and found that matrilocality was associated with a greater contribution to localized subsistence by women and that patrilocality was associated with a greater contribution to localized subsistence by men. Comparing residence locality with engendered divisions of labor using the *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1962, 1963), Ember and Ember (1971) came to the same conclusion for North American

cultures. However, for other world regions they found further support for the hypothesis when there is warfare between territories, but not when there is a presence of territorially internal warfare. The latter was correlated with patrilocality no matter what the engendered division of labor entailed. Divale (1974) and Ember et al. (1974) later found that matrilocality could partially be explained by migration to new territories when warfare is external. Removing warfare from the equation, which may be appropriate for many periods in prehistory, Ember and Ember's (1971) results can be read as supporting the engendered labor hypothesis. Much more recently, Korotayev (2003) found that increasing women's contributions to subsistence do in fact correlate with matrilocality. But in all of these studies, the hypothesis was made based on cross-cultural synchronic correlations that lacked the temporal depth for testing whether or not matrilocality arises from a shift to localizing women's gendered labor.

Another important hypothesis is that descent groups (and thus descent) follow from residence. Continuing with matrifocal examples, over time the resulting *de facto* matrilocal residential groups, consisting of multiple households, happen to have matrilineal relationships, even if descent to a common matrilineal ancestor was unintentional or unrecognized (Fox 1967:84). This is how *matrilineages* are believed to have originated. At some point, those groups come to be property-holding descent groups. Once this occurred, more formal recognition of matrilineal descent would be needed, certain marriage rules and inheritance rules would be necessary to perpetuate those property-holding descent groups, and symbolic reproduction through ritual and ceremonial ancestor veneration would be necessary to ideologically justify the social relations. This major hypothesis requires diachronic information to test but has always been based on cross-cultural synchronic data. Additionally, cross-cultural correlations of synchronic residence and descent, which do not always support the hypothesis, do not provide observations on the formation of matrilineal descent groups.

Using several of the groundbreaking ethnographies on matrilineal kinship in Schneider and Gough (1961), Gough (1961a) made a number of hypotheses on how certain matrilineal practices developed. One example is on the origins of avunculocal postmarital residence, whereby the married couple resides with the husband's matrilineal uncle. From the ethnographic data, avunculocality was practiced when men controlled matrilineal descent groups' resources. Avunculocality allows men to remain among their matrilineal uncles from whom they inherit matrilineal descent group property. Given that avunculocality is not associated with patrilineal descent, and given that it does not occur without matrilineal descent groups, Gough (1961a:560–561) reasoned that a precondition

was the matrilineal descent groups. Thus, wherever avunculocality occurs, there must have been a preceding system of matrilocality and matrilineal descent groups wherein men somehow gained control over resources. But like the other hypotheses she made, and like all those emanating from cross-cultural studies, this one required longitudinal data for testing that are not available in synchronic ethnographic data.

The study of kinship is in most cases the study of historical process or agency-directed change. Numerous similar studies on the origins of different forms of postmarital residence, kinds of descent groups, and correlations among a wide range of kinship behaviors were produced throughout the 1960s and 1970s that are still relevant to kinship theory today. Nevertheless, all such studies that have profoundly shaped kinship theory have the same problem of testing diachronic models with synchronic ethnographic data. Although many ethnographies since the early 1980s provide insight on how kinship changes in response to expanding global capitalism, these also fail to explain the “traditional” system, which is used merely as a starting point for understanding what has changed in the more recent ethnohistorically and ethnographically observed periods.

In addition to testing hypotheses, there may also be an important contemporary social issue that archaeologists can address through applied kinship research. Local and global indigenous people’s movements are more frequently seeking ways to reconstitute their kin-based systems of resource ownership, sociopolitical organization, and spirituality as a means for cultural survival. These begin with reconciliation efforts to acknowledge the negative impacts of centuries of disruptions brought about by European colonialism (see Sued-Badillo 1992), ongoing globalization, and forced migrations. If archaeologists can observe kinship behaviors and how they changed after contact and into the historical periods, then they could potentially contribute to these efforts.

This book is not just calling for kinship theory to inform archaeological interpretation, which would definitely benefit our understandings of past societies, but also to finally address what ethnology has been unable to satisfactorily address on its own. Archaeology is the only social science in existence that is capable of breaking through the historic documentary barrier that prevents ethnology from fully testing its models. As archaeologists, we must borrow so extensively from ethnology that a good case can be made for greater reciprocity in the area of kinship theory, just as we occasionally do with additional areas of anthropological theory. Through the testing of diachronic hypotheses, like those examples given above, archaeology can make that significant contribution. If the tests support hypotheses on the relationships among gender, subsistence, or other socioeconomic or political economic factors, and on the correspondence between kinship behaviors (and there are many more than this

book will test), then archaeologists can have greater confidence in the explanatory value of kinship models. If they do not support the hypotheses, then archaeologists can provide new observations leading to new or modified hypotheses to pursue through more archaeological research or to address alongside ethnology.

This chapter argued that archaeologists should consider kinship research. The legacy of rationales for avoiding the subject is based on misunderstandings or mischaracterizations, leading to the conclusion that there is no legitimate basis for avoiding an archaeology of kinship. Because kinship theory addresses many of the major concerns of contemporary archaeology (e.g., social organization, socioeconomic dynamics, agency/negotiation, gender, identity and explaining change), archaeologists should engage in kinship research. Because the ethnologically derived hypotheses on kinship practices cannot adequately be tested with ethnographic and ethnohistorical data, archaeology has an opportunity (or a responsibility) to contribute to anthropological theory on kinship.

CHAPTER THREE

The Hohokam

This chapter provides a general background to Hohokam archaeology for readers unfamiliar with that region. The Hohokam were a major archaeological culture of the US Southwest occupying much of the Sonoran Desert region in central and southern Arizona. The Phoenix Basin, emphasized here, comprises the lower Salt and middle Gila Rivers within and near the modern city of Phoenix (Figure 3.1). The Holocene floodplains were once lined by riparian vegetation. Along their margins are Pleistocene terraces and low sloping colluvial fans with paloverde-cactus scrub vegetation. Hohokam settlements favored the floodplains but are also found in nearby adjacent upland areas and along tributary rivers. Irrigation agriculture (for corn, beans, and other cultigens) was a major subsistence strategy practiced on floodplains, although there was a diversified subsistence base, including other forms of cultivation and foraging (e.g., Anderson and Smith 1994:246; Bayman 1999; Bohrer 1991; Fish and Nabhan 1991; Miller 1994:202–203; Szuter 1991). A variety of raw lithic materials were available in the mountain ranges (e.g., Bostwick and Burton 1993) or from long-distance exchange.

An enormous amount of literature on the Hohokam has been produced, thanks to a well-developed cultural resource management industry, high standards of research and reporting, universities emphasizing regional archaeology, archaeologists with long commitments to the region, regional conferences and publication outlets, and good preservation. Numerous surveys and extensive settlement excavations provide a wealth of data applicable to a wide range of research topics. There is a well-developed chronology, and the range of material culture, from artifacts to structures, has been well documented and researched for all phases. A

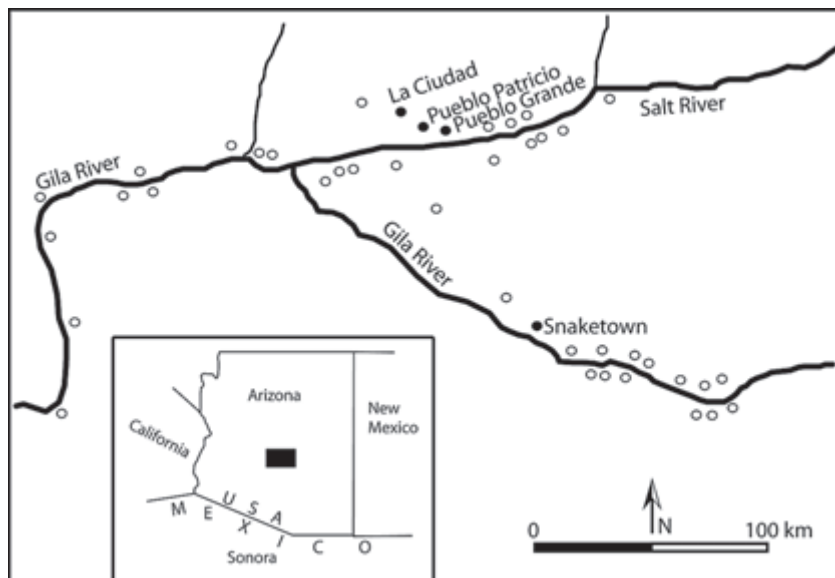


FIGURE 3.1. Major Hohokam sites in the Phoenix Basin

good number of topical syntheses are available (e.g., Crown and Judge 1991; Doyel 1987; Doyel and Dean 2006; Fish and Fish 2008; Gummerman 1991; Roth 2010; Young and Herr 2012). The following overview summarizes research trends, the culture historical sequence, and major problems that can be addressed through kinship analyses.

Research Trends

Culture historical perspectives were pioneered by Harold Gladwin, Emil Haury, and others (see Doyel 1986). Hohokam “culture” is still frequently defined by the distribution of culture historical “traits,” for example, red-on-buff pottery and later polychrome pottery, pithouse and later above-ground adobe architecture, ballcourts and later platform mounds, trash mounds, large roasting pits, cremation and later inhumation burials, irrigation agriculture, elaborate nonutilitarian artifacts, and widespread exchange systems. The culture historical reliance on migration to explain changes (e.g., Haury 1976) still leaves its legacy in names for major chronological periods (e.g., “Pioneer” and “Colonial”). However, evidence from the past few decades strongly favors *in situ* cultural changes.

Even during the reign of culture history, Haury (1956) also attempted to relate Hohokam developments to subsistence. Subsequently, generations of processualist archaeologists elaborated on ecological adaptation to explain settlement patterns, social organization, and change in the region. In addition to bringing advancements in methods and integrated paleobotanical and geoarchaeological approaches, much was learned about subsistence strategies and the extensive irrigation networks (e.g., Fish and Fish 1984). Accompanying these advancements, environmental and ecological determinism replaced migration to explain Hohokam “evolution” and changing settlement patterns, subsistence, and traits (for recent examples, see Doyel and Dean 2006; Huckleberry 1999; Waters and Ravesloot 2001, 2003). Postprocessual perspectives never permeated Hohokam research to a significant degree. Attempts to infuse political economic and agency-oriented perspectives have appeared since the 1990s (e.g., Ensor et al. 2000, 2003a; Craig 2004, 2007; Craig et al. 2012; McGuire 1992a, 1992b; McGuire and Saitta 1996; Seymour 1994) but are still overshadowed by the ecosystem tradition.

The ongoing processualist period also encouraged functionalist research on “systems” of social organization, subsistence, exchange, and interaction (e.g., Crown and Judge 1991; Doyel 1980, 1987, 1991a, 1991b; Gumerman 1991; McGuire and Howard 1987; Seymour 1988, 1994; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983; Wilcox et al. 1981). Interpretations on social hierarchy included egalitarian, “big men,” and ranked or stratified societies (McGuire 1992a:2). There was impressive innovation in frameworks to interpret households and their durations (see below). Questions generated from that period continue to guide more recent research (e.g., Abbott 2000; Bayman 1999; Abbott et al. 2007; Fish and Fish 2008). Whether focusing on environment/ecology, exchange, or “regional systems,” that which is commonly shared is a tendency to view a neoevolutionary-like process whereby certain phases established a normative Hohokam “system” that developed and came to full expression in later phases.

A blending of paradigms is apparent in Hohokam archaeology today. Culture historical perspectives are implicit, whereby processualist “systems” (even “ideological systems”) are confused with the chronological and regional distribution of a constellation of culture historical “traits” (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012; Craig et al. 2012). For causal explanation, migration and diffusion (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012) or environment and subsistence (e.g., Wallace and Lindeman 2012) are commonly invoked. Even agency is explained by migration, diffusion, ecology, and/or population growth (e.g., Craig 2007; Craig et al. 2012; Herr and Young 2012:12; Wallace and Lindeman 2012; Wills 2012). Perhaps one post-processual characteristic has permeated the more recent literature: build-

ing arguments on vague ideological “systems” based on a series of inductive and highly speculative interpretations (see contributions in Young and Herr 2012). This unacknowledged eclectic mixture of paradigms used for interpretation may present an interesting case study on archaeological theory.

Culture Historical Overview

“Hohokam culture” is typically described in terms of culture historical traits. Phases are defined by elaborations, new additions, or changes in multiple traits. There are two major episodes of dramatic change: at around CE 1150 and CE 1350–1400. The following outline emphasizes normative, generalized representations of settlement patterns, domestic and other architecture, major artifact categories, and burial practices.

Unless defining “Hohokam” as a “system,” the Red Mountain phase (ca. CE 0–350) is the earliest that most regional archaeologists would consider “Hohokam” based on “traits.” Sites appear to have been located where floodwater farming was possible in upland areas, although some may be buried and unrecognized below deep alluvial deposits (Doyel 1991a:238–240). The sites appear to be seasonal occupations with dispersed small, square domestic structures (Cable and Doyel 1987:56). Common artifacts include thick plain pottery, laterally notched projectile points, trough and shallow metates, and occasional marine shell from the Gulf of California (Cable and Doyel 1987:56). Burial practices involved flexed inhumations (Cable and Doyel 1987:56).

During the Vahki phase (ca. CE 350–525), the same settlement patterns continue but with more occupations identified on the floodplains. Vahki phase pithouses were generally small, but much larger structures (up to 100 m² in floor area) are well known. The latter have been interpreted as ceremonial (Gladwin 1948:118) but are more commonly interpreted as communal habitations (Cable and Doyel 1987:65; Haury 1976:68; Henderson 1995:231; Wilcox et al. 1981:204). The earliest irrigation ditches date to this phase. Common artifacts include a continuation of plain pottery, some red-slipped pottery, small barbed triangular projectile points, trough metates, and marine shell (Cable and Doyel 1987:65). Burial practices continued to emphasize flexed inhumation accompanied by the earliest cremations.

In the Estrella (ca. CE 525–600) and Sweetwater (ca. CE 600–675) phases, there were small dispersed clusters of domiciles near irrigation ditches on the floodplains (Nicholas and Neitzel 1984). Small bent-pole “huts” accompanied pithouses of varying sizes with square, rectangular, and elliptical shapes. The two phases are also known as the “Red-on-Gray

Horizon,” marked by pottery with thickly painted bands of red slip over a grey surface with thick incisions. Figurines, interpreted as fertility symbols (Haury 1976:266), were most common during these two phases. “Exotic” artifacts include shell and turquoise. Cremation burials replaced inhumation burials in the Estrella phase, which then characterized Hohokam mortuary customs for the next 600 years.

The Snaketown (ca. CE 675–750), Gila Butte (ca. CE 750–875), Santa Cruz (ca. CE 875–975), and Sacaton (ca. CE 975–1150) phases are commonly viewed as a long culture historical “tradition” or evolving processual “system.” Although smaller settlements existed, many progressively grew to become large villages with residential groups, trash mounds, ceremonial structures, cemeteries, and work areas surrounding central plazas. There was expansion in settlement range along tributary rivers. Floodplain irrigation farming intensified, as evidenced by increasingly larger canals and canal networks. *Irrigation communities* of multiple interdependent settlements developed along major canal systems (Gregory 1991:170–174). Despite the notable irrigation, numerous wild plants, such as agave, were manipulated through dry farming techniques (Fish and Fish 1984). Red-on-buff ware was the dominant form of decorated pottery. Gila Butte–phase red-on-buff ware has thicker red designs and thin incised lines. Santa Cruz–phase red-on-buff ware has smaller, more intricate, and diverse design elements (e.g., scrolls, anthropomorphic figures, and zoomorphic figures). Sacaton phase red-on-buff ware has similar elements but made with less concern for quality of execution. Craft manufacturing and exchange flourished during the Gila Butte to Sacaton phases. Obsidian; ornaments of marine shell, stone, and bone; stone palettes with etched designs along slightly raised edges; and stone incense burners and other objects (sometimes with zoomorphic appendages) were more common during these phases. Figurines were infrequent. Cremated remains were typically placed in urns, bowls, or pits.

Typical domestic architecture involved single-roomed pithouses: shallow pits with wall posts along the internal edges, internal support posts, and covered protruding entries. The post-and-beam work was covered by wattle and daub. Internal features include a central hearth and storage pits, and sometimes internal partitions. The shapes and sizes of the pithouses varied within settlements and within each phase. Shapes were commonly subrectangular during the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases and more elliptical in the Sacaton phase (Haury 1976:65; Wilcox et al. 1981:166).

Courtyards appear to have first developed during the Gila Butte phase. A Hohokam courtyard is a small space surrounded by multiple pithouses. The common space was maintained over time as other structures were

added and/or abandoned. Some courtyards lasted several phases (Craig 2007; Doyel 1991a:248–249; Gregory 1991; Henderson 1987b; Howard 1985; Wilcox et al. 1981). Courtyards had associated trash mounds, work areas, and *hornos* (large roasting pits with oxidized to vitrified walls).

Communal ceremonial structures were built in increasing numbers over time. Over 225 ballcourts were constructed throughout central and southern Arizona. Although ballcourt shapes changed over time, they were generally elliptical spaces framed by tall earthen berms (see Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). Larger villages had multiple ballcourts. Trash mounds capped with clay or caliche mined from subsurface calcium deposits have been interpreted as ceremonial monuments. These become more common in the Santa Cruz and Sacaton phases.

Major changes occurred around CE 1150. During the transition from the Sacaton to the Soho phase (ca. CE 1150–1300), several large villages were abandoned, others were initiated, and some previously occupied villages grew significantly in size and population. Most of the settlements no longer had central plazas. This was also the time at which irrigation networks reached their maximum extent (Nicholas and Neitzel 1984) and when the regional population was largest. Settlement patterns on floodplains indicate a continuation of irrigation community organization (Gregory 1991:170–174), which continued through the Civano phase (ca. CE 1300–1400?). A number of cultural traits also changed. Beginning in the Soho phase, pithouses were gradually replaced by above-ground post-reinforced adobe-walled structures. In the Civano phase, multiple habitation rooms and adjacent work spaces were surrounded by adobe compound walls. Multistoried “great houses” were constructed at larger settlements in the Civano phase and have been interpreted as having ceremonial or domestic functions. The ballcourts were abandoned. However, large platform mounds were constructed at the larger villages. Ceremonial structures were built on top of the platform mounds during the Civano phase. These and adjacent domestic compounds were surrounded by large compound walls (Bostwick and Downum 1994:341–344; Crown 1991:151–152; Gregory 1987). Beginning in the Soho phase, there was a shift from cremations to inhumations, and the latter continued to be used through the Civano phase. There was a gradual shift from red-on-buff to red-slipped ware in the Soho phase and to Salado polychrome pottery in the Civano phase. There was a decline in intraregional exchange of pottery, with more localized exchange alongside long-distance exchange (e.g., Abbott 2000:170; Van Keuren et al. 1997). There was a dramatic decline in nonutilitarian craft production and exchange (Doyel 1991b:239), as those were concentrated at the platform mounds (Bayman 1999:275). Obsidian was more restricted to fewer

settlements, and there was an increase in sources from greater distances (Bayman and Shackley 1999).

Sometime around CE 1350–1400, there was another major change in Hohokam society and material culture. The Civano phase villages were largely abandoned, along with the large-scale irrigation networks. In the subsequent Polvorón phase, only small occupations are present at the former large villages. Small irrigation ditches were maintained (Nials et al. 1989). Domestic architecture shifted back to pithouses or made use of abandoned Civano phase rooms. No ceremonial architecture was built. There was a return to red-slipped and red-on-brown wares, similar to the earlier red-on-buff pottery. Additionally, there was a return of cremation practices alongside inhumation burials (Crown and Sires 1984; Sires 1984).

Major Problems for Kinship Analysis

Hohokam archaeology provides a number of opportunities for kinship analyses and for contributions to kinship theory. Despite decades of attention to dwellings and their arrangements, particularly courtyard groups (e.g., Gregory 1991; Henderson 1987b; Howard 1985; Wilcox et al. 1981), interpretation lacked a kinship perspective. This research frequently makes vague interpretations on “families,” “extended families,” or “households” but without attempts to interpret specific forms of kinship-based social organization. Nevertheless, the notion that courtyards represent some form of corporate extended residential groups developed independently. Recently, Craig (2007) contributed this Hohokamist tradition to “house-centric” literature. Other recent studies continue to produce only vague understandings of “household” or vaguely referenced “corporate groups,” and vague residential groups are confused with vague higher-order “lineages” or “descent groups” (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012; Craig et al. 2012; Herr and Young 2012; Wallace and Lindeman 2012). Wills’s (2012) recent discussion of how individual dwellings may not reflect domestic groups, and that households as property-owning domestic groups might appear during competition in the US Southwest, leaves us no closer to any understanding of what specific groups existed at any time. Thus, the vague understandings of social organization continue. Unfortunately, most Hohokam archaeologists focus so exclusively on household-scale groupings that few entertained the possibility of larger potential descent groups (for exceptions, see Henderson 1987b; McGuire 1992a). Only Haury (1956) went further by interpreting patrilineal descent (based on a tentative correlation with irrigation agriculture). Interestingly, the notion that ceremony is related to attracting marital alliances

is also assumed but in similarly vague terms (e.g., Doyel 1991a:247; McGuire and Howard 1987:130; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). Despite these problems in interpretation, the traditional Hohokamist approach guided numerous excavation and documentation strategies that also make archaeological kinship analyses feasible.

The analyses in this book take interpretations far beyond what has been entertained in the past, linking Hohokam material culture to specific kinship formations and marriage systems. Doing so has the potential to explain long-term developments within the region, address gender relations and social ranking, and provide modern explanations on the enigmatic social transformations as an alternative to prevailing environmental and ecological determinism, or migration and diffusion. Given the long cultural sequence and major transformations with which to work, the Hohokam case study is also relevant to testing ethnological hypotheses on the circumstances surrounding the origins of kinship practices.

The book uses data reported from four extensively excavated sites within the Phoenix Basin (Figure 3.1). For the earlier phases, Red Mountain to Snaketown, I use Pueblo Patricio, which is located in several excavated downtown blocks in the city of Phoenix (Cable et al. 1985; Cable and Doyel 1987; Henderson 1995; see also Ensor 2000). Although not entirely excavated, some of the most complete excavations and reports on large Hohokam villages occurred at Snaketown (Gladwin et al. 1937; Haury 1976; Wilcox et al. 1981), at La Ciudad (Henderson 1987a, 1987b; Kisselburg 1987; McGuire 1992a; Rice 1987), and at Pueblo Grande (Bostwick and Downum 1994; Mitchell 1994a). Snaketown was occupied between the Vahki and Sacaton phases. La Ciudad was occupied from the end of the Snaketown phase to the Sacaton phase. Pueblo Grande was occupied between the Gila Butte and Polvorón phases.

In a manner very different from traditional Hohokam archaeology these sources of data will be used to analyze household-scale social organization (Chapter 6), descent group organization (Chapter 9), and marriage strategies (Chapter 12). The analyses reveal a greater amount of variation in social organization and marriage, between and within sites, than prevailing normative generalizations of evolving systems suggest. The analyses contribute new interpretations on the organization and change of Hohokam societies, far beyond what has previously been possible (Chapter 13). However, readers should keep in mind that the analyses of only four settlements cannot necessarily be considered representative of the very large number of Hohokam sites in the Phoenix Basin. In this book, the analyses are meant to illustrate the framework for interpreting changing kinship practices. Nevertheless, the resulting interpretations should provide Hohokam archaeologists with hypotheses for

further investigation at other extensively excavated settlements like Grewe (e.g., Craig 2004; Craig and Abbot 2001), Las Colinas (e.g., Gregory et al. 1988), and El Polvorón (e.g., Sires 1984). Furthermore, the long sequence and variation also provide an opportunity to illustrate how archaeology can evaluate the ethnologically derived hypotheses on kinship (Chapter 14).

PART TWO

Households

I would like to suggest that the study of social grouping should be the archaeologist's first task in interpreting his prehistoric communities. Once this is established, it should reveal many concomitant institutions such as matrimonial residence, division of labor, ownership of land and other property, and patterns of social behavior.

Kwang-Chi Chang, "Study of the Neolithic Social Grouping"

Apart from the sexual drive and care of children, everything in kinship systems is a sociocultural creation.

Gutorm Gjessing, "Socio-archaeology"

CHAPTER FOUR

Household-Scale Social Organization

This chapter describes the kinds of social groups that own household resources and reside at households. Postmarital residence strategies are used to form, perpetuate, or modify corporate resource-bearing groups. This does not mean that postmarital residence strategies determine the makeup of the social groups; one could argue it is the other way around or interpret a dialectical relationship. The various social organizational strategies to control resources and people have implications on gender, negotiation, and identity.

Some important distinctions are made at the outset, without which the novice could be hopelessly lost on the organizational principles of the social groups and their significance. I take a liberty in tailoring some concepts to make them more applicable to archaeological data. When doing so, I make explicit the differences from standard ethnological usage. The descriptions also provide an opportunity to address common sources of confusion in archaeological literature, allowing the reader to quickly understand and move past those for a richer understanding of the concepts and their significance.

Residential Groups, Household Groups, and Households

Before describing the different categories of household-scale social organization, some initial distinctions in terminology should be made to avoid

potential confusion. *Conjugal families* are variably defined groups but at a minimum consist of a social parent and social child(ren). There is no universal arrangement, and many anthropologists prefer to avoid the term “nuclear family” because it entertains the notion of a biological building block of kinship, which has long been discredited (e.g., Fortes 1958; Fox 1967:34–40; Gjessing 1956; Lévi-Strauss 1956).

Extended families at least consist of three generations: children, their parents, and their grandparents on one or multiple parental sides. Extended families are *consanguineal* relatives: all those who have a genealogical relationship to ego (a person of reference). Some “extended family” members may reside at one location, while some reside elsewhere after marriage, and some may have no role in resource ownership, which has led to remarkable confusion over how to view social groups. However, because extended families are not actual groups, the concept is surprisingly unimportant to social organization. I do not emphasize extended family relationships in this book; instead, I focus on the social groups important to residence and resource ownership.

A *residential group* is a collection of people brought together through postmarital residence strategies, along with all unmarried individuals born into the group. *Residential groups* are located at *households*. I refer to *households* only as physical manifestations of estates consisting of the built domestic environment and associated resources. The term “residential group” may be synonymous with what ethnologists refer to as a “local group.” In ethnological literature a “local group” could describe all those living at a single household or at an entire village, and ethnologists are often vague about the difference or see no point in making the distinction. However, household and settlement scales are what archaeologists observe, distinguish, and interpret. Therefore, *residential group* will refer to those living at households, and *local groups* will refer to the larger groups occupying settlements or neighborhoods within settlements and are addressed in Chapter 7.

There is a difference between the members *residing in* and *working in* the residential group and the corporate social group that *belongs to* and *co-owns* the household. The people co-owning the household are what I term the *household group*. The distinction is essential to understanding the social dynamics of resource acquisition and postmarital residence strategies. Thus, two overlapping social groups should be envisioned: the group that owns the household and its resources (the corporate *household group*) and the group that co-resides at the household (the *residential group*). In some arrangements, household groups are the smallest scale of *descent groups* (the subject of Chapter 7), but not all household groups are descent groups.

Postmarital residence practices physically separate some members from their household group, but no matter where marriage takes them in life, they remain members of their natal household group, belonging to it, sharing in the ownership of its resources, and maintaining obligatory social support to other members. This results in the postmaritally mobile people residing at their spouses' households and working with their resources but neither sharing in the ownership of those resources nor belonging to that household group. A good way to envision their integration is that they have "use rights" to their spouses' household-group resources. Furthermore, in some strategies, children never belong to, or inherit resources from, the household group of the postmaritally mobile parent.

As with all generalizations, cultural exceptions and variations can be found to the ways that household groups were just described. These may be *de facto* or *de jure* relationships. Postmaritally mobile people in some societies may become members of their spouse's household group and may be socially severed from their household group of origin. In some societies, people may have primary membership and rights in one household group and secondary membership and rights in another. Such is the stuff of endless debates among ethnologists over sub-classifications and over whose principles can best account for all variations. Unless (or until) archaeologists can interpret such variants using material culture, it seems more appropriate to assume the more general patterns on household group memberships, rights, and obligations.

Matrilineal Household Groups and Matrilocal Residential Groups

One major form of social organization at the household scale is the *corporate matrilineal household group*. All members of the household group are matrilineally related, the means by which access to resources and social support is granted. At a minimum, the household group includes a core group of sisters and brothers, their mother and her siblings, and the sisters' children (both boys and girls). Fathers do not belong to their wives' or children's household groups. This is a group organized along *matrilineal* principles: membership and rights to the household estate are determined through relationships to mothers. Because the groups are small descent groups, members can recognize common ancestors: those who provided the resources of the estate.

Matrilocal postmarital residence, or *matrilocality*, is associated with matrilineal household groups. Upon marriage, a couple goes to reside at the household of the bride's mother. The resulting *matrilocal residential*

group has a core of adult sisters, as each remained at their mother's household after marriage. Also included in the residential group are their unmarried sisters and brothers, their parents (if not deceased), their husbands, and their children. Because the sisters' mother may have had sisters herself, all of whom remained at *their* mother's household after marriage, the residential group may also include more than one core group of sisters who are matrilineal *parallel cousins* (related to one another through matrilineal descent). In this case, the matrilocal residential group would be much larger.

Men are the postmaritally mobile gender. Despite their displacement, men remain members of their household group, co-own the household (the estate and its resources with which to make a living), are involved in the decision making of that group, and have obligations to support the other members of that group. The married men do not belong to the household group of their wives. They live at their wives' households, and they work with its resources, but these are only use rights, and they do not share ownership of that estate. They are forever tied to their natal household group.

Children belong only to their mother's household group, never to their father's household group. Upon the death of a mother, or upon divorce, the children are likely to remain at the household owned by their group, even if the father remarries and moves elsewhere. This is because the children are the future heirs of the estate. As such, their matrilineal aunts and displaced matrilineal uncles must ensure their well-being: they represent the future generation of the household group.

Figure 4.1A illustrates the members of the matrilocal residential and matrilineal household groups. As can be seen, the residential group includes members who are not members of the household groups and vice versa. In this example, there are two core groups of sisters in ego's residential group (parallel cousins). The married sisters have brought to the household men who are not members of the household group, just as their fathers are not members of their household group. Meanwhile, their married brothers are no longer members of the residential groups yet remain members of the household group. All children born to any of these sisters belong to the household group. The children of the sisters' brothers do not belong to their household group. The reader should note that a good number of consanguineal "extended family" relatives are insignificant to residential and household groups.

One significant implication of matrilocality is that the different husbands of the core group of sisters are most likely unrelated to one another. Unlike the core group of sisters who reside with other members of their household group, thus providing a present source of support, the

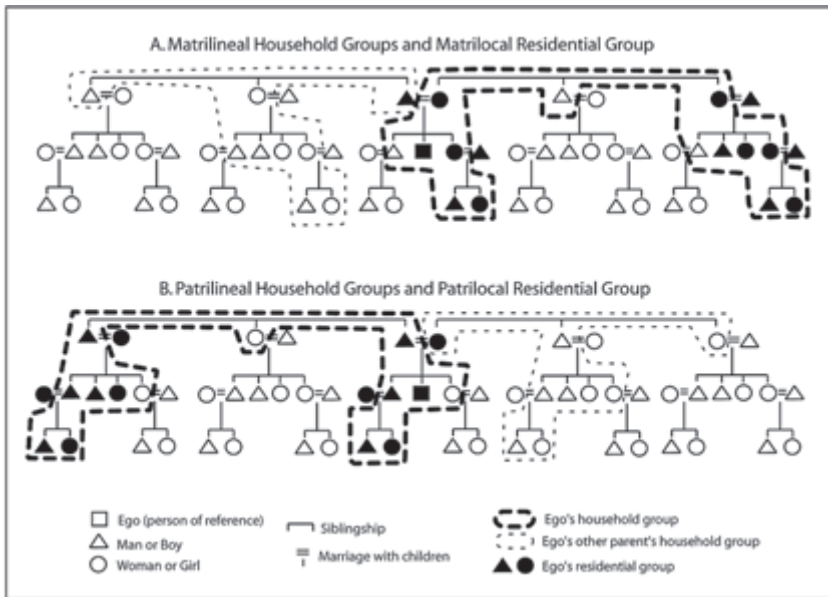


FIGURE 4.1. Memberships in unilineal household and residential groups

married men do not have kin-based support at their residences. They neither belong to their wives' nor to the other husbands' household groups. This situation can result in tensions among the various men, as well as with the members of their wives' household group.

As can be seen, ownership and access to resources with which to make a living are structured by gender. Gender relationships are central to understanding how residential groups and household groups are created. One hypothesis for matrilocality outside the Americas is external warfare, whereby men are frequently away from home territories (Ember and Ember 1971). However, the leading hypothesis for explaining matrilineal household groups and matrilocality emphasizes a gendered division of labor, whereby women's work (by the core group of adult sisters) and the resources they control need to be localized (Driver and Massey 1957; Fox 1967:77–85; Gough 1961a:551–564; Korotayev 2003). This means that engendered divisions of labor and the distribution of resources are created alongside postmarital residence, and these three aspects of kin groups need to be considered holistically. Moreover, the social relationships and dynamics behind the households observed by archaeologists cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of kinship and gender.

Patrilineal Household Groups and Patrilocal Residential Groups

The most common form of household group is the *corporate patrilineal household group*. All members of the household group are patrilineally related. The household group includes a core group of brothers and sisters, their father and his siblings, and the brothers' children (both boys and girls). This is a corporate group organized along *patrilineal* principles: membership, rights to the household estate provided by ancestors, and sources of mutual support are determined through relationships to fathers. Children belong to the household group of their fathers, not their mother's, and will inherit the household and its resources to maintain the estate in perpetuity: they remain members of their father's group even if the father dies, upon divorce, or if the mother remarries a man of another household group.

Through *patrilocal* postmarital residence (*patrilocality*), a married couple lives at the husband's father's location. All brothers remain in their natal residence, becoming a core group of adults within the *patrilocal residential group*. Other members of the residential group include the brothers' parents, their wives, their unmarried sisters, and their children. Unless transferring membership upon marriage, the postmaritally mobile wives/mothers do not belong to their husbands' or their childrens' household groups. These women are likely to be unrelated to one another leading to tensions among each other and their husbands' group. Because the brothers' father may have had brothers (the core brothers' patrilineal uncles), they may also co-reside with additional core groups of brothers (their patrilineal parallel cousins) in a larger patrilocal residential group along with those brothers' wives, unmarried sisters, and children.

Figure 4.1B illustrates the different residential and household group memberships. There are two core groups of brothers who are patrilineal parallel cousins (the fathers of the two sets are brothers) within the residential and household groups. However, their wives and their mother are members only of their residential group, not their household group. Meanwhile, their married sisters remain members of their household group but not their residential groups; they now live with their husbands. Children belong to their father's residential and household group, but never to their mother's household group. As can be seen, many "extended family" relatives are not members of these social groups.

Patrilocal postmarital residence, resource ownership, and gender must be considered together holistically as these are all interrelated aspects of residential and household groups. The leading hypothesis for the origins of such patrilineal groups and patrilocality is that the emerging men's labor and associated resources, providing the major subsistence

contribution, were localized. In contrast, women's work did not need to be localized.

Ambilineal Household Groups and Ambilocal Residential Groups

Unlike the *unilineal* household groups described above, *corporate ambilineal household groups* are based on nonunilineal relationships. This is one type of *cognatic* group (a group not structured by unilineal relations). An assortment of members collectively form a corporate household group that owns an estate. Although organized differently, the household groups function the same as unilineal household groups.

Membership to an ambilineal household group is negotiated. An adult must choose among patrilineal or matrilineal kin, sometimes both, that form a corporate group. However, not all matrilineal descendants are members of the same ambilineal groups because membership is negotiated, not predetermined by unilineal descent. Likewise, not all patrilineally related adults belong to the same household group for the same reason. However, the household groups are small descent groups: *individual* members can claim a common descent to one another, through either matrilineal descent or patrilineal descent, which is the basis for the negotiated membership. Another important aspect of ambilineal household groups is that membership is exclusive. Once accepted into, and declaring membership to, a given corporate household group, adults no longer have rights within any other household group, despite having matrilineal and patrilineal relatives in those other groups.

The core members of the household group are a set of adult brothers, sisters, and/or cousins. The senior members may include some mothers, fathers, matrilineal aunts and uncles, or some patrilineal aunts and uncles. Various arrangements are possible. The children of the core group of siblings/cousins do not necessarily belong to the same household group as their parents. They must associate themselves with an exclusive ambilineal household group when they become adults.

The resulting *ambilocal residential groups* therefore include a senior generation, a core group of potential siblings/cousins, and their children. Additionally, the residential groups also include the spouses of the core group: the residentially mobile men and/or women. Yet those spouses belong to different household groups and do not own the resources associated with the household where they reside.

Figure 4.2A shows a hypothetical ambilineal household group and ambilocal residential group. In this example, not all people who could claim matrilineal or patrilineal descent to ego belong to the same household

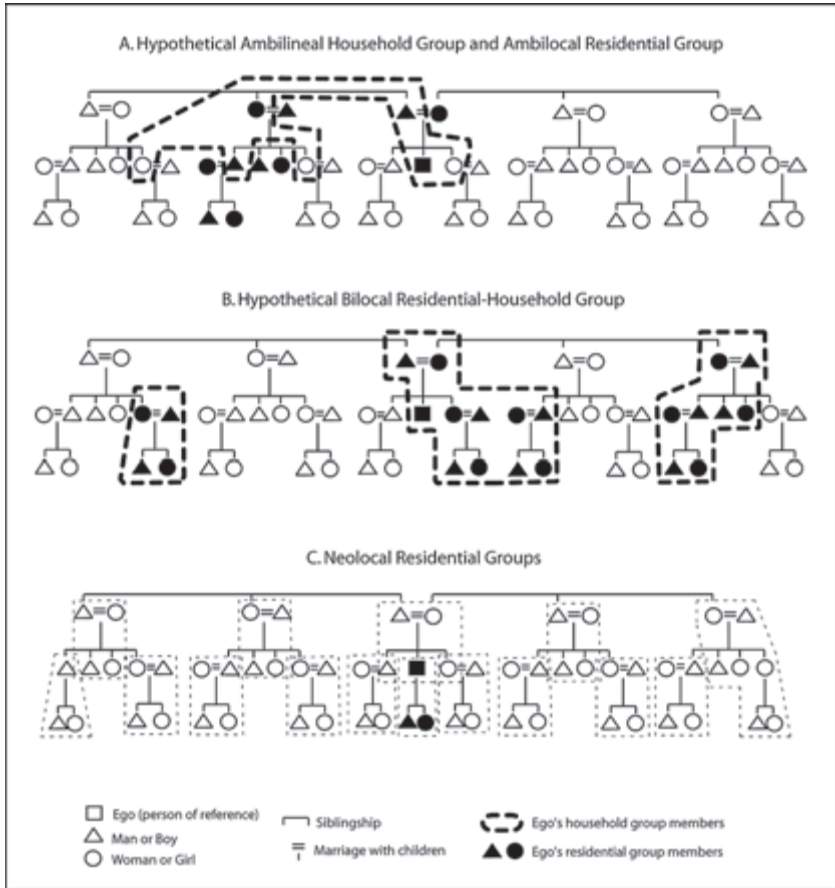


FIGURE 4.2. Memberships in cognatic household and residential groups

group. Ego and his/her married sister negotiated membership into their father's household group, using patrilineal principles to negotiate membership. The two siblings of ego's father's sister, however, used matrilineal principles (through their mother) to negotiate membership into the same ambilineal household group. They have neither matrilineal nor patrilineal relationships to ego. These are ego's *cross cousins*. The inclusion of cross cousins would not be possible in the unilineal household groups described above but can occur with ambilineal groups. Off to the left, one woman, the daughter of ego's father's brother, used patrilineal principles to negotiate her membership into the same ambilineal household group. In her case, she does have a patrilineal relationship to ego.

Ego's ambilocal residential group only includes some of these household-group members but also incorporates some affines of household-group members (but not all). Readers should keep in mind that the kinship diagram is of an egocentric kindred and additional residential and household-group members may be present in other egos' kindreds that are not shown. Readers should also keep in mind that Figure 4.2A is a hypothetical example of what is possible—I could have illustrated other potential group memberships. But no matter how these play out in real negotiations, the household and residential groups will not have the same memberships: some men and women must be postmaritally mobile.

Less research has been devoted to the origins of ambilineal groups and ambilocality. One common hypothesis is that it occurs from the breakdown of a unilineal-unilocal system. However, Fox (1967:159–162) suggests that population pressures on limited farmland can result in ambilocality. He reasons that numerous tightly spaced plots of farmland, each owned by a household group, makes both men's and women's residential transfers to their spouses' households feasible while maintaining co-ownership of their natal household groups' plots. In this case, postmarital residential mobility of either gender does not impact a given engendered division of labor because nobody will move too far away from the land they belong to.

Unilocal postmarital residence restricts choices in residential mobility. In contrast, cognatic strategies like ambilocality are less restrictive, resulting in greater need for *negotiation* of group membership. With unilocality, most of the negotiation involves with which household groups to form marriage alliances. With ambilocality, however, more decision making takes place in terms of both residential group and household-group membership, in addition to deciding with which household groups to make marital alliances.

Bilocal Residential-Household Groups

Bilocality involves the use of both *matrilateral* and *patrilateral* kin (of ego and of ego's spouse) to form a very different cognatic residential group. Emphasis *can be* placed on kin descending from the mother, the mother's father and mother, the father, and the father's father and mother, and so forth. All of the people who can be identified as consanguineal "kin" in this manner form a *kindred*. A kindred is not a social group, but rather, a collection of relatives that one ego identifies as kin. For example, in Figure 4.1, all the people shown on the diagrams are ego's kindred relatives, but most do not share residential or household-group membership with

ego. If an ethnographer asks a different ego to describe their bilateral relationships, a different set of people will result. Thus, a kindred is not a group. However, with bilocality ego can *potentially* emphasize kin in any residential group as long as any of ego's living and deceased relatives at one time married a member of that group. Upon marriage, the various residential groups in which either spouse can claim to have kin are potential groups to join. The couple must *negotiate* their way into the residential group, seeking the best opportunities for themselves and their children. They may remain in either the wife's or the husband's natal residence or try to *negotiate* their way into other residential groups. Access to resources with which to make a living is entirely a matter of negotiation, *potentially among any kindred relatives of ego and ego's spouse*, which is not the case with matrilineal, patrilineal, or ambilineal household groups. Meanwhile, the heads of the residential groups must *negotiate* to recruit members who they believe will best serve the interests of their residential group and its perpetuity.

Bilocal postmarital residence creates a residential group having a potential core of adult brothers, sisters, and/or patrilineal and matrilineal cousins of either spouse depending upon the particular arrangements, which will differ from one group to another because these are amalgams of negotiations. Along with the core group of working adults, there can be fathers, mothers, and matrilineal and patrilineal aunts and uncles, again depending on the specific negotiated memberships. Children belong to their parents' residential group.

Unlike all other strategies, *only one social group is formed* through bilocality. All of the members of the residential group *are* the household-owning group. This is because "belonging" to the household and its associated resources is acquired by gaining membership in the residential group. The residential group is the corporate group that owns the estate. The residential group and the household group in this case, but only in this case, are one and the same. We can therefore refer to a "*residential-household group*."

Figure 4.2B shows a hypothetical bilocal residential-household group. For this example, I chose to include *some of* four sets of siblings in the core group: ego and ego's sister, a female patrilineal parallel cousin, three of four siblings (two brothers and their sister) who are ego's matrilineal parallel cousins, and a male *matrilateral* cross cousin. Because the figure only shows ego's kindred, other members of the residential-household group are not shown (from other members' kindreds). However, ego does not belong to the residential-household group of all the people in his or her kindred. The kindred is not a social group but merely a number of relatives with whom ego and ego's spouse could *potentially* negotiate group membership.

“House” enthusiasts will undoubtedly note the similarity with Lévi-Strauss’s (1982:163–187) descriptions of “house societies.” This is because bilocality is one of the essential ingredients for the early twentieth-century Kwakiutl and Yurok social organization that led to his creation of the “house” category. However, bilocality alone does not create a “house society.” It must be combined with bilateral descent (described in Chapter 7). Nevertheless, to my knowledge no “house” literature has emphasized the unique aspect of bilocality: the fact that this is the only one creating a *residential-household group*.

There are a number of ethnological hypotheses on the origins of bilocality. Pasternak (1976:48) argues it is associated with small populations. Murdock (1949:204) suggested it is associated with migration among foraging bands (allowing associations with any band to access resources through bilateral reckoning). He also suggested gender equality might allow men to align themselves through bilocality with women who have greater inheritance prospects. Eggan (1966:58–64) suggested that bilocality enables people to compensate for resource shortages by stretching potential relationships to a wide range of groups. Lévi-Strauss (1982, 1987) suggested that the origins of “house societies” involve the disintegration of unilocal and unilineal kinship systems. Ember and Ember (1972) found a strong correlation between bilateral kinship, (strongly associated with bilocality) and historic depopulations. With the exception of Murdock’s statements on gender equality, most of these hypotheses describe *social disruption* whereby individuals use kindred relationships to expand the number of groups to whom they can attach themselves.

Neolocal Postmarital Residence

With neolocality, coupled adults establish a separate household away from their natal residential groups. The only core members in this instance are the pair of adults. Children automatically become members of the residential group of their parent(s) (Figure 4.2C). Single-parent residential groups can be included in this category. Parent-child relationships need not be biological.

As described, matrilineal, patrilineal, and ambilineal household groups are corporate, and bilocality also results in corporate residential-household groups. In the case of *neolocality*, in contrast, there are *no corporate kin groups*. In the absence of corporate kin groups, the conjugal family becomes the basis for residential group formation, which subordinates kin-based relationships. Although each core adult may maintain close affinities and identities with the members of their childhood residential group, as avenues of social support, these relationships provide no means for

survival or socioeconomic advantage. If kin provided adults and their children with resources with which to make a living, then neolocality would not be practical.

The precondition for neolocality is therefore the absence of group resource ownership. Murdock (1949:203) proposed it is associated with any conditions isolating “nuclear” families, suggesting scarce resources. Similarly, Pasternak (1976:89) argues that foraging peoples with high degrees of mobility to find resources would have greater flexibility through neolocality. Linton (1952:84) suggested the deemphasis of kin and neolocality occurs when there are greater economic opportunities for individual profit. Steward (1959) proposed that conjugal families become economically independent and favor neolocality through individual property ownership or a dependence on wage labor. In a global cross-cultural study, Ember (1967) found that neolocality is strongly correlated with commercialized exchange systems in which people rely on wages to make a living. Individual private property and a lack of resource ownership altogether resulting in a dependence on wages are the primary determinants. To these, we might add a dependence on corvée labor and tenant farming, because such populations also lack their own resources and, like wage earners, are dependent on a non-kin-based relationship with elite owners of resources (Ensor 2013).

Uxorilocal, Virilocal, and Avunculocal Postmarital Residence

Thus far, I have only described strategies that emphasize postmarital residence with spouse’s parents or away from kin. However, postmarital residence sometimes emphasizes *larger descent groups*, and *not parents or their residential groups*. Descent groups are described in Chapter 7, but some attention should be given to descent group-associated postmarital residence while we are considering residential and household group strategies.

Uxorilocal postmarital residence (*uxorilocality*) occurs when couples reside with the wife’s descent group members (matrilineages or matrilineages). Uxorilocality should not be confused with matrilocality. With matrilocality, the couple resides in the wife’s mother’s residence, whereas this is not *necessarily* the case with uxorilocality. If it is only important for the couple to reside at the wife’s descent group’s settlement, the couple need not live in her mother’s residence. For example, conjugal family residential groups can form at the matrilineal descent group’s settlement. However, *this would not be an example of neolocality because the individual conjugal residences are at the descent group’s location*. Resources, the

basis for making a living, are provided by the larger matrilineal descent group. If the larger descent group is the only corporate group that provides resources, then uxoriolocality takes precedence over matrilocality. However, if both matrilineal household groups and the matrilineal descent group provide resources, then matrilocal residences may be favored within a matrilineal descent group's settlement, thus making it easy to access both groups' resources.

Virilocal postmarital residence (*virilocality*), occurs when a couple resides with the husband's descent group. This is not necessarily the same as patrilocality. With virilocality, the husband's larger descent group is the household group "writ large": the source of resources for the couple. Therefore, living at the husband's larger descent group's location is the guiding residence strategy. Conjugal family residential units may be present, but this does not indicate neolocality, because those residences are locationally associated with the resource-bearing descent group. If both the patrilineal household group and the patrilineal descent group provide access to resources, then patrilocal residences may be preferred within a patrilineal group's settlement.

Virilocality can also occur with matrilineal descent groups. In this case, the couple lives with the husband's matrilineal descent group. By doing so, the couple remains with the matrilineal kin of the husband. By definition, virilocality with a matrilineal descent group creates *avunculocality* (residence with the husband's matrilineal uncle[s]). As described in Chapter 2, the leading hypothesis on the origins of avunculocality involves the precondition of matrilineal descent groups in which men come to control the group's resources, thus favoring residence with matrilineal uncles: the senior authorities of the corporate matrilineal descent group. More discussion on uxoriolocality, virilocality, and avunculocality and the means to identify them is provided in Chapter 8.

Duolocal Postmarital Residence

Duolocal postmarital residence (*duolocality*) describes situations whereby a husband and wife each remains with their natal residential groups. There is no postmarital mobility. Children typically reside with their mothers, under their care and in the care of other residential group members. Duolocality is rare cross-culturally. Among 858 cultures coded for residence patterns in the *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1967), Pasternak (1976:44–45, Table 4-1) found that only 0.9 percent practiced duolocality. There remains little information on the factors that may contribute to duolocality. However, in one hamlet in central Japan it developed from an inability to partition households and their resources, leading to severe

tensions among married couples (Befu 1968; Pasternak 1976:56). At the same time, there were demands for large labor groups. The solution was the adoption of duolocality: both spouses could maintain their allegiances and contribute to the labor demands of their natal residential groups (Befu 1968; Pasternak 1976:56).

One implication of duolocality is that extended residential groups are maintained. By the nature of retaining all siblings (men and women, married and unmarried), the residential group is by definition composed of a core set of siblings and apparently any sisters' children. Duolocality would also create a merging of the residential group and the household group—a second situation under which “residential-household groups” can form. Given the rarity of this form of postmarital residence, it will not be discussed further here.

Inheritance, Succession, and Kinship Terminology

Archaeologists should be aware of the influences that household groups have on inheritance, succession, and kin terminology to clarify a few points. This discussion is important to archaeologists because structural functionalist analyses often use data on inheritance, succession, and kinship nomenclature to predict social organization. Those predictions are occasionally imposed on prehistoric societies by archaeologists using direct historical analogy (an example of ethnotyranny).

Inheritance and Succession

Inheritance involves the transmission of property (resources and goods) from members of one generation to the next. An important distinction to make is between individual inheritance and collective inheritance. Individually owned property is transmitted from one person to another, or divided for transmission to multiple persons. Such property is more often transferred between members of conjugal families. However, with bilateral kinship, there may be more opportunity for individually owned property to be passed on to other kin because the important relationships are more open to negotiation.

Many ethnohistorical studies analyze patterns of inheritance recorded in documentary sources. However, these often involve situations where individual property was transplanted over indigenous systems, and where men were made the individual owners of property during colonial times. Moreover, where European or Euro-American courts were established, they emphasize individual male ownership and legal child inheritance. Therefore, what is often observed in the documents is the transmission

of men's property to one child or divided among his multiple children no matter what kinds of residence or household groups happen to exist. *These are observations on single events of patrilineal inheritance.* But what of the next generation? If an unmarried woman who received property from her father in turn transmits it to her children, then we have *a single event of matrilineal inheritance!* If appearing in colonial court records, the rule may be that her inherited property become her husband's, and then "his" children's, thus being recorded as another patrilineal transfer! When focusing on individual property inheritance, one could get the impression that a given kinship system is bilateral, even if the traditional system is entirely unilineal. In contrast, court records should have a patrilineal bias, which is imposed. I raise these problems because archaeologists need to understand what data are appropriate for analyzing inheritance in past societies, especially if employing direct historical analogy.

With the exception of neolocal postmarital residence (associated with a lack of resources or with individual property), the household groups corporately own estates. Their members collectively own the household and its resources and each generation must ensure that the estate is transmitted in perpetuity to the next generation of members. Therefore, in the case of matrilineal household groups, the estate is passed only to matrilineal household-group members, including both women and postmaritally mobile men. Those people co-inherit the collective estate. However, the men cannot transmit their inheritance to their children who belong to their wives' household groups. With patrilineal household groups, men and postmaritally mobile women inherit from their patrilineal household groups. However, those women cannot pass that inheritance on to their children. Unfortunately, colonial and postcolonial Western-inspired records often do not recognize these forms of collective inheritance.

In societies where ranking is present, the household groups are important to understanding leadership succession. With unilineal household groups, ranking is based on the descent-based linkages to the founders of the household. Those most closely descended from the ancestral founders are more highly ranked. They are more likely to succeed to leadership positions within the household group. However, as Keegan (2006) points out, the most important thing to understand about succession to leadership, whether in the case of household groups or larger descent groups, is that titles and positions will be transmitted only to *members of those groups*. The absence of succession directly from parent(s) to child(ren) does not negate the existence of unilineal groups if it is *restricted to other members of the unilineal household group*. The husbands, in the case of matrilocality, and the wives, in the case of patrilocality, cannot gain leadership over the estate at which they reside. They can, however, potentially become leaders of their own household groups.

In the case of bilocal residential-household groups, membership is through negotiation resulting in a wide range of postmarital residence strategies practiced by the memberships' individual couples. Therefore, leadership will be passed to favored members, or if lacking promise, then to some other bilateral relative. However, this situation pertains only to bilocal residential-household groups. With that said, there is typically a bias toward patrilineal succession in bilocal societies (e.g., Keesing 1975: 93–94; Fox 1967).

Kinship Terminology and Household Groups

Kinship terminology involves the classificatory nomenclature assigned to categories of relationships. They are egocentric, yet when patterned within a culture we can refer to a shared ideological system of classifying people. During the mid-twentieth century, a common structural-functionalist assumption was that specific forms of social organization and marriage were associated with specific systems of nomenclature. However, anthropologists later realized that the relationships were not so easily predictable (e.g., Goodenough 1970; Keesing 1975; Pasternak 1976). Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that an understanding of cognitive kinship terminology requires contextualization within social frameworks (e.g., Trautmann and Whiteley 2012). Some systems can be understood through household-group organization.

Societies with unilineal household groups are commonly associated with kinship terminologies that distinguish ego's mother's and father's household groups. This is important because they need to distinguish those groups for property-holding, inheritance, and other purposes. Crow, Omaha, and Iroquois terminology systems make emic distinctions between members of mother's and father's unilineal household groups. Once overlaying the household-group memberships on the diagrams in Figure 4.3, the nomenclature assigned to kin that would otherwise baffle a Westerner become clearly logical. In the Crow system (Figure 4.3A), all members of ego's matrilineal household group are distinguished by generation and gender. All those belonging to ego's father's matrilineal household group are lumped together; no matter what the generation, they are only distinguished by gender, which is called "generational skewing." The system is not concerned with residential group memberships. It is clearly a way to distinguish matrilineal household groups. Figure 4.3B illustrates the Omaha nomenclature. Ego uses intimate generational and engendered terms for members of his or her patrilineal household group, yet through skewing lumps all those within mother's patrilineal group who are distinguishing only by gender. Again, the system is based on household-group

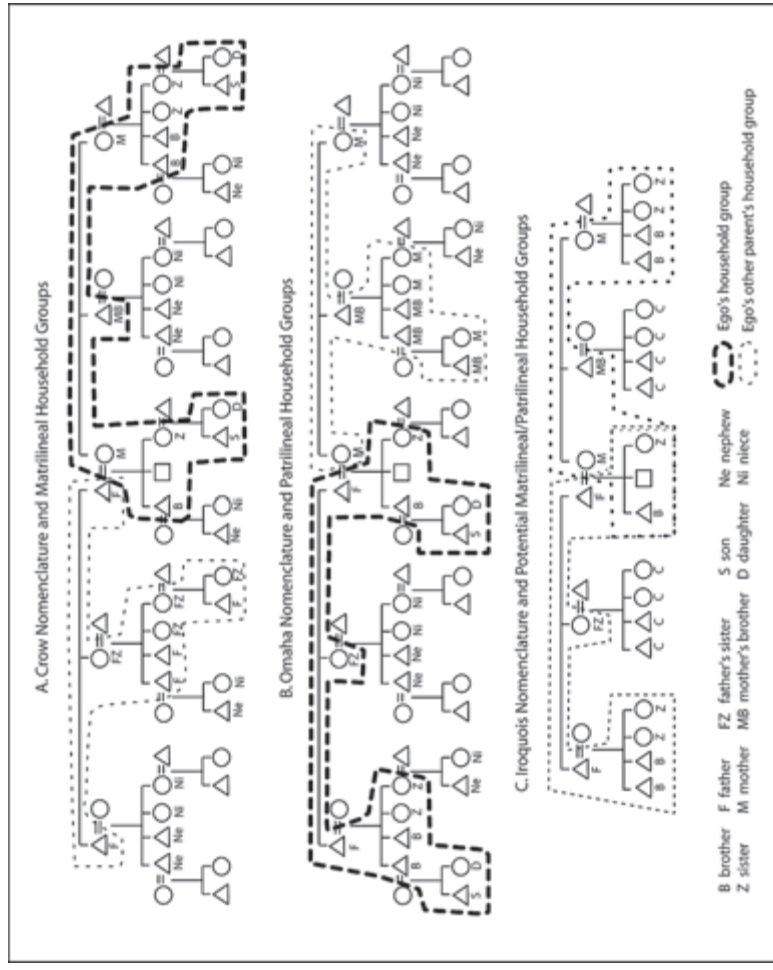


FIGURE 4.3. Crow, Omaha, and Iroquois nomenclature distinguishing corporate unilineal household-group memberships

memberships. The children born to anyone who is not a member of either these two household groups is simply a “niece” or “nephew” to indicate they belong to third, more distant household groups. The Iroquois system shown in Figure 4.3C can work for either matrilineal or patrilineal household groups. It distinguishes matrilineally and patrilineally related people in the parents’ generation (just like the Crow and Omaha systems) but also distinguishes parallel cousins from cross cousins. Again, corporate unilineal household groups are distinguished, not residential groups.

Some additional systems can be associated with particular kinds of postmarital residence and descent. For example, the Sudanese terminology system, which has a unique term for all categories (no relationships are lumped), is always associated with patrilineal kinship. However, the specific form of patrilineal kinship is not predictable.

The Hawaiian or Eskimo systems make no distinctions between members of patrilineal and matrilineal household groups. In the Hawaiian system (Figure 4.4A) only generations and genders are distinguished for an entire kindred. *Patrilateral* and *matrilateral* sides are lumped together, because everyone in the kindred is a *potential* member of an ambilineal household group or a *potential* member of a bilocal residential-household group. For this reason, the Hawaiian system is useful for, and therefore most commonly associated with, cognatic groups (Keesing 1975:104; Pasternak 1976:137–138, 143).

The Lineal, or Eskimo, terminology system appears to be the most common among cognatic societies practicing neolocality (Pasternak 1976: 136–137). This is because it makes intimate distinctions *among* the members of the neolocal residence (“father,” “mother,” “brothers,” and “sisters”) but *lumps together all other relationships* into “uncles,” “aunts,” and “cousins” (Figure 4.4B). Thus, the major distinction is between those belonging to the neolocal residential group and those who do not. The reader should be reminded here that neolocality is not associated with corporate household groups. Uncles, aunts, and cousins on either side do not share resources with ego, so both sides are all lumped together.

Whereas Crow terminology suggests matrilineal groups and Omaha terminology suggests patrilineal groups, Iroquois terminology by itself does not identify which form of unilineal groups are used. Hawaiian terminology suggests unspecified cognatic groups. Eskimo terminology suggests neolocality. Despite these useful generalizations, archaeologists should use caution when attempting to glean implications on social organization from kinship terminology. The systems are not always as straightforward as presented here. The systems often have variation in their culturally specific expressions and they may change more slowly than does social organization. Additionally, different political economies structuring

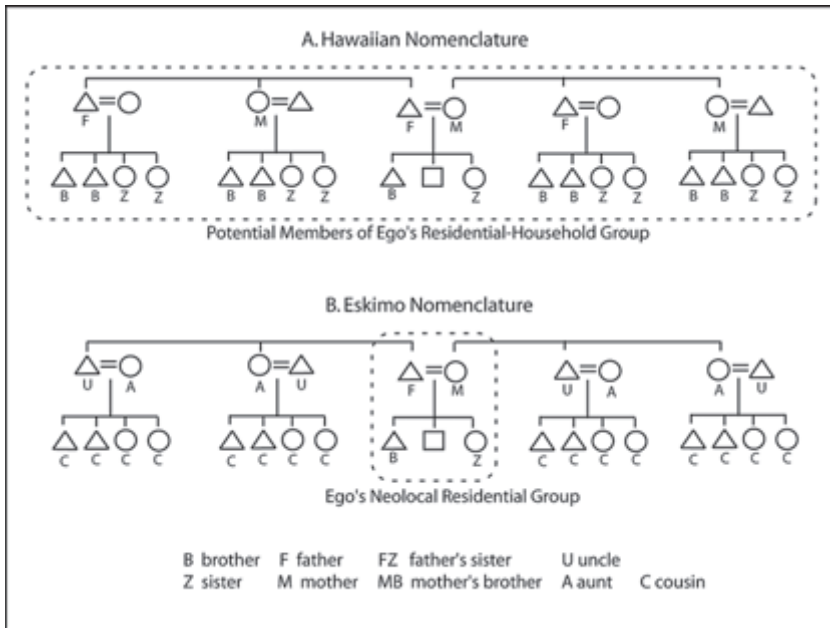


FIGURE 4.4. Hawaiian and Eskimo nomenclature, which lack unilineal group distinctions

social organization within a given society, or over time, will result in intrasocietal variation in nomenclature (Moore 1988). For these reasons, archaeologists should always be wary of normatively-described “term systems” based on small ethnographic samples and should consult expert ethnologists who understand the nuances of nomenclature systems if using these for hypotheses on social organization.

This chapter provided descriptions of the major forms of corporate household groups and their relationships to postmarital residence strategies and residential groups. Corporate matrilineal and patrilineal household-group membership, and the co-ownership of the estate, are based on unilineal relationships. Corporate ambilineal household groups are formed by negotiating membership through matrilineal and/or patrilineal descent. With bilocality the residential and household groups are the same, forming a negotiated corporate *residential-household group*. Neolocality differs from all other categories in that there are no household groups, no corporately owned estates, and only small conjugal family residential groups either that lack resources and depend on labor relationships with

nonkin or that are based on individual property. Uxorilocality, virilocality, and avunculocality involve corporate descent groups and are described in Chapter 8. Although useful for hypotheses on social organization, archaeologists should be cautious about direct historical analogy with structural functionalist interpretations based on inheritance, succession, and kin nomenclature.

CHAPTER FIVE

Archaeological Analysis of Household-Scale Social Organization

Chapter 4 provided the descriptions of the major categories of household groups and associated residential groups formed through postmarital residence. This chapter focuses on the ways that archaeologists may interpret postmarital residence strategies and their associated household groups. Direct historical analogy, inferences from kinship terminology, and cross-cultural correlations with subsistence, gender, and other socio-economic factors are discussed. However, these serve best as sources for hypotheses to test. Genetic distance research is also described but is argued to be conceptually undeveloped at present. This discussion leads to “middle-range” approaches linking residential groups to households, and from those household groups can be inferred.

Traditional Approaches

Direct historical analogy (Steward 1942) is one common method for interpreting kinship and social organization in prehistory. Elsewhere, I argued that in some cases this technique is the worst possible approach because cultures change (Ensor 2011). In the case of the prehispanic Maya, whose kinship and social organization are traditionally interpreted through analogy with sixteenth-century and later Maya, this approach merely imposes a number of flaws in the ethnohistorical arguments and

assumes stasis under dramatic forces of change and depopulation (Ensor 2013). Some cultures' historical descriptions are so outlandish that suspicions of European bias, fantasy, or just confusion are a concern. A good example are the descriptions of the Natchez (Le Page du Pratz 1758; White et al. 1971). In these cases, the direct historical approach should never be used for interpretation of prehistoric kinship.

Where it is believed that the historic indigenous systems were less altered by colonial powers, the direct historical approach may be insightful. For example, empirical evidence confirms that the Mvskoke Creeks practiced matrilocality both in their native territories in the US Southeast and after forced migration to the Oklahoma Territory (Moore and Campbell 2002). Throughout much of the US Southeast, matrilocality, matrilineal descent, and Crow marriage strategies were so pervasive (Swanton 1946) that there is less problem projecting these practices onto the protohistoric periods.

The historical descriptions do have their uses for prehistory. If they can be confirmed through empirical analyses (e.g., Ensor 2003c; Moore and Campbell 2002), then archaeologists working with historical and protohistoric periods can further test those models against archaeological data. Lacking empirical confirmations, we at least have the normative descriptions to test. Through archaeological analyses of prehistoric periods, we can better observe changes over time, particularly those resulting from reorganization by European-imposed political economies. Doing so also allows archaeologists to contribute to broader theory on change and meaningfully contribute to reconciliations (e.g., Sued-Badillo 1992).

Extending from direct historical analogy, structural functionalist assumptions on kinship terminology systems can be used to make hypotheses on social organization and marriage (e.g., Keegan and Maclachlan 1989). At the same time, aspects of kinship terminology may be used to make hypotheses on former systems, as terminology changes may lag behind changes in social organization (e.g., Haviland 1973). Nevertheless, a certain amount of caution is necessary before reading too much into the classifications or applying the observations to periods earlier than late prehistory. And, as encouraged above, archaeologists would do best to consult or collaborate with experts on the significances of specific nomenclature systems.

Cross-cultural studies may be used for hypotheses but should not be the source for interpretation. The correlations among localized subsistence and gender roles may provide culture specific hypotheses on changing household and residential group organization to test against archaeological data on changing subsistence and material patterns for specific group organization (assuming the gender roles are known). Although correlational studies on other socioeconomic factors (e.g., Ember 1967, 1974;

Ember and Ember 1971; Ember et al. 1974; Pasternak 1976:87–100, 111–123) have also never been adequately tested with diachronic data, these may also serve as hypotheses to test against archaeological evidence on those changing factors and material patterns for specific group organization.

I prefer not to rely on any of the above methods for interpreting kinship behavior because, by taking a subservient relationship to ethnology, archaeology is prevented from contributing to interpretation or theory. The result is that we impose potentially flawed interpretations onto the past, which is an exercise in ethnotyranny: the overlaying of ethnological hypotheses onto the archaeological case study and therefore exacerbating the same problems while failing to contribute to broader theory (MacLachlan and Keegan 1990; Wobst 1978). Another important point to make is that direct historical analogy forces us to assume normative kinship for an entire society when specific contexts within the society should promote agency and diversity in organizational behavior. These methods should be used to make hypotheses, but eventually archaeologists need an independent means for testing those ideas. Only then can we avoid repeating any problems in the ethnological analyses and make new contributions to broader kinship theory.

Cemeteries and Genetic Distance

Grave distributions can be useful for identifying corporate household groups, but these do not indicate the kind of kin groups involved. Genetic distance studies on burial populations have remarkable potential to identify household-group organization (along with descent group organization). However, those approaches have conceptual problems that need to be worked out before becoming useful.

Cemetery organization has long been an aspect of mortuary analyses and is useful for identifying corporate resource-owning groups. Archaeological mortuary analyses typically consider a wide range of variables: burial locations, burial type, body position, grave investment, and grave accompaniments to model social organization, gender, age, ranking, ideology, or spiritual beliefs. However, here we are interested in the identification of social groups, which are primarily reflected by burial location (Carr 1995:190–191). Saxe (1970) indicated that descent groups are associated with demarcated cemeteries. Goldstein (1981) confirmed that association through a cross-cultural analysis of thirty cultures. Carr (1994; 1995:165, 182) again confirmed that descent groups are associated with bounded cemeteries but also found that such cemeteries are equally associated with any corporate resource-owning group, for example, kin groups of any

kind, sodalities, and residential groups. Household-associated cemeteries may therefore be indicative of corporate kin groups, but their presence alone cannot indicate which kind of household groups to interpret. Small clusters of burials within cemeteries also indicate smaller kin groups (Carr 1995:165), potentially reflecting conjugal families within household groups. Larger descent group cemeteries may in some cases be more important than household-group cemeteries, which is discussed further in Chapter 8.

In the past, “kinship” in physical anthropology has largely been the subject of interpopulation gene flow, from one cultural area to another. More recently, physical anthropologists have become interested in postmarital residence, marriage, and descent groups. Other physical anthropologists focusing on phenotypic morphological and metric traits, chromosomal traits, or mitochondrial DNA sequences, among archaeological skeletal populations have attempted to identify postmarital residence behavior (e.g., Hubbe et al. 2009; McEvoy et al. 2008; Schillaci and Stojanowski 2003; Stojanowski and Schillaci 2006; Gao et al. 2007; Tomczak and Powell 2003). Results have even led to healthy debates among archaeologists and physical anthropologists (see Peregrine 2001; Peregrine and Ember 2002; Schillaci and Stojanowski 2002).

Although craniofacial or dental attributes should be highly useful for identifying marriage patterns within and across groups, the majority of these studies have interpretational problems. One common assumption is that people are buried within the cemetery of their residential group, allowing physical anthropologists to compare male and female phenotypic attributes within a cemetery and to statistically compare the genetic distances among adult males and among adult females. If females demonstrably illustrate greater genetic distance than among males, for example, then patrilocality is interpreted. In this case the males are more closely biologically related to one another (presumably having remained with the group), but the females are assumed to have come from other multiple groups. This assumption may be accurate in some cultural contexts but certainly not cross-culturally. Only if the postmaritally mobile gender *becomes* members of the *household group of their spouse* can we assume that they will be buried within their spouse’s group cemetery. However, in many cultures, if not the majority, people belong to their household group no matter where postmarital residence takes them in life. They are therefore returned upon death *to the cemetery of their household group* (e.g., Keegan 2009). Postmortem “residence” is not the same as postmarital residence. As in archaeology, physical anthropologists need to better discern between residential groups and household groups, as the difference between these is extremely significant to interpretation.

Another set of problems arises with assumptions on marriage. The postmarital residence studies tend to localize exogamy to only the residential group. However, multiple household groups may form a larger exogamous descent group (e.g., lineages or clans) where the rule for marriage is almost always *descent group exogamy* rather than residential or household-group exogamy. Thus, if multiple cemeteries within a descent group's exogamous settlement belongs to multiple household groups of that descent group, then intrasite cemetery comparisons are not actually observing intermarrying groups. Greater genetic distance should be observed not between the cemeteries at one exogamous descent group settlement but, rather, among cemeteries across exogamous settlements. Complicating things further is that Omaha marriage and Crow marriage systems, which are very common historically in the Americas, also prevent people from marrying someone in both their father's *and* mother's clans and sometimes have a third prohibition against marrying anyone in their father's mother's or mother's father's clans. If each clan had its own settlement, then numerous cemetery populations from throughout a region would need to be compared using phenotypic morphological and metric data to understand marriage and "postmortem residence" patterns. Physical anthropologists have yet to produce the more sophisticated models for the expected genetic distance patterns resulting from the multiple known postmarital residential and marriage systems. Although a promising area of research, the conceptualization of cemetery affiliation and marriage systems to date remains less developed than what we need.

Postmarital Residence and Households

Middle-range theory, as it was originally introduced to archaeology, is meant to test hypotheses on, and produce theories on, linkages between behavior and material patterns observed in the archaeological record (e.g., Binford 1977, 1982; Kosso 1991; Raab and Goodyear 1984; Schiffer 1988). After having rejected approaches to interpret residential groups and household groups through analogy, correlational studies, and genetic distance, I turn to a middle-range approach to identify the households of specific kinds of residential groups. Although derived ultimately from the ethnographic record, middle-range approaches avoid ethnotyranny by only making linkages between behavior and patterned material culture, which are then used to begin building interpretation and developing explanatory models. This is different than making final interpretations based on analogies or correlations.

Because matrilineal, patrilineal, cognatic, and neolocal residential groups have distinct types of households serving their specific social needs, the architectural configurations at households (e.g., Fortes 1959) can be used as an independent means for interpreting residential groups. The arrangements symbolically reproduce in daily social experience the relationships in the residential groups. The corresponding household groups can be inferred from the residential groups interpreted from household organization.

Matrilineal and Patrilineal Residential Groups

Gender is important to understanding the household organization for residential groups. Cross-culturally, unrelated women within residential groups prefer not to live in the same dwellings with one another. However, when sisters postmaritally remain within the same residential group, they are associated with large single dwellings. Melvin Ember (1973) observed that sororal polygyny is associated with single large dwellings for households, and that nonsororal polygyny is associated with multiple-dwelling households. He used this observation to form a hypothesis on patrilineal versus matrilineal dwellings so that archaeologists could better identify postmarital residence strategies with architectural data. Just as unrelated women in polygynous unions would not wish to occupy the same dwelling, he reasoned the same would be the case for patrilineal residential groups. Conversely, matrilineality keeps sisters together, who are more likely to share large dwellings accommodating the entire residential group. His cross-cultural tests strongly confirmed the hypotheses: the patrilineal dwellings' floor areas were smaller than 550–600 ft², and matrilineal dwellings' floor areas were much larger than 550–600 ft² (when standard deviations are taken into account). These results were later replicated by Divale (1977) who found that (when considering standard deviations) dwelling floor areas in patrilineal societies are less than 42.7 m² and dwellings in matrilineal societies have floor areas greater than 79.2 m². Peregrine (2001:38) adjusted their figures to less than 60 m² for patrilineality and to larger than 100 m² for matrilineality, although this seems overly conservative, and no explanation for the change is given. In both Ember's and Divale's studies, the majority of the average floor areas in patrilineal societies were between 11.4 m² and 30.1 m², and nearly half of the average floor areas in matrilineal societies were less than 100 m² (but more than 45 m²). Additionally, when removing from the analysis those societies with one or few huge structures for entire villages, those state societies where large nobility houses are included, and those foraging societies with small huts, Divale's figures of less than 43 m² for patrilineal

societies and more than 80 m² for matrilocal societies seems more reasonable for sedentary and semisedentary nonstate societies.

This method for identification addresses individual habitation structures (dwellings), not necessarily the entire household. The two converge in the case of matrilocality: the dwelling is the architectural accommodation for the entire matrilocal residential group. Meanwhile, what Ember (1973), Divale (1977), and Peregrine (2001) actually describe in the case of “patrilocality” are the individual dwellings for conjugal families *within* extended patrilocal residential groups. The same size of dwellings can be expected for neolocal residences (see below).

Not long ago, definitions of dwellings caused some debate over the methods in this approach. When first comparing floor sizes, Ember (1973) included all rooms within the domestic structures. Thus, a dwelling for a matrilocal household may be compartmentalized into multiple *internal* conjugal family rooms (along with storage rooms). In some cases there were multiple storied dwellings. But, these are all within one matrilocal dwelling. In attempting to critique Peregrine’s (2001) interpretation of matrilocality at Chaco Canyon, Schillaci and Stojanowski (2002) argued that dwelling floors were smaller than 100 m², even when including adjacent storage rooms. However, they examined floors for individual conjugal family rooms *within dwellings*—not the total dwelling floor space. All of the rooms within the structure must be included: those accommodating everyone in the dwelling (Ember 1973; Peregrine and Ember 2002). Schillaci and Stojanowski (2002) assumed smaller units, created smaller units of analysis, and used the resulting smaller floor sizes to confirm smaller units—a circular argument.

The matrilineal and patrilineal household groups, which own the household and its resources, need affiliation with unilineal ancestors as an ideological agent for socially reproducing their corporate groups. As such, cemeteries may be associated with the households. The cemeteries should not be expected to include burials of all residential group members; rather, only burials of members who belong to the household group, whether living at its household or postmaritally mobile (Keegan 2009).

Patrilocal and Neolocal Residential Groups

Ember (1973), Divale (1977), and Peregrine (2001) actually describe a way to observe not patrilocal residences but, rather, individual conjugal family dwellings. Understanding that the individual dwellings of conjugal families *within* patrilocal residential groups would be the same size as dwellings for entire neolocal residential groups, Ember (1973) argued that archaeologists can distinguish between the two based on evidence

for commercialized economies (suggesting marketplaces or coins). Although commercialized economies are the contexts for neolocality that could be observed in the cross-cultural analysis, there may be other contexts for neolocality to be discovered by archaeologists in prehistoric societies. Additionally, in any society we should expect some amount of variation in postmarital residence. Archaeologists may find a predominant pattern for matrilocality or patrilocality, yet a minority may have established neolocal residential groups. Therefore, archaeologists need a better way to distinguish between patrilocality and neolocality.

To observe the differences, we need to observe the spatial arrangements among the small individual conjugal family dwellings. In the case of patrilocality, the small dwellings are aggregated together. Typically, each conjugal family has its own small structure, but these small dwellings are aggregated to spatially delimit the household and distinguish it from others. Furthermore, the dwellings of the patrilocal residential group typically surround a small plaza, around which they are rebuilt or replaced over time. The formal arrangement around a small plaza provides a physical setting that symbolizes and socially reproduces through daily lived experience the patrilineal foundations of the *household group* that owns it (Ensor 2012, 2013). Not all of the structures surrounding the formal plaza space may be dwellings. Additional features may be associated with the households (e.g., storage structures, common work spaces, wells, and middens). But the pattern in dwelling placement tends to remain the same: dwellings surrounding a common focal space. “Compound” walls may be built around the patrilocal households in more urban settlements, which further distinguish the residential groups from others. Because the household is also the focal location for the perpetuation of the unilineal household group, shrines to ancestors may be associated with them as well (e.g., in the center of the plaza or in small structures on one of the sides). As described above, the households may be associated with the household group’s cemetery, unless a larger more important descent group is emphasized for burial affiliation and ancestor veneration.

Unlike the aggregated and formal arrangements of dwellings that occurs with patrilocality, neolocal dwellings will not be aggregated or formally situated vis-à-vis other dwellings. With neolocality, only one small dwelling and its adjacent work areas or features constitute the household. These are often spaced apart from one another in a haphazard arrangement, or spaced evenly along alleys or streets, but with discernable gaps between the single conjugal family dwellings. In some cases, the small households are distributed widely across the landscape—a dispersed *ranchería* settlement pattern. Small cemeteries might be possible; however, because descent is deemphasized and there is no collective

property with neolocality, there are no household groups, and therefore no shrines or ancestor veneration would be expected (Ensor 2012, 2013). Larger cemeteries servicing communities or sodalities can also be expected because of the deemphasis of kin-based relationships.

Ambilocal Residential Groups and Bilocal Residential-Household Groups

Ambilocal and bilocal residential groups differ. With ambilocality there exists a household group that differs from the residential group but with bilocality the residential group forms the household group (a residential-household group). In both cases, however, residential group membership is based on multiple postmarital residence strategies, *creating similar residential groups and similar sets of social needs for households*, which unfortunately cannot be distinguished.

A problem presents itself in ethnohistorical empirical data on membership to residential groups. Ethnohistorians can often identify the types of relationships (unilineal, nonunilineal, and affinal) of the members within residential groups using census rolls or other household-related documents. However, with cognatic residential groups, they can only determine that a variety of postmarital residence practices were in use to form the residential group memberships. With those data alone, they cannot distinguish between ambilocality and bilocality. Such situations often result in an interpretation of “ambilocal/bilocal” postmarital residence (e.g., Haviland 1970).

Because the households of either type accommodate residential groups with a similar variety of social relations among members, the two are difficult, or impossible, to distinguish through architectural arrangements. The material households would appear the same. I have yet to find a way to distinguish between the two categories. Until a solution can be found, I recommend that archaeologists also lump the two together when identifying these household scale groups. I refer to both as “cognatic residential groups.” In doing so, the same social relationships among residential group memberships can be interpreted, which would be correct. However, this predicament leaves us without being able to infer whether or not we are dealing with ambilineal household groups or bilocal residential-household groups. This is an unfortunate situation because the two are different and because archaeologists would very much like to be able to address the origins of “house societies.” But at least we can reliably get this close for now, and a solution is presented in chapters 8 and 9.

Cognatic residential groups have households composed of multiple, aggregated conjugal family dwellings. Households for ambilocal/bilocal residential groups consist of aggregated multiple small dwellings for the

different conjugal families within the residential groups. However, unlike households for patrilocal residential groups, these aggregates are informally arranged, whereby there is usually no focal point, and individual entrances face multiple directions. They are entirely unplanned, ad hoc arrangements of dwellings (Ensor 2012, 2013).

Both ambilocality and bilocality, by definition, include a variety of postmarital strategies used to form each residential group. There is usually a patrilocal bias among all the other strategies within a given residential group (Keesing 1975:93–94; Fox 1967). There may be a combination of somewhat formally arranged dwellings alongside non-formally arranged dwellings where there is a patrilocal bias. Additionally, if a specific cognatic residential group had some members practicing matrilocality, the dwelling aggregates may include some larger dwellings for sisters who practiced matrilocality and smaller dwellings to accommodate unrelated women. Cross-culturally, however, the essential identifier of households for cognatic residential groups is an informally arranged cluster of small dwellings. As with any household for an extended residential group, separate storage structures and work spaces may be associated with the aggregate of dwellings.

Direct historical analogy, inferences on social organization from kinship terminology, and cross-cultural correlations on subsistence, engendered divisions of labor, and other socioeconomic factors are concluded to better serve as sources of hypotheses to test against more direct and independent material data. Because the conceptualizations of postmarital residence and marriage systems are problematic in physical anthropology, genetic distance studies on cemetery populations need further consideration until they can be more useful. By eliminating these sources of interpretation, we are led to “middle-range” approaches for linking the behaviors and needs of social groups to patterned material remains. Architectural floor sizes and dwelling arrangements corresponding to different categories of residential groups, at different times and regions with regularity, have been confirmed through cross-cultural research and may be considered middle-range linkages to dwelling arrangements. Matrilocality dwellings have floor areas greater than 80 m². Patrilocal residential groups have multiple conjugal family dwellings (floor areas less than 43 m²) formally surrounding a focal plaza. Ambilocality and bilocality cannot be distinguished, but these “cognatic residential groups” have households with multiple, informally aggregated conjugal family dwellings. Neolocal households are characterized by dispersed, nonaggregated, conjugal family dwellings. Distinguishing uxorilocal, virilocal, and avunculocal households requires the identification of descent groups, and so their material associations are addressed in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER SIX

Hohokam Households

Although Hohokam dwelling sizes and spatial arrangements have been scrutinized for decades, the approaches, assumptions, and objectives were significantly different than those advocated here. Hohokam archaeologists have not designed their analyses to identify specific forms of residential groups. Wilcox et al.'s (1981) analyses established the tradition. In their statistical analysis of domestic structure sizes at Snaketown, Wilcox et al. (1981:166) made generalizations on “domestic units.” They claimed that Estrella, Sweetwater, and Snaketown phase dwellings accommodated more than just “nuclear families,” that Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase dwellings were for “nuclear families” and founding houses were for “extended or expanded families,” and that Sacaton phase dwellings were for “a range of nuclear to extended or expanded families.” However, they base their interpretations only on single dwellings or by combining floor areas of multiple dwellings in clusters, which cannot be done if the point is to interpret specific forms of social organization. Wilcox et al. (1981:147–155) also entertained different scales of groups, whereby interpretive labels such as “primary groups” were given without reference to the kinds of kinship groups these might represent—that was not their objective. In discussing courtyards, Gregory goes only so far to state that “it is reasonable to infer that kin groups in some form are represented, and to refer to these entities as residential groups” (1991:165). Others occasionally make passing comments that courtyards represent “extended families” but without elaboration or discussion on implications for social organization (although Craig [2007; Craig et al. 2012] interpreted the significance of courtyard groups to ranking). Recent discussions of households and corporate groups in relation to domestic architecture maintain the tradition of vagueness but acknowledge that the

unspecified groups are related to property ownership (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012; Craig et al. 2012; Herr and Young 2012; Wallace and Lindeman 2012; Wills 2012). Large dwellings are speculatively and vaguely interpreted as “communal habitations” (Cable and Doyel 1987:65; Haury 1976:68; Henderson 1995:231; Wilcox et al. 1981:204) or, more recently, as leaders’ houses (e.g., Herr and Young 2012:10; Wallace and Lindeman 2012:42) or even ceremonial structures despite being indistinguishable from smaller habitations (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012:67). So despite the impressive attention to analyses of dwellings, there have been no attempts to interpret specific forms of residential groups. Only vague interpretations on “families,” “extended families,” or simply “households” have been possible without kinship analysis.

Another trend in Hohokam archaeology is to interpret courtyard groups in a given phase based on the manifestations of such groups in later phases. For instance, if the dwelling arrangement is informal in the earlier phase and a courtyard group is present in the same location in a later phase, then the earlier structures would be described as the early founding pithouses of the courtyard group (e.g., Craig et al. 2012:57–59; Wilcox et al. 1981). This is entirely justified if we are not interpreting changing social organization. However, a diachronic kinship analysis would suggest that the later patrilocal residential groups (indicated by formal courtyards) may have formed from earlier cognatic residential groups (indicated by informal aggregates). And, because some of the so-called courtyards at the same sites never had formal layouts (e.g., Craig et al. 2012: figures 4.4 and 4.5), a kinship analysis would conclude that patrilocalty never developed in those cases, thus illustrating intrasite variation in residential strategies.

The following analyses are possible due to the tradition of extensive excavations, spatial analyses, and high standards of feature analysis and description. All of the structures at Pueblo Patricio, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande were highly scrutinized to distinguish between domestic and nondomestic functions (Bostwick and Downum 1994; Cable et al. 1985; Cable and Doyel 1987; Mitchell 1994a; Henderson 1987a, 1987b, 1995; see also Ensor 2000, 2003a), and all structures are thoroughly described. Those at Snaketown, excavated less recently (Gladwin et al. 1937; Haury 1976; Wilcox et al. 1981), underwent less scrutiny, so it is possible that I include a few nondomestic pithouses with the domestic pithouses from that site.

The Red Mountain Phase

The Red Mountain phase dwellings at Pueblo Patricio indicate neolocality. Two habitation structures and one ephemeral structure dating to

within the phase were identified in each of the three excavated downtown blocks (Ensor 2000:27; Henderson 1995) (Figure 6.1). Feature 1 was a pithouse dating to CE 0–100 with a floor area of 17.43 m². Feature 38 was a pithouse dated to CE 200–300 with a floor area of 6.08 m². The floor of the ephemeral structure (Feature 6S, dated to CE 0–200) was 7.56 m². The two pithouses have floor area sizes indicating conjugal family dwellings. They are very widely spaced and this community pattern indicates neolocality, *even if* both were contemporaneous (which they are not). Only one neolocal residential group occupied the site at any given time during this phase. The implications are that the neolocal residential

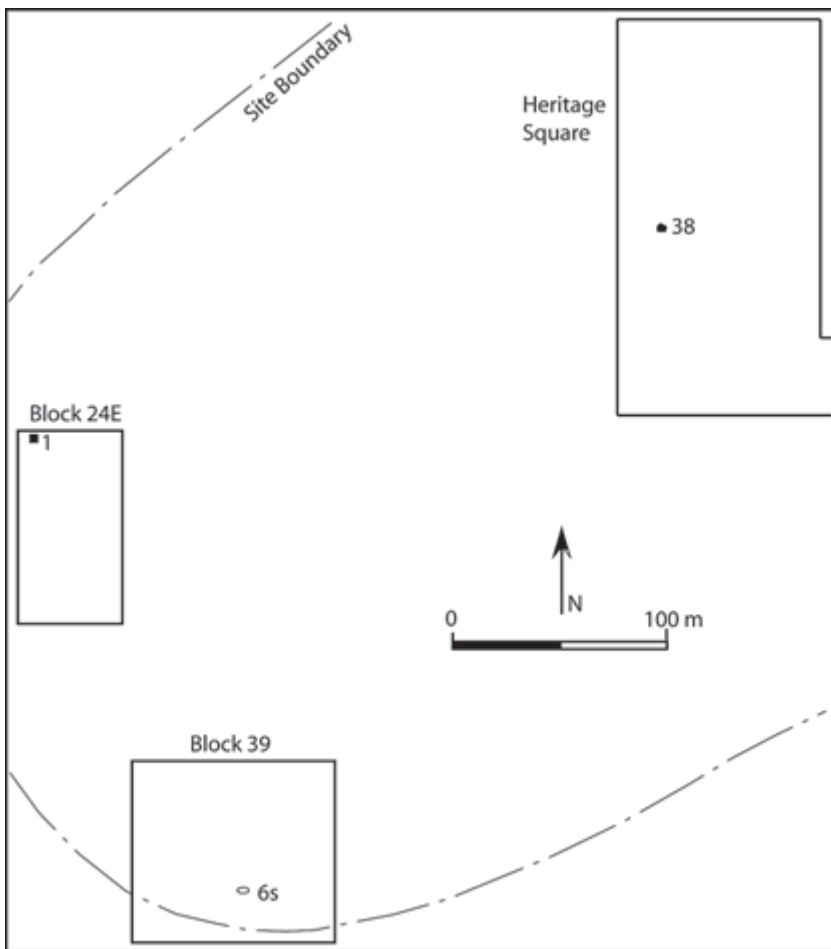


FIGURE 6.1. Red Mountain phase structures at Pueblo Patricio (redrawn from Ensor 2000: Figure 3)

groups had access to farmland without the need to belong to corporate groups.

The Vahki Phase

Three Vahki phase components were identified at Pueblo Patricio. The dwelling patterns in each indicate occupation primarily by cognatic residential groups. In the Vahki 1 component (CE 300–450), there was a concentration of eight pithouses (one large and seven small pithouses) and six floors of ephemeral structures in the Heritage Square block (Ensor 2000:27; Henderson 1995). Whereas the pithouses had hearths and are presumed to be habitations, the ephemeral structures lacked hearths and may have served other functions. If we include only the pithouses in the analysis, then the floor sizes range from 3.39 to 21.07 m², indicating conjugal family dwellings and support structures (Table 6.1). When examining the spatial distribution of the pithouses (Figure 6.2), there appear to be two informally arranged aggregates: one indicated by pithouse features 755, 758, 803, 845, 851, and 859 and one indicated by pithouse features 757 and 834. Each aggregate was also associated with one or more ephemeral structures (possibly for short-term support functions). Such informally arranged aggregates of conjugal family dwellings are associated with cognatic residential groups.

In the Vahki 2 component at Pueblo Patricio (CE 390–450), there were five pithouses and a structure of indeterminate classification spaced relatively close together in the southern portion of Block 24E (Ensor 2000:27; Henderson 1995). The pithouse floor areas range from 12.60 to 20.50 m², indicating conjugal family dwellings (Table 6.1). Four of the pithouses (features 57, 89, 90, and 100) formed an informal aggregation of conjugal family dwellings (Figure 6.2), reflecting the pattern for cognatic residential groups. This aggregate was associated with three extramural hearths (Cable et al. 1985:77–78, 81–82). Pithouse Feature 70 and the indeterminate structure (Feature 169) formed another informal aggregate, assuming the latter was a pithouse, and may therefore represent a second cognatic residential group.

The Vahki 3 component (CE 400–550) at Pueblo Patricio reflects both cognatic and neolocal residential groups. There were fewer domestic structures: two pithouses and one large pithouse (Ensor 2000:27; Henderson 1995). The latter was a smaller version of large “communal” Vahki phase domiciles observed elsewhere. Located in the north end of Block 24E, this structure (Feature 162) had a floor area of 30.48 m² (Table 6.1), which is within the range for conjugal family dwellings. Some Hohokam archaeologists may be disappointed that we cannot interpret an extended

TABLE 6.1. Structure sizes at Pueblo Patricio: Vahki-Snaketown phases (from Ensor 2000: table 1)

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Feature</i>		<i>Feature Type</i>	<i>Floor Area</i> (m ²)
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Age (CE)</i>		
Vahki 1	749	300–450	Ephemeral	6.36
Vahki 1	751	300–450	Ephemeral	9.07
Vahki 1	752	300–450	Ephemeral	4.32
Vahki 1	754	300–450	Ephemeral	3.46
Vahki 1	755	300–450	Small pithouse	10.36
Vahki 1	756	300–450	Ephemeral	5.89
Vahki 1	757	300–450	Small pithouse	10.53
Vahki 1	758	300–450	Pithouse	21.07
Vahki 1	803	300–450	Small pithouse	7.54
Vahki 1	834	300–450	Small pithouse	5.72
Vahki 1	845	300–450	Small pithouse	3.39
Vahki 1	851	300–450	Small pithouse	5.31
Vahki 1	859	300–450	Small pithouse	11.34
Vahki 2	57	390–450	Pithouse	12.60
Vahki 2	70	390–450	Pithouse	18.72
Vahki 2	89	390–450	Pithouse	20.50
Vahki 2	90	390–450	Pithouse	13.44
Vahki 2	100	390–450	Pithouse	18.13
Vahki 2	169	390–450	Indeterminate	—
Vahki 3	10	400–500	Pithouse	15.12
Vahki 3	9	450–550	Pithouse	—
Vahki 3	162	450–550	Pithouse	30.48
Estrella-Sweetwater	61	550–650	Bent pole	10.17
Estrella-Sweetwater	85	550–650	Indeterminate	—
Estrella-Sweetwater	120	550–650	Bent pole	10.17
Estrella-Sweetwater	141	550–650	Pithouse	16.97
Estrella-Sweetwater	154	550–650	Bent pole	11.76
Sweetwater-Snaketown	97	650–700	Pithouse	10.64
Sweetwater-Snaketown	113	650–700	Bent pole	9.42
Sweetwater-Snaketown	116	650–700	Bent pole	11.21
Sweetwater-Snaketown	144	650–700	Bent pole	4.84

residential group. However, it is spatially and chronologically associated with Feature 9 (a pithouse with an indeterminate floor size), indicating an aggregate (Figure 6.3) and hence an extended residential group. Due to the location at the edge of the excavated block, there is no way to know if this aggregate was informally or formally arranged. An informal arrangement, representing a cognatic residential group, seems probable because it is chronologically bracketed by similar household configurations in the preceding Vahki 2 component and in the subsequent Estrella phase. In

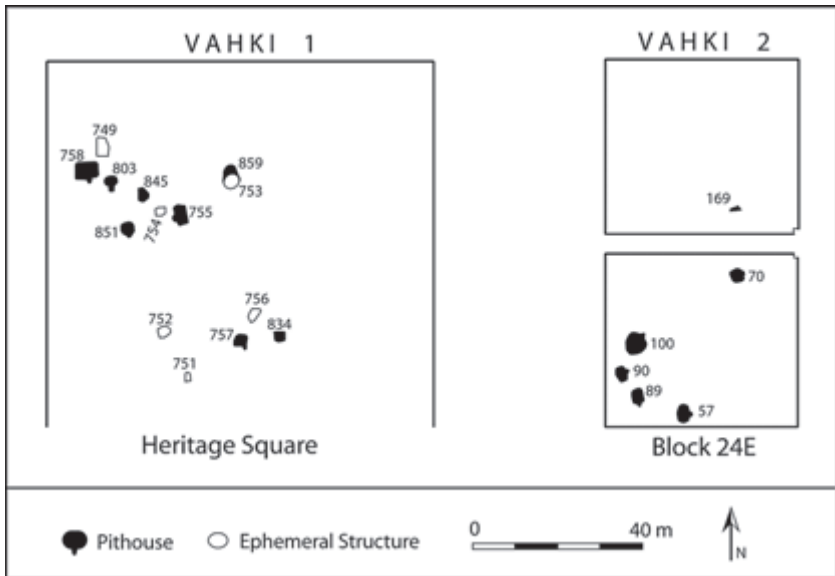


FIGURE 6.2. Vahki phase component 1 and 2 structures at Pueblo Patricio (compiled and redrawn from Ensor 2000: figures 4 and 5)

blocks 1 and 2, there was a solitary, and slightly earlier pithouse (Feature 10) with a floor area of 15.20 m² (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.3). Because no additional pithouses were located anywhere nearby, that single conjugal family dwelling indicates a neolocal residential group.

The implication of the households for cognatic residential groups in all three components of the Vahki phase at Pueblo Patricio is that access to resources, social support, and reciprocal farming labor entailed membership to corporate ambilineal household groups or bilocal residential-household groups, which was unnecessary in the prior Red Mountain phase. This may indicate that farmland had become affiliated with corporate groups. The interpretation of cognatic residential groups has additional social implications. There would have been elder-junior relationships (Ensor 2000) and negotiated postmarital mobility among men and women.

A very different form of Vahki phase household organization is observed at Snaketown. This was the phase in which a nearby wide and shallow canal was in use (Haury 1976:132–151). Three Vahki phase pithouses were identified. All three were of the large category of pithouses commonly interpreted as communal dwellings. Wilcox et al. (1981: Table 5B) do not indicate whether or not only interior floor areas or total pit sizes (including the widths of the walls) were factored into the reported

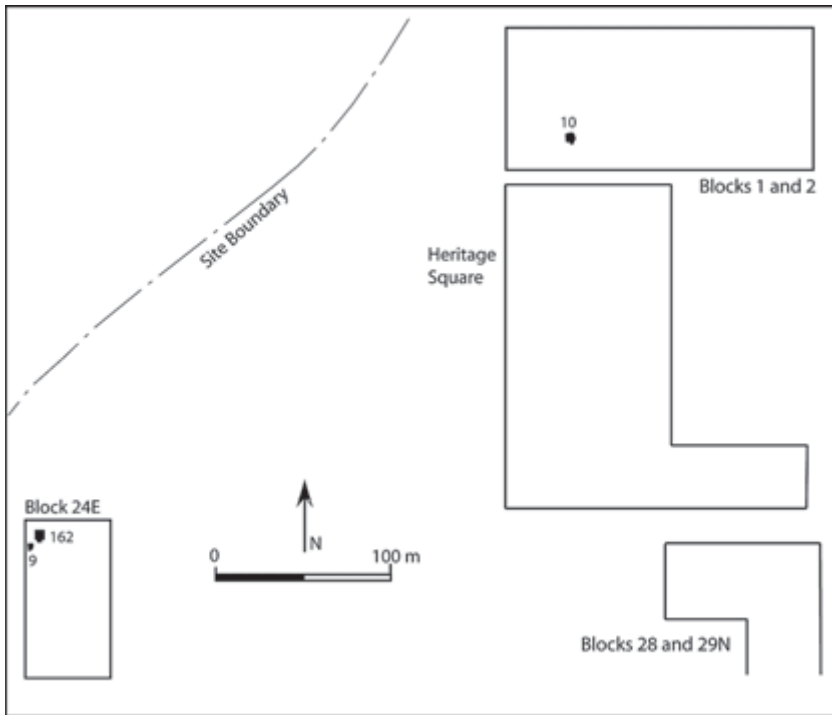


FIGURE 6.3. Vahki phase component 3 structures at Pueblo Patricio (redrawn from Ensor 2000: Figure 6)

pithouse sizes. But this may not be a problem since two of the structures clearly fit into one category of dwelling regardless of the possible inclusion of walls in the sizes reported. House 8 was 100.00 m² in size. House 7H:1 was 110.00 m² in size. Both of these unambiguously reflect the cross-cultural pattern for dwellings accommodating matrilineal residential groups. The third Vahki phase pithouse, House 9F:1, was 49.7 m² in size. Although this fits within the *range* for matrilineal dwellings (see Chapter 5), it is small for a matrilineal residential group. Speculatively, it may have been a matrilineal residence early on in its domestic cycle.

There are several implications of the two (possibly three) matrilineal residential groups at Snaketown. One is that the estates were owned by corporate matrilineal household groups. Access to resources was through *de facto* or *de jure* matrilineal relationships. Another is that men were postmaritally mobile and lived with their wives' residential groups. Interestingly, the matrilineal residential groups at Snaketown in the same phase when cognatic residential groups were present at Pueblo Patricio

indicate different strategies to form land-affiliated corporate groups in the Phoenix Basin.

The Estrella, Sweetwater, and Snaketown Phases

The dwelling patterns at Pueblo Patricio and Snaketown also illustrate divergent household-scale social organization in the Estrella phase. However, cognatic residential groups were the norm at both settlements in the Sweetwater and Snaketown phases. Whereas Pueblo Patricio shows continuity from the Vahki to Snaketown phases, Snaketown's social organization underwent significant changes.

Pueblo Patricio

The two latest components at Pueblo Patricio date to the transition between the Estrella and Sweetwater phases (CE 550–650) and to the transition between the Sweetwater and Snaketown phases (CE 650–700), both of which were located in Block 24E (Figure 6.4). In the Estrella-Sweetwater phase component there was an informally arranged aggregate of one pithouse (Feature 141), three small bent-pole structures (features 61, 120, and 154), and a structure of indeterminate classification (Feature 85) because it was only partially observed. The pithouse was interpreted as a domestic structure with a floor area of 16.97 m² indicating a conjugal family dwelling. The three bent pole structures, ranging in floor areas from 10.17 m² to 11.76 m², are conventionally interpreted as field or auxiliary houses (Cable and Doyel 1987:66; Henderson 1995:231) but have central hearths and similar floor-associated artifact assemblages as domestic structures and so were also probably dwellings (Ensor 2000:33–35). For these reasons, I interpret the aggregate to represent a household for a cognatic residential group. The aggregate was also associated with extramural features (Cable et al. 1985:80, 81, 84): two hearths and a 1.20-m-diameter *horno* (roasting pit) for communal cooking.

The Sweetwater-Snaketown phase component is represented by another informally arranged aggregate consisting of one pithouse (Feature 97) and three bent-pole pithouse structures (features 113, 116, and 144) (Figure 6.4). Like the earlier bent pole structures, these also had hearths and similar floor artifact assemblages as those found in domestic pithouses (Ensor 2000:35). The pithouse had a floor area of 10.64 m², and the bent pole structures had floor areas ranging from 4.84 m² to 11.21 m² (Table 6.1), indicating two were conjugal family dwellings. The infor-

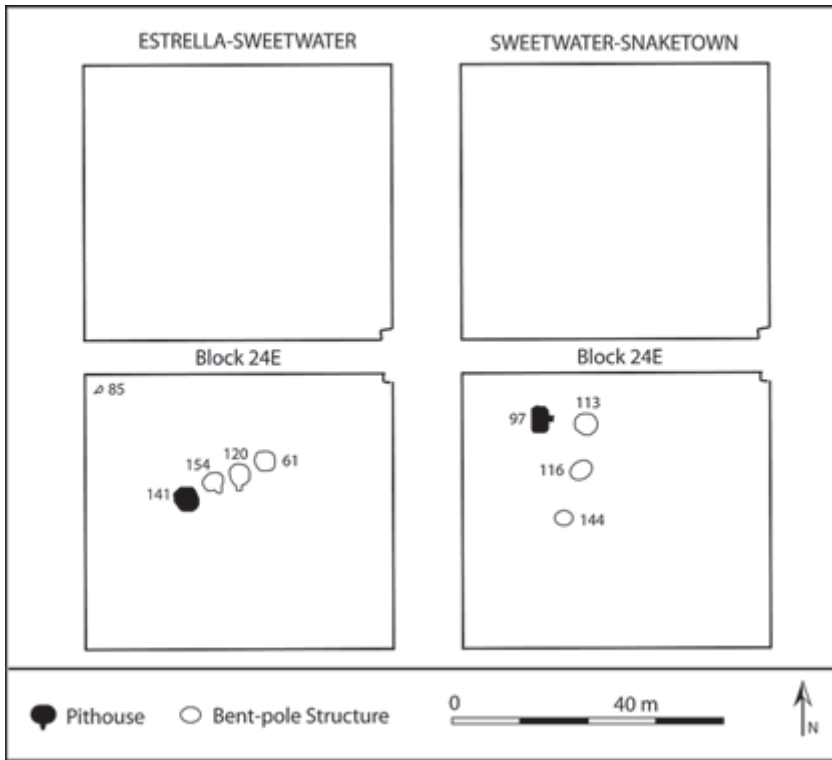


FIGURE 6.4. Estrella-Sweetwater and Sweetwater-Snaketown phase structures at Pueblo Patricio (compiled and redrawn from Ensor 2000: figures 7 and 8)

mally arranged aggregate conforms with households expected for cognatic residential groups. Extramural features associated with the household were two activity areas where burning took place, one *horno* for communal cooking, and an outdoor hearth.

Snaketown

In contrast with the continuity in household-scale social organization at Pueblo Patricio, there were two changes to social organization at Snake-town between the Vahki and Sweetwater phases. The Estrella phase dwelling distributions indicate possible matrilocality combined with neolocality, uxorilocality, virilocality, or avunculocality. The dwellings in the subsequent Sweetwater phase, however, illustrate a second transformation, to cognatic residential groups.

There were few Estrella phase pithouses at Snaketown. The largest (House 6G:11) was 49 m² in size, which is larger than the cut-off for accepting a conjugal family dwelling interpretation, yet too small for interpreting a matrilineal residential group. I interpret a small matrilineal residential group or a large conjugal family. Another dwelling, and three pithouses that likely date to the Estrella phase, are well within the size range for conjugal family dwellings. The dwellings are spaced well apart from one another, but an interpretation of neolocality is not possible without considering the possibility for descent groups. These will be interpreted in Chapter 9.

The Sweetwater and Snaketown phase pithouses are generally larger than those at Pueblo Patricio, but all have sizes indicating conjugal family dwellings (Table 6.2). Their spatial arrangements are illustrated in Figure 6.5. Only the west and southern portion of the site, which was the most densely occupied, is illustrated in the figure. The Sweetwater phase pithouses are solitary or occur in informally arranged pairs. These

TABLE 6.2. Pithouse sizes at Snaketown (compiled from Wilcox et al. 1981: tables 5A and 5B)^a

<i>House No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>
<i>Sweetwater Phase</i>					
7	8.49	2	10.10	11I:1	6.20
2	30.25	9E:4	15.50		
<i>Snaketown Phase</i>					
12	13.10	3	28.75	9G:6	29.20
6H:1	10.75	4	30.90	20	35.00
7F:9	49.50	9E:1	(29.00)	19	31.00
7I:2	21.10	8	16.00	15E:1	23.60
8F:2	25.50	9G:1	30.20		
<i>Late Pioneer Period^b</i>					
4	14.80	7	14.50	25A	17.90
<i>Gila Butte Phase</i>					
7D:1	25.40	11	10.40	2	(15.70)
6	7.70	9E:1	29.30	4	17.90
5	16.30	3	7.40	13	11.10
7	9.80	8	45.20		
8	17.30	9I:1	17.20		

(continued)

TABLE 6.2. Continued

<i>House No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>House No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>
<i>Santa Cruz Phase</i>					
6G:1	13.20	7	9.70	2	28.60
13	22.50	2	16.30	7	17.50
2	9.20	2	20.10	11	43.80
5	27.80	8E:6	23.10	11H:1	11.60
<i>Colonial Period^c</i>					
3	78.75	2	20.90	9	18.70
3	36.00	8F:1	9.00	25B	19.40
4	20.00	2	13.40		
7F:1	8.50	3	31.10		
<i>Sacaton Phase</i>					
3C:1	11.50	5G:10	35.20	10F:23	27.50
4	11.70	12	15.60	24	18.20
4H:1	15.00	14	7.10	2	15.90
2	20.90	6G:1	51.00	3	25.50
6E:1	30.00	3	14.30	4	36.10
2	16.30	8B:1	11.00	6	29.40
6F:1	16.30	12	7.10	8	31.80
8	35.20	4	22.80	(2)=9	59.10
2	35.00	5	18.00	10	24.60
3	26.60	3	54.90	(6)=16	37.50
5	21.38	10D:1	33.90	18	51.80
8I:1	21.00	3	(28.40)	10H:1	24.40
3	34.87	10F:1	40.30	10I:1	33.60
9	52.25	3	36.20	3	17.00
* 2	59.10	4	25.30	5	37.10
* 5	33.25	5	18.10	10J:1	23.90
* 6	37.50	10F:6	(16.40)	3	16.80
5F:1	24.00	9	21.40	7	21.10
3	10.50	10	(45.30)	9	(22.80)
4	11.20	11	27.10	5	23.10
7	24.40	14	18.70	8	16.40
5G:1	47.30	15	17.40	10	26.00
2	24.10	16	18.90	2	12.90
4	24.40	17	22.60	3	22.60
6	14.10	19	30.60	4	38.50
8	8.00	21	27.20	11J:1	16.30
9	6.70	22	24.60	2	11.00

^aIncludes only those pithouses with size estimates.

^bEstrella, Sweetwater, or Snaketown phase.

^cGila Butte or Santa Cruz phase.

distributions suggest possible neolocality, uxorilocality, virilocality, or avunculocality alongside small cognatic residential groups. The latter pattern occurs with the Snaketown phase pithouses shown on Figure 6.5. If ignoring the pithouses that were not confidently interpreted as dwellings, the remaining dwellings were solitary or occurred in pairs. If some of the additional pithouses shown in the southeastern portion of the figure were also dwellings, then we could interpret a much larger informal aggregate. Either way, the Snaketown phase structure distributions indicate households for cognatic residential groups alongside conjugal family residences to be interpreted in Chapter 9.

Household-scale social organization at the two settlements examined was marked by divergence followed by convergence. At Pueblo Patricio, the same Vahki phase social organization—cognatic residential groups—continued throughout the Estrella, Sweetwater, and Snaketown phases until the site was abandoned. At Snaketown, two transformations occurred: from Vahki phase matrilocality to Estrella phase conjugal family residences, and to Sweetwater phase cognatic residential groups alongside conjugal family residences. Neolocal, uxorilical, virilocal, and avunculocal alternatives for the latter are considered in Chapter 9. The interpretations also imply affiliation with landowning corporate estates, either bilocal residential-household groups or ambilineal household groups, elder-junior relationships among men and women, and postmarital mobility for some men and women. The appearance of roasting pits and other large outdoor activity features at the Pueblo Patricio cognatic residential groups also implies communal cooking (and other activities), suggesting collective/reciprocal labor and support was not limited to farming.

The Gila Butte and Santa Cruz Phases

Pueblo Patricio was abandoned in the Snaketown phase. For an analysis on households in the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases, this section will rely on data from the sites of Snaketown (Wilcox et al. 1981) and La Ciudad (Henderson 1987b). Whereas Snaketown illustrates continuity in cognatic residential groups as the dominant form of household-scale social organization, La Ciudad exhibits changes from neolocality to cognatic residential groups—the same diachronic pattern observed with Pueblo Patricio's earlier colonization—followed by the emergence of patrilocality.

Snaketown

At Snaketown, the sizes of Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase structures indicate conjugal family dwellings (Table 6.2). Figure 6.6 shows the most

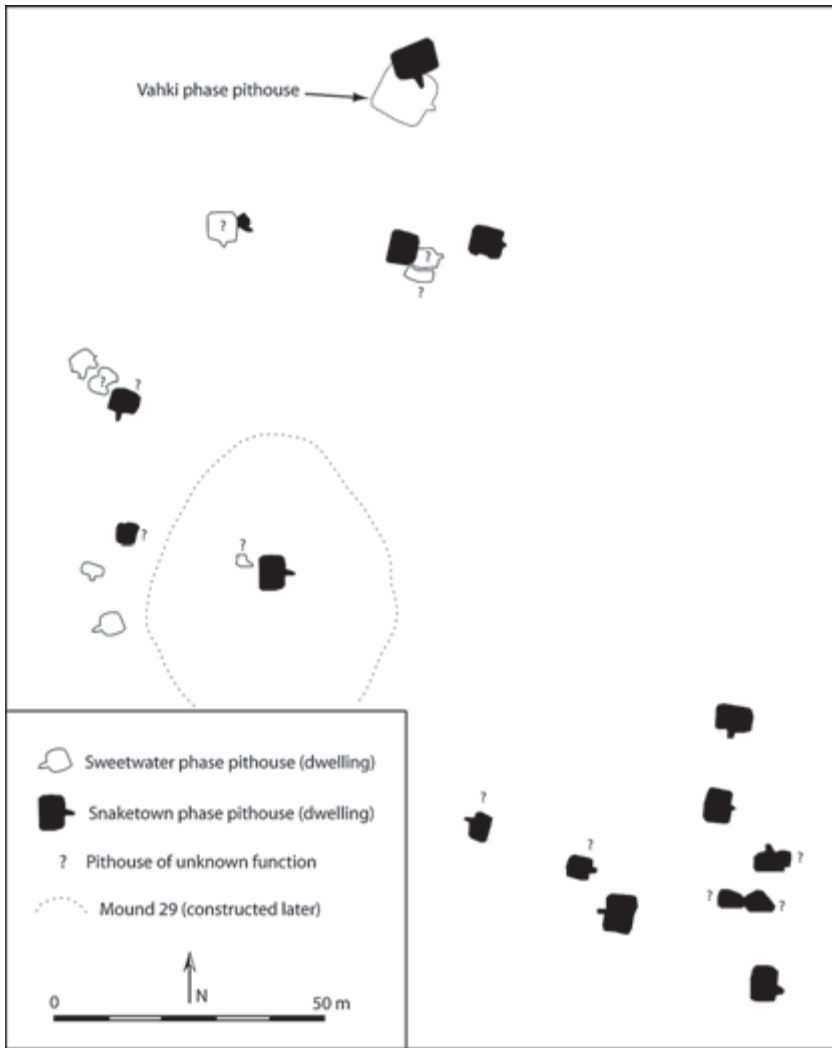


FIGURE 6.5. Sweetwater and Snaketown phase structures in the southwest-central portion of Snaketown (compiled and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981: figures 39 and 41)

densely occupied portion of the settlement (the west and south sides of the site). Within this area, there are two aggregates of Gila Butte phase structures. The aggregate shown in the southeast of Figure 6.6 consists of one dwelling and three pithouses of indeterminate functions. The interpreted dwelling is relatively large and may indicate a matrilineal residential group. However, if one or more of the adjacent structures

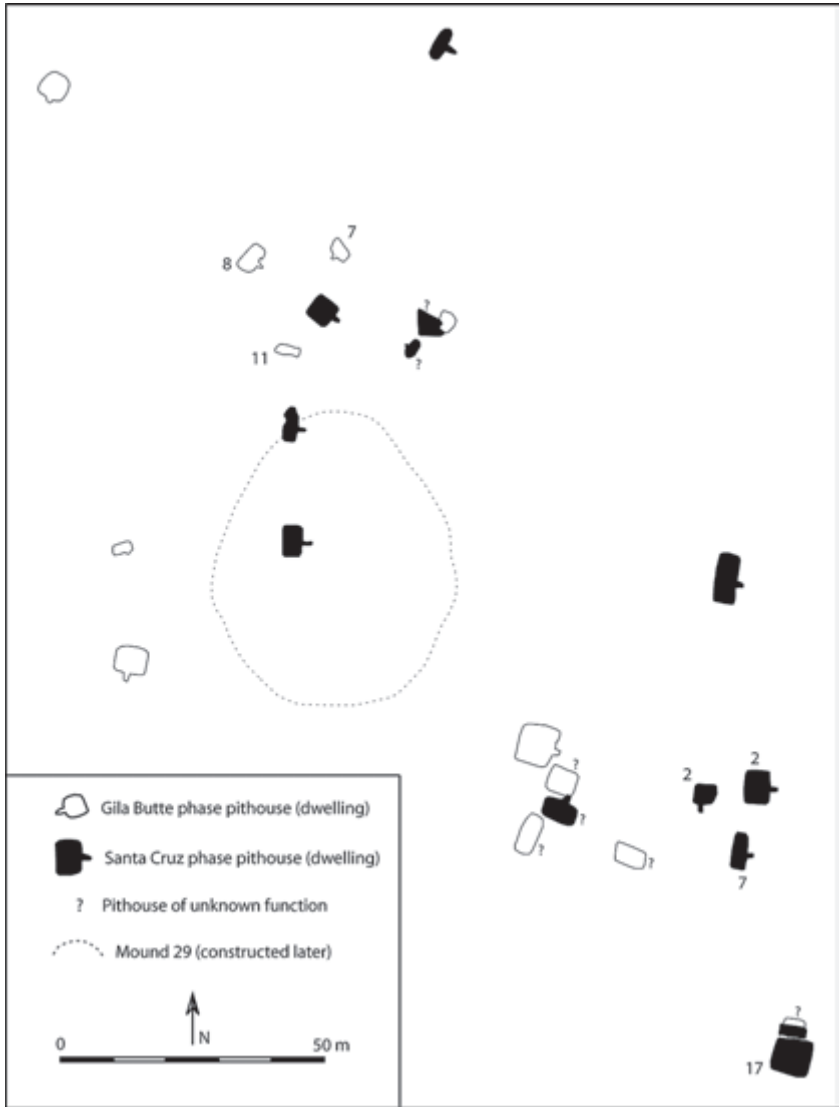


FIGURE 6.6. Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase structures in the southwest-central portion of Snaketown (compiled and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981: figures 39 and 41)

were dwellings, then the informally arranged aggregate as a whole would indicate a household for a cognatic residential group that included some amount of matrilocality among sisters. The two pithouses in the central west portion of Figure 6.6 may indicate the presence of an additional cognatic residential group. In the north-central portion of Figure 6.6, in contrast, there is a courtyard group indicated by features 7, 8, and 11. The entries to features 7 and 8 were preserved and point to a common space. These three dwellings indicate a household for a patrilocal residential group. Thus, two strategies are interpreted: cognatic residential groups and a patrilocal residential group.

The Santa Cruz phase structures form three aggregates. One is less concentrated in the central portion of Figure 6.6, which suggests a household for a cognatic residential group. In the southeast corner of the figure there is a relatively large pithouse (Feature 17) with an adjacent smaller structure that may have been remodeled (it was given two feature numbers). The size of the larger pithouse appears to fall within the size range for a matrilocal residential group. The adjacent smaller dwelling indicates an additional conjugal family dwelling associated with that matrilocal group, possibly indicating an informally arranged aggregate for another cognatic residential group (with a matrilocal bias). The third aggregate is indicated by Feature 7 and the two pithouses labeled "2" in Figure 6.6. In this case, there appears to be some formality in the placement of the three structures, at near-right angles to one another, but the entries clearly do not point to a common space. The cluster is not a formal Hohokam courtyard. This aggregate could be interpreted as a household for another cognatic residential group or as a household for a possible *de facto* patrilocal residential group. Like the Gila Butte phase, both cognatic residential groups and a possible patrilocal residential group can be interpreted.

La Ciudad

The site of La Ciudad was colonized at the very end of the Snaketown phase when dwelling arrangements indicate neolocality. Shortly thereafter in the Gila Butte phase, each of the neolocal residences had grown into cognatic residential groups. This is the same diachronic shift seen with the colonization of Pueblo Patricio in the Red Mountain and Vahki phases. In the Santa Cruz phase, however, some of the cognatic residential groups grew even larger and reflect patrilocal residential groups with adjacent conjugal family dwellings. Others maintained their cognatic organization.

The pithouses have been separated into multiple overlapping components (Henderson 1987b), which for present purposes I lump into two

components (Snaketown-Gila Butte and late Gila Butte). The pithouse sizes for both components indicate dwellings for conjugal families (Table 6.3). The distributions of the pithouses of these two components are illustrated in Figure 6.7. The early Snaketown-Gila Butte structures were widely dispersed across the site, with two noncontemporaneous structures in the Brill Locus, Belleview Locus, and the 22nd Street Locus. The widely dispersed households for individual conjugal families indicate neolocal residential groups. However, accompanying that pattern was one informally arranged aggregate of contemporaneous and chronologically overlapping structures in the 21st Street Locus, which indicates a

TABLE 6.3. Pithouse sizes at La Ciudad (compiled from Henderson 1987: tables 6.1–6.5)^a

<i>Feature No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>Feature No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>Feature No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>
<i>Snaketown-Gila Butte Phase</i>					
887	10.95	1212	9.35	512	19.13
882	18.90	1411	13.00	1624	19.44
1751	23.18	1780	24.38	292	5.50
<i>Gila Butte Phase</i>					
1271	12.47	1282	6.67	1264	7.14
574	26.00	298	11.96	1101	24.50
766	20.46	43	11.25	597	10.57
758	22.00	598	16.36	1429	11.42
1269	9.00	465	10.69	487	9.90
239	10.50	1775	14.84	1214	11.84
733	7.47	875	6.00	1206	18.00
281	7.80	296	14.77		
<i>Early Santa Cruz Phase</i>					
469	11.25	572	11.61	1139	8.00
231	15.13	1260	16.50	1616	16.80
37	9.38	1266	6.83	804	15.58
866	13.75	290	16.90	802	13.00
1618	19.18	1267	8.18	1328	13.75
35	12.00	1241	10.20	1222	16.05
772	7.61	1370	15.00	895	18.00
36	11.79	307	15.38	486	16.80
406	10.13	74	10.24	1415	15.50
1660	36.40	322	5.50		

(continued)

TABLE 6.3. Continued

<i>Feature No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>Feature No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>	<i>Feature No.</i>	<i>Size (m²)</i>
<i>Middle Santa Cruz Phase</i>					
122	16.28	710	16.63	1052	12.00
17	14.25	1706	12.96	800	15.00
1386	14.40	715	11.86	1060	11.25
1725	21.00	804	15.58		
<i>Late Santa Cruz Phase</i>					
47	11.72	754	12.83	675	17.88
770	22.50	73	10.58	1100	9.46
335	12.00	66	12.38	1544	18.00
45	20.16	331	36.76	415	13.91
40	17.50	70	7.74	1581	10.13
36	11.79	72	14.70	844	19.56
323	10.00	338	11.88		
68	26.25	752A	10.69		
<i>Early Sacaton Phase</i>					
109	13.75	310	13.61	900	32.09
1120	13.75	1124	13.06	835	21.94
160	22.68	1000	9.90	837	16.56
327	7.00	1005	23.00	696	10.00
709	10.00	1130	14.85	1056	12.70
807	24.50	1381	23.80	688	11.16
780	11.75	910	18.13	132	13.39
1021	12.48	1360	23.29	157	16.10
1125	7.12	1105	9.56	1349	12.74
1119	28.13	1020	13.75	808	21.00
1141	12.33	838	12.50	129	22.01

^aPhase in which the pithouse was constructed.

cognatic residential group. The adjacent *horno* suggests collective roasting of foods for that extended residential group.

In the second component, when the main and lateral canals were first constructed, there were multiple informally arranged aggregates of pithouses indicating the emergence of a homogeneous pattern in household organization. There was a large concentration of pithouses in the Brill Locus, most of which overlap or were close in chronological affiliation. This informally arranged aggregate indicates a household for a cognatic residential group. It was associated with two adjacent hornos for collective roasting. Two informally arranged aggregates of pithouses (one with

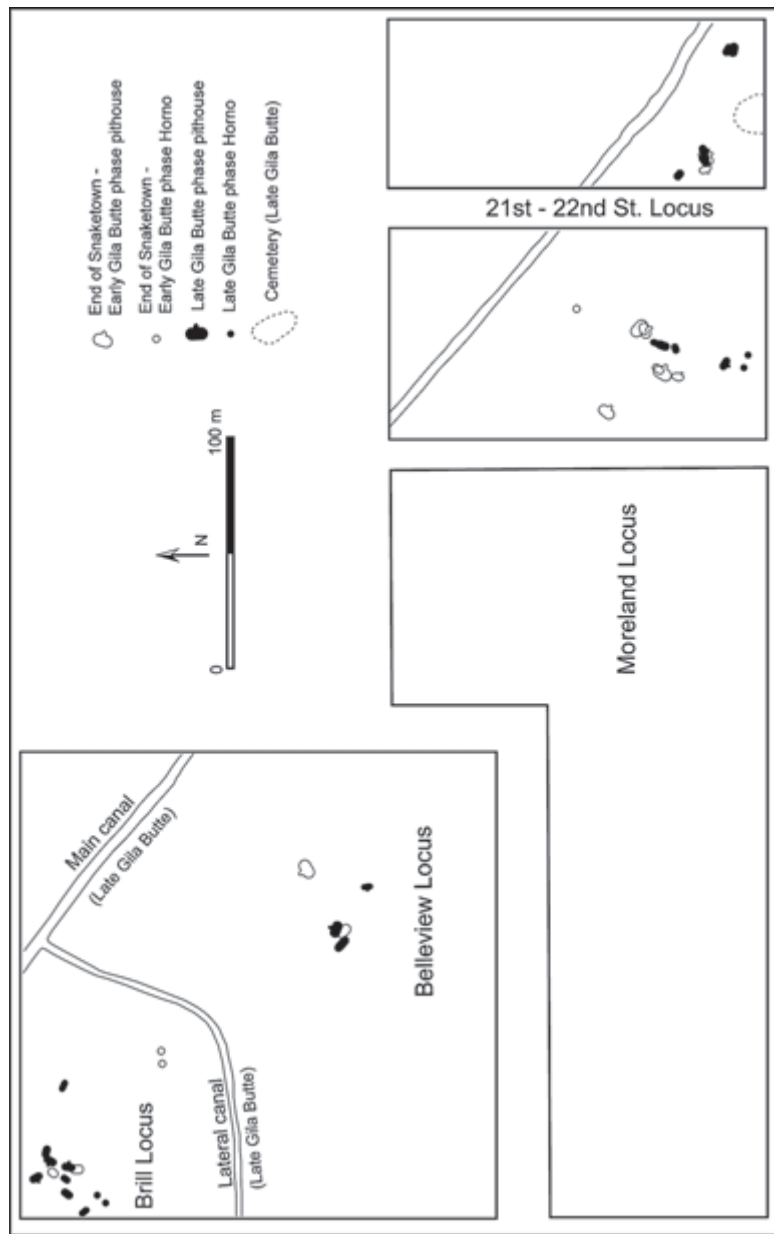


FIGURE 6.7. Late Snaketown phase and Gila Butte phase structures at La Ciudad (compiled and redrawn from Henderson 1987; figures 5.4 and 5.5)

adjacent hornos) were present in the 21st–22nd Street loci, which also exhibit the cross-cultural pattern for cognatic residential groups. One of these was associated with the earliest cemetery at La Ciudad. A small informal aggregate, also illustrating a household for a fourth cognatic residential group, was located in the Belleview Locus.

The Santa Cruz phase features were also identified as being built in multiple components (Henderson 1987b). Although some overlap may be present, they appear to cluster into three components within the phase: early, middle, and late. All of the pithouse sizes indicate conjugal family dwellings (Table 6.3).

The early component of the Santa Cruz phase at La Ciudad is characterized by a continuation of dwelling aggregates, but different household organizations can be interpreted. The early Santa Cruz component feature distributions are shown in Figure 6.8. The Brill Locus pithouses are organized into a formal courtyard arrangement (Henderson 1987b:88), which indicates a household for a patrilocal residential group. A second courtyard is present in the Belleview Locus, composed of pithouse dwelling features 307, 1241, and 1370 (Henderson 1987b:90), also indicating a household for a patrilocal residential group, although a fourth dwelling is outside the focal courtyard arrangement. However, five informally arranged aggregates of pithouse dwellings with support structures are also found in the Belleview, Moreland, and 21st–22nd Street loci (Henderson 1987b:88–90), which indicate that the majority of households in the early Santa Cruz phase were for cognatic residential groups.

The middle component of the Santa Cruz phase at La Ciudad is also illustrated in Figure 6.8. Only one structure was present at the former courtyard group in the Brill Locus. The Belleview Locus had one courtyard group with two small structures placed within the courtyard space. Henderson (1987b:91) interpreted two courtyards here with the small structures forming the exterior of a southern courtyard. However, the pithouses on both the north and south have entries pointed toward a common space indicating the small structures were within that space rather than dividing two courtyards. Regardless of the difference in interpretations, the aggregate would indicate at least one household for a patrilocal residential group. The group is associated with two *hornos* on its north side. Henderson (1987b:91) interpreted another courtyard group in the Belleview Locus represented by the three pithouses arranged in a northwest-southeast oriented line because later structures were arranged into a courtyard group in that location. However, the three structures of the middle Santa Cruz component do not form a courtyard arrangement. Because these additional dwellings are clearly associated with the patrilocal residential group, neolocality can be ruled out but

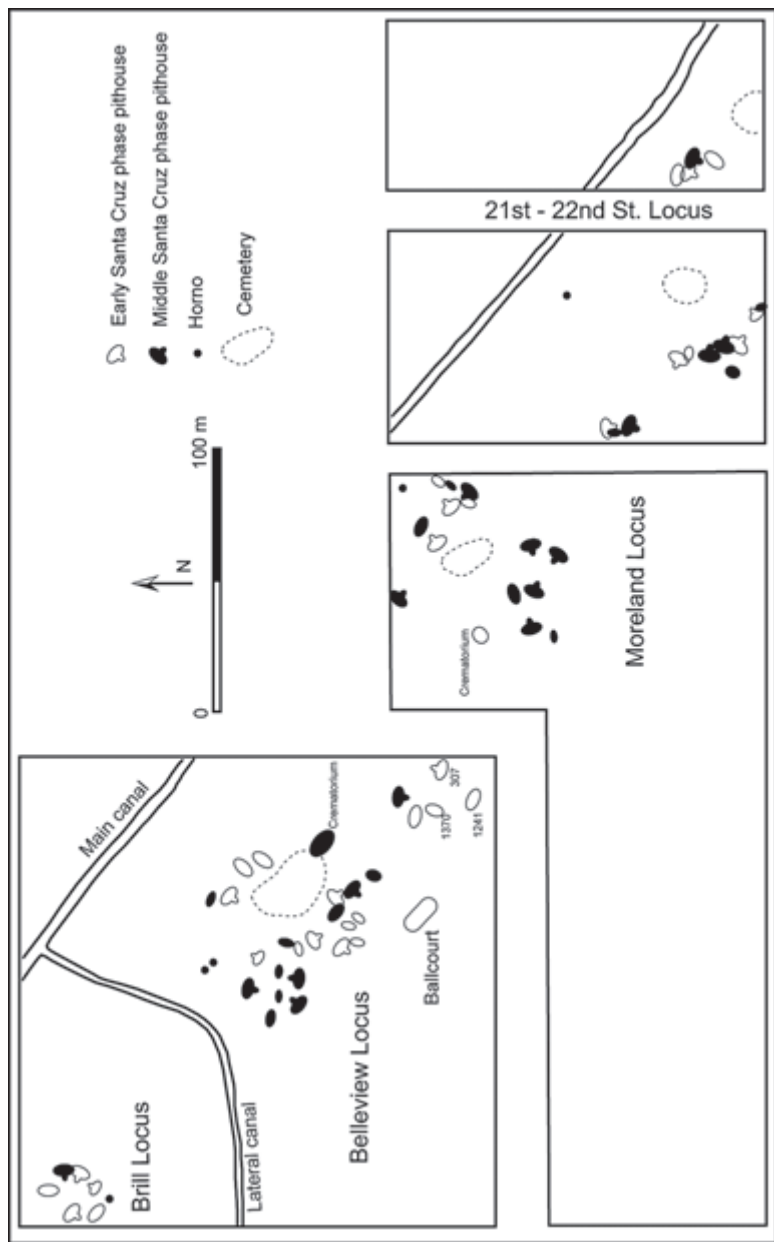


FIGURE 6.8. Structures of the early and middle Santa Cruz phase components at La Ciudad (compiled and redrawn from Henderson 1987: figures 5.6 and 5.7)

uxorilocality, virilocality, or avunculocality considered in Chapter 9. Another courtyard group, indicating a household for a patrilocal residential group, is represented by three pithouses with entries facing a common point in the Moreland Locus. That group of dwellings is accompanied by three pithouses on its west side, suggesting a combination with other postmarital residence strategies (but not neolocality) that also require interpretation in Chapter 9. Households for two cognatic residential groups are indicated by two smaller informal aggregates in the 21st–22nd Street loci. Patrilocal residential groups became more common during the middle component of the Santa Cruz phase at La Ciudad, but these still existed alongside cognatic residential groups.

Although continuing to be variable, household organization shifted increasingly toward patrilocal residential groups in the late component of the Santa Cruz phase. The distributions of pithouses are shown in Figure 6.9. Six courtyard groups can be interpreted. These are labeled 1–6 on the figure, with the numbers placed at the center of the courtyards. None of these illustrate ideal examples of courtyard groups because some of the pithouse entries (and their orientations) were not observable and some of the observed entries do not point directly toward the focal space. But central spaces surrounded by pithouses can be interpreted, and I have not interpreted as many as Henderson (1987b:94–98). Nevertheless, the distributions indicate six patrilocal residential groups at La Ciudad in this component. In addition to those, there is an informal aggregation of pithouses in the southeast corner of the Belleview Locus, indicating a household for a cognatic residential group. Additionally, four dispersed pithouses in the 21st–22nd Street loci may suggest another cognatic residential group.

The Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase dwelling arrangements at Snaketown exhibit a continuation of households for cognatic residential groups, yet with one of these in each phase having a possible matrilocality bias. Additionally, there was one household for a patrilocal residential group in each phase. The Gila Butte phase dwellings at La Ciudad illustrate a transition from neolocal residential groups to a dominant pattern of corporate estates owned by ambilocal household groups or bilocal residential-household groups. This is the same colonizing pattern, albeit during much later phases, as seen at Pueblo Patricio. At both Snaketown and La Ciudad, there is a general pattern for cognatic residential groups in the Gila Butte to Santa Cruz phases. However, patrilocal residential groups became increasingly more common toward the end of the Santa Cruz phase at La Ciudad. The variation illustrates a period in which multiple strategies were taken to form corporate estate-owning groups.

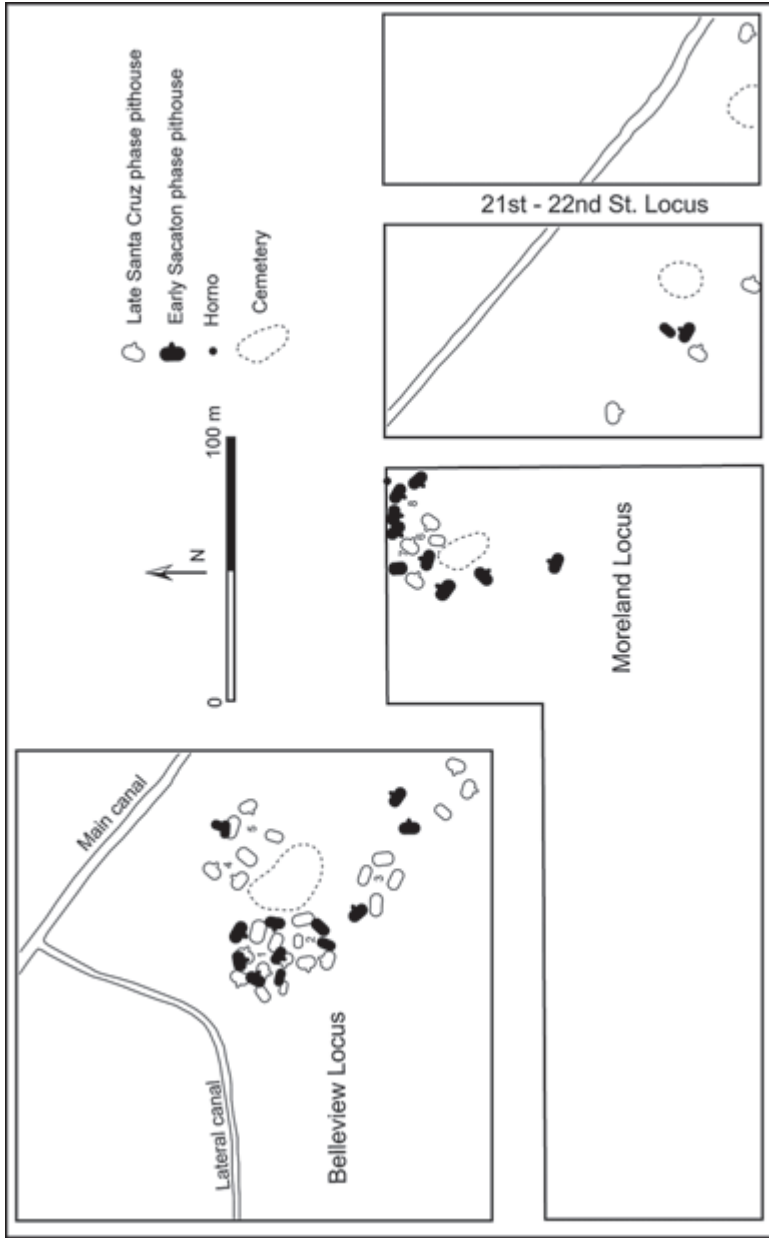


FIGURE 6.9. Late Santa Cruz phase and early Sacaton phase structures at La Ciudad (compiled and redrawn from Henderson 1987: figures 5.8 and 5.9)

The Sacaton Phase

The sites of Snaketown, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande are used to represent the Sacaton phase. At Snaketown and La Ciudad, patrilocal residential groups became the norm, accompanied by additional conjugal family residences. Pueblo Grande, which is better known for its Soho and Civano phases, also had a significant occupation in the Sacaton phase that generally exhibits cognatic residential group organization.

Snaketown

Among the eighty-one Sacaton phase structures listed in Table 6.2, seven have sizes over 43 m², ranging from 45.30 to 59.10 m². Haury (1976:27, 33, 62) noted the internal post arrangements suggest benches along the walls, and Wilcox et al. (1981:182) interpret some of these as communal ceremonial structures that could seat between fifty and seventy people. Additionally, they note that three of the large structures are arranged along a corridor (free of other structures) between a capped mound and a ballcourt, which also suggests a ceremonial function related to processions. However they are interpreted, they do not appear to be residential. The remaining pithouses shown on Table 6.2 range from 6.70 to 40.30 m², and have a mean size of 23.24 m² and a standard deviation of 9.09 m². It is therefore safe to conclude that the vast majority of pithouse dwellings accommodated conjugal families.

Figure 6.10 shows the distribution of pithouses in the same portion of Snaketown illustrated previously. Like most Hohokam archaeologists, I indicate on the figure the interpreted six (possibly seven) courtyard groups, which differ slightly from the seven courtyard groups of Wilcox et al. (1981: Figure 40). Nevertheless, both sets of interpretations essentially identify the majority of pithouses as structural members of courtyard groups. These obviously match the cross-cultural pattern for households of patrilocal residential groups. Despite that overall pattern, five (possibly eight) pithouses do not belong to a courtyard group. Three are more widely spaced in the north, and two (possibly five) are between the courtyard groups concentrated in the south. Because these pithouses are near the households of social groups, they may not indicate neolocality. Their significance is interpreted in Chapter 9, after discussion on distinguishing uxorilocality, virilocality, and avunculocality.

La Ciudad

At La Ciudad, all of the early Sacaton phase pithouses conform with the sizes for conjugal family dwellings or smaller support structures (Table

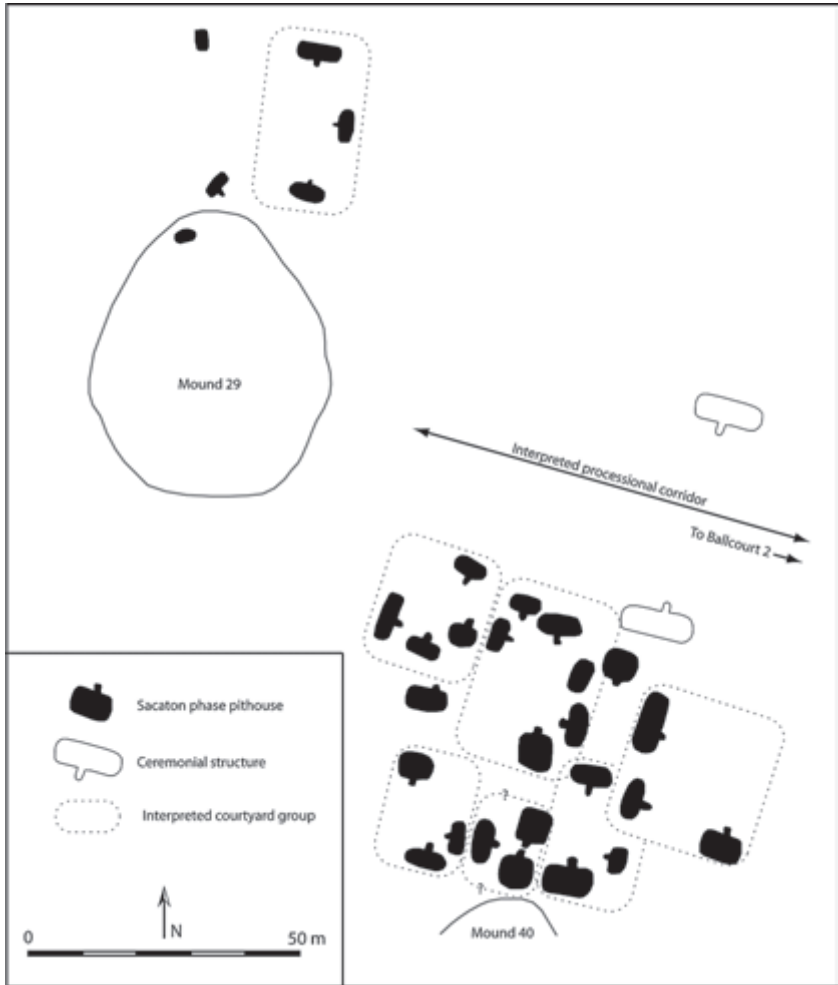


FIGURE 6.10. Sacaton phase structures at Snaketown (compiled and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981: figures 39 and 40)

6.3). The dwelling spatial distributions, however, illustrate a continuation of variation in household organization (Figure 6.9). Two (possibly three) courtyard groups can be interpreted. One is the aggregate in the Belleview Locus consisting of six pithouses encircling an earlier late Santa Cruz courtyard space labeled "1." Among the pithouses with identified entries, all but one faces that focal space. A second courtyard group, located in the Moreland Locus, consisted of three pithouses

surrounding a focal space labeled “7” on the figure. A third possible courtyard group may be represented by the adjacent three pithouses forming a slight arc around the space labeled “8.” So, there is at least one courtyard group in each of these two loci, indicating households for patrilocal residential groups. Associated with them in the same clusters are additional pithouses, indicating uxorilocality, virilocality, or avunculocality, which are interpreted in Chapter 9. One pair of pithouses in the 21st Street Locus may signify a small cognatic residential group. Although patrilocal residential groups can be interpreted, these were also accompanied by nearby conjugal family residences and there was also one small cognatic residential group.

Pueblo Grande

Whereas Sacaton phase households for patrilocal residential groups are predominant at Snaketown and La Ciudad, they are rare at the site of Pueblo Grande. Although not presenting individual structure sizes, Mitchell (1994b: Table 3.3) derived a mean pithouse floor size of 15.50 m², with a standard deviation of 6.55 m² and a range from 8.51 to 23.25 m². These data indeed indicate conjugal family dwellings and smaller possible support structures.

The spatial distributions of Sacaton phase pithouses from different portions of Pueblo Grande are illustrated in Figure 6.11. In Julian Hayden’s 1930s Broadside excavation, there is one concentration of four observable pithouses. These may have been an informally arranged aggregate. However, the two pithouses on the east may form a courtyard group. The two pithouse floors on the west were too poorly preserved to identify their orientations. The cluster is adjacent to a large cemetery. Twelve pithouses are concentrated in Hayden’s Roadway excavation. In the south, there is an open space surrounded by six of these, with an additional pithouse within the space. Although the entries for two of the pithouses face that possible courtyard space, two have entries facing away from it. The pithouses in Habitation Area 5 clearly form an informally arranged aggregate. The thirteen pithouses in Habitation Area 6 were established in two groups: a small cluster of informally arranged pithouses in the south and a larger concentration in the north. The latter may consist of one courtyard group on the northwest and one in the center, although only one of the pithouse entries faces a possible courtyard. Overall, there seems to be no demonstrable formal courtyard organization to these two households. The north concentration is adjacent to three cemetery areas. In Habitation Area 8 there is an informally arranged cluster of pithouses, along with a courtyard consisting of two

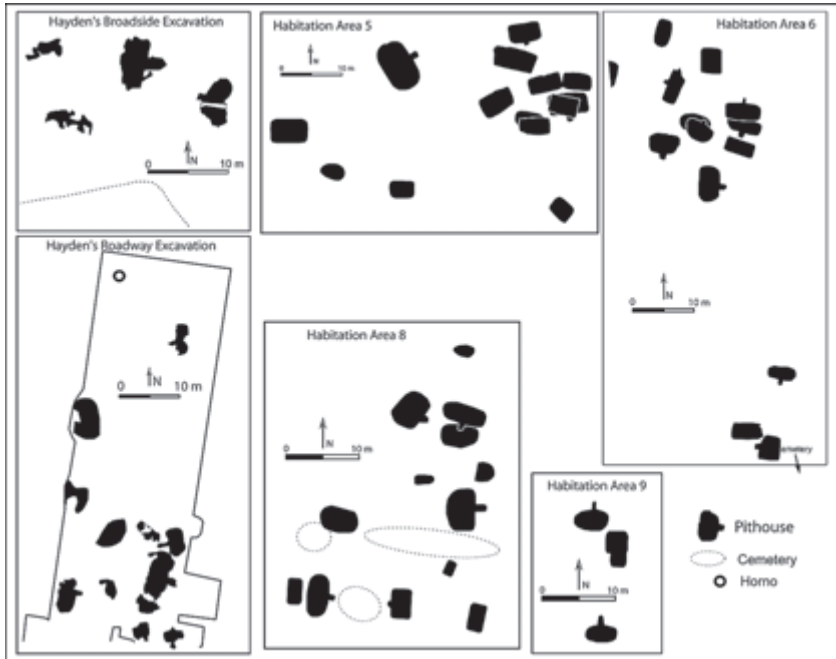


FIGURE 6.11. Sacaton phase structures at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: figures 8.17 and 8.19; Mitchell 1994c: figures 7.1–7.4; and Mitchell and Foster 1994: figures 2.5, 2.6, 2.8)

pithouses clearly facing one another on the south. Three small areas with multiple cremations were located within the aggregate. In Habitation Area 9, one could interpret a courtyard space, but again only one of the pithouse entries faces that space and the cluster appears to have an informal arrangement. Among these excavated areas, there are seven pithouse aggregates but only two or three possible courtyard groups. The Sacaton phase households at Pueblo Grande were predominantly for cognatic residential groups.

Sacaton phase household organization varied within and among the three sites examined, which differs significantly from the standard Hohokamist normative model for courtyard groups. The analysis suggests a predominance of patrilocal residential groups at Snaketown, patrilocal residential groups with adjacent conjugal family dwellings and a small cognatic residential group at La Ciudad, and a predominance of cognatic residential groups at Pueblo Grande. Various strategies were used in negotiating postmarital residence and household-group memberships

through which to access resources. Apparently, there was no hegemonic cultural system for residential group formation and engendered postmarital mobility.

The Soho Phase

Hohokam archaeologists often assume changes to social organization during the Sacaton-Soho phase transition due to the changes in culture historical “traits” that mark the phase distinctions (Chapter 3). Settlement at Pueblo Grande expanded significantly during the Soho phase. Like the Sacaton phase households, those of the Soho phase varied in numbers of structures and construction technique. Some were in deeper pits and had posts lining the exterior of the pit. Others were above-ground structures with adobe-walled, stone-lined adobe and caliche-walled, or post-supported walled structures (Mitchell 1994b). The above-ground structures had a mean floor size of 14.11 m², with a standard deviation of 3.01 m² and a range of 9.31–18.41 m² (Mitchell 1994b: Table 3.4). The deep, adobe-lined pithouses had a mean floor size of 15.39 m², with a standard deviation of 4.18 m², and a range of 10.62–21.79 m² (Mitchell 1994b: Table 3.5). These floor sizes indicate conjugal family dwellings and smaller support structures. Although cremation was still most common, inhumation burials became more frequent within the Soho phase.

Figure 6.12 illustrates the spatial arrangements of dwellings at several Soho phase habitation areas. In Hayden’s Broadside excavation, there was an informally arranged concentration of three adjacent pithouses with an additional rebuilt pithouse to the south. A large cemetery was on the south side of that cluster. Within Hayden’s Roadway excavation, there were three adjacent dwellings, a solitary dwelling in the north, and two dwellings in the south. The entire aggregate has an informal arrangement. Two small cemeteries, with inhumation and cremation burials, and three hornos were adjacent to that cluster. The aggregate in Habitation Area 2 consists of one pair of dwellings, one of which was rebuilt three times, and two additional dwellings, both of which were rebuilt. A maximum of four dwellings would have been occupied at any one time in that location. Although spatially arranged around a central open space, only one rebuilt pithouse had an entry facing that space. In Habitation Area 3 there were a maximum of seven coeval dwellings. Four structures overlay one another. At least two of those, and three others have entryways focusing on the same space, suggesting the possibility for a crescent-shaped courtyard group. However, two additional pithouses are within



FIGURE 6.12. Soho phase structures at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: figures 8.17 and 8.19; Mitchell 1994c: figures 7.5–7.14; and Mitchell and Foster 1994: figures 2.5, 2.6, 2.8)

that focal space. Overall, the arrangement appears informal. There was a large cemetery on the southwest side of the cluster. In Habitation Area 5, five structures form another informal aggregate. A possible courtyard group is located in Habitation Area 6, whereby five of the six dwellings surround a small plaza space, although only one dwelling with an identified entry faces the possible courtyard. Cremation burials surround that possible courtyard group. In Habitation Area 7, there were a maximum of fourteen structures that could have been occupied at the same time. Four were rebuilt in the same locations. On the west side of the aggregate, seven dwelling locations surround a possible courtyard space; however, none of the identified entries face in that direction. The east half of the aggregate is informally arranged. A large cemetery was located to the south and cremation burials were found between the structures within the aggregate. Habitation Area 8 had a clear informal arrangement in the placement of five structures.

The spatial arrangements of dwellings illustrate continuity in the same general pattern for cognatic residential groups observed in the Sacaton phase. The changes to architecture and other material culture during the Sacaton-Soho phase transition were not accompanied by changes to household-scale social organization. As in the Sacaton phase, dwellings surround a focal space, but without formal orientations, hinting at patrilocality or a bias toward patrilocality within cognatic residential groups. All observed occupied areas were associated with adjacent cemeteries and/or had burials among the dwellings, indicating ambilineal household or bilocal residential-household group identities.

Discussion: *De Facto* and *De Jure* Practices

Archaeological research using formal classificatory criteria for interpretation occasionally leads to observations of variation in material culture that does not fit neatly into the preconceived categories. These observations then require further consideration leading to new theoretical insights. This interlude considers the implications of the observed “informal courtyard groups” and sudden appearance of newly established households, leading to a speculative distinction between *de facto* versus *de jure* social practices.

As described in Chapter 5, households inhabited by patrilocal residential groups are associated with formal layouts of dwellings facing a plaza (e.g., Hohokam courtyard groups). The households’ dwellings are those of the core group of brothers in the patrilocal residential group. When ownership is determined through *de jure* rules for inheritance and control over the estate, there is a social need to emphasize and reproduce those relationships via the formal dwelling layouts. However, there may be less of a need to express in the cultural landscape of the households a set of *de facto* patrilineal relationships among brothers and/or male parallel cousins. The “informal courtyard groups” may be an expression of a tendency toward *de facto* patrilineal relationships rather than patrilineal relationships *as a rule* among brothers or their male parallel cousins.

At two sites, the *de jure* pattern of patrilocality appears to have emerged out of prior cognatic patterns. In the case of Snaketown, informal courtyard groups among informally arranged aggregates preceded the formal courtyard groups in the Sacaton phase. This suggests a period of cognatic social organization mixed with some *de facto* patrilocality gradually led to *a system of de jure patrilocality*. The same phenomenon likely occurred at La Ciudad, whereby a period of cognatic social organization mixed with some *de facto* patrilocality gradually led to *an ideal system of de jure patrilocality* in the late Santa Cruz phase.

At Pueblo Grande, there were few cases of formally arranged courtyard groups in any phases. Most households indicate cognatic residential groups, but some include dwellings informally arranged around possible plazas. If indicating patrilocality, the informal courtyard groups are best interpreted as households for *de facto*, rather than *de jure*, patrilocal residential groups.

An interesting additional observation on Pueblo Grande is that many of the households were occupied from earlier phases into the Soho phase. At each, cemeteries were established in the earlier phases but used continuously into the Soho phase (in Hayden's Broadside and Roadway excavations, and in habitation areas 5, 6, and 8). This suggests a *descent-based* relationship of the Soho phase groups to the earlier groups in those locations (i.e., household group ancestors), which may favor an interpretation of ambilineal household groups (as opposed to bilocal residential-household groups). Given the overall tendency for cognatic group organization, accompanied by some degree of patrilineal relationships, I suggest that membership to the Soho phase estate owners' groups required cognatic descent to ancestors.

In contrast, several of the Sacaton and Soho phase households were newly established. Many of the habitation areas excavated at Pueblo Grande had no earlier occupational foundations. So, what happens when a new household group has to establish a new household—an entirely new corporate estate of structures and resources? There are two possible outcomes. The first would involve maintaining the previously existing residential groups from wherever those groups emigrated. In this case the residential groups are transplanted to the new location. The second is more interesting and would involve the establishment of a new household *for all members of the household group*, not the prior residential group, as those household-group members gain access to new resources. *The result would be a de facto creation of a residential-household group!* The household and residential group memberships would be the same. The *de facto* cognatic groups should be reflected in the arrangement of dwellings of the newly established household (i.e., for cognatic residential groups), which seems to be the case for all new locations occupied at Pueblo Grande.

These instances of observed variability in the archaeological record required a return to the principles upon which residential groups structure their social environment, leading to an interpretational distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* practices. For present purposes, the book will make use of this logical argument for interpretations on informal courtyard groups and newly established cognatic residential groups. This distinction requires further cross-cultural testing for a middle range theory on this specific household organizational circumstances and serves as

an example of how archaeology can pose innovative questions for, and thus guide, ethnological kinship research on social relations, gender, and group identity.

The Civano Phase

The shift from pithouse architecture to above-ground adobe/caliche-walled architecture within thick-walled “compounds” primarily occurred in the Civano phase, and this is certainly the case for Pueblo Grande. However, the change in architectural construction methods, alongside other trait changes (Chapter 3) was not accompanied by a change in household-scale social organization. The Civano phase floor sizes indicate conjugal family dwellings. Mitchell (1994b: Table 3.8) reports a range in floor size of 7.60–45.10 m², with a mean of 19.64 m² (standard deviation = 7.83). Their arrangements indicate cognatic residential groups.

Figure 6.13 illustrates several Civano phase multiroom compounds at Pueblo Grande. Not shown are habitation areas with greatly disturbed above-ground architecture. Additional habitation areas not shown had only one dwelling or two dwellings (e.g., habitation areas 1, 10, and 11 [Mitchell 1994c: figures 7.15, 7.23, 7.24]).

Although the compounds had delineated plaza spaces (usually multiple), there are few indications of formal layouts. The dwellings and associated small plazas were arranged haphazardly in most cases, adjacent to or within larger compound plazas. Habitation Area 2 had five dwellings consisting of one pair and three isolated rooms organized in an informal arrangement. The compound walls suggest that the pair of dwellings and each solitary dwelling was associated with a plaza space. Although inhumation burials were encountered in multiple locations, there were three concentrations associated with the compound. Habitation Area 3 had an informal aggregate of four widely spaced dwellings: two within the large collective plaza and two associated with their own small plazas. Burials were concentrated in three areas within and adjacent to the compound. Habitation Area 5 had up to nine contemporary dwellings. Several on the north side of the compound share a common plaza space with a small cemetery, essentially an informal courtyard group suggesting an element of *de facto* patrilocality within an otherwise cognatic residential group. The remaining dwellings are haphazardly arranged, associated with small plazas, or within the larger collective plaza. With the exception of the small cemetery in the north, burials were isolated or found in clusters composed of few internments. Habitation Area 6 had at least four dwellings with abutting walls and additional solitary dwellings in the large collective plaza. Again, the arrangement of dwellings appears

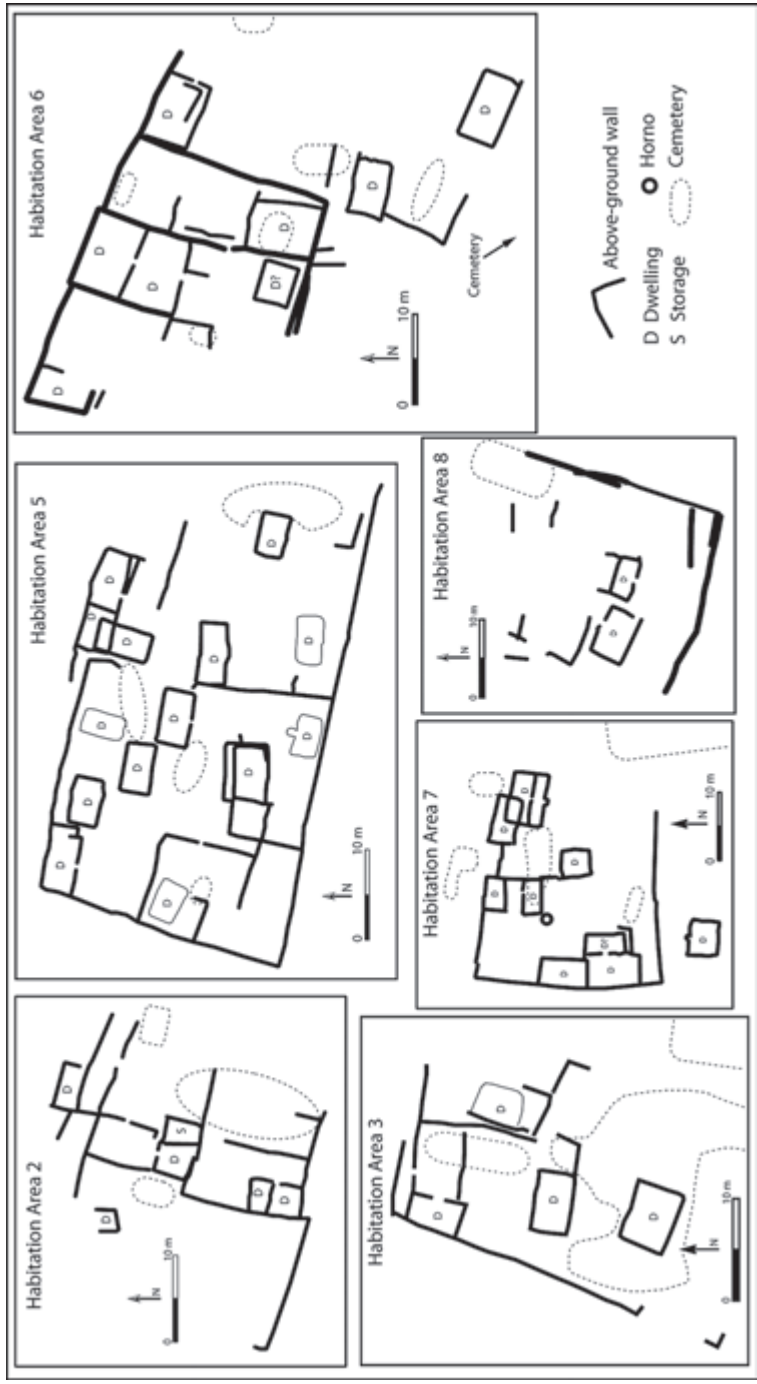


FIGURE 6.13. Civano phase compounds at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Mitchell 1994c: figures 7.16, 7.17, 7.19–7.21; and Mitchell and Foster 1994: figures 2.2, 2.3, 2.5–2.8)

haphazard. There were multiple small clusters of burials in the small and large plazas. There is a more formal arrangement of dwellings in the Habitation Area 7 compound, where five dwellings are found on both sides of a large collective plaza containing a roasting pit, several pits, and burials, suggesting patrilocal relationships within the otherwise cognatic residential group. Three additional dwellings were present on the east side of that plaza in a haphazard arrangement. One solitary dwelling was on the south side of the compound. Although small concentrations of burials are present within the compound, most burials were in the larger cemetery extending south from the east side of the compound. There were only two discernable structures within the compound at Habitation Area 8, which appear to be situated within a plaza.

In general, the Civano phase compounds illustrate a continuation of informally arranged aggregates of dwellings for cognatic residential groups. For comparative purposes, Figure 6.14 illustrates formal household arrangements in compounds indicating patrilocal residential groups. These

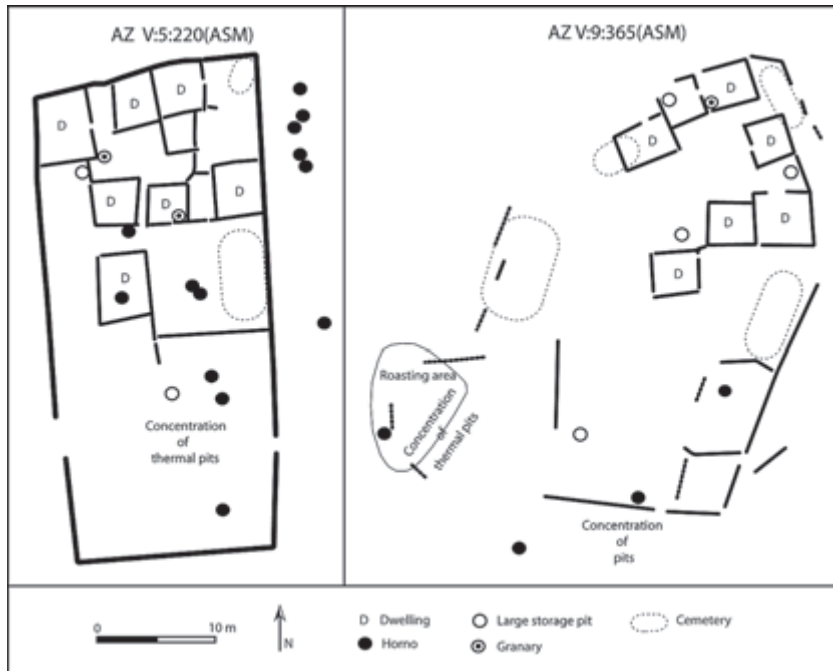


FIGURE 6.14. Two compounds from the Salado region, illustrating households for patrilocal residential groups (compiled and redrawn from Ensor et al. 1997: Figure 2.2 and Ensor and Ledwith 1997: Figure 4.2)

examples are from the Salado region to the east of the Phoenix Basin. This layout reflects the cross-cultural pattern for patrilocal residential groups.

There are two exceptions to the cognatic trend at Pueblo Grande, both of which involve the larger compounds. The dwellings on the north side of the compound at Habitation Area 5 and on the west side of Habitation Area 7 frame shared plaza spaces. These may indicate households for patrilocal groupings within these two large cognatic residential groups. The combination of purely cognatic groups alongside those with mixed cognatic and patrilocal patterns indicates continuity in household-scale social organization since the beginning of the Sacaton phase at Pueblo Grande.

In his analysis of burial organization following from cross-cultural survey data (Carr 1994), Mitchell (1994d) concludes that small clusters of burials within the Pueblo Grande compound plazas represent “family” or “household” units and the larger cemeteries represent “extended families” or descent groups. Additionally, small clusters of burials within the larger cemeteries suggested “family” segments within the larger social groups. Modifying those interpretations in light of what the present analysis has revealed, the small burial clusters represent conjugal families and the larger cemeteries would represent the cognatic groups with internal conjugal family distinctions. An importance to both scales of group identity can be inferred.

The Polvorón Phase

Pueblo Grande was either abandoned and reoccupied in the Polvorón phase or mostly abandoned leaving a small population behind in that phase. Some of the habitation areas were not occupied in the Polvorón phase (habitation areas 1, 8, 6, 10, 11, and 13). Other habitation areas were occupied with low numbers of dwellings. Habitation Area 4 had an increase in the number of dwellings: from approximately four or five in the Civano phase to six in the Polvorón phase. Figure 16.15 shows the Polvorón phase occupations in four of the habitation areas. Although floor areas for this phase were not reported (Mitchell 1994b), the scales indicate the individual pithouses and above-ground dwellings conform with the sizes for conjugal family dwellings. The spatial distributions of dwellings within these locations illustrate a diversity of strategies to form residential groups.

Two areas had neolocal residential groups. Habitation Area 3 had only one dwelling, which was overlain by a new dwelling within the phase. There was only one dwelling in Habitation Area 5, which was a

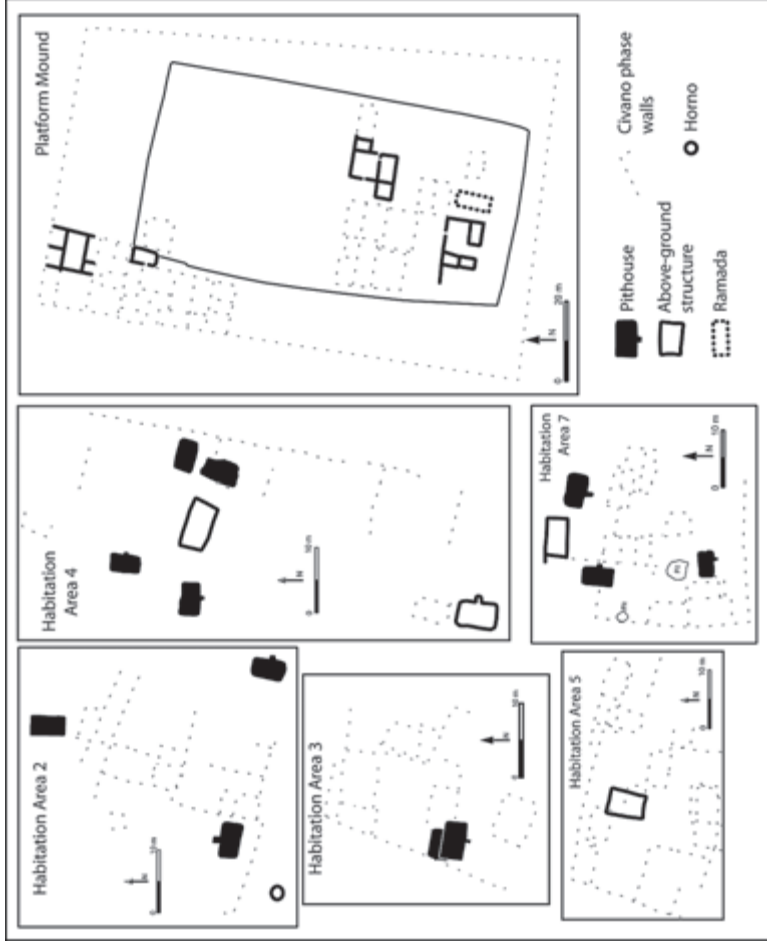


FIGURE 6.15. Polvorón phase structures at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Mitchell 1994c: figures 7.16–7.19, 7.21; and Mitchell and Foster 1994: figures 2.2–2.5, 2.7)

reoccupied compound room. Because these areas were distant from the other occupied areas, neolocality can be interpreted.

Two areas had households for cognatic residential groups. Habitation Area 4 had an informal aggregate of four pithouses and one above-ground structure. An additional above-ground structure was located to the south. One small cluster of reoccupied Civano phase rooms was on the northwest side of the platform mound. Another was on the central portion of the platform mound. Although reoccupying architecture built for prior social groups, the rooms chosen for reoccupation illustrate cognatic household-scale social organization.

Three areas indicate patrilocal residential groups. Habitation Area 2 had three conjugal family dwellings surrounding a small plaza, sharing one *horno*. Habitation Area 7 had an aggregate of three pithouses and a reoccupied compound room. These are also arranged around a small plaza. The southernmost occupation on the platform mound includes above-ground rooms surrounding a plaza. That aggregate also had an adjacent ramada.

The sizes and spatial distributions of the Polvorón phase dwellings reflect the cross-cultural patterns for neolocal residential groups (at habitation areas 3 and 5), cognatic residential groups (at Habitation Area 4 and on/adjacent to the platform mound), and patrilocal residential groups (at habitation areas 2 and 4, and on the south end of the platform mound). Although extended residential groups were not necessary to claim resources at Pueblo Grande, most of the population did form such groups, perhaps for pooling labor in irrigation agriculture. However, establishing those resource-owning estates was done through both cognatic and patrilineal strategies.

Conclusions

This analysis took us far beyond vague notions of “family,” “extended family,” “primary groups,” “clusters,” and “courtyards” and the results suggest we should dismiss normative models of a “Hohokam cultural system.” The analysis illustrated how neolocal, matrilineal, cognatic, and patrilocal residential groups can be identified without direct historical analogy or writing. The results also revealed how the normative generalizations of courtyard groups inaccurately depict Hohokam households. The revealed variation demonstrates that social organization, gender relations, and identities were manipulated by context and over time. In addition to these conclusions on Hohokam household-scale social organization, archaeological observations led to speculation on the distinctions between *de*

jure and *de facto* practices, from which questions can guide ethnological research.

Although separated by nearly five centuries, Pueblo Patricio and La Ciudad were both colonized using the same strategy. The initial neolocal residential groups indicate that access to resources did not require membership to larger groups. However, shortly thereafter, cognatic strategies were used to recruit residential group members. At that point, access to resources was mediated through cognatic membership to these corporate social groups, which also enabled group labor and social support at times when irrigation farming began at both sites. Both men and women needed to negotiate their access to resources. The early settlers of Snake-town had a completely different strategy for initial group formation. Access to resources, collective labor, and social support was obtained through membership to matrilineal household groups, a very different form of corporate estate. Men were the postmaritally mobile gender as residential groups formed around core groups of sisters.

The results suggest remarkable change in social organization and gender mobility over long periods of time unobservable through ethnology. In the Estrella phase at Snaketown, matrilocality was replaced by conjugal family residences, which are interpreted in Chapter 9. One dwelling may have accommodated a small matrilocal residential group. From the Sweetwater to Santa Cruz phases, there were mostly cognatic residential groups with some early matrilocal biases and later patrilocal biases. In addition to those were conjugal family residences. As patrilocality became the most common practice at La Ciudad, there was also a shift from cognatic residential groups to patrilocality as a new norm at Snake-town in the Sacaton phase. Postmarital mobility was engendered once again, this time favoring women's mobility to retain core groups of brothers. At Pueblo Grande, Sacaton to Civano phase residential groups were cognatic, with some patrilocal biases. Despite the traditional interpretations of dramatic change during the Sacaton–Soho phase transition (based on culture historical traits), the Sacaton to Civano phases illustrate continuity in household-scale social organization at Pueblo Grande. However, this widespread practice at the settlement was replaced by neolocal, cognatic, and patrilocal residential groups in the Polvorón phase.

The archaeological kinship analysis thus far has demonstrated diverse but specific strategies to form residential groups and household groups, with implications on the manipulation of engendered mobility, access to resources, and identity. However, the analysis is far from complete. Household-scale social organization does not exist in a vacuum. We have yet to consider descent groups and marriage to contextualize household-scale social organization.

PART THREE

Descent Groups

Many anthropologists write as though kinship systems have dropped from the sky onto societies—they're there because they're there because. . . . In truth they are there because they answer certain needs—do certain jobs. When these change the systems change—but only within certain limits.

Robin Fox, Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective

CHAPTER SEVEN

Descent Group Organization

Descent groups provide access to collective resources and networks of social support. They are corporate groups. They are the reasons for recognizing descent (matrilineal, patrilineal, or ambilineal) to ancestors who provided the group's resources. This chapter begins with the relationships between household groups and descent groups. Matrilineal, patrilineal, and ambilineal descent groups are described in more detail. Social structure, corporate functions, and hypothesized origins are described for each. Bilateral kinship, which is not associated with descent groups, is also discussed on these terms. Ranking and status in descent groups are described along with the shortcomings of elite-agency models. Some notes on succession, gender status, and kinship terminology are also provided.

Before proceeding, some comments are warranted on how terms have changed over time, and why some were dropped, leading to the concepts used here. In an earlier era of classification, ethnologists made a number of distinctions that are generally no longer employed. The term *lineage* referred only to a unilineal descent group with a known common ancestor. If the ancestor was not known, and members simply believed they share a common ancestor, or if a mystical ancestor or "totem" was used, then the descent group was not considered a lineage. Sometimes "lineage" applied only to localized resource-owning descent groups. Thus, all members must share a single area of resources as opposed to having dispersed resources and residences. The term *sib* referred only to a descent group comprising multiple lineages sharing a common mythical ancestor. If a descent group did not have internal divisions or had a known versus a mythical ancestor, then it was something other than a sib. *Clans*, a term

originally derived from Gaelic cognatic groups, became defined as unilineally related people who co-reside and their co-residing affines were included, even though the latter are not unilineally related to their spouses. The term *descent group* itself was typically employed to describe any descent-based social group whose members did not necessarily live together. Numerous other distinctions with specific definitions were given, different authors defined terms in different ways, and kinship research became hopelessly confusing.

Anthropologists are never happier than when coining natty Latinisms for things. It is a kind of magical belief in the power of names: if you discover its name then you have it in your power. This Rumpelstiltskin philosophy (name it and nail it) means that anthropologists can always substitute word-coinage for thought, and the making of conceptual distinctions for the making of discoveries. When it gets to the point where an anthropologist can seriously propose that *kith* should be used to describe a group of kin, where clans become subdivisions of septs, and where such monsters as 'sub-sub-sibs' are being spawned, it is time to stop and ask if we really know what we are at. Much modern kinship analysis is not analysis at all but an exercise in bad etymology. . . . What in fact happens is that anyone trying to understand the subject has to fight his way through half a dozen conflicting taxonomies each with its patchy, *ad hoc* terminology. (Fox 1967:50, emphasis in original)

Simplification did come, beginning in the late 1960s, and was carried forward to the present. Most ethnologists eventually accepted lineages as smaller unilineal descent groups and clans as larger unilineal descent groups. To be clear here, and following Fox's lead (1967:50), I use *lineage* and *clan* as lower- and higher- scales of unilineal descent groups, regardless of residential organization, resource locations, and without inclusion of affines. It is more useful to discover how the descent groups are used and how those functions change, rather than forcing a specific set of criteria upon their definitions.

Household Groups and Descent Groups

As described in Part II, household groups are the estate-owning groups at the household scale of social organization. The matrilineal and patrilineal household groups are small unilineal descent groups. Membership is based on matrilineal relationships or patrilineal relationships, regardless of where people reside after marriage. These are the same principles upon which larger unilineal descent groups are based. Lineages are composed

of members of multiple unilineal household groups, each of which has matrilineal or patrilineal relationships to one another, sharing a common founding ancestor. All members claim descent (through matrilineal or patrilineal relations) to the ancestor. Clans, if present, are composed of members of multiple lineages, each of which shares matrilineal or patrilineal relationships to one another. All members claim descent to the founding ancestor, mythical or known. Thus, in a clan-based society, there are three scales of descent groups: household groups, lineages, and clans. Membership to each scale of descent group is based on the same principle: matrilineal or patrilineal relationships to one another and to a known or mythical founding ancestor, regardless of postmarital residence.

Likewise, ambilineal household groups are small ambilineal descent groups. Membership negotiation must be based on matrilineal or patrilineal descent, and the affines in the ambilocal residential groups belong to other ambilineal household groups. The same principles apply to larger ambilineal descent groups. Members of multiple household groups belong to a larger ambilineal descent group through ambilineal relationships to the ancestors who founded the group. These larger ambilineal descent groups have been referred to as *ramages* (Firth 1936; Murdock 1960:11), a term I adopt here to distinguish nonunilineal descent groups.

The leading hypotheses on descent group formation are that they developed out of household group strategies. Matrilineal descent groups developed out of matrilineal household groups. When sets of female matrilineal parallel cousins fission from their mother's and matrilineal aunt's household group, the two or more new household groups have a common origin and ancestry, thus forming a matrilineage. Patrilineal descent groups developed out of patrilineal household groups. Through fissioning of sets of male patrilineal parallel cousins, new patrilineal household groups are formed that have common origins and common ancestries, thus forming patrilineages. Ramage similarly developed out of ambilineal household groups. In this way, the origins of specific descent groups were explained as an extension of the kinds of corporate membership strategies granting resource ownership. This leading explanation is still just a hypothesis that has yet to be tested with sufficient diachronic data from the deep past.

Descent groups should not be equated with descent. Descent, how people recognize their relationships to each other through ancestors, is an ideological outcome of the organization of the social groups themselves. The social groups, and the relationships that bind them, are tangible and socioeconomically important for making a living. However, descent ideology is necessary to maintain those relationships and to reproduce them. Thus, descent is commonly viewed as following from the formation of descent groups.

Readers should be warned that up to the mid-twentieth century, the opposite was typically assumed. Postmarital residence was considered an outcome of descent. Ethnologists frequently sought to predict postmarital residence from a given system of descent. But, paraphrasing Fox (1967:95–96), this puts the descent cart before the residential horse. For the past forty years or so, in contrast, anthropologists have typically not made such predictions. As cultures and their conditions change, so also do the conditions favoring postmarital residence strategies, which may not always be predictable from descent. As indicated in Chapter 2 and explored more fully in Chapter 8, descent groups and residence should be analyzed separately.

However they come about, descent groups are corporate groups that have important functions; otherwise, there would be no need for them. Lineages typically own collective resources with which members make a living. Lineage members provide social support to their comembers, just as they receive support from them. The same is the case for ramages: the descent groups own resources and are a source of support for members. The resources were obtained by any cohort through the successful management of the “estates” by the previous cohorts and will be transmitted to the future cohorts in perpetuity. Clans, comprising unilineally related lineages, also provide an important source of social support for members, and many are property-holding descent groups. Again, we see in the characteristics of descent groups the same important roles as household groups.

Descent groups are typically assigned ceremonial themes and the responsibility for sponsoring the events. They often take on names associated with those themes. Members collectively contribute to the surplus production for the gift exchanges and feasts that take place at the ceremonies they sponsor. This sponsorship also allows individuals to take on voluntary leadership roles for coordination and maintaining spiritual knowledge, conferring a certain degree of achieved status. In highly ranked societies, however, these roles may be taken over by the descent group leadership, which is legitimated through descent.

Just as one does not marry a member of one’s household group, lest their be “incest,” which applies to parallel cousins as equally as to siblings, by extension one does not marry a member of one’s descent group. That also would be “incestuous.” One does not marry those with whom he or she co-owns resources and provides support. If they do, then the descent-based linkages to those resources would become confused. If, for example, people obtain access to resources through patrilineal descent relationships, then the children of incestuous couples would not be able to access their own descent group’s resources because these are also their mother’s descent group’s resources to which the children have no rights! With few exceptions, lineages and clans are always exogamous. This

avoids “incest” while at the same time producing networks of alliances among the different descent groups. If there are tensions among the descent groups in a society, whether over land scarcity or ceremonial competition for status and rank, one is literally marrying one’s rival through exogamy. This latent function of descent group exogamy maintains a source of relationships among the resource-bearing descent groups.

In ethnological literature, much attention has been paid to the specific ways that descent group recruitment takes place. Some have used variations to make sensational claims that descent groups, as they are generally known in anthropology, don’t really exist or that “kinship theory” is fundamentally-flawed (e.g., Kuper 1982). The classic assumption, which generally holds true, is that membership to unilineal descent groups is strictly determined by unilineal ancestry. However, as Scheffler (2001) emphasizes, variations in membership criteria have resulted in substantial debate over the meaning of filiation and descent, which he tackles by categorizing membership strategies: membership is automatic by birth, membership through filiation is necessary but other factors are additionally considered, and filiation is sufficient but membership is open to potential recruitment through other kin-based means. The fact that variation may exist in recruitment strategies in no way signifies a problem with “kinship theory,” any more than it would suggest a problem interpreting the existence of descent groups. In fact, Scheffler (2001) also indicates how the various recruitment strategies can be associated with a range of situational circumstances, which can include changing political economic contexts (e.g., Ellison 2009). When needed, descent groups may alter recruitment criteria to meet present needs, which is all the more reason to avoid basing theoretical assumptions on synchronic depictions. This book relies on the assumption that Scheffler’s first category of membership applies to matrilineal, patrilineal, and ambilineal descent groups (the more general pattern) but the reader may wish to keep in mind that some degree of flexibility in membership may exist in certain times and circumstances.

The reader may note by now that I have not described bilateral descent groups. This is because there are no such groups. Bilateral descent emphasizes egocentric kindreds, but those are not social groups. Bilateral *networks*, and how these differ from descent groups, will be described further along in the chapter.

Matrilineal Descent Groups

Matrilineal descent groups include all relatives who descend from maternal relationships: through mothers, their mothers, and their mothers,

and so on. Members' affines belong to their own matrilineal descent groups, regardless of marriage or postmarital residence. In any set of living cohorts, there are any number of matrilineal household groups—each comprising a core group of siblings, their children, and any surviving mothers and mothers' brothers—that are related to one another through matrilineal descent one or more generations back.

Matrilineally organized lineages, *matrilineages*, include all members who are matrilineally related to one another. Their memberships may include those from one household group or numerous household groups whose members can all claim matrilineal descent through the previous generations to a common ancestor or set of ancestral siblings, known or unknown. Because of demographic circumstances, and the specific histories of the fissioning of sets of matrilineal parallel cousins who established new households, the number of household groups within matrilineages may vary. If a matrilineage is small, including only one or two household groups, the distinction between matrilineal household groups and matrilineages may be obscured. After all, matrilineal household groups are based on the same principle of membership. In societies having large matrilineages, there will typically be more numerous matrilineally related household groups within each.

Matrilineal descent groups must be social groups with a purpose; otherwise, there is only a nonfunctional ideology of matrilineal descent. Matrilineages tend to be corporate resource-owning groups, so much so that Keesing (1975) refers to them as “corporations.” Their lands, fishing waters, livestock, and so on, may collectively belong to all the members. These were transmitted to living members by all of the preceding generations of the matrilineage and must be passed on to the future generations of the matrilineage. The resources, a major source of livelihood strategies, were literally gifts from the ancestors. It could also be said that the members collectively belong to those resources, as all members have an obligation to maintain them for perpetuity. In a society organized into matrilineages, people obtain access to resources with which to make a living through membership in both their household group and their matrilineage.

In many prefeudal and precapitalist societies, matrilineage lands and other resources were more commonly territorially defined. In sedentary agricultural societies, collective matrilineal descent group land (or “joint estate”) is more common than individual parcels because all landforms within the territorial boundary can be used for growing the full range of crops, and for rotating the collectively owned livestock, which is more feasible for equitable distribution among descent group members (Gough 1961b:451–452). The collectivized lands are also important for adapting

to climate fluctuations. All members of the descent group can collectively shift their crops in the most suitable locations during droughts, for example, which could not happen if household groups or individuals had their own plots of land. In mobile cultures, however, the descent groups tend to have a lien on the movable personal property of its members for collective uses when needed (Gough 1961b:454–455). Descent through mothers therefore determines how one gains access to resources with which to make a living. Husbands, fathers, and their groups are unimportant in this regard.

Colonialist and ongoing postcolonialist capitalist development tends to erode lineage-based agricultural landholdings. This is usually achieved through legal or nonlegal displacement for plantations or other commercial enterprises for profit-oriented development (creating proletarians without resources) or through imposing small, individually owned plots of land that are often scattered across a territory. As is usually the case with expanding global capitalism, descent groups tend to break down when they are no longer the basis for resource ownership, and this has long been noted for matrilineal descent groups (e.g., Gough 1961c). Nevertheless, in many societies that have undergone this change, matrilineal elders may still have some control over the individual landholdings of members. They do so to ensure that each member has access to a plot, to maintain the parcels of deceased members in perpetuity for orphaned members or for other landless members, or to maintain the parcels of those migrating away from their homes to seek wage labor. What we should expect in terms of ancient resource ownership, therefore, may not match what we find in many ethnographies on communities severely affected by global capitalism.

Apart from the maintaining of resources in perpetuity for members, matrilineal members are also expected to contribute, and benefit from, a range of social support. Whether helping with surplus production for important life events (e.g., coming of age ceremonies, weddings, funerals, etc.) or sponsoring ceremonies that involve intermatrilineal gift exchanges and feasts, members are expected to contribute. Added modern functions often include remittances from migrant workers sent home to matrilineal members or assistance to other members who are also away from home. After marriage, postmaritally mobile members (men in the case of matrilocality) also have a large social group from whom to draw social support while living with their spouse's matrilineal kin, which may offset some of the potential tensions within residential groups. At the same time, matrilineally related men are distributed across residential groups and settlements, which creates a regional network of kin-based security. Lineage members can find assistance in multiple locations. But

no matter where postmarital residence takes people in life, they are typically returned to their matrilineage kin in death (e.g., Keegan 2009): with the ancestors, becoming ancestors.

Given the importance of the corporate aspects of matrilineages to survival, ancestors are commonly venerated. They provided the resources with which to make a living and are the ascendants of all members. Ancestors are therefore commonly regarded as immortalized spirits, and assigned symbolic affiliation with the matrilineage resources as well as with the living members. Matrilineage ceremonies may commemorate ancestors, which often involves specific descent group paraphernalia, stories, and songs. They may also sponsor specific ceremonies on particular themes important to all lineages, who reciprocate by sponsoring their own themed ceremonies for all lineages.

To reproduce the social organization, and in the absence of higher matrilineal organization, matrilineages are with few exceptions exogamous. Although many or most individuals within one's matrilineage are not close biological relatives, marriage with them must be prohibited to avoid complications in descent group membership and rights. Matrilineage exogamy therefore helps to preserve the social fabric upon which access to resources and mutual aid is based. The rule of exogamy also provides marital alliances with other matrilineages that may otherwise find themselves in disputes over resources.

Matrilineally organized clans, or *matriclans*, are a higher scale of matrilineal descent groups. Not all societies with matrilineal descent groups have matriclans; some only take this as far as matrilineages. However, in societies that do have matrilineal social organization, the same relationship principles apply. Whereas members of multiple matrilineally related household groups form a matrilineage, all the members of multiple matrilineally related matrilineages form a matriclan. This common form of matrilineal social organization is widely recognized as the "Crow" form (although the Crow people no longer practiced it in the late nineteenth century). The same structure is found in numerous cultures in the Americas and elsewhere. Because matriclans are much larger social groups, the more numerous living members must trace their matrilineal relationships to one another back several more generations than is the case for matrilineage membership. For this reason, matriclan founding ancestors in some cases may be forgotten or replaced by mythical figures, totems, or abstract spirits. But for any living members, the difference is unimportant as long as the group continues to base recent, present, and future membership on matrilineal relationships.

Figure 7.1A illustrates a small matriclan composed of three small lineages. The reader should note that, unlike the diagrams in Chapter 4, this is not an egocentric kindred diagram. Normally, the clans and internal

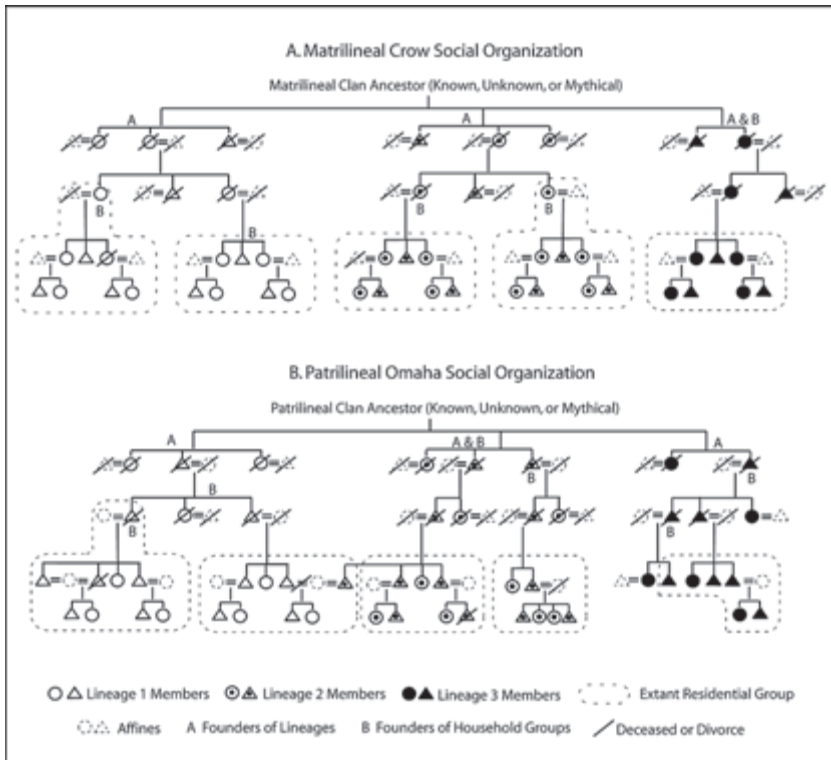


FIGURE 7.1. Crow and Omaha social organization

lineages would be larger, but that reality is too difficult to diagram in the figure. Beginning with the bottom, showing the living members, there are five different matrilineal residential groups. However, the members of the matrilineages are the people we need to pay attention to because the men those women married and brought to their households are unimportant to descent group membership. Because all the members of the left two household groups descend from the same matrilineal ancestors, they belong to the same lineage (Matrilineage 1). The members of the central two matrilineal household groups also descend from common matrilineal ancestors and therefore belong to Matrilineage 2. On the right, there is only one matrilineal household group (merely to impress upon the reader that the numbers of these will vary). We may consider this group only to be a household group, or we may interpret it as a matrilineage (Matrilineage 3). The three matrilineages are known to be, or believed to be, matrilineally related to one another, forming the clan illustrated. They may know the matrilineal linkages among the founding members of the

matrilineages. They may suspect there are matrilineal linkages. Or they made it up. The clan members at least know that they can trace their common descent back so far and replace any gaps with something else, fulfilling the ideological role that justifies their memberships to the corporate matriclan.

As with matrilineages, these larger matriclans must have a purpose to be socioeconomically significant. Otherwise, there is only a nonfunctioning ideology of matrilineal descent. The social functions of matriclans vary. In some societies, matriclans are also resource-bearing descent groups. In this case, one has access to their household group's resources, to their matrilineage's resources, and to their matriclan's resources. In other societies, matriclans are not resource-owning groups. Either way, members provide one another with mutual support. Even when the matriclans are so large that not all members know one another, they are still obligated to provide, and they expect to benefit from, mutual aid among members who are known or unknown. In today's diasporas, it is not uncommon to send remittances for other members' weddings, even when those individuals are unknown to the senders. Yet this is an obligation, and they benefit from other members' assistance.

Matriclans are nearly always exogamous, which reproduces the social organization upon which access to mutual aid and property is based. In many cases, the "Crow marriage system" is practiced, where in addition to matriclan exogamy people cannot marry any member of their father's matriclan. The prohibition is often extended to their mother's father's matriclan. The members of those clans are considered too *socially* close for marriage, despite the fact that most people in the three clans are not close biological relatives! The result of these additional prohibitions is the spreading of marital alliances to more numerous clans throughout the society. One possible reason for this marriage system is that it prevents members of two clans from constantly intermarrying. If two clans happen to have more resources or resources of greater productivity, then the result would be a leveling mechanism by spreading affinal relations around to other clans. As will be seen below, the members of father's matriclan are emically classified as cross cousins, resulting in a revulsion toward any form of cousin marriage (i.e., parallel cousins who are members of one's own clan and cross cousins who are members of one's father's clan). Other societies do not have the same secondary prohibitions, and marriages between two clans may be repeated generationally. In this latter case, people may have a preference for marrying classificatory cross cousins, perhaps to strengthen alliances or to monopolize relations among the two wealthier clans.

As there are likely to be a good number of matriclans in any such society, the different clans may, in turn, be lumped together into moieties

and/or phratries. *Moieties*, as the term implies, involves a division into two halves. These may have social roles to play, but they are usually only used to distinguish dualistic engendered and cosmological themes for ceremonies. The clans will be responsible for ceremonies related to the themes of their moiety. In rare cases the moieties regulate marriage, but this is actually not common cross-culturally and usually is associated with depopulation to the point that the society has organized itself into only two matrilineal descent groups (in which case the two “halves” must regulate marriage if maintaining exogamy). More often, marriages take place among clans within and across moiety lines. Phratries are collections of groups having anything in common. Where multiple clans make up a phratry, it may indicate a common ancestry. Alternatively, these could be for any other purpose or significance.

A very important function of matriclans is ceremony. In fact, it is quite normal to find the ceremonial organization of a society tied into the social organization. There are two general systems. The first is where each lineage or clan holds ceremonies to honor its ancestor spirits. Because these are ancestors, no two descent groups will have the same sets of spirits. The second system involves reciprocity in the shared, homogeneous beliefs that cross-cut all descent groups. In this instance, each lineage or clan has a set of ceremonies it sponsors for the rest of the society. Sponsorship involves the responsibility for maintaining in perpetuity the spiritual knowledge, paraphernalia, stories, songs, and dances across generations in addition to maintaining any ceremonial structures and producing surplus for the gift exchanges and feasts. As can be imagined, these are major highly anticipated events requiring a good deal of coordination for preparations. The ceremonies also provide the social contexts for marital alliances and both collective and individual agency (see Chapter 10). Only one system may be emphasized, but is quite common to find the overlapping of both systems of spirituality and ceremonialism.

Several ethnological hypotheses have been generated on the origins of matrilineal descent groups. The leading hypothesis is that matrilineal descent groups develop from matrilineal household groups. As Fox (1967: 84) explains, matrilineages arise from fissioning groups of parallel cousins, and whether intentional or not, they eventually became property-holding descent groups requiring more formal recognition of matrilineal descent for membership. Rules of exogamy would be necessary to perpetuate that basis for membership.

However, in a survey of *Ethnographic Atlas* data, Ember et al. (1974) found that although unilineal descent groups were positively correlated with unilocality, 28 percent of the unilocal cultures examined did not have unilineal descent groups. This might cast doubt on the hypothesis that unilineal descent groups emerge from unilineal household groups.

Ember et al. (1974) hypothesized that unilineal descent groups are advantageous in situations of competition (i.e., warfare) in the absence of centralized political systems (states are implied). They provide large groups with fixed memberships having nonoverlapping loyalties. They found that 91 percent of the societies with frequent warfare had unilineal descent. Furthermore, they found that localized unilineal descent groups were correlated with intrasocietal warfare and that descent groups with members spread across a large area were correlated with intersocietal warfare. Although their study did not address the formation of matrilineal descent groups per se, it could be used as an alternative hypothesis.

Stemming from Gough's (1961a) hypothesis that matrilocality results from the need to concentrate women's labor, Aberle (1961) conducted a survey of *Ethnographic Atlas* data comparing subsistence type with type of descent. That study found that just under 70 percent of matrilineal societies were horticultural (predominately a feminine activity), and the remainder were divided among plow agricultural, pastoral, and foraging societies—not a strong enough correlation to make generalizations. Of course, the major problems with these correlational studies are that they are based on synchronic ethnographic descriptions, not on observations of developing matrilineal descent groups long beforehand. They have yet to be evaluated with diachronic observations, which is best achieved through testing with archaeological case studies.

Patrilineal Descent Groups

Patrilineal descent groups include members who can claim to share common descent through fathers, their fathers, and their fathers, and so on. Affines (married women) are excluded from the descent groups of their husbands. Those women belong to their own patrilineal descent groups, despite dislocation through postmarital residence. Their children belong to the descent group of their husbands, not to theirs. For example, sets of parallel cousins, whose fathers are brothers, share membership in the same patrilineal descent group. Among those parallel cousins, the men's children also belong to the same patrilineal descent group. In the case of the women among those parallel cousins, they remain members of the same patrilineal descent group, but their children will belong to the descent group of their husbands. In this system, people never belong to their mother's descent group (unless secondary rights apply, which is less common).

As with matrilineal descent groups, the patrilineal ones must have social functions for members; otherwise, there is only an ideology of patrilineal descent serving no real purpose. The patrilineal descent groups are

corporate resource-owning groups (or “corporations” as Keesing describes them [1975]). Ideally and commonly, the resources are collectively owned rather than being individually owned. This is particularly important for any subsistence base with fixed locations (e.g., agricultural lands and fishing territories). It allows all members access to their descent group’s resources, in addition to their household group’s resources, but also enables all members of the group to benefit from all categories of landforms and their potential uses within the collectively owned area. That would not be possible with small individually owned landholdings. A patrilineal descent group’s lands are available to members only because these were maintained in perpetuity by the ancestors, and will become available to future members only through the same obligation of the living members. This is why development programs by most international development agencies and governments seeking to allot privately owned parcels of land to those not already displaced by plantations and other commercial industries come into fierce opposition from descent group memberships (the same applies to other forms of descent groups). Each generation becomes the life-giving ancestors by maintaining the descent group’s resources for future generations. Descent group members also provide each other a wide range of mutual support for sponsoring major life events, marriages, and collective labor needs. Today, it is even common to see a wide range of support given to other descent group members who are scattered across the globe in diasporas.

Patrilineal household groups are the smallest patrilineal descent groups. Some societies take patrilineal social organization only that far. However, more will extend the same organizational principles to form larger groups. A *patrilineage* includes more numerous members, all of whom identify themselves as sharing descent from a common patrilineal ancestor or set of siblings. Patrilineages are composed of multiple patrilineal household groups that are patrilineally related to one another. Each household group’s members can trace descent to the same founding ancestors. Patrilineages typically have collective and localized resources, or may treat individual property holdings in lien so that no member goes without resources or to manage those resources when the individual owner is away for extended periods. No matter how organized, these are the properties of the ancestors and will be passed to future generations of members in perpetuity. Patrilineage members are expected to provide aid, surplus for major life events, and other forms of support to other members.

Some societies take the same principles a step further, having even larger descent groups. *Patriclans* include multiple patrilineages that are patrilineally related, tracing their descent back a number of generations more to common ancestors. This particular form of social organization is termed “Omaha” social organization: patriclans comprising multiple

patrilineages, in turn comprising multiple patrilineal household groups (e.g., Ensor 2003c; Fletcher and La Flesche 1992). Given the generational depth required to recognize a common descent, the ancestors may be known, unknown, or replaced by mythical, legendary, or totemic spirits. Whichever ideology is used is really not that important. What is important is that clans do form very real and very important social groups, and once formed, membership, and all the benefits and obligations that membership entails, continues to be based on patrilineal descent. In some societies, patrilans have common resources kept in perpetuity; in others, they do not. Whether collective property is maintained by patrilans or not, they have additional functions; otherwise, they would be unimportant and would disappear. Just as patrilineage members are expected to provide a wide range of support to other members, all members of patrilans are expected to do so for other clan members. In today's diasporas, it is not uncommon for remittances to be sent home to support other clan members, or to provide them with assistance away from home, even if the sender is not familiar with those members (e.g., Hammond 2011). In this system, people have access to resources and/or social support from their patrilineal household group, their patrilineage, and their patrilan.

Another major function of patrilineal descent groups is the regulation of marriage. In societies with patrilineages, these are predictably exogamous. In societies with patrilans, the clans are exogamous. As in the case of any unilineal descent groups, exogamy reproduces the principles upon which membership is based, and this is no trivial matter as membership entails rights and obligations important to survival. In some societies, there may only be a rule for patrilineage or patrilan exogamy. However, many employ what is known as the "Omaha" marriage system. In this system, there is patrilan exogamy with the additional prohibition against marrying someone from mother's patrilan, and often a third prohibition against marrying someone from father's mother's patrilan (the mirror image of the "Crow" marriage system) (Ensor 2003c; Fox 1967: 224; Lévi-Strauss 1965). Without these additional prohibitions, members of two clans could "exchange" people over successive generations. The "Omaha" system discourages household groups from obtaining spouses among the same patrilan repeatedly—preventing any form of classificatory cousin marriage—and thus more broadly distributing marriages to numerous patrilans over time across the society.

Many societies organized into patrilans may have moieties, dividing the clans into two sets. In some cultures whose populations were historically severely diminished, people may have responded by organizing themselves into only two patrilineal descent groups, in which case exogamy would equate to moiety exogamy. However, this is not a common

function of moieties, which instead tends to be associated with dualistic engendered cosmological themes for ceremonial organization. Marriage is instead regulated on the basis of the clans. Marriages may take place among patrilans within and between moieties.

As described with matrilineal descent groups, ceremonial organization is also tied into the patrilineal social organization. Using patrilans as the example, each will have a set of ceremonies it sponsors for the rest of the society. These reciprocal responsibilities may or may not be divided up and assigned to the different patrilineages within the patrilans. Sponsorship entails the maintenance in perpetuity of the spiritual knowledge, stories, songs, dances, and ancestral paraphernalia associated with each ceremony's theme, along with the sponsorship of any ceremonial buildings, if these are not used in common for all groups' ceremonies. As with any ceremonies, there are usually gift exchanges and feasts requiring surplus production by the patrilan members, or at least by those members who are closer relatives to the leaders responsible for the events. In addition to societal-wide ceremonial sponsorship, individual patrilineages or patrilans may also have their own ceremonies for their members. These would usually honor the members' ancestors who are not shared by other descent groups.

Figure 7.1B illustrates the organization of a small patrilan. The single clan is composed of three lineages, and each lineage is subdivided into multiple household groups ("Omaha" social organization). Through the principle of patrilineal descent, the members of the different household groups and the different lineages all share, or are believed to share, a common ancestry.

The illustration of Crow clan organization was relatively straightforward. However, now that the reader should be somewhat more familiar with the principles of unilineal descent groups, I have intentionally included in Figure 7.1B some tragedies and social tensions to force a humanistic perspective on the system and to challenge the reader to consider how cultural solutions to problems may follow the same principles of patrilineal organization. Beginning with the first residential group on the left, a brother in the core group of siblings is deceased. His wife, belonging to another patrilineal descent group, remained with her children who belong to the deceased man's household group, lineage, and clan. However, she remarried the brother of her deceased husband, a practice termed the *levirate*. That brother is, after all, a member of the same household group, lineage, and clan as her deceased husband, which is also the same household group, lineage, and clan to which her children belong. By practicing the *levirate*, the marriage alliance between her group and her deceased husband's was maintained, and the children's new father is still a member of their household group, lineage, and clan.

Although I did not include an example of it in the diagram, I would be remiss to not point out that the *sororate* (whereby a widower remarries his deceased wife's sister) serves similar purposes.

A divorce is shown within the second residential group from the left. Whatever the reasons behind the divorce, the children will always belong to the same descent groups as their father. For this reason, the children would be expected to remain at the household owned by his household group. To remain with her children, therefore, the mother must remain in the residential group of her former husband. If remarrying, she is confronted with bringing her new husband to her former husband's location or risk serious tensions by trying to remove the children from their kin to her new husband's location. Although a sort of the levirate might be possible (remarrying her divorced husband's brother, which does rarely occur), her former husband happens not to have any unmarried brothers for the purpose. I chose to give her a half-remedy. She remarried a member of the same clan as her former husband. The new husband does not belong to the same household group or lineage as the children, but at least is a member of the same patrilineal clan. Because he agreed to live with her and her children, he could not practice patrilocality but remains, like his married sisters who are also postmaritally mobile, forever a member of his own household group and lineage. Such solutions arise to maintain the connection among the children and *their* unilineal descent groups. Maintaining descent groups in perpetuity for future generations sometimes calls for awkward personal sacrifices.

Two deaths are presented in the two residential groups associated with Lineage 2. In the first of these from the left, a child tragically died, which reminds us of high infant mortality rates in many nations today and in preindustrial societies where we are likely to find descent groups. The deceased child belongs to a household group, Lineage 2, and the clan. However, no members of future generations in the descent groups will trace their descent through him. For the perpetuation of the household group and patrilineage, the parents may feel pressured to have another son. In the second residential group, a mother has died, and the reader will note she had more children than most, serving as a reminder that high maternal mortality rates are globally correlated with high fertility rates. Also in this example, one can imagine the burden imposed on the widower's unmarried sister (the children's patrilineal aunt), who is the surviving father's *only* additional patrilineal household-group relative. As that only additional adult in the household group, one can easily imagine her pressuring him to remarry, preferably using the sororate strategy to reestablish the marital alliance. Apart from the widower and his sister, however, the children do have additional lineage and clan members from whom to draw support.

Also shown in Figure 7.1B, the future of one of the household groups in Lineage 3 is precarious. It is represented by only two living siblings: a sister and a brother. Although both belong to the small household group, any children she has will become members of her husband's patrilineal household group. She is the last female member of her household group. Her brother is unmarried, and if he does not marry and have children, the household group will disappear. If this happens, then the properties of the household group may become merged with the other household group in Lineage 3. That is the closest patrilineally related household group. With no other household-group members to reside among, he is already residentially attached to the other household group in his lineage. If he does not marry and refound his household group, he may be absorbed (through patrilineal descent) into that household group. I provided this example to highlight how patrilineal descent principles provide a solution to another problem while at the same time illustrating how some descent groups may reduce in population or in numbers of lower-order descent groups.

Thus far, I have described patrilineal descent group organization primarily in terms of "Omaha" social organization whereby patrilineal groups consist of multiple patrilineages, each comprising multiple patrilineal household groups. Another major model for patrilineal descent group organization is *segmentary social organization*, which is most famously known from ethnographies on the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940, 1990; Hutchinson 1996; Sahlins 1961) but is also interpreted for many other cultures. Among the Nuer, men and women belong to their father's minimal patrilineage, through which men inherit resources, particularly cattle, and which have ancestor spirits. Multiple minimal patrilineages form a minor lineage through patrilineal relations. Multiple patrilineally related minor lineages form a major patrilineage. Multiple patrilineally related major lineages form a maximal lineage. Finally, multiple patrilineally related maximal lineages form a patrilineal group. Each scale of lineage is a "segment" in a system of lower-order lineages nested within higher-order lineages. Although the lower-order lineages are the sources of resources, the higher-order lineages were, and still are, emphasized for collective cooperation among larger populations. In the case of the Nuer, the higher-order lineages were primarily observed for use in warfare: for defense, territorial expansion (Sahlins 1961), or reprisals. I suspect their use in warfare may have been overemphasized for models on other cultures. We should keep in mind that the Nuer, along with other tribes in Southern Sudan (the new Republic of South Sudan as of 7 July 2011), have been in a near constant state of warfare throughout much of the twentieth century, which is again escalating at the time of writing. The higher-order lineages were also used for occasional subsistence-related support, spiritual support,

and other uses. The clans were exogamous. There is some question over whether or not the middle-order lineage segments were actually recognized groups or *ad hoc* collections of lower-order groups being called upon for assistance.

Ethnohistorians and archaeologists have proposed segmentary models for ancient cultures, in particular for the ancient Maya (e.g., Fox 1987; Fox et al. 1992). In Carmack's (1973, 1981:148–163) ethnohistorical interpretations on the Quiche Maya, there were three scales of lineage organization: multiple “minimal lineages” within “principle lineages,” and multiple “principle lineages” within exogamous “major lineages.” In this case, however, the minimal lineages are described in the same way as patrilineal household groups, the principle lineages in the same way as lineages, and the major lineages in the same way as exogamous clans. What we end up with is “Omaha” social organization! But however we view and label the patrilineal groups in these instances, all share a common system of nesting lower-order descent groups into higher-order descent groups. “Segmentary social organization” is another label for the same theme.

The major hypotheses on the origins of patrilineal descent groups emphasize fissioning and subsistence factors. The more widely emphasized of these is that patrilineal descent groups are an outgrowth of patrilineal household groups, whereby fissioning patrilineal household group members acknowledge their patrilineal relationships to a common resource base (e.g., Fox 1967). However, the reader is reminded that Ember et al. (1974) did not find as strong a correlation between unilineal descent and unilocality as we might like to see for this hypothesis to be supported. Aberle's (1961) survey of *Ethnographic Atlas* data found that patrilineal descent is more likely to be associated with pastoralism and plow agriculture than with any other major subsistence strategies, yet these were weakly correlated. These hypotheses on the origins of patrilineal descent groups were never adequately tested with longitudinal data of sufficient time depth. Only through archaeology can these be evaluated.

Double Descent

Cross-culturally, a relatively rare phenomenon is the co-occurrence of matrilineal and patrilineal descent. Double descent involves the overlapping of matrilineal and patrilineal descent. Both lines of unilineal descent are recognized.

With double descent, people can share property and social support with both matrilineal *and* patrilineal parallel cousins. Unlike cognatic systems, however, they cannot share resources and households with cross cousins, nor can they receive property and support from those related

through mother's fathers or through father's mothers (as these are non-unilineal relations). Through matrilineal descent, ego belongs to the same line of descent as mother, her brother, and her sister and sister's children (matrilineal parallel cousins). But ego does not belong to the same line of descent as his or her matrilineal cross cousins—for that to happen there must be cognatic descent. Ego's second line of descent is patrilineal, which includes father, his sister, his brother, and brother's children (patrilineal parallel cousins). Ego does not belong to the same line of descent as his or her patrilineal cross cousins, which would require cognatic descent.

Unlike unilineal descent whereby only one descent group provides all corporate functions, these are divided up among the two lines of descent. One line of descent may provide one set of functions while the other provides another set. For example, one line may provide unmovable resources (e.g., land or fishing territories), be the basis for postmarital residence, and have a set of spiritual associations, while another may provide movable property (e.g., livestock) and another set of spiritual associations (e.g., Keesing 1975:73–75). The two lines of descent provide complementary functions.

Ramages

Ambilineal descent groups, or *ramages* (Firth 1936; Murdock 1960:11), are an extension of the same organizational principles behind the ambilineal household groups. These are larger corporate descent groups with fixed memberships and founding ancestors. However, their memberships are negotiated through patrilineal and/or matrilineal relationships. Unlike societies with unilineal descent, there is not likely to be a hierarchy of nested segments, like lineages within clans, apart from the ambilineal household groups within the ramage. Ramage will have different sizes, most likely a product of variability in resource-holdings that attract the negotiated alliances. There may be descent group exogamy: spouses will come from other recognized ambilineal descent groups. However, there are also cases whereby ramage endogamy is emphasized, perhaps to limit access to the corporate group's resources among its members. There tends to be a patrilineal bias in the descent group leadership and a patrilocal bias in residence, but other strategies go alongside these. In general, there has been far less research on ambilineal descent groups, and to attempt to characterize them further without giving a wide range of specific examples risks faulty generalizations.

Hypotheses on the formation of ramage extend from their characteristics after they exist. Fox (1967:152–153) examines this question by first emphasizing a problem (or advantage) with cognatic descent. Through

cognatic descent, any individual may claim membership to just about any group by emphasizing multiple avenues of relationships among their kindred. The result would be distinguishable and/or overlapping “groups,” but these would differ depending upon who a person emphasizes, and they would differ by persons of reference. This is an advantage from the individual’s perspective because they could access resources from any number of relatives. At the same time, however, it is a problem for explaining why ramage with defined and fixed memberships occur. Fox suggests that at some point, an individual claimed access to land and all the descendants, through both genders of children and grandchildren, continued to attach themselves to that landholding. Alternatively, he suggests that the core group comprises those who *elect to live on that land* using a variety of cognatic associations. Once in, they must choose that group over any others, or they loose their rights to its land. In this way, exclusive, nonoverlapping corporate relations form.

Another explanation that Fox (1967:153) emphasizes is population pressure. With unilineal descent systems, some unilineal descent groups may grow too large for its portion of land. If it cannot expand its territory, due to other descent groups already occupying those lands, then its members may affiliate themselves with other descent groups, which redistributes the population more evenly but breaks down the unilineal system of group organization. Because there tends to be a patrilineal and patrilocal bias in ramage, he proposes that ambilineal descent groups may form from the deterioration of patrilineal descent groups. But he also suggests that because of that same bias, patrilineal descent group organization may emerge from ramage.

Bilateral Descent

Bilateral descent is not associated with descent *groups*. With bilateral descent, Fox’s problem (or advantage) of having overlapping groups without fixed memberships is not overcome. Individuals and their spouses use their multiple ascending and descending lines (as represented in their two kindreds, which are not social groups) to affiliate themselves with practically anyone they can claim has a bilateral relationship to them. These are negotiated alliances, emphasizing some individuals for one purpose, others for another, and others for yet another. The alliances are also fluid: individuals can reorient the relationships they emphasize. Above the scale of the household group or residential-household group, *there are no descent groups, only networks of individually negotiated alliances from the pool of relationships in kindreds.*

The “freedoms” (or potential advantages) of recognizing bilateral descent can be demonstrated with today’s personal genealogical research at specialized genealogy libraries and websites, all designed with the assumption of bilateral descent. By researching their numerous ascending lines, people can claim famous or wealthy “ancestors” who never had any significance to their lives. By tracing the numerous descending lines back to their parents’ or their own generation, they may claim to be a relative of a wealthy or famous living person, a relationship with absolutely no consequence to their lives!

Of course, people in most bilateral societies base their recognition of bilateral relations on their own memorized knowledge without such resources. Their known kindreds will be as large as they are useful. They tend to be relatively small when extended kin do not possess resources. Such *genealogical amnesia* may be prolific throughout a society or it may be age-based. Arcand (1989) found that younger adults deemphasized bilateral kin to focus on their resource-independent conjugal family’s needs and their own ambitions. Elder adults, in contrast, after their productive years as laborers, emphasized more numerous relations to gain more sources of support. People’s recognized kindreds tend to be relatively large when extended kin are important to their livelihood strategies and small when kin are not materially important.

Because different residential or household groups need to interact with one another, non-kin-based social groups are needed in the absence of descent groups. The networks of bilateral relations can serve this purpose. Additionally, *sodalities* (non-kin-based groups) may also be used, as in the case of councils with equal representation of all the residential or household groups. These may be village-based whereby the settlement is a corporate group with collectively owned or managed resources, or regionally based for the purpose of social integration of all throughout the territory. In ranked societies, the wealthiest household group or residential-household group may provide leadership and patronage, legitimized through its sponsorship of ceremonies.

Whereas marriage in cultures with unilineal descent groups are based on group membership, marriage rules in bilateral cultures emphasize *individual relationships*. In unilineal societies, the descent groups are predictably exogamous, and there may be additional *group prohibitions* like those in the common Crow and Omaha marriage systems. In ambilineal societies, marriages may be exogamous or endogamous, but the rules are group oriented. In each of these systems, marriages may be prohibited among all members of a group or groups, *even though the majority of people within those groups are not closely related through biology to any given ego*. These are purely social groups, and marriage rules are based on group membership. In contrast, there are no descent groups with bilateral

descent. Above the scale of the household groups or residential-household groups, there are only *individual relationships*. For this reason, marriage prohibitions and preferences *are defined in terms of individuals*. Incest taboos will not be group-based but, rather, will emphasize such-and-such genealogical distance from an individual. Beyond the taboos, however far they extend, all potential categories of people, within or outside an ego's recognized kindred form the marriage pool. This category of marriage system is referred to as "complex alliances" (Lévi-Strauss 1969). In bilateral societies having bilocal residential-household groups, people could potentially marry cousins who are members of their own residential-household group. This may even be a preferred strategy to keep the estate's resources among the existing members, as opposed to recruiting other members. In this case, there is some element of a group-focused marriage preference but not practiced by all members. The important principle is that marriage rules in bilateral societies are generally individual-focused and not group-oriented.

Bilateral descent can be accompanied by matrilineal and patrilineal household groups, bilocal residential-household groups, and neolocal residential groups. "House societies" are a combination of bilocal residential-household groups with bilateral descent. Lévi-Strauss (1982:163–187, 1987) clearly described bilocality combined with the use of individuals' and their spouses' bilateral relationships to negotiate membership into bilocal residential-household groups while maintaining loyalties to and accessing rights in other bilocal residential-household groups. Complicating matters, the kinship theory he addressed reflected a poor understanding of cognatic kinship, which is why Boas (1966) and Kroeber (1925) struggled with classificatory interpretations for the Kwakiutl and Yurok, respectively. Therefore, Lévi-Strauss referred to "kinship" as unilineal and unilocal relations and the bilocal/bilateral practices in "house societies" were referred to as nonkinship relations! The patrilineal bias found with bilocality was referred to as "mythical" or "fictive" language and the corporate aspects of bilocal residential-household groups (including estate ownership and collective "moral personhood") were presented as if these were unique to "house societies"! However, by the time these works were published, ethnologists had already developed understandings of cognatic kinship, which would view such strategies as nothing more than a combination of bilocality with bilateral descent.

Although Fortes (1959:158) indicated bilateral descent was from the breakdown of unilineal groups by wage labor and Western law and education, the most common hypotheses forwarded to explain the emergence of bilateral descent are based on subsistence strategy and warfare. For example, Haury (1956) and Gjessing (1975) suggest that unilineal descent is associated with agriculture because it provides the time depth

needed to guarantee ownership by past, present, and future generations: no members can alienate those lands. In contrast, they suggested food scarcity or mobility should be associated with bilateral descent, which affords people the flexibility to ally themselves with any number of kin in multiple resource areas. This satisfies more immediate needs. Although well-reasoned, such hypotheses are not supported by cross-cultural correlations. Aberle's (1961) analysis of *Ethnographic Atlas* data found bilateral descent associated with all forms of subsistence strategies, being represented as a slight majority only among foraging cultures. Another explanation for bilateral descent is warfare. Finding no correlation between nonunilineal descent and postmarital residence, Ember et al. (1974:72–77) suggested that where warfare is present, unilineal descent groups are more advantageous because there are no divided loyalties as with bilateral descent. Their cross-cultural test found that societies lacking warfare were more often bilateral and those with warfare were more often unilineal. However, the comparisons were made only among unilocal societies with bilateral and unilineal descent (a sampling problem), and there were still numerous societies with unilineal descent but without warfare. Again, the reader should always keep in mind that the cross-cultural tests are based on synchronic associations rather than on diachronic observations of how any given system formed.

Ranking and Status

In archaeology, kinship-based social organization is often assumed to be egalitarian. Indeed, elite agency models tend to argue that, to achieve power over others, leaders must *dismantle* kin groups (e.g., Curet 1996; Earle 2001; Hagstrum 2001). Although it is well known that deteriorating kin-based social organization, by removing kin-owned property or imposing private property, will intensify an elite class's control over commoners in state societies, ranking (and the type of ranking) in many non-state societies is entirely based on the organization of descent groups. Some descent group and marriage systems are designed to reproduce egalitarianism (like many Australian "section" systems not addressed here [I refer the reader to Godelier 1984]), whereas other systems provide the structure that can lead to, amplify, and reproduce social inequality. In addition to failing to contextualize ranking, the elite-agency perspective also assumes a remarkable degree of passivity among commoners, a point raised in Chapter 10. For now, this section explains how descent groups structure ranking and status differences where these occur.

Within a *conical clan* (Kirchoff 1968), there is one lineage that is closest in order to the common ancestor and is thus assigned privilege to

rank, titles, and the best resources. *All* members of that lineage have a higher rank than the members of the other lineages. The other lineages are ranked relative to one another by genealogical distance from the known clan founders, or from the genealogical distance from the oldest lineage. *All* people are thus ranked according to their descent group's status.

Within any given lineage, members are also internally ranked by birth order from the lineage founders. So we end up with leadership through primogeniture, and all other lineage members are nonleaders. Focusing on the leaders for the moment, because the multiple lineages within a clan are unilineally related to one another, the leaders from all the lineages are also unilineally related to one another. The different lineage founders were parallel cousins who fissioned from one another. But the ranks of these individuals relative to one another is based on their genealogical distance to the clan's founding ancestor or first lineage (Widmer 1994). This is the same principle by which their lineage is ranked. What we end up with is a system of ranking for social groups *and for* individuals that is based on the same principles of unilineal primogeniture.

Saitta (e.g., 2000) has promoted the idea that elite and nonelite communal interests and entitlements structure agency, in contrast to the models portraying self-interested and all-manipulating leaders-in-a-vacuum. Likewise, Peregrine (1999) describes how legitimation of elite status is based on abilities to ensure or increase the status of all members of their kin groups. A kinship-informed perspective can expand upon this understanding of communal and elite status. In some societies, certain clans are designated with specific inherited leadership roles. However, in others, or sometimes overlapping that same system, clans are typically pitted against one another in competition for status (clan-achieved status vis-à-vis other clans). Resources and surplus production play an important role in maintaining this system but also lead to competition among clans for status. The founding, or oldest, lineages have access to the best resources, through first choice, and the younger lineages, leaders and nonleaders alike, therefore benefit by remaining within the clan (Widmer 1994:140–141). Clan surplus provides food security and the means for hosting competitive ceremonies and feasting among the different clans. By remaining in a clan, the lineages benefit from the collective capacity of all its members to produce a surplus with its resources. The amount of surplus extracted or produced depends in part on the resources themselves but, more important, upon the amount of labor the clan and its lineages can reproduce (Widmer 1994:140). That surplus benefits the clan leader, the other lineage leaders, and the nonleaders of the different lineages. Because clan size matters when it comes to surplus production, the ability for clans to reproduce their memberships and attract spouses is critical to

the wealth of clan leaders, other lineage leaders, and even the nonleaders. As successful clans outgrow other clans, they have greater capacity to compete for status with wealth exchanged or consumed at ceremonies with other clans (Rosman and Rubel 1971). Clan leaders compete for status among other clan leaders. Lineage leaders collectively compete for status with other clans' lineage leaders. The nonleaders of a clan collectively compete for status with nonleaders of other clans. By maintaining the unilineal descent groups, the very basis for ranking and status in all its forms (clan status, lineage ranking, and individual ranking) is socially reproduced. It is not in the interests of leaders that benefit from this system to "dismantle" it! Additionally, nonleaders are active agents in this system as they stand to gain or lose their collective status vis-à-vis other groups. One's individual status is based on the collective status of one's group.

Within ambilineal descent groups, there is a patrilineal bias in status and ranking, as well as a bias toward patrilocality. Although not predictably so, any ranked positions that may exist (where hierarchies are present) are also associated with genealogical distance to the founding ancestor(s) of the ramage. Unlike unilineal descent groups, however, that distance is along the lines of ambilineal descent. Even where there seems to be a patrilineal bias, either *matrilateral* and/or *patrilateral* relationships to the patrilineal line may be deemed the closest to the ancestors. Far less is known about interramage ranking and status. But because these are descent groups, some of the same intergroup dynamics as found among unilineal descent groups may apply.

Although many nonstate societies with bilateral descent are relatively egalitarian, bilateral ranked societies certainly exist. The only corporate groups in bilateral societies are the household groups or residential-household groups. If these are matrilineal or patrilineal household groups, internal ranking tends to follow unilineal principles. If they are bilocal residential-household groups, there tends to be a bias toward patrilineality, but not predictably so (Fox 1967; Keesing 1975:93–94).

For higher-order ranking in societies with bilateral descent, there must be some way by which to legitimize leadership that is *not based on descent*. Where intergroup hierarchy is present, the different household-based groups are usually competing with one another in a similar manner as among the unilineal clans described above. The different groups establish their status vis-à-vis one another through competitive ceremony and feasting. Host groups try to generate enough surplus and distribute it to guest groups (Rosman and Rubel 1971). The groups' status then may become the basis for interhousehold ranking whereby leading groups consolidate settlement leadership and, through their abilities to amass greater surplus, sponsor community-wide ceremonies and become responsible for maintaining the knowledge and material associated with

those events. In some cases, groups may outperform leading ones gaining status at the others' expense. Alternatively, there may be multiple groups recognized as having the highest status and among which leadership ranks may be contested (Rosman and Rubel 1971). Power can also be consolidated through patron-client relations across the household groups or residential-household groups. This is possible because there are no larger descent groups on which to base social security, although an emphasis on marriage alliances with distant groups may also provide a source of security.

Within descent groups, status and/or ranking of people above the household-scale are structured by the principle of genealogical distance to founding ancestors. Only when we reach the scale of interdescent group relationships is status or rank determined by competition among the descent groups. Without the descent groups, which is the case for bilateral descent, interhousehold status and/or ranking are determined by the same mechanism, but the groups competing are the smaller household groups or residential-household groups.

Succession

The preceding section did not address succession in societies with formally recognized leadership positions. The short answer to how this occurs is through the same mechanism: genealogical distance to founding ancestors. So, in the case of a patrilineal, leadership can be expected to be transmitted through primogeniture directly to the firstborn son or daughter of the retiring or deceased clan leader. However, ethnologists are quick to point out that succession is often not so simple. There are plenty of historic examples of individual successions passing to someone who is not firstborn when primogeniture is more generally emphasized and considered a normative preference, and examples of successions passing to women when men's leadership is claimed to be the ideal. This is worth discussion because some archaeologists have used such deviations from strict primogeniture or a strict division of engendered succession to interpret an *absence* of unilineal descent groups.

Curet (2002) describes conflicting Spanish descriptions of chiefly succession among the Caribbean Taíno to critique archaeologists and ethnohistorians for interpreting matrilineal descent groups. Instead, he argues that chiefs monopolized political power and succession, and that succession involved "customary law" allowing flexibility when rules pointed to poor candidates. One of the main points of the argument is that commoners could not have the same kinship system as the chiefly families, or at

least that they could not belong to the same groups. Therefore, various strategies for chiefly succession were used to cast doubts on matrilineal descent groups among chiefly families, but also to cast doubts on matrilineal descent groups among commoners (Curet 2002).

Keegan (2006) took a closer look at the implications of the historic descriptions and found that nearly all of the strategies normatively described have the same result: that succession was almost always transmitted *to members of the same matrilineal descent group*. He also found the few descriptions of actual successions to be confined *to members of the same matrilineal descent group*. Thus, whereas Curet (2002) focused on the *individual relationships*, as described by the Spanish, the implications of the various strategies are that descent group social organization was still the basis for succession (Keegan 2006). While Curet and Keegan might agree that successions do not necessarily follow one strict rule of primogeniture, and this is where Curet's argument for customary rules is important, succession is still based on descent group social organization (Keegan 2006:389). Like the hypothetical deviations I presented in Figure 7.1B, what may occasionally seem unpatterned at the level of residence, membership, and succession *when limiting the focus to individual behavior* clearly becomes patterned strategy *when contextualizing relationships within descent groups*. So, rather than departures from the normative rules of succession indicating an absence of descent groups, the deviations are typically another set of strategies that actually indicate *the presence of descent groups*.

Gender Status

A problematic assumption on descent and descent groups appearing occasionally in archaeological literature is their relevance to gender status. We sometimes overgeneralize on the overlapping of descent and gender inequality when using selective analogy. For example, the relative equality of genders in historical Iroquois society is often given as an example of how matrilineal descent plays a role in Iroquois women's status and generalizations are then made. If we select the historical Taíno as our analogy, on the other hand, we might end up with the opposite conclusion: that matrilineal descent is associated with low status for women. Cross-culturally, extreme patriarchy can be found with multiple forms of kinship, and more egalitarian relations can be found with multiple forms of kinship. Patrilineal is not the same as patriarchal. Matrilineal is not the same as matriarchal. One way of describing the relationship is that descent group organization and gender status are distinct cultural constructs

that mutually influence one another, but neither necessarily causes the other. Nevertheless, universalizing associations of descent and gender status still occasionally crop up in archaeological literature.

Gillespie (2000b:470–471) raises an interesting argument against patrilineage organization among Maya nobility. She reasons that there should be an androcentric ethic if there were patrilineal descent groups, and therefore, high-ranking noble women in tomb burials and their depiction in prehispanic texts pose a problem for patrilineage interpretations (Gillespie 2000b:470–471). The archaeological evidence does clearly point to high ranks for, and ancestor veneration of, numerous individual elite Maya women (e.g., Arden 2002; Joyce 2002). However, is this evidence for gender status, or just a reflection of the ranking of those women's patrilineal descent groups? All elite women have a higher status than non-elite men or women, by virtue of the fact that they belong to an elite class. Within the noble classes, women as well as men have high status by virtue of their membership and positions within ranked, competing descent groups. Although these women certainly must have made impressive achievements, one could argue that those women could never have done so if they did not belong to, and advance the goals of, their highly ranked patrilineages in the first place.

A case can be made that nonkinship factors will condition postmarital residence but not descent. There is general agreement among anthropologists that engendered divisions of property ownership, contributions to extrahousehold collective production, and contributions to extrahousehold distribution have causal influences on gender status (J. Brown 1975; S. Brown 1975; Brubaker 1994; Draper 1975:78; Dube 1997; Ensor 2000:21; Friedl 2004; Leacock 1972, 1978; Remy 1975; Rubbo 1975a: 357; Sacks 1975; Tsing and Yanagisako 1983). Using matrilineal descent groups as an example, we can find cases of relative gender equality and cases of gender inequality corresponding to postmarital residence strategies. In the case of the Iroquois and Hopi having less gender inequality, matrilocality kept sisters who owned personal property and controlled descent group property together after marriage. In the case of the Taino who also had matrilineal descent groups but greater gender inequality, avunculocality kept men who controlled matrilineal descent group property together after marriage. Based on these selective examples, we might be tempted to make the generalization that engendered control over property is more likely the causal factor behind both gender status and postmarital residence, and that matrilineal descent is not the conditioning factor.

Postmarital residence also has implications on men's and women's social conditions. Men or women find themselves in residential groups

with kin among whom they have rights, or with nonrelated members with whom they have few rights. At the same time, however, any gender postmaritally displaced from their descent group members still has the support of their lineages, clans, or ramages. The important question is whether the postmaritally mobile gender has the same degree of support from their kin as the nonpostmaritally mobile gender.

Just as descent-based membership *through* men or women may not predict gender status, a gender's productive contribution to the collective also may not predict gender status. For example, women may be highly valued for their productive and reproductive contribution to a household group, residential-household group, and/or descent group. But this valuation may simply lead to greater control over them by men and kin group elders/leaders.

With extended kin groups and larger descent groups, the possibility for collective labor for women exists, which can mediate gender inequalities through communal interaction (J. Brown 1975; S. Brown 1975; Brubaker 1994; Draper 1975:78; Remy 1975; Rubbo 1975a:357; Sacks 1975). The significance of the kin-based support and collective labor for women as a mediator of gender inequality becomes apparent after the implementation of commonly imposed development schemes that promote neolocality and exclusive property ownership or wage labor for men. Women lose their former source of collective kin group support (because the corporate kin groups disappear) and the possibility to mediate inequalities through collective household- or descent group-scale labor. They become dependent on their husbands.

On the other hand, descent groups certainly can influence engendered conditions. Elders/leaders control junior men and women for the perpetuation of the descent group—not just for the interests of the individuals within their descent group (e.g., Gailey and Patterson 1988). Perhaps the way that descent groups structure gender inequality the most is through the objectification of women for their reproductive capacities to perpetuate the descent group. However, this control over women would not predict matrilineal, patrilineal, or ambilineal descent groups because they are all equally concerned with using members and affines for reproduction.

Kinship can influence gender status and conditions, but the two may not have a causal or correlative relationship to one another. Equally plausible is that gender status influences kinship. Or, we can view the two as having dialectical relationships, whereby they emerge together or reinforce one another. In any given instance, archaeologists might want to identify both and explore their relationships rather than imposing analogy or attempting generalizations.

Kinship Terminology and Naming

Chapter 4 describes how kinship nomenclature distinguishes household-group memberships. The same terminology systems also make larger descent group distinctions. The Crow nomenclature shown in Chapter 4 (see Figure 4.3A) not only distinguishes among a person's matrilineal household group, that of their father, and all others but also distinguishes among a person's larger matrilineal descent group members, his or her father's matrilineal descent group members, and all others. The intimate and differentiated terms for ego's matrilineal household group are also used for referencing *all* members of ego's matrilineage or matriclan. The generational skewing for father's matrilineal household group is applied in the same way to *all* members of father's matrilineage or matriclan. The patrilineal Omaha kin terminology illustrated in Figure 4.3B is also extended to descent group members. The references for one's household group are also applied to *all* members of one's patrilineage or patriclan. The generationally skewed terms for ego's mother's patrilineal household group are extended to *all* members of her patrilineage or patriclan. Through the same logic, the Iroquois system shown in Figure 4.3C works well for either matrilineal descent groups or patrilineal descent groups, just as it does for matrilineal household groups or patrilineal household groups. The Hawaiian system (Figure 4.4A), useful for distinguishing all potential residential-household members, is equally applicable to all people in an individual's kindred because they all are *potential* bilateral sources of support beyond the residence. Of course, the Eskimo system (Figure 4.4B) is entirely based on distinguishing the neolocal residential group from all others (in the absence of descent groups or resource-sharing bilateral relatives).

Naming systems assist with group identity and help to indicate appropriate, or expected, behaviors. All lineages, clans, or ramages are named groups. People only need to identify themselves by using their descent group name, and all others know how they should interact with them (e.g., whether or not they can be courted). One does not need to know their specific genealogical relationships to everyone they meet. They just indicate the name of their corporate descent group. In some cultures the descent group names are used as individual's "surnames." Members of a descent group may have a personal name and the name of their descent group. Another version of the same theme is to have one personal name that signifies a spiritual or ceremonial theme of one's descent group. Some Plains societies in North America had such indigenous naming systems, although sometimes this applied only to one gender. But where it does occur, the personal names typically have something to do with the theme of a person's descent group.

Arguing against patrilineages among the Maya, Gillespie (2000b:471) points out that some ethnographies on the Maya indicate individuals had two “surnames”: the one of their father and the one of their mother. This poses interesting questions. Are these the names of fathers’ patrilineages and of mothers’ patrilineages? Do they suggest double descent? Or, is the use of both “surnames” nothing more than the imposition of, or adoption of, the Spanish naming system? I suspect most ethnologists would caution against trying to predict specific forms of descent groups based on naming systems. A legal or adopted naming system does not always reflect the social organization of a society. Although maintaining a patrilineal naming system, most contemporary Euro-Americans in North America do not have patrilineal descent groups!

Kinship terminology and naming systems are typically expressions of descent group memberships and identities. However, these are not reflected in material culture, except in writing, and ethnohistorical sources on nomenclature and names should only be used for direct historical hypotheses on social organization, but never as evidence for social organization. Archaeologists should seek collaboration with ethnologists on the significance of terminologies and naming systems for developing such hypotheses.

Matrilineal, patrilineal, and ambilineal descent groups are corporate resource-bearing groups and sources of social support whose memberships are entirely defined by descent to ancestors who provided those resources. They are reproduced through marriage prohibitions. Descent groups are responsible for maintaining the spiritual knowledge and paraphernalia associated with, and providing the surplus for, their own ancestor-related ceremonies and/or those they reciprocally sponsor for the society. In the case of bilateral descent, there are no descent groups larger than household groups or residential-household groups; there are only networks of individual kindred relationships or sodalities. Where internal ranking occurs, it is based on genealogical distance from founding ancestors. Ranking and status among descent groups, and among the household groups or residential-household groups in bilateral societies, are typically determined through competition, which is also related to marriage systems. Without considering these forms of social organization, elite agency is decontextualized from the sources of rank and status and universalized, and nonleaders are perceived as overly passive. Succession is based on descent group membership and should not be assessed on the basis of individual relations: no matter which individuals succeed others, power is accessed through descent group membership. Gender status is not caused by, or well correlated with, descent systems. Descent and gender status should be analyzed separately to interpret

their mutual influences. Kinship terminologies and naming systems may reflect descent group social organization, reaffirm identities, and indicate expected social behaviors without needing to know genealogical relationships. However, such ethnographical and ethnohistorical data should be used only for hypotheses on social organization, never as evidence.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Archaeological Analysis of Descent Group Organization

This chapter describes the middle-range approaches by which archaeologists can identify descent groups, or bilateral descent, which are applied to the case study in Chapter 9. The chapter begins with a discussion on the relationships between residential groups and descent groups and solutions that can guide archaeological interpretation of descent groups. The second section describes cross-cultural patterns in *local groups* and their relationship to descent group organization, in addition to some of the social implications these have on regional interaction. This is nothing less than a kinship-based explanation for settlement patterns and intra-site spatial organization. The third and fourth sections describe the “middle-range” indications of descent groups and bilateral kinship. The chapter also explains how archaeologists can distinguish neolocality, uxurilocality, virilocality, and avunculocality. The final section is devoted to cemetery organization and identity.

Before proceeding, some observations on the limitations of alternative methods should be discussed. For the same reasons described in Chapter 5, archaeologists should limit the use of direct historical analogy to creating hypotheses on descent groups. Inferences from kinship terminology should similarly be limited to hypotheses, but never interpretations. Historical archaeologists should also use caution about these approaches because there may be more variability within the periods from which the samples of historical data were derived, and later ethnographies may describe social organization altered by colonialism and expanding capitalism. Associations with subsistence strategies were not strongly supported

by cross-cultural tests. These considerations lead us to the need for independent sources of information on descent groups. Otherwise, archaeologists are merely engaging in ethnotyranny (Wobst 1978; Maclachlan and Keegan 1990). When considering that most hypotheses on the development of descent groups are diachronic in nature but have never been tested with diachronic data, their use for interpretation merely exacerbates the deficiencies in the hypotheses. So we need independent means for identifying descent groups. Although there is potential for physical anthropology to develop the means by which to independently identify descent group organization, that subfield needs time to produce better models on the influence of social organization and marriage systems on genetic distance within and among cemetery populations.

As was the case with postmarital residence, the problems with the current alternatives lead to other means by which archaeologists can identify descent group organization. Just as we needed middle-range theory on the ways that residential groups structure households, we also need middle-range theory linking descent groups to the spatial distributions of households. The methods are best understood if we begin discussion on the relationships between postmarital residence and descent. This is not to claim that descent or descent groups can be interpreted from postmarital residence but, rather, that relationships help to pinpoint the kinds of archaeological data needed for interpretation.

Postmarital Residence and Descent

In much of the last century, it was generally believed that postmarital residence could be predicted from ideologies of descent (the ideational assumption that behavior follows ideology). Patrilineal descent was believed to result in patrilocality. Matrilineal descent was believed to result in matrilocality. Bilateral descent was believed to result in bilocality. However, these hypotheses were not well supported by cross-cultural tests. I use Pasternak's (1976:44–46) analysis of 843 cultures as an illustration of the general patterns found in such surveys. The *Ethnographic Atlas* coded entries were based on normative ethnographic descriptions, sometimes backed by empirical evidence. They are problematic in that they are based on synchronic normative generalizations, where variability might exist, and on cultures potentially undergoing change. Nevertheless, these are useful for making some points. He found that 96 percent of the societies with patrilineal descent also emphasized patrilocality. But among the societies with matrilineal descent, 36 percent were matrilocal and 30 percent were avunculocal. Some combined matrilineal descent with bilocality. Fewer combined matrilineal descent with patrilocality, neolocality,

or duolocality. Among the cultures with nonunilineal descent (ambilineal or bilateral), 52 percent were patrilocal, 22 percent were matrilocal, 17 percent were bilocal, and 9 percent were neolocal. These data indicate a strong association between patrilineal descent and patrilocality, but no other forms of postmarital residence can be associated with matrilineal or cognatic descent.

After the middle part of the last century, the hypothesis that residence follows from descent was reversed. Anthropology in general became more materialistic, and ideologies were viewed as products of social relations, not causes of social relations. In that context, the prevailing hypotheses on kinship that we have today initially developed, including the hypothesis that descent systems developed from residential behavior. Pasternak's (1976:44–46) analysis also tests this hypothesis with cross-cultural data. One caveat is that the codings used were for descent, not descent groups, so we need to assume that the presence of a particular form of unilineal descent indicates the presence of descent groups. This is a relatively safe assumption given that descent would be meaningless without the group either at the time the ethnographic data were collected or before the systems may have broken down from proletarianization or private property.

There were 588 cultures coded for patrilocality. Only 65 percent of them had patrilineal descent. Among the 111 cultures coded for matrilocality, only 40 percent had matrilineal descent. Among seventy-three cultures coded for bilocality, 73 percent had cognatic descent. Only in the case of avunculocality is there a strong correlation: 97 percent of cultures coded for that form of postmarital residence did have matrilineal descent. These results do not support the notion that descent follows from residence. Of course, the reader is once again reminded that these are synchronic data from historically altered cultures used to evaluate a hypothesis that is diachronic in nature.

By taking a closer look at the percentage distributions, something interesting and helpful for archaeologists is revealed. Among patrilocal cultures, 66 percent had patrilineal descent, and 27 percent had bilateral descent. The remainder had double descent (4 percent) and matrilineal descent (3 percent). The vast majority of cultures emphasizing patrilocality as a residence norm had either patrilineal descent or cognatic descent. So, all archaeologists need to know, after identifying patrilocality, is whether or not there are *descent groups* or *bilateral descent*. If there were descent groups combined with patrilocality, they were patrilineal (Pasternak 1976:106).

Similarly, among the cultures coded for matrilocality in Pasternak's analysis, 40 percent had matrilineal descent, and 60 percent had bilateral descent. *None* had patrilineal or double descent; it was either matrilineal

or bilateral. What archaeologists need to identify, after concluding matrilocality, is whether or not there are *descent groups* or *bilateral descent*. If there were descent groups, we can claim with confidence that they were matrilineal (Pasternak 1976:106).

In the case of cultures emphasizing bilocality, 73 percent had bilateral descent, and 19 percent had matrilineal descent. Patrilineal descent and double descent were rarely associated with bilocality. After identifying bilocality, the presence of descent groups would suggest matrilineal descent groups, although we would expect a greater likelihood for bilateral descent.

In the end, and despite the various categories of descent that exist, *archaeologists really only need to distinguish between descent groups and bilateral descent*. If descent groups were present, then we can know which version it was from the archaeologically identified type of post-marital residence.

Local Groups

Local groups are to descent groups what residential groups are to household groups. The local group is composed of the co-residing descent group members and affinal nonmembers at the scale of the settlement, urban ward, or segmented village. This is the same principle used to define residential groups in Chapter 4 but applied to a larger co-residing population made up of multiple residential groups.

Postmarital residence is obviously a factor when considering local group membership. If there is a pattern of clan exogamy, for example, and if clans occupy different villages (a somewhat common settlement pattern), then the occupants of the village at any given time will consist of that clan's members who are not dispersed after marriage along with their affines who belong to other clans. By distinguishing between residential groups and local groups, archaeologists can identify two scales of kin-based social groupings within a settlement.

In describing local groups in societies with unilineal descent groups, Keesing (1975:39–43) provides four categories of “community patterns.” Archaeologists would call these settlement patterns. All of these examples pertain to aggregated settlements. To orient the reader on the significance of local groups, I assume aggregated settlements (villages) in this discussion.

The first category is the one just used as an introductory example, whereby each unilineal descent group has its own settlement (Figure 8.1A). Each settlement (and its resources) belongs to only one descent group. The local group, all those occupying a settlement, includes the

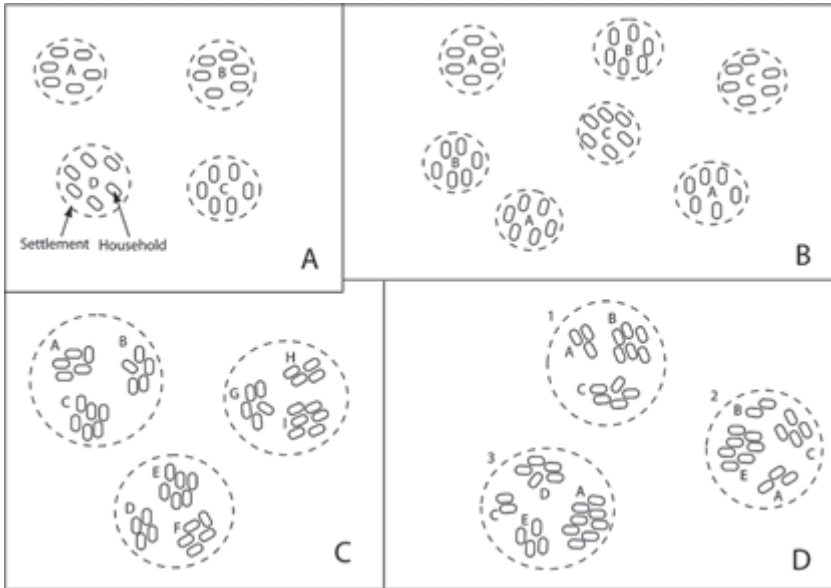


FIGURE 8.1. Unilineal descent groups and local group settlement patterns: A) exclusive clan settlements, B) clans with multiple settlements, C) multi-clan settlements, and D) clans cross-cutting multi-clan settlements

unilineal descent group members who are living at the settlement plus their affines (men, if matrilineal, or women, if patrilineal). The unilineal descent group members who are postmaritally mobile are no longer members of the local group of origin but remain members of their unilineal descent groups. The significance of this settlement pattern is that each descent group has only one localized resource base. There are also implications on group identity. Each settlement belongs to one descent group, and all members identify themselves with only that one settlement, yet we find, through postmarital dislocation, members with that identity spread among the different settlements. Only through marriages are social bonds made with the owners of other settlements, each having their own localized resources. In this case, the affinal relations to other descent groups are important alliances by which residential groups find a source of social security beyond their own descent group resources and intersettlement gift exchanges should follow the marital alliances.

The second category is somewhat similar to the first. However, in this case each descent group may be associated with multiple settlements in a region (Figure 8.1B). Thus, Clan A members may have two or three settlements, and Clan B members may have two or three settlements.

There are multiple local groups for each clan. One descent group's identity therefore can be expressed at multiple settlements. The implications are that members of Clan A are entitled to the support and aid of multiple local groups. In this case, people do not need to rely so much on affinal relationships for social security. Their clan has other settlements to which they have descent-based rights. But they still practice clan exogamy, which creates alliances, and material exchanges, among additional settlements.

In the third category, there may be fewer settlements but each is large and consists of multiple different descent groups (Figure 8.1C). Clans A, B, and C may co-own one settlement. Clans D, E, and F co-own another settlement. Clans G, H, and I co-own a third settlement, and so on, for all the large settlements in the region. In this case each settlement has a collection of *multiple local groups*. What distinguishes this category from the first two, however, is that people can marry members of their own settlement without sacrificing clan exogamy because there are local groups of other clans at their settlement. So, the postmaritally mobile affines may actually remain members of their natal village. Although this is not necessarily so, it tends to be common and allows village endogamy without sacrificing descent group exogamy. This does not mean that the settlement is one corporate group. Each clan may retain its distinct resources kept in perpetuity, and each typically has separate locations for its households within the settlement.

The drawbacks of this situation are that no clan members have rights in other villages (which they would if following the second settlement pattern), and on top of that, nobody can rely on marital alliances for additional aid beyond the settlement (which they could if following the first pattern). With no other alternatives, non-kin-based alliances would be necessary. Non-kin-based trade partnerships are one possible solution and may be detectable by patterns in intersettlement trade. If ranking is present, the multiple clan leaders could use the surplus of their members to trade with other settlement leaders what cannot be locally produced and then redistribute those items to their clan members. Archaeologists focusing on trade models should note the significance of kinship on that subject (more implications on regional exchange are discussed in Chapter 10).

In the fourth category, the potential problems of the third are resolved through kin-based means. Like the third settlement pattern, each village consists of local groups of multiple clans. But in this case each clan also has local groups at other settlements: clans cross-cut settlements (Figure 8.1D). The result is a combination of the second and third pattern. Clans A, B, and C co-own Village 1. Clans A, B, C, and E co-own Village 2. Clans A, C, D, and E co-own Village 3, and so forth. The result is that

Clan A members are found at villages 1, 2, and 3. Because they belong to the same descent group, they have rights to mutual support and aid in all three villages. However, for those practicing village exogamy, they also may end up living at a settlement with other descent group members. Either way, people rely more heavily on clan membership, as opposed to alliances through affines, as a source of kin-based nonlocal support and social security. In this case, there is less need for trade along the lines of marital alliances.

The topic of local groups has received far less attention with ambilineal descent groups, other than in hypotheses on how local groups with cognatic descent may develop into ambilineal descent groups (e.g., Fox 1967:152–153). Given the great variation among specific societies with ramage, it is also difficult to observe general patterns. However, despite variation in membership strategies, ramage generally function the same as unilineal descent groups. So we might expect the local groups to be similar to the different patterns just described for lineages or clans.

More is known about local groups and bilateral descent systems, allowing for safer generalizations. There are no descent groups in bilateral societies, only individuals' kindred networks. The only corporate kin groups are the household groups or residential-household groups associated with each settlement. Therefore, each settlement is a collection of small kin groups but is never the property of one kin group. As also described above, marriage prohibitions and preferences are based on individual relationships rather than on group relationships.

In some bilateral societies, there may be a preference for village endogamy. Where this is emphasized, most of any individual's kindred are associated with the settlement. The local "group" is a *localized network* of individual bilateral kin and the overlapping kindreds of most individuals at the settlement. This is perhaps the closest we can get to a bilateral local "group." Village endogamy may result in the same problem found in the third category of local groups described for unilineal descent groups. There are few to no kin in other settlements, neither through negotiated kindred relationships nor through affinal relations.

In other bilateral societies, there is often a preference for village exogamy, and even an emphasis on marriage for distance. In this case, the household groups or residential-household groups can negotiate support and aid through their members' individual kindreds that cross-cut settlements or extend across vast territories. In fact, this is often given as a reason for settlement exogamy and marriage for distance. Individuals, and through them the other members of their household/residential-household group, can always find "kin" in all locations through bilateral descent if marriages are spread around the region. Thus, there really are no local groups but, rather, *regional networks* of individuals' bilateral kin.

Through this strategy, there is a reduction in the number of “kin” within one’s own settlement!

A third common pattern of local groups associated with bilateral descent involves the *ranchería* settlement pattern. Because there are no descent groups in bilateral societies, and if there is little need for corporate sodalities, there may also be no need for nucleated villages. In this case, the individual residential or residential-household groups are the local groups. Each has its own location in a dispersed settlement pattern.

Through this discussion, archaeologists are led to the heretical conclusion that settlement patterns are not based on some environmental factor. Instead, *settlement patterns are the products of kinship*. The kinds of local groups within settlements are created by descent organization, and the spatial distribution of local groups across a territory is a result of intervillage alliances through descent and/or marriages. Kinship determines *the social makeup of settlements and the distribution of people among settlements*. Landforms and natural resources only determine *where* the socially needed kinds of settlements can be located. This discussion also provided kinship-based explanations for aggregated versus dispersed settlements. In regions where the similar ecologies have supported villages in one period and dispersed small settlements in other periods, there is usually an ingrained processualist compulsion to explain the changes as a result of environment, climate, or population pressure. Archaeologists may instead wish to consider contextualizing people within their changing kinship systems.

Material Correlates of Unilineal Descent Groups and Bilateral Descent

From the preceding discussion of local groups, it is clear that settlement patterns and intrasite settlement structure are based on descent group social organization. In much of the archaeological literature on settlement spatial organization, settlement layouts are typically assumed to reflect cosmological organization (e.g., Ashmore 1991; Ashmore and Sabloff 2002; Fowles 2005; Lewis and Stout 1998; Means 2007; Seigel 1999; van Dyke 2004; Wilson 2010). Single selected ethnographic analogies and/or direct historical analogy are typically used to interpret the archaeologically observed settlement layouts. The underlying assumption is that ideology dictates the ways that people organize their settlement layouts. This ideational perspective places the ideological cart before the social organizational horse. It leaps from settlement layouts directly to cosmology when settlement layouts are a reflection of social organization, and cosmological organization reflects social organization. So, we

end up missing how human social organization and behavior structure both site layouts and cosmological organizations. The present task is to place the more determining factor for intrasite settlement structure and cosmology (descent groups) back into the analysis. However, this should not be taken to suggest that the realized settlement layouts and the cosmological organization are less important: they socially reproduce social organization through daily lived experience.

Kwang-chih Chang's Discovery

The methods by which archaeologists can best identify descent group social organization were first presented in the 1950s by Chang (1958), which were confirmed to be accurate forty-five years later but never received much attention in archaeology. In hindsight, it seems surprising that Chang's discoveries were not incorporated in the first processual forays into kinship in the 1960s. But those efforts instead led us down a path of using culture historical distributions of traits (pottery decoration) to infer residence and descent (Deetz 1960, 1965; Hill 1966; Longacre 1964 1966, 1968; McPherron 1967; Whallon 1968). Unfortunately, the methodological problems, the growing awareness that descent cannot be predicted from postmarital residence, and a long period in which kinship research focused on cognition, all contributed to the abandonment of kinship research in archaeology. When Allen and Richardson (1971) pointed out the problematic assumptions and told archaeologists they will not be able to approach kinship and that it is irrelevant to social behavior, archaeologists took it as a lesson from the experts and, for the most part, did abandon the endeavor or became critical of others pursuing the topic. The answer to the question, "Why didn't we bother to build upon Chang's efforts?" was, "It has to do with kinship, which cannot be approached by archaeologists, has no relevance to social organization and behavior, and even the experts can't make the predictions we need." Settlement pattern studies, and our approaches to understanding intrasite spatial organization, from that point on became limited to land-use to discover universal laws of ecosystems, interpreting levels of political organization, and the so-called "common sense" of archaeologists whose social worlds and ideologies were distantly removed from the societies being examined. The result was a topic divorced from the social organizational principles upon which settlement organization should be contextualized. This was an unfortunate sequence of events for developing an archaeology of kinship! But it is hoped that, with all that baggage behind us, we can now return to build upon a materialist middle-range understanding of how descent group social organization predictably structures settlement layouts.

In the historic context of the 1950s, settlement pattern studies were rapidly becoming major subjects in archaeology. However, Chang (1958) observed that many of the interpretations were not guided by sound ethnological understandings of indigenous societies. He therefore set out to explore the relationships between social organization and community patterns, essentially the settlement layouts corresponding to local group organization. He distinguished settlement patterns, “the manner in which human settlements are arranged over the landscape in relation to physiographic environment,” from *community patterns*, “the manner in which the inhabitants arrange their various structures within the community and their communities within the aggregate” (299). This was also a time when the Human Relations Area Files’ *Ethnographic Atlas* had recently been introduced (e.g., Murdock 1949). Chang (1958) used fifty-three cultures in the worldwide analysis (from West Africa, Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and tropical South America), which only included “neolithic societies” that met three criteria: a horticultural/agricultural subsistence base, nonurbanized (i.e., villages), and stable locations for considerable time.

The communities (i.e., settlements) in the sample were divided into two major types: homesteads (scattered households, each located at or near its members’ fields) and villages (settlements with multiple households or household clusters away from members’ fields). There were three subtypes of villages. *Unplanned villages* were composed of households that were irregularly arranged, with no preconceived plan. *Planned villages* were spatially arranged according to a preconceived plan or with a large communal house. Although not elaborated upon, “planned” turns out to involve spatial organization surrounding a central point, plaza, source of political authority, or communal structures. *Segmented villages* were settlements in which households occur in multiple clusters within settlements. One was usually of greater “importance.” In many cases, the segments were subdivided further into smaller segments. Where this occurred, the smallest segments may or may not be organized according to a preconceived plan.

The kinship systems in the sample were placed in three categories. *Nonlineage communities* were those settlements lacking lineages and instead had bilateral descent. *Monolineage communities* were those whereby each settlement was composed of a single lineage. This is the same as the first category of local groups described in the previous section. Monolineage communities also included settlements for localized sections of a larger lineage or sib. This would conform to the second category of local groups, whereby a lineage or clan had multiple exclusive settlements. *Multilineage communities* were settlements comprising two or more lineages. In some cases, the multiple lineages belonged to the same sib but

more often belonged to different sibs exclusive to the community (as in the third pattern of local group distribution) or were widespread (as in the fourth pattern of local group distribution). The *sibs* Chang refers to are simply *clans* in today's conventional terminology.

When comparing the settlement categories with the systems of social organization, there were remarkable correlations. All settlements consisting only of one unilineal descent group were planned. Among the settlements consisting of multiple unilineal descent groups, 82 percent were formally planned and segmented. Settlements for bilateral societies were fewer but were associated with homesteads, unplanned villages, rarely with segmented villages, but *never* with planned villages (Chang 1958: 306–307).

Chang proceeded to use these findings to make generalized interpretations on social organization in the successive prehispanic periods of Mesoamerica, Peru (drawing from the then recent Virú Valley Project [e.g., Willey 1953]), and the San Juan Anasazi region (US Southwest). In each area, the chronologies are greatly revised since the 1950s, and Chang had relatively little data to work with. However, we can appreciate the use of kinship-related concepts on social organization in an attempted diachronic analysis of each region to observe and explain changes over time. What we would now recognize as problematic interpretations on those regions should not overshadow the greater contribution of Chang's article, which was the cross-cultural "middle-range-like" discovery of the relationships between kinship behavior and the material record. His study showed that local groups in societies with bilateral descent are associated with dispersed homesteads or unplanned villages. It also showed that societies with unilineal descent groups had formally planned villages or segmented and formally planned villages. And, it showed that where multiple unilineal descent groups occupied the same settlements, these were also planned and segmented.

Confirming Local Group Organization

Paralleling Chang's approach, I conducted a similar cross-cultural study on the association of settlement layouts and descent groups (Ensor 2003a). This study differed from Chang's in several ways. The sample included sixty-two North American cultures from the California, Southwest, and Plains regions, supplemented by additional cultures from the Southeast (Ensor 2003b). Rather than basing data on coded entries in the *Ethnographic Atlas*, I relied on lengthier ethnographic descriptions of kinship patterns, with normative descriptions of historic change and variation sometimes accompanied by empirical data on adherence, and their associated settlement layouts. I also benefited from decades of information

synthesized and discussed by regional experts, not available at the time of Chang's pioneering work. The major analytical difference was that this study actually compared descent group-based marriage systems with community patterns. However, because the marriage systems are only associated with certain types of descent groups that happened to be the same basis for Chang's analysis, the two perspectives converge. Despite these differences, the results of my study confirmed Chang's.

There were several justifications for the cross-cultural analysis. I was already familiar with Chang's results from other world regions. I was also familiar with a wide range of ethnographies describing historical North American settlements among cultures with unilineal descent groups (usually around plazas) that differed from settlements in many cultures with bilateral descent (without formal layouts). These were similar to those described in ethnographies from other world regions. However, I did not yet know if this was a cross-cultural pattern useful for generalizations in North America or if I was guilty of making selective associations.

Additionally, I was interested in some of the dynamics of marriage systems and how these were related to ceremony and the types and placements of ceremonial features at settlements. Based on a selection of ethnographies and theoretical arguments, it appeared that among societies with unilineal descent groups practicing exogamy, and with at least one of the additional prohibitions of Crow/Omaha marriage systems, the different descent groups had to compete with one another for marriage alliances (because this marriage system does not *specify* groups from which to select spouses). Anthropological theory suggested that such competition revolved around building the collective status of the members in the competing descent groups through *collectively organized* ceremony (e.g., Rosman and Rubel 1971), which is also in the interests of descent group leaders. Meanwhile, the lack of descent groups in bilateral societies with complex marriage alliances suggested that the different household or residential-household groups would need to compete along similar terms to attract marriages. The difference is that in bilateral societies household or residential-household groups are the competing units. So, I surmised that unilineal descent groups with a Crow/Omaha-like marriage system would have formal settlements with households or segments surrounding plazas (central, open and public dance/meeting spaces) and these would also have public ceremonial structures. In ranked societies, the ceremonial structures should be spatially adjacent to chiefly households (usually at or near the center of the plaza). In contrast, I expected societies emphasizing bilateral descent with the associated complex marriage system to have no such formally planned villages and that ceremony would be household-based, including

those ceremonies sponsored and controlled by chiefly households where such ranking occurred.

There was a focus on historical periods prior to the onset of dramatic social changes from assimilation policies and proletarianization. Only those cultures with well-documented descent and marriage systems, and for which settlements were also well documented, were selected for analysis. Most of the descriptions were valid only for the nineteenth century. Others were more recent observations on societies having yet to succumb to far-reaching changes in kinship. These considerations were important because some cultures having greatly altered kinship systems may have maintained the settlements organized for an earlier system of social organization. For example, several Eastern Karesian Pueblo cultures had to be eliminated from interpretations because they occupied ancient pueblos but had kinship systems historically altered by Spanish reorganization, wars, depopulation, migration, proselytizing, and other factors. Conversely, other cultures might have maintained their historical kinship systems but had newer settlements organized around Bureau of Indian Affairs forced housing programs, allotment, other assimilation policies, and land leasing for privatized extractive industries; missionary activities; school and tribal government employment locations; roads; market influences; and diasporas.

The settlements consisted of permanent villages (92 percent) and large seasonal or ceremonial camps for populations otherwise dispersed into smaller settlements (8 percent). There were two categories of village organization. The most common was a formal plan with households surrounding a central circular, elliptical, or square plaza. In addition to the plaza space, many of these had ceremonial structures in or adjacent to the plazas. Where ranking occurred, they were sometimes associated with a central chief's household. Among the twenty-eight formal villages, two subcategories were made based on segmentation: those with (68 percent) and those without (32 percent) internal "segments," or clusters of houses. Those with segments did tend to have larger populations than those without segments. The remaining thirty societies lacked formal village layouts. They consisted of aggregated settlements with a haphazard arrangement of households or *ranchería* settlement patterns whereby households were widely distributed across the landscape. There were no plazas or other communal buildings, although some cultures had numerous small sweat lodges. Where ranking was present, larger ceremonial structures were sometimes associated with the leading household groups.

The seasonal and ceremonial camps of semisedentary cultures, all from the Plains regions, were large formally planned settlements. Only

five cultures in the survey had these. Four of them were large segmented settlements, and one was not segmented. However, all had numerous households surrounding large plazas. Ceremonial tents were placed in front of the groups sponsoring the ceremonies, although most ceremonies did not require structures.

The cultures in the survey consisted of three social organizational categories: unilineal clan organization with internal lineages, unilineage organization, and bilateral cognatic descent. However, in a few cases it was not clear whether ambilineal or bilateral descent was practiced. As expected, cultures with unilineal descent groups practiced lineage or clan exogamy, and most avoided marriages with mother's group (if patrilineal) or father's group (if matrilineal). So there was always unilineal descent group exogamy, and most had an additional Crow/Omaha marriage prohibition. Those societies with bilateral descent illustrated a wide range of marriage preferences. In some, most individuals emphasized village endogamy; in others, the preference was for exogamy. Some had no general pattern.

The associations of social organization and settlement organization confirmed Chang's results. All of the societies (100 percent) with unilineal descent groups (lineages and clans) had formally planned villages or seasonal/ceremonial camps. Among these, 72 percent had multiple exogamous descent groups co-occupying the same village: the third pattern of local group distribution described above. The remainder had settlements that were exclusive to each unilineal descent group: the first pattern of local group distribution. *None* of the societies based on unilineal descent group organization had informal village layouts. In the case of the cognatic societies, all but one (97 percent) had informal village layouts: haphazard arrangements of households or ranchería settlement patterns. Thus, both Chang's and my cross-cultural analyses show strong correlations between unilineal descent groups and formally planned settlements, and between bilateral descent and informal settlements or ranchería settlement patterns. One difference is that I found segmented formal village organization, clusters of households surrounding plazas, associated both with lineages at clan-exclusive settlements and with settlements for multiple exogamous descent groups.

The explanation for these differences is that unilineal descent groups are large corporate groups that sponsor public ceremonies, dances, and feasts: the contexts for collective ceremonial competition with other exogamous descent groups (e.g., Rosman and Rubel 1971). In contrast, the household groups and residential-household groups in bilateral societies compete among one another through their own household-sponsored ceremonies, dances, and feasts for interhousehold ranking and marriage

alliances (e.g., Rosman and Rubel 1971). The bilateral societies have no need for settlementwide collective ceremonial spaces or structures.

Further Distinctions Based on Postmarital Residence

The preceding section illustrated and explained how archaeologists can distinguish between unilineal descent groups and bilateral descent. In this section, the methods for distinguishing matrilineal and patrilineal descent groups are discussed. In the case of bilateral descent, different household groups and residential-household groups are all possible, and these are also discussed here. Finally, this section addresses ways by which archaeologists can distinguish neolocality, uxorilocality, virilocality, and avunculocality.

Matrilineal versus Patrilineal Descent Groups

Chang's (1958) and my (Enser 2003a, 2003b) analyses both indicate that exogamous unilineal descent group social organization is cross-culturally reflected in formal settlement layouts, whereby households surround a plaza and communal ceremonial features. Archaeologists can recognize descent groups wherever, and whenever, these community patterns are found. However, to distinguish between matrilineal and patrilineal descent groups requires the interpretation of residential groups based on household organization. Both lines of evidence are necessary.

As indicated in the first section of this chapter, we cannot predict a particular form of descent group based on the residential groups. However, Pasternak's (1976:44–46) data also indicated that if *patrilocality is associated with descent groups, then the descent groups are patrilineal*. If *matrilocality is associated with descent groups then the descent groups should always be matrilineal*. Although less common, if bilocality is associated with descent groups, then the descent groups are likely to be matrilineal.

Bilateral Descent and Postmarital Residence

Bilateral descent is indicated by informal settlement layouts and by rancharía settlement patterns. However, all types of household organization can be associated with bilateral descent. Therefore, we should rid ourselves of all expectations based only on descent or only on postmarital residence. Any of the residential groups interpreted in Chapter 6 could

be associated with bilateral descent. So it is the archaeologist's task to discover the particular combination with bilateral descent.

Neolocality, Uxorilocality, Virilocality, and Avunculocality

By determining the type of descent groups or bilateral descent, which is now in our means, archaeologists also have a tool for distinguishing among neolocality, uxorilocality, virilocality, and avunculocality. *Neolocality* involves couples establishing a new home away from either parent's kin. *Uxorilocality* occurs when the couple lives with the wife's descent group, which could be either matrilineal or patrilineal. *Virilocality* is when the couple lives with the husband's descent group, which also could be either matrilineal or patrilineal. If we combine virilocality with matrilineal descent groups, then we have *avunculocality*: residence at the husband's matrilineal descent group location. Because his father and mother are expected to have practiced the same rule, he and his wife will reside not with them but with his matrilineal uncle(s). As described in Chapter 5, these forms of postmarital residence require the identification of descent groups because residence is not with residential groups but, rather, with the local groups belonging to descent groups (except in the case of neolocality).

Within the local groups of unilineal descent groups, not everyone can be expected to attach themselves to a unilocal extended residential group. So, in addition to those extended residential groups, we may also expect to see a few isolated conjugal family dwellings at a descent group's location. If so, we can conclude that most people practiced matrilocality but some practiced uxorilocality, or that most people practiced patrilocality but some practiced virilocality, and so forth. Nevertheless, some societies only emphasize virilocality with descent groups, without patrilocality.

In all systems that separate sisters after marriage, resulting in individual women living with unrelated kin, the women will predictably have separate dwellings within the aggregate of dwellings at the extended household (Ember 1973). Following from these cross-cultural patterns, we would expect that any form of virilocality would entail separate conjugal family dwellings because the married women residing at those locations would not likely be siblings, except in the fewer cases of sororal polygyny. In the case of virilocality with patrilineal descent groups, and in the case of virilocality with matrilineal descent groups (avunculocality), sisters are postmaritally separated from one another, so we can assume that both entail individual conjugal family dwellings—not aggregated extended residential groups.

Virilocality with patrilineal descent group locations is therefore expected to result in a community pattern consisting of multiple conjugal

family dwellings. These should not be aggregated into extended households because there are no corporate extended household groups. As such, there would be no patrilocal residential groups. Instead, the local group replaces the residential group. And, because the local groups are those of patrilineal descent groups, the settlement should be formally planned around a central plaza. The result is a community pattern whereby individual conjugal family dwellings are distributed around the plaza but not clustered into extended household aggregates.

Avunculocality should result in the exact same pattern. The married women are not likely sisters, so we would expect multiple conjugal family dwellings that are not aggregated into extended household clusters. Because the local groups for matrilineal descent groups should be associated with formally planned villages, the individual conjugal family dwellings are expected to outline a plaza. Unfortunately, I can think of no means by which to distinguish virilocality with avunculocality other than to base interpretations on patrilineal or matrilineal organization in earlier periods.

Neolocality is always associated with bilateral descent, and when it is a new form of residence it tends to replace other forms of descent with bilateral descent. So, unlike virilocality and avunculocality, neolocality is not associated with corporate kin groups of any kind. The individual conjugal families are found neither in extended household aggregates nor in association with local group aggregates. Instead, the individual conjugal family dwellings are dispersed in the haphazard arrangements and informal community patterns associated with bilateral descent.

Cemetery Organization and Descent Groups

As described in Chapter 5, cross-cultural mortuary analyses have explored the relationships among descent groups and cemeteries. The results of Saxe's (1970) and Goldstein's (1981) studies indicated that bounded cemeteries indicated descent groups. Carr (1994, 1995:165, 182) confirmed this cross-cultural association between demarcated cemeteries and descent groups but also found cemeteries associated with all forms of kin groups and even sodalities. Most important, he found that all were corporate resource-owning groups.

Rather than claiming cemeteries on their own indicate a particular form of corporate group, archaeologists should instead base interpretations of what cemeteries represent based on their spatial association with the various kinds of social groups identified. Cemeteries spatially associated with individual households indicate household-group or residential-household-group burial locations, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

However, we may not expect household-associated cemeteries *if larger descent group affiliation and identity is more important than household group affiliation*. If larger descent groups provide the most resources, or if members mostly benefit from collective descent group labor and other activities, then there may be an absence of cemeteries at the households. Instead, we would expect only larger communal descent group cemeteries. At the same time, it seems reasonable to assume that cemeteries could potentially be made *both* for household groups and for larger descent groups (at both scales of social organization). In this case, some people would be buried in their household group cemeteries, while others would be buried in their descent group cemeteries. If cemeteries are only found adjacent to each household, then this should indicate that descent groups were less important to corporate group membership and identities than were household group identities. If cemeteries are only associated with local groups, then this should indicate that the corporate descent groups were more important to membership and identity than were the household groups. If both patterns are found, then the importance of descent group versus household group membership and identity can be concluded to have been negotiated.

In the case of bilateral societies, the only corporate kin groups are the individual household or residential-household groups. Therefore, we should only expect cemeteries associated with each individual household. If larger cemeteries accompany this pattern, then sodalities would have to be interpreted, as these can be the only larger corporate groups in societies emphasizing bilateral kinship relations. The most likely sodalities would be based on settlement location, whereby the collection of household or residential-household groups at the settlement collectively forms a locationally based corporate group. In this case, we would expect to find the community patterns associated with bilateral descent, yet with one or few large cemeteries at each settlement. Alternatively, in the case of *ranchería* settlement patterns, a central location for such a cemetery may be used collectively by the widely dispersed household or residential-household groups throughout the region.

Summary

After considering how the uses of direct historic analogy and terminologies are problematic and fail to provide an independent means for identification, and after considering the current problems in physical anthropological models, this chapter focuses on the arrangements of households as a verified means of identifying descent group organization. Although

cross-cultural associations indicate that archaeologists also cannot predict descent groups or descent from postmarital residence, or vice versa, the discussion of those associations indicated that they need only to distinguish descent groups from bilateral descent to identify the three major systems: matrilineal descent groups, patrilineal descent groups, and bilateral descent. Among the unilineal groups, the indicators of matrilocality and patrilocality can be used to confidently distinguish matrilineal from patrilineal descent groups, respectively.

Local groups, the non-postmaritally mobile members of the descent groups and their co-residing affines, may be distributed in different ways. In societies where each descent group has an exclusive settlement, the settlement membership is the only local group for each descent group. In societies where descent groups have multiple exclusive settlements, each has multiple local groups distributed across the region. In other societies, settlements may be composed of local groups for multiple descent groups that share the village. In other cases, settlements have local groups of multiple descent groups, but each descent group also has additional local groups at other settlements: the descent group's cross-cut settlements. The distribution of local groups influences the intersettlement systems of kin-based support and is related to postmarital residence and marriage strategies. In societies with bilateral descent, however, there are no local groups per se but, rather, settlement memberships and local and/or regional *networks* of relationships.

Figure 8.2 diagrams the ideal community patterns for the major categories of descent organization described in this chapter. The distribution of households, combined with the kinds of households, is the means by which archaeologists can independently identify specific types of descent groups. Descent groups are associated with formally planned settlement around plazas and communal ceremonial buildings. Formally planned segmented villages indicate either segmentary social organization (e.g., lineages within an exclusive clan settlement) or co-occupation by multiple clans' local groups. Matrilineal descent groups can be interpreted if the formal layouts are accompanied by the households for matrilocal residential groups, which may be accompanied by some uxorilocal conjugal family residences around the plaza that have not joined the extended residential groups. Patrilineal descent groups can be interpreted when the formal layouts are accompanied by households for patrilocal residential groups, which may be accompanied by some virilocal conjugal family residences around the plaza. Virilocality and avunculocality are indicated by conjugal family dwellings surrounding a plaza. Bilateral descent is indicated by informally arranged distributions of households at aggregated villages, or by *ranchería* settlement patterns. Neolocality is indicated by

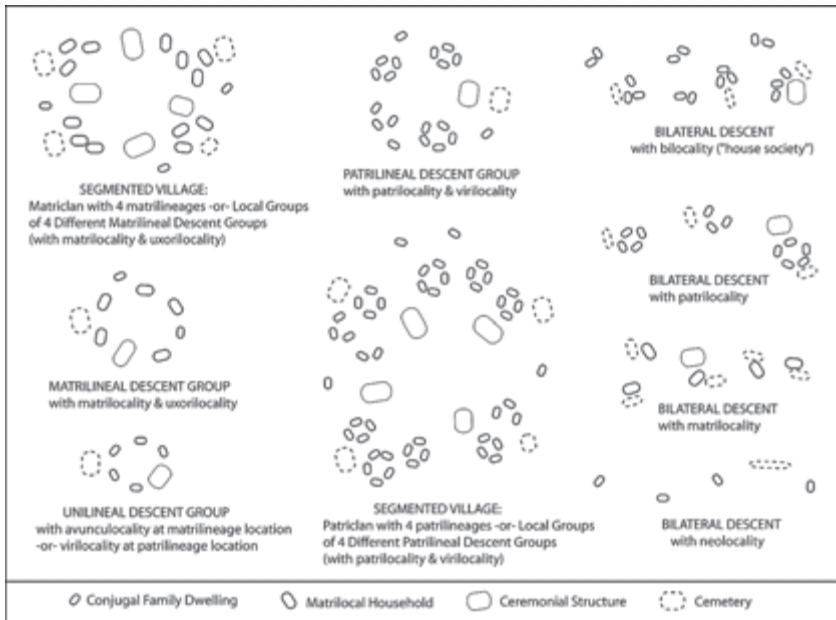


FIGURE 8.2. Ideal community patterns for matrilineal and patrilineal descent groups and bilateral descent

dispersed, informally arranged conjugal family dwellings. Cemeteries can be associated with households, local groups, or settlements. Where descent groups existed, there may be only local group-associated cemeteries, only household-associated cemeteries, or both, depending on the relative importance of descent group versus household group membership and identity. In bilateral societies, only household or residential-household group cemeteries can be expected, since there are no larger kin groups, yet sodality cemeteries (e.g., for settlements) might also occur.

CHAPTER NINE

Hohokam Descent Groups

Hohokam archaeologists have made only limited attempts to interpret descent groups. As was the case with household-scale organization, there are occasional vague interpretations of possible descent groups. Wilcox (1991) suggests that compounds in the Civano phase may indicate “corporate groups.” Wilcox et al. (1981), Henderson (1987b:10), and Clark and Gilman (2012:64) suggest that village segments may indicate corporate descent groups. McGuire (1992a) has also suggested that certain residential arrangements indicate descent groups and that certain artifacts were associated with lineages. As noted previously, some have confused household-scale residential groups with vague notions of lineages or “descent groups” (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012:64; Herr and Young 2012:10). Settlement structure is more often, and perhaps increasingly, used for other purposes. For example, despite variation, normative generalizations of formal settlement layouts are used as models for vague speculation on ideologies created to promote social cohesion: as leaders’ responses to environmental or population pressures (e.g., Herr and Young 2012:11–12) or to link “disparate” groups into a community (e.g., Wallace and Lindeman 2012:43). Clark and Gilman (2012) interpret informal layouts as evidence for a lack of continuous occupation and formal layouts as evidence for permanent occupations. Other than pointing out the possibility for descent groups, no Hohokam literature to my knowledge has suggested a particular form of descent-based social organization, with one exception. Haury (1956) provided the only specific interpretation to date, suggesting patrilineal descent based on the practice of irrigation agriculture.

Using the cross-cultural community patterns described in Chapter 8 as a middle-range approach to interpretation, this chapter returns to the case study for a diachronic analysis of changing descent group organization. The following analysis of descent-based social organization contextualizes the household-scale social organization interpreted in Chapter 6 and takes us far beyond the vague and normative interpretations previously made for the region on larger scales of social organization. The analysis includes diachronic spatial data from the same settlements: Pueblo Patricio (Cable and Doyel 1987; Cable et al. 1985; Henderson 1995), Snaketown (Gladwin et al. 1937; Haury 1976; Wilcox et al. 1981), La Ciudad (Henderson 1987a, 1987b), and Pueblo Grande (Bostwick and Downum 1994; Mitchell 1994a).

The Red Mountain Phase

The Red Mountain phase in this analysis is represented only by the data from Pueblo Patricio. The two, possibly three, conjugal family dwellings dating to the Red Mountain phase were widely scattered (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.1) and not contemporaneous (from CE 0 to 300), leading to an interpretation of neolocality. Only one conjugal family occupied the area at any one given point in time within this phase. Even if the dwellings were occupied at the same time, this ranchería settlement pattern would indicate bilateral descent with neolocality.

The Vahki Phase

The Vahki phase is represented here with intrasite spatial data from Pueblo Patricio and from Snaketown. The community patterns at Pueblo Patricio reflect the cross-cultural pattern for bilateral descent. At Snake-town, in contrast, the spatial distribution of households indicates matrilineage organization.

Pueblo Patricio

There were three recognized Vahki phase components at Pueblo Patricio. In the Vahki 1 component (CE 300–450), there were two informally arranged aggregates of dwellings, leading to the interpretation of cognatic residential groups. These were located in Heritage Square, on the east side of the site (see Figure 6.2). The two households lack a formal spatial arrangement or association with a plaza or ceremonial structure, indicating bilateral descent.

The overlapping Vahki 2 phase component at Pueblo Patricio (CE 390–450) was located on the west side of the site in Block 24E (see Figure 6.2). This occupation consisted of only one informal aggregate of conjugal family dwellings interpreted as a household for a cognatic residential group. If we assume noncontemporaneity with the Vahki 1 component, then this household was the only one present at the site, which would suggest bilateral descent. If assuming contemporaneity with the Vahki 1 component, then a *ranchería* settlement pattern would be evident, which also reflects bilateral descent.

The Vahki 3 component structures at Pueblo Patricio (CE 400–550) are widely spaced, two forming an aggregate in Block 24E, one in blocks 1 and 2 (see Figure 6.3). The aggregate was tentatively interpreted as a household for a cognatic residential group. The conjugal family dwelling in blocks 1 and 2 indicated neolocality. Again, the widely spaced distribution of the residences is a *ranchería* settlement pattern, indicating bilateral descent.

The implication for bilateral descent at Pueblo Patricio in the Red Mountain through Vahki phases is that early agricultural endeavors did not necessitate corporate group organization above the scale of the residential groups. Only individual-based kindred relationships, including those based on affinal relations, characterized interhousehold-scale relationships. Individual men and women had to negotiate their kindred and affinal relationships for a broader base of alliances and support.

Snaketown

The distributions of Vahki phase households at Snaketown indicate a matrilineal descent group. Two of the large dwellings were households for matrilocal residential groups, and the third was interpreted as a possible household for a matrilocal residential group, perhaps abandoned at an early stage of its domestic cycle (see Chapter 6). A portion of a fourth pithouse was also found. The identified pithouses were formally arranged around a plaza (Figure 9.1), conforming with the classic cross-cultural community pattern for a *de jure* corporate descent group. Wilcox et al. (1981:143) suggest the possibility for an additional large pithouse on the east side of the plaza, but this could not be observed due to the wider test trench intervals there.

As discussed in Chapter 8, the households for matrilocal residential groups indicate that the descent group was matrilineal. Because there were only two or three, possibly four, matrilineal household groups present in the descent group, a fitting label would be a matrilineage. The smaller pithouse could possibly be a conjugal family dwelling, in which case it would serve as evidence for a minor degree of uxorilocality.

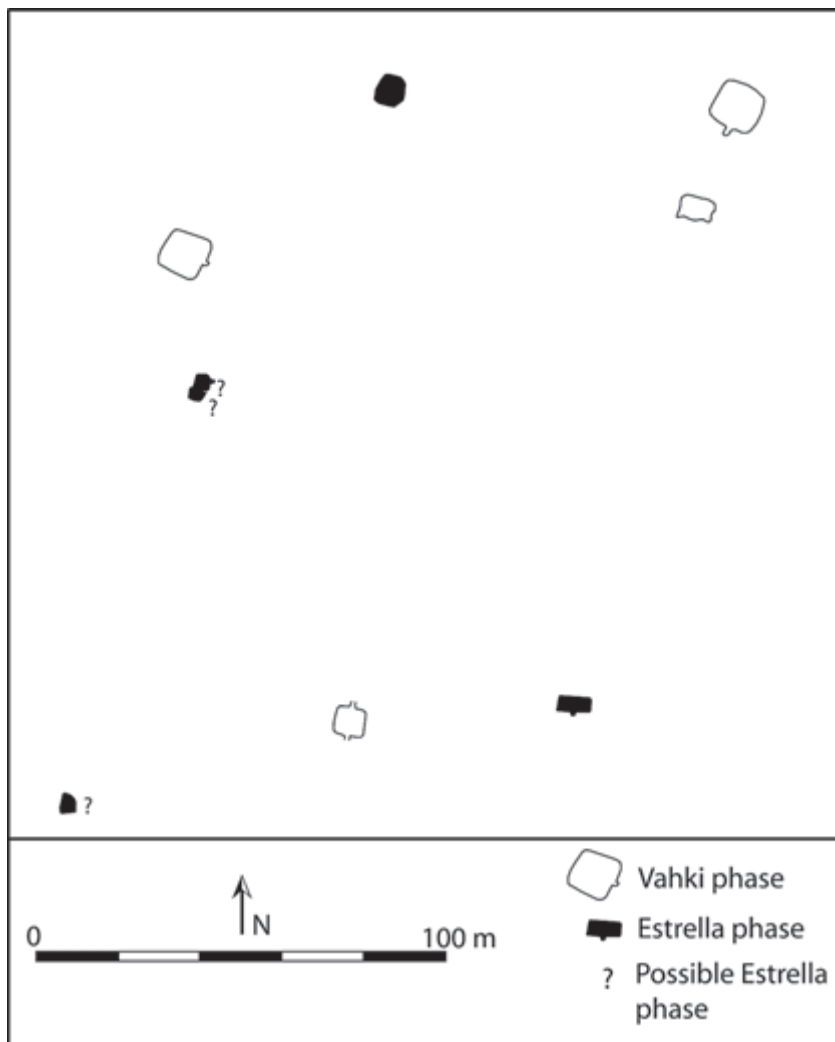


FIGURE 9.1. The Vahki and Estrella phase settlement at Snaketown (excerpted and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981)

There are a number of delineated cemeteries at Snaketown. Many of the individual cremations have been dated to specific phases (Haury 1976: 164–172). In the case of the eleven cremations and inhumations dated to the Vahki phase, Haury's information (1976: Figure 10.1) suggests that these were spread across the southern portion of the matrilineage's local group location, not as a delineated cemetery with concentrated burials, yet across that general area. However, the lack of household-

associated cemeteries suggests that the matrilineage, rather than the individual household groups within it, was the most significant corporate group for identity.

The matrilineal descent group has significant implications on corporate group membership, access to resources, and marriage. Membership to the corporate group that owned the settlement and local resources was through matrilineal relationships, through which co-ownership of, and rights to, the agricultural fields and the canal was obtained. This also would have entailed obligations among the members of the descent group to support one another and to collectively maintain in perpetuity the resources of the corporate group.

Members would have emphasized settlement exogamy. Through matrilocality, married men belonging to the Snaketown matrilineage moved to other settlements, creating a regional network of matrilineal alliances among them. Meanwhile, their sisters and female parallel cousins formed the principle core members of the local group, having the primary responsibility for maintaining the local matrilineal resources through their and their husbands' labor.

The two sites illustrate different social organizational strategies. Pueblo Patricio was likely occupied during farming seasons only, and its occupants relied on nonirrigation floodplain farming during this phase. The households may have belonged to different groups occasioning different locations throughout the Salt River floodplain. In contrast, the Snaketown community was already sedentary. This would suggest that the resources, the field locations and the canal, were more likely owned by a corporate group that restricted rights to these through matrilineal membership.

The Estrella, Sweetwater, and Snaketown Phases

Pueblo Patricio and Snaketown continued to exhibit different social organization through the Estrella to Snaketown phases. At Pueblo Patricio, bilateral descent with bilocality continued throughout the three periods. At Snaketown, the Vahki phase matrilineage experienced a dramatic change in the Estrella phase, which is interpreted as a shift to avunculocality. The matrilineage persisted through the Sweetwater and Snake-town phases, but the strategies for local group formation in those phases included bilocality alongside avunculocality or uxoricity.

Pueblo Patricio

At Pueblo Patricio, there was a continuation of bilateral descent with cognatic residential groups into the Snaketown phase. The only identified

occupation of the site in the Estrella-Sweetwater phase (CE 550–650) was an aggregate of structures interpreted as a household for a cognatic residential group (see Figure 6.4). Because no other households were present, or even if present in the unexcavated spaces between the excavated blocks, we must interpret a ranchería settlement pattern of widely dispersed households indicating bilateral descent. The same is the case for the Sweetwater-Snaketown component (CE 650–700) when there was only one known cognatic residential group at the site (see Figure 6.4). Pueblo Patricio was abandoned soon after. Bilateral descent networks therefore characterized the broader relationships among those occupying the site from the Red Mountain phase to the Snaketown phase.

Snaketown

The Estrella phase settlement at Snaketown included one pithouse that was interpreted either as a household for a small matrilineal residential group or as a large conjugal family, and three conjugal family dwellings. The pithouses surround the same Vahki phase plaza (Figure 9.1), indicating continuity in the matrilineage organization. The settlement reflects the expectations for virilocality and avunculocality: conjugal family dwellings surrounding a plaza. As described in Chapter 8, this community pattern following prior matrilineal descent group organization can be interpreted as a shift to avunculocality. This interpretation assumes that the matrilineage organization was maintained, yet men came to control the inheritance of matrilineage resources, resulting in a shift to avunculocality. The women belonging to the matrilineage would no longer remain at the settlement after marriage, and the unrelated women residing at the Snaketown local group came from other settlements, maintaining membership to those groups. There were no burials found dating to the Estrella phase, preventing observations on cemetery organization.

In the Sweetwater phase, the conjugal family dwellings were widely spaced or occurring in pairs (small cognatic residential groups). Most were scattered along the west side of the plaza. However, one additional pithouse was located on the north and one was more distantly located to the southeast (Figure 9.2). The plaza orientation was preserved, indicating a need to maintain an ancestral focal point for gatherings, and continuity in descent group organization is apparent. The small cognatic residential groups interpreted in Chapter 6 could suggest bilocality, which does occur with matrilineal descent groups (see Chapter 8). The isolated conjugal family residences may indicate continuity in avunculocality, but in a time of change, uxorilocality could also be interpreted. All three residential strategies could potentially have been negotiated among men and women matrilineage members, resulting in mixed strategies for local group

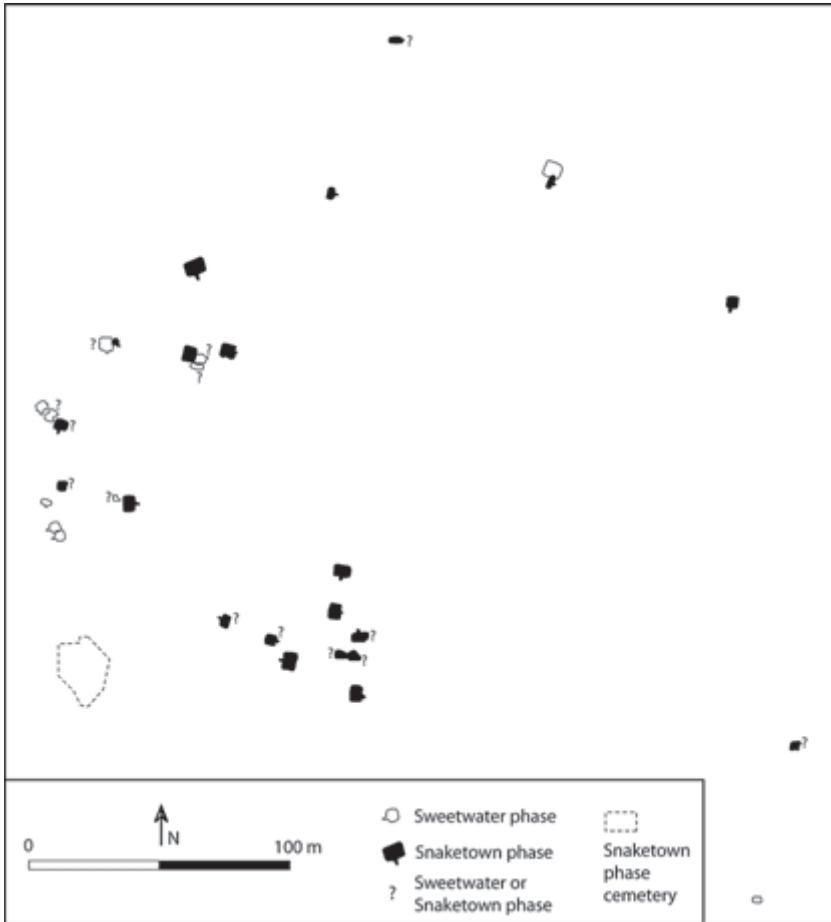


FIGURE 9.2. The Sweetwater and Snaketown phase settlement at Snaketown (excerpted and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981)

membership. Four cremation burials dating to this phase were found in the southeast plaza area (Haury 1976: Figure 10.1) where no residential groups were located, indicating the matrilineage was the more important group for identity.

The same community pattern persisted through the Snaketown phase. Cognatic residential groups were in households on the west and south sides of the plaza, and individual conjugal family dwellings were between those and framing the north side of the plaza (and possibly the southeast side as well; see Figure 9.2). A combination of avunculocality and bilocality, and potentially uxrilocality, at the matrilineage's settlement would

make the most sensible interpretation, which implies that local group organization entailed men's and women's negotiated residential strategies.

Snaketown phase burial locations suggest negotiated importance to the scale of corporate identities. Three cremation burials were located in a cemetery on the southwest side of the settlement. Two were on the northwest side of the settlement. Three were scattered across the southeast edge of the plaza. Two were to the south and more were to the southeast edges of the site. Although in communal spaces, some of the burials are also near to dwelling locations, suggesting the household-scale groups and the matrilineage competed for members' principle identities.

The Gila Butte Phase

The Snaketown and La Ciudad sites represent the Gila Butte phase in the analyses. The Snaketown matrilineage underwent a fundamental transformation in membership criteria resulting in a ramage. The colonization of La Ciudad took place at the very end of the Snaketown phase by neolocal conjugal families with bilateral descent that developed bilocal residential-household groups with a continued emphasis on bilateral descent through the Gila Butte phase. This is the same colonization strategy taken much earlier at Pueblo Patricio.

Snaketown

Several features at Snaketown indicate corporate descent group organization (Figure 9.3). The ancient plaza space was maintained. Ceremonial structures include Ballcourt 1, a caliche-capped mound, and a floor with linear arrangements of hearths (Haury 1976:155–156). The latter was later replaced by a crematorium. Neither the plaza nor the ceremonial features are associated with a particular group of houses. Among the fifteen cremations dated to the Gila Butte phase, seven are reported to be from the general area associated with the cemetery within the plaza (Haury 1976: Figure 10.1), presumably within that cemetery. Three were from the general area on the southwest side of the habitation area, presumably associated with the demarcated cemetery there. One was to the east of the habitation area. The two small cemeteries, and the additional burial locations not associated with specific individual households, suggest an importance of membership with the descent group rather than with household-scale groups. The communal ceremonial features, communal cemeteries, and habitation around the plaza indicate continuity in descent group organization, yet with a significant increase in ceremonial investments. Another interesting observation is that the concentration of

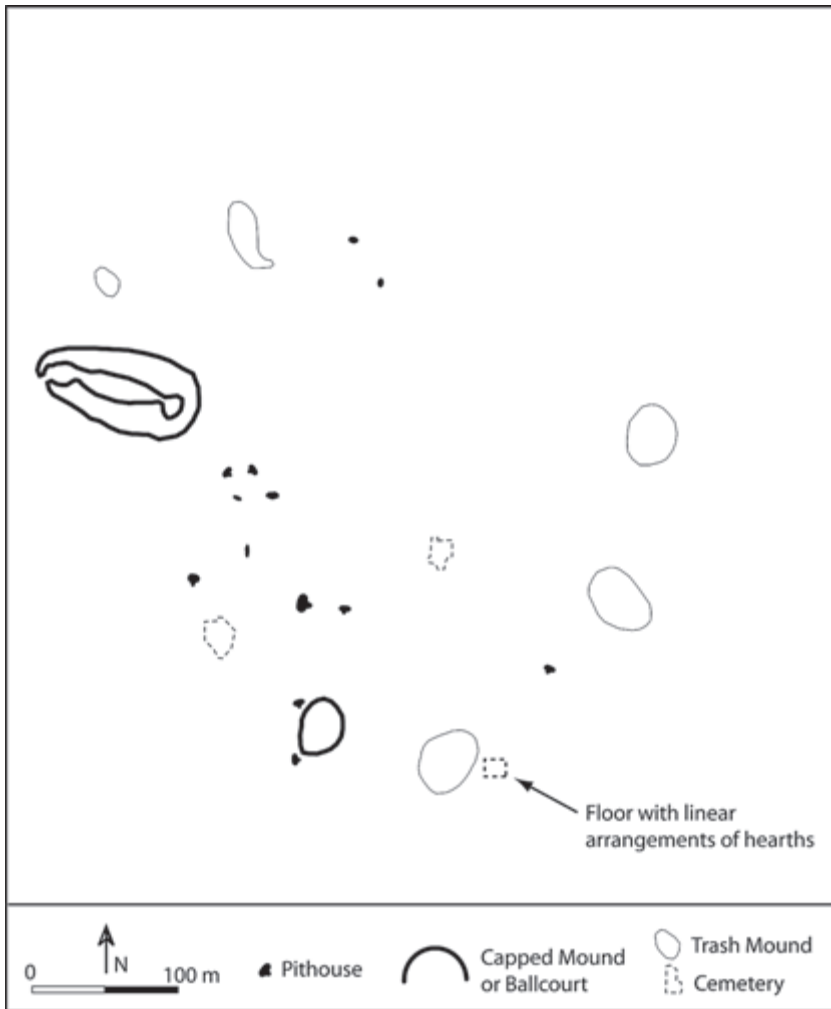


FIGURE 9.3. The Gila Butte phase settlement at Snaketown (excerpted and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981)

Gila Butte phase households occupy the same concentration in the preceding phases (see Figure 9.2), suggesting an ancestral affiliation with that Sweetwater-Snaketown phase segment.

An ambilineal descent group is interpreted. Households for cognatic residential groups, one of which had a matrilineal bias, and a patrilineal residential group were interpreted in Chapter 6. Although the cognatic household organization can occur with matrilineal descent groups (see

Chapter 8), patrilocality should not occur with matrilineal descent groups. Therefore, the descent group organization, with both cognatic residential groups and patrilocal residential groups, suggests a nonunilineal descent group. I suggest that the occupants of Snaketown in this phase formed a ramage: a corporate ambilineal descent group with ties to ancestors in the same location. The significance of interpreting a ramage is that it emerged out of the prior matrilineage after two phases of negotiated local group membership. For this to have occurred, children of both men and women would have been granted descent group membership. Marriages would still have been exogamous, but the exclusive members of both genders would be able to negotiate postmarital locations, perhaps preferring to remain with their descent group resources and kin at Snaketown.

La Ciudad

At La Ciudad, the early Snaketown-Gila Butte phase component exhibits a pattern of neolocality and bilateral descent. At the Brill, Bellevue, and the 22nd Street loci, only one structure was present at any given time during this early component (see Figure 6.7). The ranchería community pattern for the individual conjugal family residences indicates neolocality with bilateral descent.

In the later Gila Butte phase component, variously sized cognatic residential groups emerged (Chapter 6). The four households were widely distributed in an informal arrangement, a ranchería community pattern, indicating bilateral descent (see Figure 6.7). Only one cemetery was present, which was associated with one of the households rather than collectively serving the larger settlement. The only corporate endeavor that united the different cognatic residential groups was the construction of the canals at this time. Apart from that, there is little to suggest settlementwide corporate organization. For this reason, the collective investment in the canals indicates a settlement sodality among the widely dispersed cognatic residential groups. However, if practicing settlement endogamy to a certain degree, the sodality would consist of many individuals related through bilateral descent and affines.

Although separated by time, there appears to be a pattern in colonization strategies taken at Pueblo Patricio and La Ciudad. Both sites were first occupied using neolocality, whereby farmland was available without membership to larger groups. The use of bilateral descent provided a flexible strategy to form corporate ambilineal household or bilocal residential-household groups. Rather than a specific form of kinship characterizing phases, this strategy may be associated with a specific social context: the colonization of new resource areas to establish corporate household-scale groups.

The Santa Cruz Phase

The sites of Snaketown, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande are used in the analyses of descent group organization in the Santa Cruz phase. As with prior phases, there were divergent social organizational strategies. At Snaketown, ramage social organization continued in this phase. At La Ciudad, cognatic residential groups were manipulated to form unilineal descent groups, alongside continuity in cognatic residential groups. The Pueblo Grande settlement, however, was owned by one patrilineage.

Snaketown

The gradual growth in households surrounding the plaza at Snaketown continued through the Santa Cruz phase (Figure 9.4). In public communal spaces surrounding the plaza, more mounds were capped for ceremonial use, the communal crematorium was established, a large ceremonial pithouse was placed at the south side of the plaza, and the prior capped mounds and ballcourt were still in use (Figure 9.4). This community pattern is associated with corporate descent group organization. However, as was the case in the preceding Gila Butte phase, there were a number of cognatic residential groups, one of which also had a matrilineal bias, and a patrilineal residential group (see Chapter 6), suggesting that the gradually growing descent group was still a ramage. Many of the new habitation areas had solitary dwellings surrounding the plaza, which indicates that residence with the descent group's location (uxorilocality, virilocality, or avunculocality) was being emphasized by some. Although most of the households were concentrated in the southwest side of the plaza, there were no clear segments: there was only one local group consisting of numerous residential groups of varying kinds surrounding the plaza. Exclusive membership to the corporate descent group, entailing rights to the settlement's resources along with comembers' support, continued to be negotiated by men and women along matrilineal and patrilineal lines.

A total of 183 dated cremations are reported for the Santa Cruz phase at Snaketown (Hauray 1976: Figure 10.1). Seventy-one are from the same general site location as the plaza-associated delineated cemetery established in the Gila Butte phase. Another thirty-six appear to be from the general area associated with the southwestern cemetery established in the Gila Butte phase. The continuous use of the two cemeteries established in the Gila Butte phase indicates ancestral affiliation. Fifteen were in a newly established northern cemetery. Ten were in the vicinity of the capped mounds and crematorium, although no delineated cemetery is indicated there by Hauray (1976) or Wilcox et al. (1981). Cremations in much smaller numbers were present in many other portions of the site

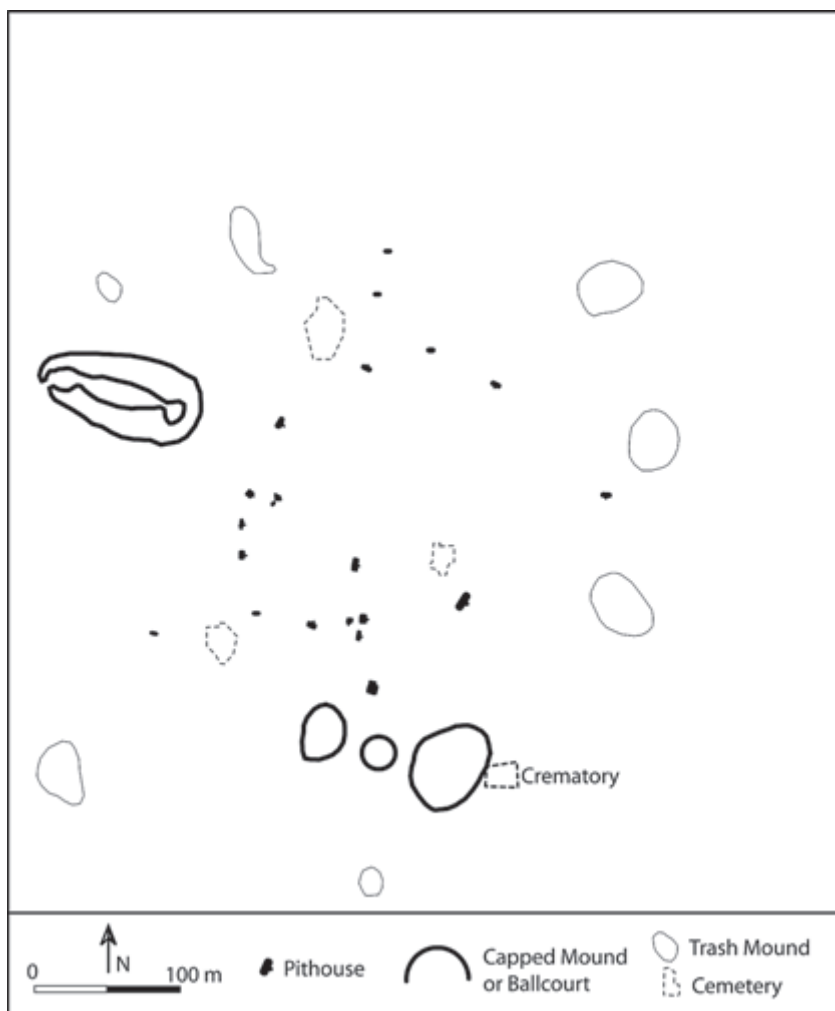


FIGURE 9.4. The Santa Cruz phase settlement at Snaketown (excerpted and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981)

surrounding the plaza. As none of the cemeteries is associated with an individual household, ramage identity appears to have been more important than household-scale group identities.

La Ciudad

At Santa Cruz phase La Ciudad, small descent groups were formed alongside continuity in cognatic residential groups. In the Belleview Locus, the

late Gila Butte cognatic residential group grew substantially in the early Santa Cruz phase to include a bilocal residential-household group on the southwest, a possible patrilocal residential group on the southeast and multiple conjugal families framing a plaza space with a cemetery. Additionally, a small ballcourt was added to a communal area on the south side of this aggregate (see Figure 6.8). This community pattern suggests the emergence of a small corporate descent group. The combination of residential groups suggests the descent group was a ramage.

In the middle Santa Cruz phase, the plaza, cemetery, and ballcourt were still in use. There were two *hornos* in a communal space on the northwest side of the plaza/cemetery. A public crematorium was constructed on the southeast side of the plaza/cemetery space. A household for a patrilocal residential group was on the west side of the plaza/cemetery, a household for a possible patrilocal residential group was on the south side of the plaza/cemetery, and conjugal family dwellings were on the north and southeast of this village segment (see Figure 6.8). The patrilocality in combination with the descent group spatial organization suggests that gender within the ramage was manipulated to form a small patrilineage. This also suggests that the individual conjugal family dwellings around the plaza reflect virilocality. The one cemetery in the plaza indicates that descent group identity was more important than household-group identity.

By the late Santa Cruz phase, this segment of La Ciudad had households for five patrilocal residential groups surrounding the plaza/cemetery (see Figure 6.9), which clearly exhibits the pattern of local group organization for a patrilineage. Additional conjugal family dwellings indicate some virilocality with the patrilineage location. Virilocality and the communal cemetery, in contrast to household cemeteries, indicate that patrilineage membership and identity were more important than household group affiliation and identity. However, the descent group lost some of its corporate functions by this time. The ballcourt, crematorium, and roasting area were abandoned. An additional cognatic residential group was located on the southeast of the segment, which may have been affiliated with the descent group.

A second descent group developed from a bilocal residential-household group in the Moreland Locus (see Figure 6.8). By the middle of the phase, the segment included a patrilocal residential group with adjacent conjugal family dwellings on the west side of a plaza/cemetery and three conjugal family dwellings on the north side of the plaza/cemetery, reflecting a formal community pattern for a descent group. The core patrilocal group suggests a patrilineage and the additional conjugal families surrounding the plaza/cemetery suggest virilocality. The one delineated cemetery in the plaza indicates that descent group identity was more important than household-scale group identity. Apart from the plaza/cemetery,

the only additional communal ceremony associated with the patrilineage was a crematorium (later replaced by the crematorium at the Belleview Locus patrilineage). The changes to social organization within the Moreland Locus mirrors that which took place at the Belleview Locus: a bilocal residential-household group was manipulated into a small patrilineage. However, this descent group was reduced to only one patrilocal residential group (numbered “6” on Figure 6.9) and one virilocal conjugal family by the late Santa Cruz phase.

The bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent in the 21st–22nd Street loci did not undergo changes to social organization. However, the eastern group had its own cemetery, and a new separate cemetery was associated with another group (see figures 6.8 and 6.9). This indicates that the bilocal residential-household groups were the basis for social identity in this portion of the site.

One corporate group disappeared in this phase. In the Brill Locus, the late Gila Butte bilocal residential-household group became a patrilocal residential group in the early Santa Cruz phase. However, it was reduced to only one conjugal family in the middle of the phase and abandoned by the end of the phase (see figures 6.7–6.9).

There was no settlementwide corporate kin-based organization at La Ciudad during this phase. The two patrilineages, the bilocal residential-household groups, and the short-lived patrilineal household group were autonomous social groups. However, all of the social groups at La Ciudad did collectively rely on, and presumably manage, the canals. As with the late Gila Butte phase, I suggest that obligations to those resources involved a settlement-based sodality among the divergent kin groups.

Pueblo Grande

Figure 9.5 shows the distribution of known features dating to the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases at the site of Pueblo Grande. The pithouses shown on this figure are indicated by schematic symbols and are not to scale. Although most of the immense site surrounding this central area was never excavated, large portions were investigated to the east of the area shown in the figure, which lacked pre-Sacaton phase occupations. So it is reasonable to assume that Figure 9.5 adequately captures most of the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase occupations.

The settlement structure at Pueblo Grande during these phases exhibits the cross-cultural community pattern for a corporate unilineal descent group. There were three aggregates of pithouses. On the west, three adjacent structures had entries facing a common space to their east, illustrating a degree of formality and thus patrilocality. A second aggregate was located just to the northeast. Although the entries were not indicated by Bostwick and Downum (1994: Figure 8.4), they represent either a formal

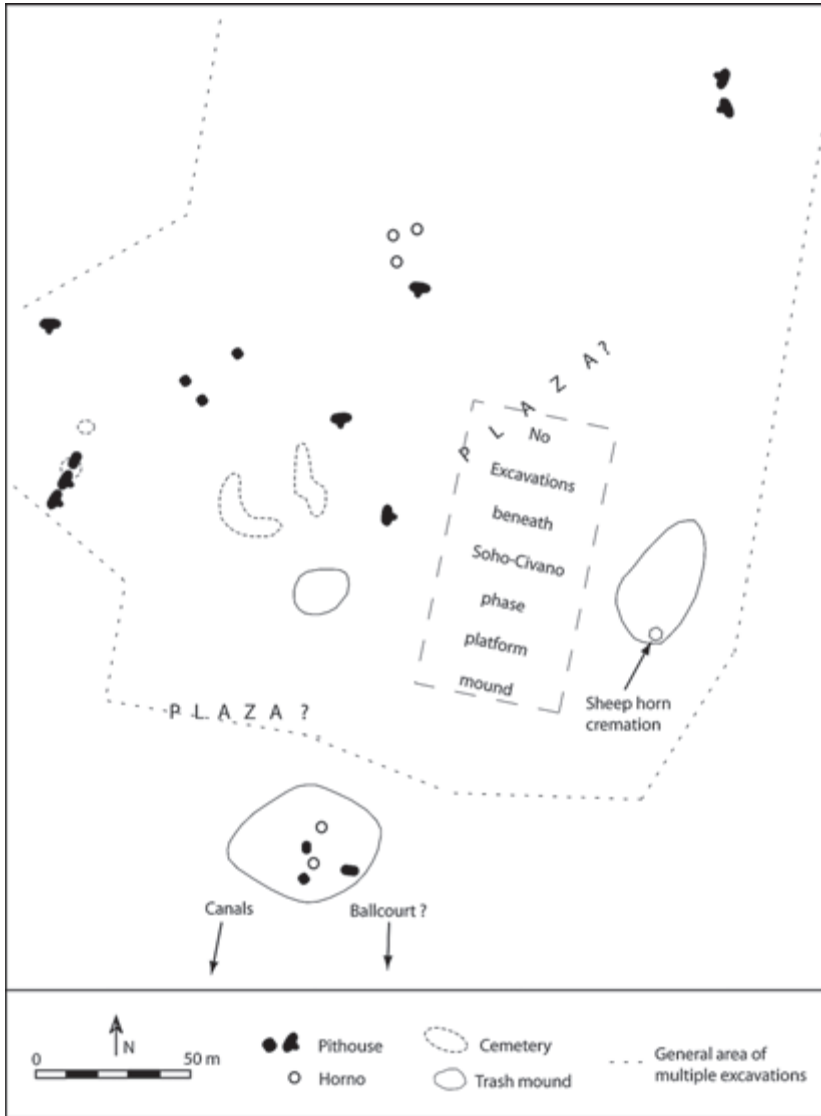


FIGURE 9.5. The Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phase settlement at Pueblo Grande (redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: Figure 8.4)

courtyard group or an informal courtyard group, suggesting patrilocality. A third group was identified within the southern trash mound, which also represents a formal or informal courtyard group, and thus patrilocality. There were additional solitary conjugal family dwellings and a pair of pit-houses to the northeast.

There are several indications for settlementwide corporate organization. There was a communal cemetery area containing most of the site's cremation burials in these phases. The cemetery was adjacent to some of the oldest occupations at Pueblo Grande, in prior phases, which suggests settlementwide descent-based affiliation with that group of founders. Although *hornos* were associated with the southernmost household, three were in a public location, suggesting collective roasting for the settlement. Additionally, a large and unusual Santa Cruz phase burial of cremated mountain sheep horns and numerous ritual artifacts was located on the east side of the settlement. The creation of this feature is interpreted as a public, communal ceremonial event (Bostwick and Downum 1994:304–310). An undated ballcourt in the southern portion of the site may have been associated with these phases (Bostwick and Downum 1994:310).

There were two possible locations for a plaza. Although the area between the two smaller trash mounds remains unexcavated (it is beneath an immense late Soho-Civano phase platform mound), there were no features dating to the Gila Butte to Sacaton phases present in that area, suggesting a possible plaza. Alternatively, the open space on the south side of the communal cemetery may have been a plaza. The communal cemetery, roasting area, sheep horn cremation, and the distribution of these and the households surrounding a probable plaza reflect the patterns for a unilineal descent group. The *de facto* or *de jure* patrilocal residential groups indicate that this was a patrilineage. The few solitary conjugal family dwellings may indicate virilocality—residence with the patrilineage's location.

The Sacaton Phase

The beginning of the Sacaton phase was a time in which descent groups at Snaketown and at Pueblo Grande were fundamentally altered. The Snaketown ramage was transformed into a patrilian with Omaha social organization. The patrilineage at Pueblo Grande was manipulated into a ramage in response to a large wave of neighboring immigrant bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent. This was also a time in which some settlements were abandoned, which was the fate of La Ciudad. Around end of the phase, Snaketown was also abandoned.

Snaketown

The layout of Snaketown in the Sacaton phase is well known among Hohokam archaeologists and has often been used as a normative model for

Hohokam settlements. As described in Chapter 6, most of the households at the site exhibit the classic courtyard arrangements, indicating a predominance of patrilocality. Also long recognized was the formal community pattern with habitation areas, ballcourts (a second was added in this phase), large ceremonial structures, and capped mounds surrounding the large central plaza (Figure 9.6). Although previously interpreted as representing a cosmological orientation (e.g., Wilcox et al. 1981), this community pattern unequivocally indicates a large patrilineal descent group.

Also long recognized are village segments around the plaza. There were three, and each was associated with ceremonial structures. The southern segment has a much longer history, dating back to the habitation areas of the Sweetwater and Gila Butte phases. This segment was associated with the large ballcourt, a large capped mound, the crematory, and three large ceremonial pithouses (seating fifty to eighty people each, one of which had mountain sheep horns across its floor [Wilcox et al. 1981:182]). The northern segment developed out of the scattered smaller households established there in the Santa Cruz phase and was associated with a newly constructed platform mound. The courtyard groups within the northern segment were associated with shell craft manufacturing (Seymour 1988), more numerous and larger storage pits, and specialized storage structures (Seymour 1994; Wilcox et al. 1981). The storage facilities led Seymour (1994) to interpret sponsoring of feasts by the northern segment. The third segment, also associated with a ballcourt, is in the southeastern portion of the site. The northern and southeastern segments are concentrations of courtyard groups, some informally arranged households, and conjugal family dwellings, indicating a diversity of residential groups within them (primarily patrilocal and virilocal) (Figure 9.6). Between the segments, but also framing the plaza, were additional virilocal residences and patrilocal residential groups.

The three village segments are interpreted as the remains of three patrilineages' local groups within the larger exogamous descent group's settlement (i.e., Omaha social organization) but could also represent local groups of three exogamous patrilineal descent groups co-occupying the same settlement. The ballcourts in the south and southeast segments indicate overlapping themes. However, the north and south segments had complementary ceremonial responsibilities. The southern segment sponsored ball games and the ceremonies associated with the large capped mound, with the large pithouse structures, and for the cremation rites. The northern segment was responsible for feast preparations, shell craft manufacturing, and the ceremonies associated with its platform mound. The distinctive yet complementary responsibilities of the northern and southern segments could reflect different lineage responsibilities for a

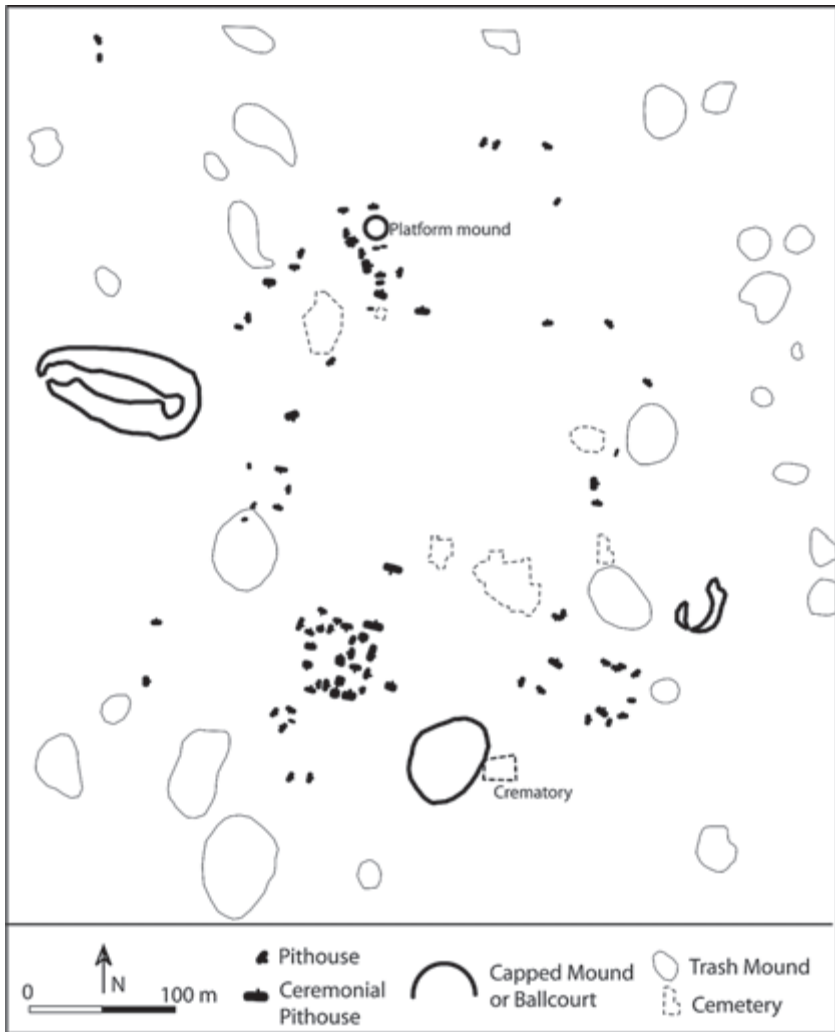


FIGURE 9.6. The Sacaton phase settlement at Snaketown (excerpted and redrawn from Wilcox et al. 1981)

larger exogamous clan or a ceremonial division of labor among multiple, co-residing descent groups. Because similar events were sponsored by groups at other settlements throughout the region, it seems likely that each settlement hosted nonlocal guests. When settlements are composed of multiple exogamous descent groups, each with their own ceremonial themes, we would expect less overlap in events among settlements: one clan's themes would only occur at the few settlements with local groups

of that same clan (i.e., at fewer settlements). Instead, many of the same ceremonial features are found at settlements throughout the region. For these reasons, I favor the interpretation that the owners of Snaketown formed an exogamous patriclan with three internal patrilineages (i.e., Omaha social organization).

The implication of virilocality is that those conjugal families had access to their descent groups' resources but were denied, or chose not to have, access to a household group's resources. These circumstances may have involved willful "escape" from household group heads' authority or, conversely, "expulsion" by those household group heads, yet without denying the social security of descent group membership. This perspective also implies that descent groups, like that at Snaketown, were successful enough that some conjugal families could rely only on those resources without attaching themselves to the lower-order groups.

Haury's locational information on cremation distributions (1976: Figure 10.1) generally coincide with the locations of six delineated cemeteries presented in maps by Haury (1976) and Wilcox et al. (1981), in addition to areas outside of those cemeteries. The distribution of the cemeteries (Figure 9.6) does not necessarily correspond with the households and segments. Some cemeteries were adjacent to the southeastern segment, yet these are more clearly associated with the plaza. No cemeteries were adjacent to the larger southern segment. In these cases, clan affiliation may have been more important to identity than the lower-order descent groups. The numerous additional cremations around the settlement, mostly in areas surrounding the plaza, may also indicate a greater significance to clan identity. However, the importance of lineage versus clan identity may have been more negotiated among members of the patrilineage represented by the northern segment, which had two cemeteries clearly associated with its space.

La Ciudad

At La Ciudad, only three loci had early Sacaton phase occupations. The multiple bilocal residential-household groups of the 21st–22nd Street loci had largely disappeared—only one small group remained. The Bellevue Locus was a local group for a patrilineage with one large patrilocal residential group (labeled "1" on Figure 6.9), and multiple virilocal conjugal family dwellings surrounding the plaza/cemetery. The Moreland Locus patrilineage's local group consisted of one to two patrilocal residential groups (labeled "7" and "8") and three conjugal families, indicating virilocality, around that plaza/cemetery (see Figure 6.9). The virilocality and plaza cemeteries suggest that patrilineage identity was more important than household group identities. As in previous phases, there

was no kin-based corporate organization among the two small patrilineages and the bilocal residential-household group. The rights to the canals and obligations to their maintenance more likely involved a settlement sodality.

Pueblo Grande

The analysis in Chapter 6 concluded that at Pueblo Grande there were primarily cognatic residential groups, with only few *de facto* patrilineal household groups. The distribution of Sacaton phase features shown in Figure 9.7 is in part a product of the areas tested and excavated. Multiple projects since Hayden's 1930s excavations have taken place in areas surrounding the large Civano phase platform mound, the data from which are synthesized by Bostwick and Downum (1994). The delineated area

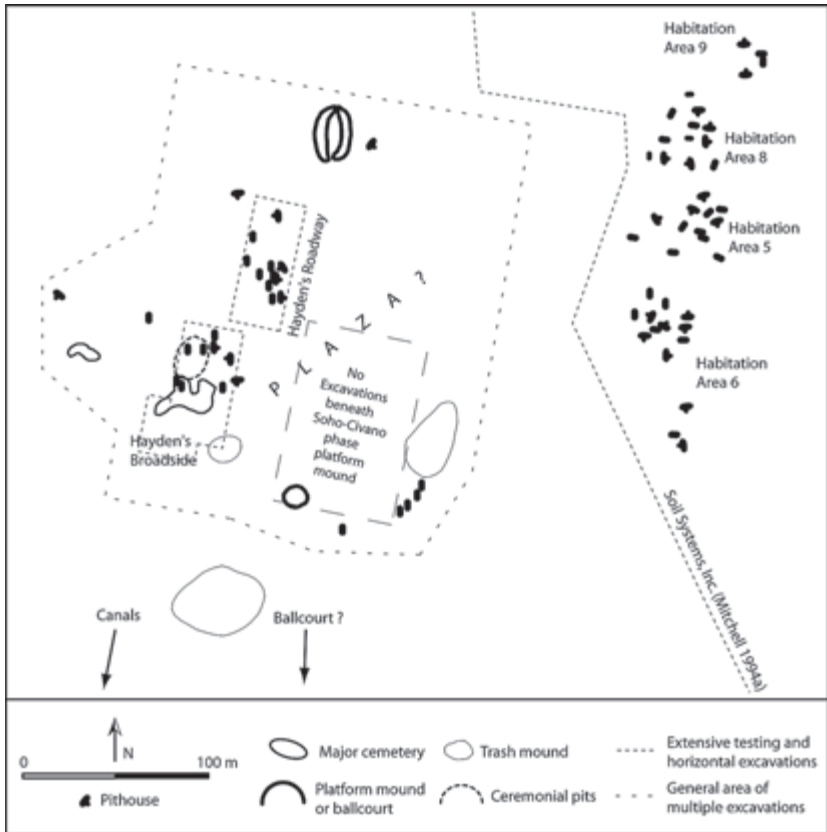


FIGURE 9.7. The Sacaton phase settlement at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: Figure 8.16; and Mitchell 1994a)

on the east side of the figure represents a small portion of the intensively tested, excavated, and analyzed portions of the Pueblo Grande Project by Soils Systems, Inc. (e.g., Mitchell 1994a). Large portions of this enormous site, within city blocks to the north and west and in the south by the canals, have yet to be systematically tested. Those areas did contain Civano phase surface ruins (e.g., Mitchell 1994a: Figure 1.2).

The earlier patrilineal descent group, shown on the west side of Figure 9.7, had an occupation history extending back to the Snaketown phase (although earlier Estrella-Sweetwater phase pottery was also found there). In the Sacaton phase, the local group included multiple aggregates of pithouses, a ballcourt, three trash mounds, numerous burials among the household areas, a large concentration of pits having unidentified ceremonial significance, and a small circular platform mound (Bostwick and Downum 1994:316–335). Together, these frame the north, west, south, and southeast sides of a probable plaza. Another ballcourt to the south may not date to this phase. This formal layout indicates a corporate descent group. Its location indicates descent from the settlement's earlier patrilineal descent group. However, the predominance of cognatic residential groups within the local group suggests a ramage with negotiated but exclusionary access to membership through both men and women.

Some of the ceremonial activities were collectively sponsored by the ramage, whereas some others were sponsored by one individual household group. The ballcourt and possible platform mound are more obviously in public, communal spaces. However, the ceremonial pits were located by one residential group. This may be an indication of sponsorship by a leading household group within the descent group. No similar public, corporate ceremonies appeared to have been controlled by the other household-scale groups. Additionally, the only large cemetery within the formal segment, at the same location as the Santa Cruz phase communal cemetery, was associated with that same cognatic residential group. This may indicate that this ambilineal household group symbolically claimed the most direct descent from the ramage ancestors. The sponsorship of the ceremonies associated with the pits, together with the use of an ancestral cemetery, suggests a household group of higher status than the others within the ramage.

One Sacaton phase burial within this segment is significant for its location and abundance of funerary accompaniments. Although no Sacaton phase pithouses are known to be located within or immediately adjacent to the southernmost trash mound shown in Figure 9.7, a cremation was interred there. The burial was of a young adult and is described by Bostwick and Downum (1994:320) as "one of the richest burials ever recovered from Pueblo Grande." It contained more than a dozen vessels, including scoops, pigments, shell jewelry, projectile points, beads, and a censer/mortar. A cache of eleven vessels was located 7 cm above the burial

pit, which may or may not have been associated with the burial. Because this burial is in a public location, and not associated with a household, it could be interpreted as that of a high-status individual within the corporate ramage. This is the second indication of internal status differences within the corporate descent group.

As many as ten canals were in use during the Sacaton phase (Bostwick and Downum 1994:335). These were located to the south and west of the site areas shown in Figure 9.7. Some were part of a larger extensive irrigation network that extended from the Pueblo Grande area headgates to numerous other settlements to the west, including La Ciudad. Although multiple settlements had a stake in maintaining the primary canals, the Pueblo Grande population clearly had a larger role to play in that responsibility. As such, we can interpret another corporate settlement role. However, the control over these irrigation facilities was most likely by the members of the ramage, which, more than any other group at the settlement, had descent-based legitimacy to lead ceremonial and secular affairs.

The second village segment is on the east, within the Soil Systems, Inc. project area (Figure 9.7). Despite intensive testing and excavations there, no pre-Sacaton phase occupations were found suggesting that the segment was founded quickly by immigrants from other settlements in this phase (this is not the accretional growth observed at Snaketown). This segment includes five aggregates, if interpreting two within Habitation Area 6. The five households for cognatic residential groups, a few of which include some degree of patrilocality (described in Chapter 6), are informally arranged in a manner reflecting the cross-cultural community pattern for bilateral descent. Each of the cognatic residential groups had their own cemetery areas (Chapter 6). Some had larger cemeteries with internal burial clusters indicating both residential-household group and conjugal family identities. All had small burial clusters within and adjacent to the household areas. There was no communal cemetery for the segment's population. There were no public ceremonial features, indicating only cognatic residential group sponsorship of rituals. The cognatic residential groups, combined with individual household cemeteries, alongside the community pattern for bilateral descent, all reflect the expectations for bilocal residential-household groups. The immigrant population had an entirely different, and less corporate, form of social organization than the hosting descent group.

The Soho Phase

The Soho phase population at Pueblo Grande grew substantially with continued waves of immigrants. The dwelling arrangements demonstrate

a continuation of cognatic residential groups, with some *de facto* patrilocal residential groups (see Chapter 6). The distribution of the immigrants' cognatic residential groups exhibits the cross-cultural pattern for bilateral descent. However, the ramage persisted within that broader settlement context of bilateral kinship. The continuing influx of new groups having bilateral descent was by the end of the phase reacted to by a consolidation and privatization of residential and ceremonial space by the ramage.

Figure 9.8 shows the distribution of the Soho phase household groups at Pueblo Grande. The prior Sacaton phase households, south of Washington Street, continued to be occupied into this phase. However, a large number of additional bilocal residential-household groups, some having a patrilocal bias, were established to the north. Although much of the site remains untested for subsurface remains, the intensive testing and horizontal excavations of the Soils Systems, Inc. project throughout much of the east half of the site yielded no Sacaton phase households in that extensive area north of Washington Street (e.g., Mitchell 1994a), indicating that the Soho phase occupations there were newly, and suddenly, established by immigrants from other settlements. Additionally, all of the Soho phase occupations within that large area were occupied into the following Civano phase, which suggests that the Civano phase ruins in the untested areas (shown on Figure 9.8) may also be the locations of Soho phase households. The scattered and unplanned spatial arrangements of the documented Soho phase households illustrate a classic example of the cross-cultural community pattern for bilateral descent. This would also be the case if assuming Soho phase households were located at the unexcavated locations for Civano phase surface ruins. Cemeteries were located within and adjacent to each household area (Chapter 6), which indicates that the bilocal residential-household groups were the principle social groups of affiliation and identity, as expected with bilateral descent.

In the southern portion of the site, the distribution of households continued to reflect corporate descent group organization (Figure 9.8). However, the households in this location were for cognatic residential groups (see Chapter 6), suggesting continuity in ramage social organization since the beginning of the Sacaton phase. Two larger, square-shaped platform mounds replaced the Sacaton phase circular platform mound (Bostwick and Downum 1994:341). On the southwest side of the southern mound there was a set of small "cubicles" built with post-reinforced adobe walls, which have been interpreted as storage features although few items were found there (Bostwick and Downum 1994:341, Figure 8.31). Two pit-house dwellings not forming a courtyard group were placed on top of that platform mound (Bostwick and Downum 1994:341, Figure 8.31). The partial remains of an additional structure, possibly a dwelling, were on the

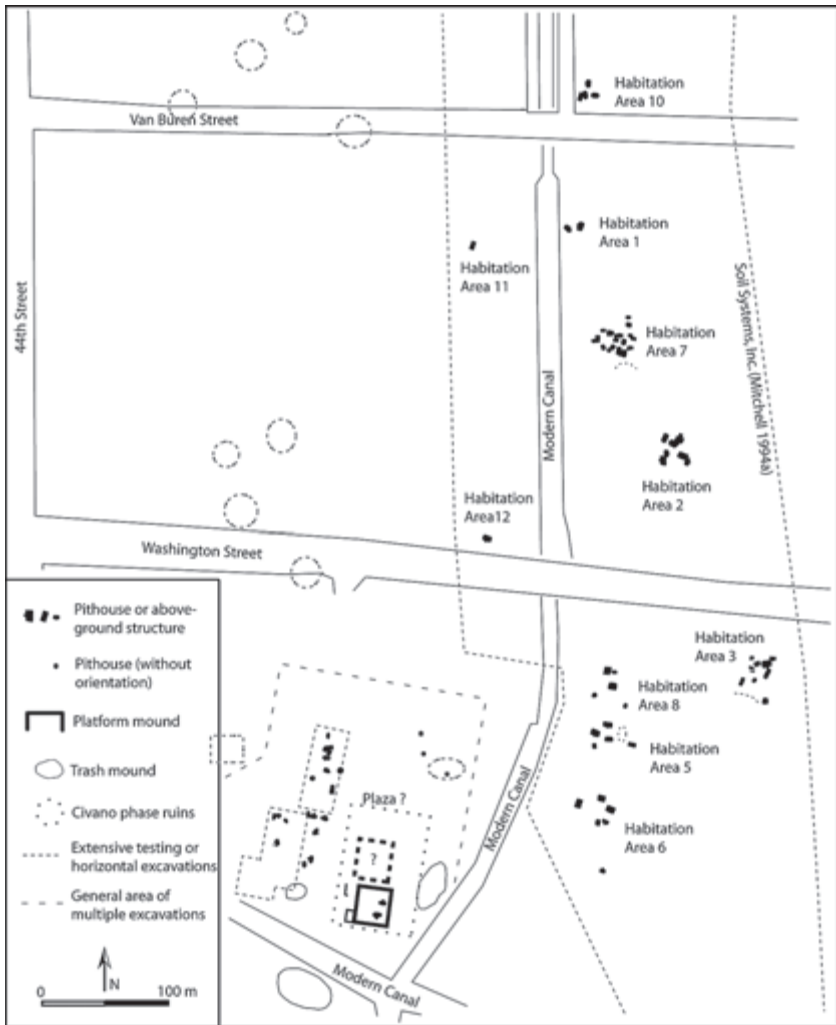


FIGURE 9.8. The Soho phase settlement at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: Figure 8.28; and Mitchell 1994a)

northwest side of that same platform mound. A cache of water-worn stones was placed on the east side of the southern platform mound, in the same general location as the Santa Cruz phase sheep horn cremation burial (Bostwick and Downum 1994:341, Figure 8.31). Although the later and larger Soho-Civano phase platform mound obscures a portion of the area, there may have been an open plaza bounded by households on the west, by the two platform mounds on the south, and by three

pithouses on the northeast. Burials were located within, adjacent to, and between the household areas, and these were concentrated on the west side of the platform mounds (Bostwick and Downum 1994: Figure 8.28), suggesting negotiated importance of household group- and ramage-scale identities.

This descent group also controlled all of the public ceremony for the entire settlement. Although all households had symbolic artifacts, cemetery areas, and small plaza spaces, only the descent group's area had platform mounds and other features suggesting major ceremonial activities. These could have been only for the ramage members, although more public functions servicing the entire settlement could equally be interpreted. If the former, then it is plausible to conclude that the descent group had higher prestige within the settlement by having more impressive ceremonies than other groups. If the latter, then a higher rank would be implied by the sponsorship of settlementwide ceremony. Also relevant is the fact that this was the original founding group of Pueblo Grande, having spatial ties to its ancestral location, which would have legitimized the descent group's high status within the settlement.

In the late Soho phase, the large platform mound visible today was first constructed over the two early Soho phase mounds. On top of the southwest corner of the platform mound were postholes, a hearth, and adobe walls, suggesting occupations there, but most of the late Soho phase surface of the mound has not been observed (Bostwick and Downum 1994:344, Figure 8.32). At least seven above-ground rooms, possibly dwellings, and two "courts" (nondwelling spaces enclosed by walls) were constructed off the northwest corner (Bostwick and Downum 1994:344). Each room appears to be associated with its own distinct court, which does not suggest courtyard groups. Surrounding the platform mound and room-court complex was a tall, possibly 2.00 m high, compound wall with a small entry on the northwest side (Bostwick and Downum 1994:341, Figure 8.32). The remaining spaces surrounding the platform remained unexplored but quite likely also contained above-ground structures.

The construction of the platform mound with adjacent above-ground dwelling areas enclosed by a heavy compound wall suggests major departure from the prior community pattern in this location of Pueblo Grande. The previous residential areas and ceremonial features in communal spaces surrounding plazas had been consolidated into a privatized, walled-in space (Bostwick and Downum 1994:360), which similarly occurred at other settlements in the phase (e.g., Doyel 1991a; Wilcox 1991). This is a clear expression of exclusive corporate group affiliation with, and exclusive control over, the platform mound, presumably by the Soho phase ramage whose members could claim descent from the early settlement founders who occupied the same location. This bold shift in social space,

along with the energy expenditure, was undoubtedly to distinguish that group from the recent immigrants who founded the numerous bilocal residential-household groups dispersed haphazardly across the local landscape. The descent group made its ancestral local resources (farmland and irrigation infrastructure) available to a settlement population size never before encountered until this phase. However, whatever events caused the waves of immigration to Pueblo Grande, the descent group reacted to this influx, and possible social tensions, with the consolidation and privatization of residential and ceremonial space.

The Civano Phase

The Civano phase settlement of Pueblo Grande continued to increase in size with more immigration. New households were added (habitation areas 4, 13, and 14) and Habitation Area 10 expanded significantly in size. Despite the shift to a predominance of above-ground compound architecture, the households and their distributions exhibit continuity with the same Sacaton and Soho phase community patterns (Figure 9.9). The ramage persisted, and the rest of the settlement was characterized by bilocality and bilateral descent.

The residential and ceremonial complex associated with the platform mound is better documented for the Civano phase. Bostwick and Downum (1994:351) interpret five to six courts, each associated with one to three roofed rooms, within the northwest portion of the compound. Although some of the room functions are uninterpreted, the hearths, pits, caliche-mixing basins, and other features/artifacts suggest a range of domestic functions, including dwellings of various sizes. The surface of the platform mound held numerous residential and nonresidential structures and spaces. Many of the latter are interpreted as accommodating a wide range of ceremonial activities (feast preparation, dance staging, ritual paraphernalia storage, and an astronomical observatory) that excluded the general public (Bostwick and Downum 1994:360–370). The dwellings could have been those of high-ranking leaders associated with the ceremonies. Although one male buried there had finely made cotton clothing, most of the platform mound burials were not distinct from those elsewhere at the site: the only suggestion of ranking is the burial *locations* on the mound (Bostwick and Downum 1994:366; McGuire 1992a).

I suggest that the group occupying the platform mound compound was still part of a ramage in this phase. The corporate nature of the habitation area within the compound is indicated by the shared space for adjoining courts and room units, and of course the collective association with the platform mound and its ceremonial activities, which the rest of the settle-

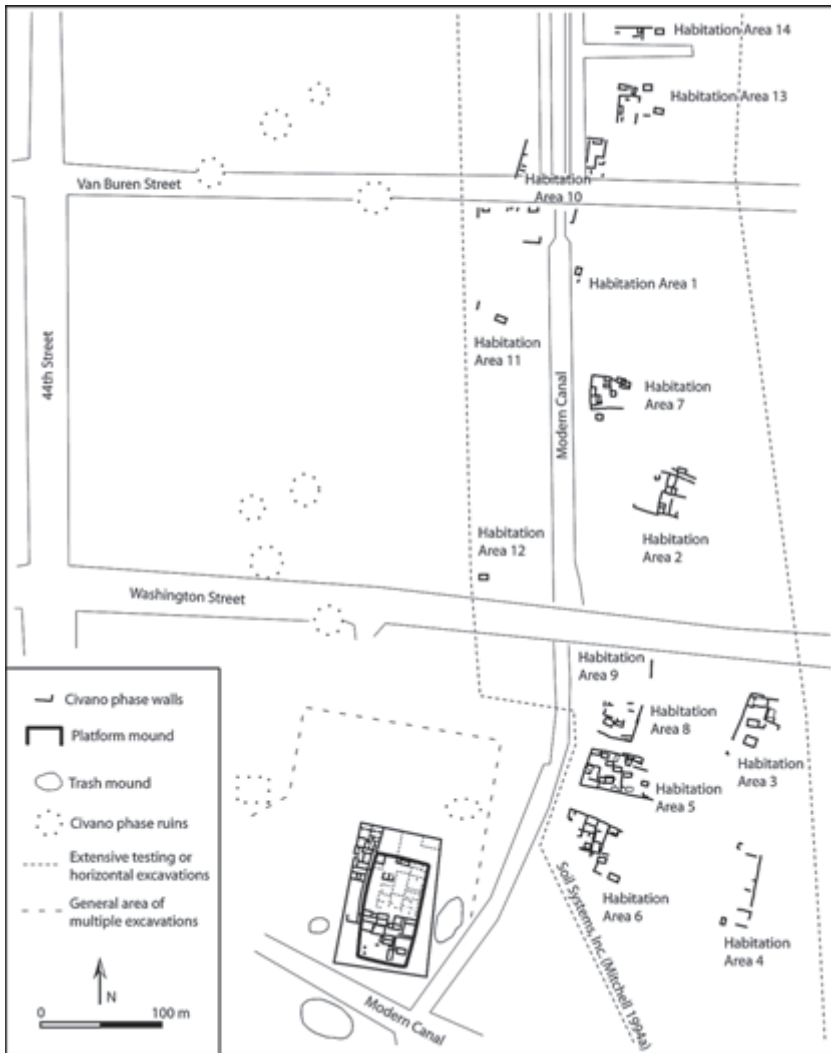


FIGURE 9.9. The Civano phase settlement at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: Figure 8.33; and Mitchell 1994a)

ment was excluded from. However, the room-court arrangements do not suggest any formal organization of dwellings. Instead, these are haphazardly arranged, suggesting cognatic residential behavior. For these reasons, it seems logical to interpret a local group for a ramage at that location, which implies a continuation of negotiated membership among the ceremony-controlling descendants of the original founding descent group.

Apart from the compound with the platform mound, there were previously recorded, yet unexcavated, Civano phase compound ruins in the ramage's ancestral location (Figure 9.9). Based only on the spatial arrangements of the three compounds, a plaza may be interpreted between them. If so, then the three compounds were households of three ambilineal household groups comprising the corporate ramage. Furthermore, this would imply that the ramage still maintained some of its prior public functions. Yet, only one of the ambilineal households controlled the exclusionary ceremonies of the larger ambilineal descent group, suggesting internal ranking.

The control over ceremony was not the only thing separating this group from the rest of the settlement. The two forms of social organization, a leading ramage with descent-based claims to the settlement founders and a younger collection of bilocal residential-households with bilateral descent, further distinguished the social characteristics of two populations at Pueblo Grande. At the end of the Civano phase, Pueblo Grande experienced the same population declines observed at other settlements throughout the Phoenix Basin. In O'odham oral tradition, this involved revolts against leaders specifically at Pueblo Grande and throughout the region (Teague 1993:442–443). Although explanations for the "collapse" usually invoke environmental determinism or ecological determinism, the kinship perspective presented here suggests social divisions were more likely at the heart of the changes. Presumably, the social differences among the settlement's two different populations could have exacerbated disputes over local resources strained by such a large settlement, leading to the demise of the ramage.

The Polvorón Phase

The occupation of Pueblo Grande in the Polvorón phase was by a smaller population. Only few areas were in use, which were limited to the southern half of the site. There was also a shift back to pithouse architecture, although some above-ground structures were built and some earlier Civano phase rooms were reoccupied. All of the known Polvorón phase dwellings are within or adjacent to the abandoned compounds.

The distribution of the patrilocal residential groups, cognatic residential groups, and neolocal residences indicates bilateral descent (Figure 9.10). If the occupants had a social reason to do so, their households could easily have been aggregated into a formal or informal cluster. Instead, they established a *ranchería* settlement strategy, indicating bilateral descent. The interhousehold relationships were based on individuals'

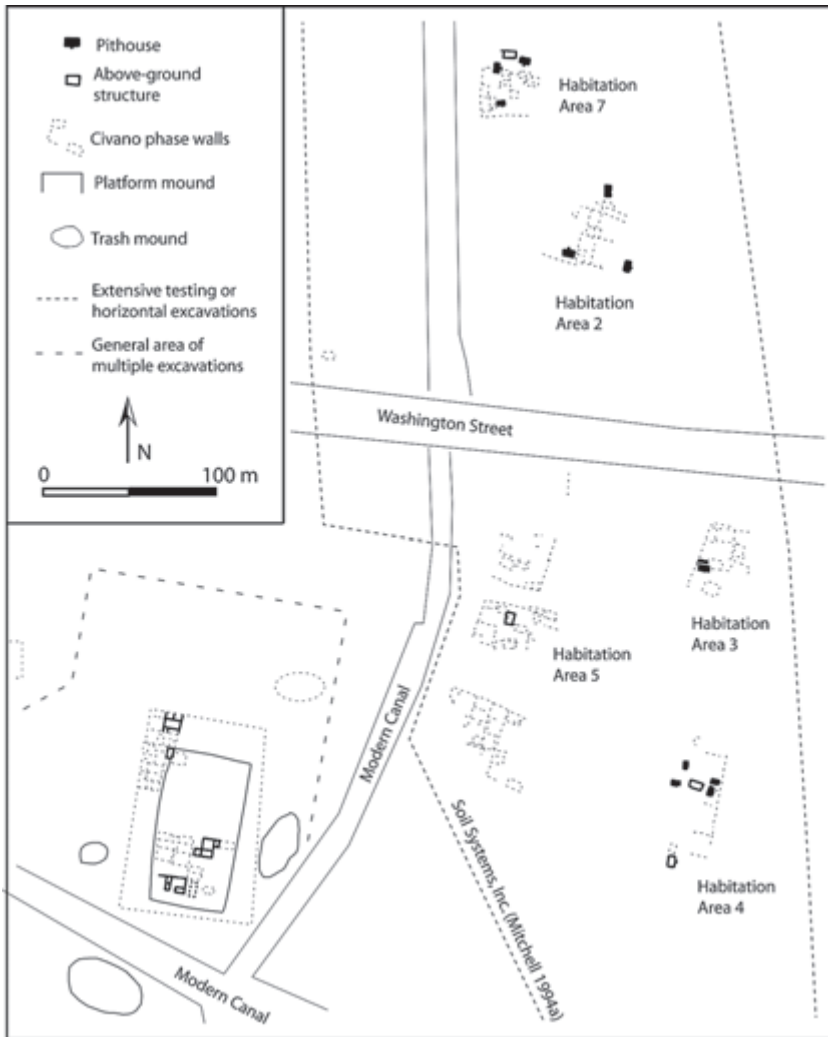


FIGURE 9.10. The Polvorón phase settlement at Pueblo Grande (compiled and redrawn from Bostwick and Downum 1994: Figure 8.41; and Mitchell 1994a)

negotiated kindred and affinal networks. The implication is that multiple strategies, both patrilineal and negotiated cognatic relationships through both men and women were used to obtain and maintain access to resources and social support. However, the cases of neolocality also indicate that it was not always necessary to obtain resources through kin.

Conclusions

The Red Mountain phase settlement at Pueblo Patricio indicates bilateral descent among neolocal conjugal families. Kin were not needed for access to resources, and the different small households were interrelated through individuals' kindred and affinal linkages. In the Vahki phase, access to resources was through men's and women's negotiated membership to cognatic residential groups, yet individual networks of bilateral descent continued to define relationships above the household scale. Meanwhile, a matrilineage owned the settlement at Snaketown. Resources were acquired through matrilineal membership to the matrilineal household groups and to the larger corporate matrilineage. Men were the post-maritally mobile gender, as the residential groups within the local group formed around women (sisters and female parallel cousins). The bilocality and bilateral descent at Pueblo Patricio continued through the Estrella to Snaketown phases. At Snaketown, the matrilineage persisted but with a shift to avunculocality in the Estrella phase, signifying control over descent group resources and inheritance through men, that fundamentally altered engendered postmarital mobility and the composition of the local group. In the Sweetwater-Snaketown phases, the matrilineage's local group was again manipulated through bilocality accompanied by avunculocality (and potentially uxoricolocality). In the Gila Butte phase, the descent group became a corporate ramage with ancestral ties to the earlier matrilineage. Transmission of membership, and associated rights, was negotiated through both men and women. Unlike bilateral descent, this was exclusionary membership: members could not claim rights with other groups.

At the very end of the Snaketown phase, the first occupants of La Ciudad were neolocal conjugal families with bilateral descent, which suggests resources were available without kin group membership. The founding neolocal residential groups developed into larger bilocal residential-household groups but maintained bilateral descent. The growing Santa Cruz phase ramage at Snaketown expanded its corporate ceremonial functions. At La Ciudad, two small patrilineages developed out of earlier bilocal residential-household groups, indicating a shift toward patrilineal membership to access the ancestral resources, local groups with core sets of brothers and parallel cousins, and the engendering of postmarital mobility. However, the settlement also included bilocal residential-household groups with bilateral descent, indicating negotiated membership for resources. The different patrilineages and cognatic residential groups did not form a larger descent group but instead relied on non-kin-based relationships for corporate settlement-scale affairs (e.g., an irrigation sodality). At Pueblo Grande, a patrilineage emerged in the Gila Butte and Santa

Cruz phases. Exogamous patrilineage membership, rights, and obligations were defined by relationships through men, and women were postmaritally mobile.

In the Sacaton phase, the continued growth and manipulation of household group and ramage membership criteria at Snaketown resulted in the formation of an exogamous patrilineage with three internal lineages. Postmarital residence combined patrilocality and virilocality. Snaketown during this phase was a settlement where people needed only to step out the door to be reminded of which social groups they and others belonged, from whom they descended, what social rights and obligations they and others had, and to what ceremonial and cosmological duties they and others were ascribed. Such formality implies an active effort to distinguish these groups from others. The patrilineages at La Ciudad disappeared from the record with the settlement's abandonment. Meanwhile, the Pueblo Grande patrilineage was transformed into a ramage, as a large new segment was founded by immigrant bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent for negotiated nonexclusive affiliations of men and women. The same dual pattern for social organization established at the beginning of the Sacaton phase continued through the Soho and Civano phases. Despite more waves of immigrant bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent, the ramage remained relatively the same. What did change for the ramage were the active efforts to control public ceremony to distinguish its membership's exclusive descent from the settlement's founders. The Polvorón phase community at Pueblo Grande was characterized by bilateral descent networks among patrilineal household groups, bilocal residential-household groups, and neolocal conjugal families.

Discussion

Prior interpretations of Hohokam social organization entertained only vague notions of possible corporate descent groups and proposed normative models of social organization for all Hohokam. In contrast, the kinship analysis identified bilateral descent, a matrilineage, ramage, patrilineages, and a patrilineage. The variability in social organization within each phase, and sometimes within settlements during single phases, and over time, defies normative models. Despite the varied histories of social organization among and within the settlements analyzed, several patterns do emerge that provide new insights on the Hohokam.

A common colonization strategy took place at Pueblo Patricio (in the Red Mountain–Vahki phases) and at La Ciudad (in the Snaketown–Gila Butte phases). Both sites were initially colonized by neolocal residential

groups to establish cognatic residential groups. From the description in this chapter it becomes clear that those residential strategies involved the use of bilateral descent. Networks of individual and affinal bilateral descent relations were presumably emphasized to maintain kin-based sources of social support while colonizing new resource areas, and later to attract potential members to form corporate groups.

Hohokam ballcourts and ceremonial features were not associated with settlements. They were associated with descent groups. The analysis confirms prior vague suggestions that descent groups were associated with games to attract marriages (e.g., Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). At Snake-town, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande, ballcourts and all ceremonial structures are *only* associated with descent groups—not with bilateral descent. The juxtaposition of corporate descent groups and those having bilateral descent at La Ciudad and at Pueblo Grande indicate that only the former controlled and sponsored public games and ceremonies.

Descent-based relationships were essential to Hohokam identity and access to resources, yet these relationships were variably defined. Long noticed among Hohokam archaeologists is the continuity in “courtyards” whereby dwellings were added around the small plaza spaces over generations (e.g., Craig 2007; Craig et al. 2012; Doyel 1991a:248–249; Howard 1985; Wilcox et al. 1981). Although the analyses indicate far fewer courtyards than those normative models assume, they do illustrate a remarkable attachment to place among households and village segments over generations. Households and descent group segments occupied the same locations over generations. The same cemeteries of descent groups, household groups, and bilocal residential-household groups were used over generations. These spatial attachments across generations demonstrate unilineal and negotiated cognatic strategies to forge living members’ identities with ancestors.

With few exceptions (e.g., Wilcox 1994, as described by Bostwick and Downum 1994:383), analyses of social hierarchy among the Hohokam has assumed leadership by individuals or individual households rather than by larger social groups. At best, McGuire (1992a) may have found slight differences in burial accompaniments among members *within* residential groups, and Craig (2007) and coworkers (Craig et al. 2012) suggest that courtyard groups competed for rank, but these perspectives ignore larger descent groups. As described in Chapter 7, when ethnohistorians focus on individual relationships to interpret leadership and succession, they often fail to observe how corporate groups, not individuals, claim positions of rank. At Snaketown, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande, the oldest descent groups had the most numerous ceremonial features, suggesting a higher communal status for lineage members. These status

differences could have been associated with ranking or just prestige. The absence of individual distinctions in burials or dwellings may simply reflect a general lack of, or masking of, internal status/ranking *within* the descent groups. Only one Sacaton phase burial at Pueblo Grande suggests an individual of higher status within that descent group. But the general pattern emerging from this analysis suggests that status differences were primarily based on intergroup relationships, rather than on individual or individual household relationships. This conclusion supports Wilcox's (1994) perspective on Hohokam status. In contrast, where bilateral descent was recognized, there were no apparent differences in status or ranking among household or residential-household groups.

Conventional wisdom on the Hohokam, based on culture historical "traits" and an assumed "evolving system," views continuity between the Santa Cruz and Sacaton phases, followed by major changes during the Sacaton-Soho phase transition. In contrast, the kinship analyses reveal major transformations in social organization at Snaketown and Pueblo Grande during the Santa Cruz–Sacaton phase transition, and continuity from the beginning of the Sacaton phase until the end of the Civano phase at Pueblo Grande. When observing social organization through a kinship perspective, there is evidence for regional forces of change much earlier than previously thought. Following those changes, there was much more continuity from the Sacaton to the Civano phases than previously thought. The changes to architecture and pottery traits lagged significantly behind the more important changes (to social organization).

The variation in kinship across time and space within the Phoenix Basin leads us back to one of the principals of kinship theory: *kinship is a malleable and changing strategy* for accessing and distributing rights to resources. This principle applies to the formation of, and changes to, the different forms of descent groups encountered (i.e., a matrilineage, ramage, patrilineages, and a patriclan) and the use of bilateral descent. A flexible understanding of kinship within broader social contexts is therefore needed to understand where and when strategies were used. These contextual observations not only shed light on the malleability of, and changes to, Hohokam social organization but also are relevant to ethnological theories on the origins of specific forms of kinship strategies (see Chapter 14).

There appears to have been a cultural strategy for colonizing new resources areas. Descent groups, not settlements, are associated with public, communal ceremonies. All forms of kin groups emphasized descent to ancestors. Status and ranking were based on group organization and agency, not individual leadership. Contrary to culture historical models,

the Santa Cruz–Sacaton phase transition was a time of dramatic change followed by continuity from the Sacaton through the Civano phase. Perhaps what stands out the most was the malleability of Hohokam kinship strategies within phases, within settlements, and across time. These new perspectives would not be possible without archaeological kinship analysis.

PART FOUR

Marriage, Political Economy, and Transformations

Put simply, through kinship social labor is “locked up,” or “embedded,” in particular relations between people.

Eric R. Wolf, Europe and the People without History

To pursue the relations of production to their heart only to find structures of kinship is by now predictable.

*Nicholas Modjeska, “Production and Inequality:
Perspectives from Central New Guinea”*

The division between social structure and political economy, especially in small-scale societies, is arbitrary. The basis for all social groupings is kinship, interpersonal relations that arise from marriage and descent. In small-scale societies both within- and between-group relations tend to be dominated by kinship relations.

*William F. Keegan, The People Who Discovered Columbus:
The Prehistory of the Bahamas*

CHAPTER TEN

The Political Economy of Kinship and Marriage

Parts II and III describe different social organizational strategies and their archaeological interpretation. Part IV focuses on the political economic dynamics of kinship and marriage systems. This chapter describes a political economic perspective on kinship leading to hypotheses on change for three categories of social organization and marriage: descent groups with “elementary” reciprocal marriage systems, descent groups with Crow/Omaha organization and competitive exogamy, and cognatic organization with “complex” competitive marriage systems. Chapter 11 discusses the archaeological data needed to address the hypotheses, and Chapter 12 evaluates the degree to which the models can explain social changes among the Hohokam.

The value of a political economic perspective is that it integrates social organization, marriage, ceremony, exchange, ideology, and agency into holistic models on social dynamics, social reproduction, and change. Although some US archaeologists may be uncomfortable with the use of a political economic framework or may not immediately see the reason for its use, the integration of kinship and political economic analysis is a long tradition. Kinship incontrovertibly influenced classical Marxist theory. For Marx (1964), various forms of “community” in noncapitalist societies are what anthropologists recognize as kinship relations. For Engels (1972), “family” meant various forms of kinship, as originally described by Morgan (1870). Engels’s work then influenced more than a century of feminist theory, which returned to influence anthropology (e.g., Leacock 1972, 1978; Reiter 1975; Rubbo 1975b). But this is old news.

Here we are interested in more recent and better ethnographically informed perspectives. After a long period of cognitive trends, research since the 1970s illustrates an awareness that kinship relations *are the basis for political economic relations* within nonstate societies (e.g., Arcand 1989; Friedman 1984; Gailey and Patterson 1988; Godelier 1978, 1982, 1984; Leacock 1972, 1978; Ledgerwood 1995; Meillassoux 1972, 1981; Modjeska 1982; Moore 1991; Rosman and Rubel 1971; Schweizer and White 1998; Terray 1984; Tsing and Yanagisako 1983; Wolf 1982:88–96). In its more current uses, kinship analysis provides a framework for understanding the local impacts of, and active reactions to, expanding global capitalism (e.g., Blackwood 2007; Chan 1994; Choi 2000; Dube 1997; Ellison 2009; Hutchinson 1996; Jarvenpa 2004; McKnight 2004; Peletz 1995; Sillitoe 1999). To propose that archaeologists should approach kinship with an up-to-date anthropological perspective should not be considered surprising or controversial. Alternatively put, attempting to understand social organization and marriage without considering how social relations, labor, property, competition, leadership, and ideology are intertwined (i.e., a political economic perspective) would ignore the wealth of anthropological knowledge on the subject.

This chapter begins with an overview of how kinship structures social relations of production in nonstate (or non-class-based) societies. Different marriage systems (elementary, Crow/Omaha, and complex) are shown to variably structure agency, ceremonial competition, and surplus production. Once arriving at a general understanding of the ways that kinship and marriage organize political economies and agency, the final section focuses on the internal processes leading to social transformations. Although using the term “process” here, no evolution or human passivity is implied.

Kinship, Political Economy, and Transformations

Political economic analyses seek to understand a given society in terms of its social, economic, political, and ideological organization. A critical aspect of political economic analysis is that a given social formation is best understood or explained by the ways in which people interact in production and property ownership. These are *social relations of production*. As anthropology became more materialistic in the 1960s and 1970s, cultural ecology (after Steward 1963) and cultural materialism (after Harris 1968), among other materialistic perspectives, established traditions that focused on production-related explanations for cultural phenomena. Although having different understandings of the subject, all had some basis

in Marxist theory, explicitly or implicitly. Many anthropologists sought to discover and label new *modes of production* defined by social relations of production in non-Western cultures. After many labels were given, the concept of mode of production began to lose its value. Even worse, many began to define modes of production based on subsistence/ecological adaptations, which are *never* social relations of production. Others were more interested in general categories of modes as conceptual tools for analysis (e.g., Sahlins 1974; Wolf 1982), as opposed to rigid types. As more anthropologists used these concepts as an *analytical framework* for nonstate societies, they discovered that social relations of production were consistently kinship relationships. Once again, political economic analysis became intertwined with kinship analysis (see Peletz 1995).

Social Relations of Production

A simple but operable definition for a *mode of production* is the social relations of production surrounding the ownership/control of the means of production. There are two elements here: the means of production and the social relations of production. The *means of production* are nothing more than the resources and/or tools that people use to produce things. These do not indicate a mode of production. Instead, the *social relations of production* governing the ownership/control of resources and tools define the mode of production. The owners may be the producers or they may be different than the producers.

To give a familiar example, under capitalism proletarians do not own resources or technology with which to make a living. The bourgeoisie own the resources and technology, in the form of private property, but do not possess the labor required to produce industrial commodities with those means of production. They are dependent upon proletarian laborers, who in turn are dependent upon the employment of the bourgeoisie. This codependence did not happen by coincidence: capitalism creates large populations of proletarians whose former resources became monopolized by the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the relationship between the owners and workers in the acts of producing things are the social relations of production. Bourgeoisie and proletarians are defined by their social relations of capitalist production, and those relationships identify the two as social classes (having remarkably different conditions, interests, power, and political influence). The relationships are reproduced by economic policies addressing the interests of the bourgeoisie and by hegemonic ideologies that mask or divert attention from exploitive relationships. Even where proletarians understand they are being exploited,

undervalued, and disposable, they maintain their relationship with the bourgeoisie because they have no choice. By definition, they lack resources with which to make a living.

The label “such-and-such mode of production” is meaningless without an understanding of the social relationships involved in ownership and production. Any given situation is best understood not by attempting to classify it as “such-and-such mode” but, rather, by using this perspective as an analytical tool for understanding human relationships and their broader consequences within the particular society examined. As described in chapters 4 and 7, kinship provides the basis for resource ownership. Household groups, residential-household groups, unilineal descent groups, and ambilineal descent groups are corporate, resource-owning estates. Their members have access to those resources, obligations to contribute labor using those resources, and additional supportive obligations to other members. They do not gain access to the resources of, or have the same obligations toward, other social groups. Membership to these groups is based on unilineal descent, ambilineal descent, bilateral descent, and so forth. Thus, it is by no accident that the particular kinship relations are the social relations of production when we observe how people in kin-organized societies gain access to life-giving resources and social support.

The different household groups, residential-household groups, unilineal descent groups, or ambilineal descent groups do not exist in a social vacuum. There are also important *intergroup* relationships to consider that influence production. To perpetuate or prosper, corporate groups need to reproduce their members through marriage. People are “exchanged” among the kin groups, forging alliances among them and requiring material exchanges in property and/or gifts, which are often substantial to attract marriages. The exchanges of gifts and feasts require surplus production that would be unnecessary without the exchanging of people through marriage. Property may also be exchanged through marital alliances (usually movable property, e.g., livestock). Some surplus production, therefore, cannot be understood without observing the preferences or rules for marriage. Once again, we arrive back at kinship relations as dictating the social relations of production when we observe this reason for surplus production.

As described in Chapter 7, ceremonial organization is based on the social organization of a kin-ordered society. Descent groups identify ancestors for good reasons: they provided the resources upon which the living cohorts survive, and those resources need to be kept in perpetuity for future generations. The descent group members therefore have collective ceremonies or daily individual rituals venerating those ancestors. Many of these require offerings of kin group livestock or food products,

in addition to the feasts and gift exchanges that accompany the ceremonies. In addition to their own ancestor veneration, descent groups commonly sponsor themed ceremonies for their larger society. They must maintain in perpetuity the spiritual knowledge, paraphernalia, stories, songs, and dances across generations in addition to maintaining any ceremonial structures and producing surplus for the gift exchanges and feasts given to all the other attending kin groups. We have again arrived back at kinship relations structuring the social relations of production when observing this other reason for surplus production. Simultaneously, we arrive back at the awareness that the cosmological organization, represented by the distribution of ceremonial themes among kin groups, is a reflection of kin-based social organization.

As also described in Chapter 7, kin group ceremonies may be avenues toward status and ranking. Collective descent group status, and ranking where it exists, is based on the groups' competition through ceremony and gift exchanges (Rosman and Rubel 1971). This compels members of kin groups to collectively produce greater surplus to consume and give away at ceremonies, which also happen to be the contexts for making marital alliances between the competing groups. Hereditary leaders, legitimized through descent, are also competing for status or rank vis-à-vis other descent group leaders. Other leaders may be individual sponsors for one or more of a descent group's ceremonies, legitimized through descent-based group membership and performance, and they, too, use ceremony as the basis for establishing status. All other members of a kin group also benefit from the surplus production and participation in ceremonies: the basis of their own collective status, which determines their ability to attract spouses to reproduce their own household groups. As already stated, the competition involved in kin-based ceremonies can potentially require an enormous amount of surplus labor. But the same social relations of production are also the social foundations of status and rank: kinship relationships are the basis for social inequalities.

Even kinship nomenclature is a cognitive reflection of social relations of production. For example, Moore (1991) demonstrates how kin terminologies are explained by social relations of production. In the Cheyenne's kin terminology system of the late nineteenth century, brothers and sisters were differentiated by seniority in kin terms (i.e., age-set distinctions). Senior women tended to have specialized occupations (herbalists and providers of staple roots that require experience to locate, and "midwife"). Young women had less specialized occupations (domestic "wood chopper," wood/water carrier, "at school"). In the middle were women listed as "housekeeper." Senior men had important specialized aboriginal occupations ("pipe maker," "arrow maker," and doctor/medicine

man). Middle ages were associated with a variety of reservation jobs that were age ranked from “freighter” on the elder end to “teamster” on the younger end. The youngest category included nonspecialized occupations (“herder,” “fisherman,” and “at school”). This pattern among Cheyenne allowed Moore (1991) to identify an “idealized labor schedule” with age and gender roles that are reflected in, and explain, the gendered and age-ranked sibship kin terms.

Finally, for those seeking patterns of exploitation, we can again look at kinship-based social relations of production. Hereditary leaders and other ceremonial leaders rely on the surplus production of their descent groups, or at least that of their residential groups (hence, polygyny or polyandry). Elders rely on the surplus production of juniors within their residential groups or wider descent groups. With unilocality, members of the postmaritally mobile gender have loyalties to their household groups but labor for, and raise children for, the benefit of their spouses’ household groups. Additionally, women may become objectified by men and elders/leaders for their reproductive potential to perpetuate descent groups. The kinship-based social relations of production are the sources of exploiting labor and women. This is why we find a lure to modernization ideologies espoused by agents of expanding capitalism today: the belief that people can free themselves of these exploitative relationships through success as wage laborers or private property owners, even if the chance of successfully making a living by those means is unlikely (e.g., Blackwood 2007; Hutchinson 1996; Ong 1987). Of course, many peoples are being forced into these circumstances, and, no matter how they arrive in them, one set of exploitative relations is replaced by a typically worse set, especially for women.

In these ways, the search for social relations of production in nonstate societies inevitably draws our attention to kinship and marriage. Household groups, residential-household groups, and descent groups govern the distribution of the ownership of resources and labor. Marriage systems, descent group ceremonial organization, and descent group systems of status/ranking promote surplus production. Even systems of exploiting labor are grounded in kinship relations. Hence, we can refer to the “political economy of kinship.”

Social Reproduction

The means by which a given set of social relations are perpetuated are also important to identify in a political economic analysis. All political economic systems are socially reproduced by one means or another; otherwise, there would never be stability for any period of time or any “cultural system” that we could refer to. All would be in a constant state of

variation and change. But there should also be a reason for perpetuating the existing social relations of production. In many cases, everyone has a stake in perpetuating a given system, especially when their livelihoods depend on that system and their children's livelihoods will depend on that system. So they actively seek to reproduce the system. Indeed, the reproductive viability of descent groups relies on exogamy (e.g., Moore and Moseley 2001). Where descent groups are the means by which people are guaranteed access to resources and mutual support, it is in their interest to maintain the integrity of those groups. Marriage prohibitions (preventing the breakdown of the descent groups) and maintaining communal property (preventing the breakup and loss of resources) are the means by which the descent group relationships are socially reproduced. Where competition among descent groups establishes members' status or rank vis-à-vis other groups, it is also in the interests of all the members of those groups with higher status or rank to actively perpetuate the competitive ceremonial organization and surplus production. Individual leaders also will actively wish to perpetuate these social dynamics and ceremonial organization, as these constitute the means for their higher status or rank.

Godelier (1984) provides an excellent example of a kinship-based political economy and how it is reproduced, based on Yengoyan's (1968, 1970, 1972) descriptions of bands among Aboriginal Australians. Their foraging bands have territories by which members have access to resources. All people belong to a "section," and the marriage rules specify another section in which they may seek spouses. Through the prescribed marriage pools, the marriage systems disperse alliances among bands. The section systems of membership and marriage are the social relations of production through which people both gain access to their own band's resources and reciprocally gain access to other band's resources. Godelier (1984) goes further to illustrate how ideology is articulated with these social relations of production. As each section is ascribed both totemic beings and human beings, each also identifies itself with specific ceremonial rites for the larger society. Collectively, all sections' rites are necessary to reproduce nature and society: "The symbolic reproduction of the world-order depends on the reciprocal and generalized cooperation of all individuals within the framework of the section system. This cooperation is thus formally identical to the generalized and reciprocal cooperation which exists between sections within the relations of production. It reproduces in the field of symbolic and ideological practice the cooperation of the social process of production" (Godelier 1984:11). The cosmologically legitimated rules of the section marriage system help perpetuate the means by which people gain access to other bands' territories, which is particularly important to survival when resources are scarce.

We also find examples of how exploitation is ideologically masked to socially reproduce the relations of production. Terray (1984) describes how class-based social relations of production were maintained through the use of ideology in the Abron kingdom of Gyaman. In his analysis, he begins with the social relations of production whereby the Abron demanded surplus tribute from the matrilineal and duolocal Kulango peasantry. Within the Kulango residential groups, fathers exploit the labor of their sons. However, their sons inherit positions and resources from their mothers' brothers. The conflicts from this exploitation of youth labor by fathers' kin often manifested in accusations of witchcraft directed toward those patrilineal kin. Using the conflicts within the households—the product of matrilineal descent, duolocality, and tributary pressures—to mask the class-based exploitative relations, the Abron instituted witchcraft laws and trials that enabled them to supernaturally neutralize conflicts, maintain the status quo by avoiding the emergence of class consciousness, and appropriate wealth through the trials (Terray 1984). In this example, kinship structures relations of production among the peasantry, and the ideological expressions of conflict rooted in the kinship system were manipulated to perpetuate the class-based social relations of production.

How social relations are reproduced is important to understanding how societies change. Change is the failure of social reproduction. Transformations in kinship can be brought about by impacts from forces outside the system, to which people actively react to seek new configurations. However, because all political economies guide agency toward problems, these also can lead to intentional *de facto* changes in practices resulting in a new system.

Exogenous Forces of Change

Factors outside the kin-ordered social relations of a given society can force changes upon those systems, altering their uses or replacing them with another system of social relations altogether. Whereas processual archaeology focused on these factors, a more contemporary understanding would also view the changes as agency directed. People actively resist or alter their practices to adapt to the external forces. “The twentieth century has witnessed profound, globally far-reaching changes in relations between expansive political economies on the one hand, and domains of household, kinship, and marriage on the other, owing to the spread of capitalism and the attendant transformation of the means and relations of production and of reproduction” (Peletz 1995:366).

Privatization of landholdings, a requirement for profitable capitalist agriculture and resource exploitation, is a major force of change. As more

and more corporate kin groups' lands are converted to private landholdings, those properties are easily monopolized by corporations growing profitable cash crops for nonlocal markets. Already having lost the socio-economic functions of the kin groups, descent and marriage rules become symbolic relationships divorced from making a living (e.g., McKnight 2004). However, the small plots are usually insufficient for both subsistence and marketing leading to impoverishment. The privatized resources are more difficult to share among kin group members if trying to maintain their collective relations of production, and trade agreements allowing subsidized imports undercut local prices, leading to further impoverishment. Although a short-term solution, the individual landholders are often attracted to selling their small private properties to large plantation firms. Some remain to work for low wages on the plantations or in other local businesses, while many others form a diaspora of mobile low-wage proletarians. This is a scenario repeated over and over again across the world and is occurring ever more frequently as nations employ governmental and international funding organizations' neoliberal economic development policies.

Nevertheless, many peoples are adapting their kinship systems for *de facto* solutions to, or forms of resistance to, changes in land tenure and diasporas. Individual private plots may be managed in lien by descent groups, other forms of support may be continued, remittances may be used to support descent group members at home, group members may provide support to other members away from home, and for these reasons the descent groups may continue to be the basis for marriages (e.g., Chan 1994; Hammond 2011; McCurdy 2003; Shandy 2007). How long these kin-based methods of support endure varies widely.

In other cases, the groups may continue to exist as corporate organizations, but membership criteria are altered. Private property and migration for wages make it difficult to retain some members, whereas others are incorporated into the groups who are not descended from its common ancestors (e.g., Ellison 2009). Unilineal descent groups can become ambilineal descent groups, and any descent groups can become cooperatives based on a variety of descent, affinal, and nonkinship sodality relations.

These generalizations are no doubt of interest to historical archaeologists: the forces of change, reorganizations, and reactions have been relatively similar under European colonialism and the spread of capitalism. However, they also provide insights applicable to prehistoric cultures. For instance, the tendency to dissolve descent groups, resulting in neolocality and bilateral descent, where resources are privatized or as people no longer own resources with which to make a living, could also be expected in ancient feudal states, whereby "serfs" are without lands and

instead must depend on the resources of the elites. This is different from a peasantry, whereby people do own their lands. Elsewhere, I found that one class of prehispanic Chontal Maya that lacked resources and was dependent upon corvée labor was the only class in the society exhibiting neolocality and bilateral descent (Ensor 2013).

Ancient precapitalist states and empires most certainly impacted the kinship of those absorbed by their expansions. One theme in Wolf's (1982) world anthropology was to provide a general understanding of how kinship-based political economies were significantly altered when encountering the demands of expanding feudal and asiatic "tributary modes of production." Similarly, Gailey and Patterson (1988) describe how large descent groups may resist the expansion of weak states yet are broken up after absorption into more powerful states. They provide a concentric sociogeographic model for predicting the categories of kin groups closer to and farther from the centers of weak and powerful tributary states.

Depopulation is also known to transform unilineal descent organization into cognatic systems. When marriage pools decrease dramatically, individuals make choices that their marriage system would ordinarily prohibit. Likewise, because of the loss of parents and siblings, couples may be obligated to reside with any number of the husband's or the wife's paternal or maternal kin (e.g., Ember and Ember 1971; Ensor 2011; Haviland 1970; Godelier 1984).

All political economies structure the ways that humans exploit their environments, which is also influenced by the physical environment and its own processes (hence, the subject of "political ecology" [e.g., Ensor and Ensor 2009; Ensor et al. 2003; Oliver-Smith 2009:7; Wolf 1972]). Although brought about originally as *de facto* strategies for making a living, the very resources that institutionalized kin groups come to rely on are never permanent. An environment and its distribution of resources may remain relatively stable for many centuries or may alter suddenly. New *de facto* kinship organizations may be required to adapt to these external circumstances. Marriage systems may change, for example, from descent group exogamy to bilateral descent for more broadly distributed kin networks around a region, if resources become scarce or if rainfall patterns become unpredictable (according to one hypothesis on bilateral descent).

Exogenous forces can certainly impact and alter kinship-based political economies. In all of the ways that this is known to occur, through expanding global capitalism, expanding ancient states, and potentially through natural environmental changes, the distribution of resources is essentially altered, leading to active resistance and adaptations relying on the same kinship system or the active creation of new *de facto* strategies for group

organization and marriage. However, external causation is not the only manner by which kin-based political economies may be transformed.

Endogenous Processes of Change

One aspect of the processualist-postprocessualist debates centered around the distinction between evolutionary and historical perspectives on change. Processualist archaeology relied on explanations of processes leading to unilineal or multilinear evolution. In a functionalist sense, external factors could drive these changes as other institutions adapted. Alternatively, in environmental deterministic perspectives environments were simply viewed as “permitting” certain cultural developments. Certain ecological adaptations (e.g., irrigation agriculture) were long assumed to result in population growth and social complexity, as in Wittfogel’s (1957) “hydraulic hypothesis.” The postprocessualist critique claimed that humans were not so passive: that people were active agents striving to change their culture, for their own interests, and charismatic individuals could bring about transformations. Such change could not be explained as evolutionary but rather as historical. Following the debates, the hyperindividual perspective on agency shifted more toward group agency. Classes, factions, genders, and so forth, were viewed as active groups using and modifying their cultural systems to improve their circumstances or to empower themselves (e.g., Brumfiel 1992). Changes in any particular culture were understood in terms of the active agency of groups in this historical perspective. However, once focused on groups, the members of those groups had to be placed within their given social contexts and routine practices (after Bourdieu 1977) to understand what was being collectively resisted, or what was being manipulated for the group’s interests. This inevitably leads to problems with a strict understanding of historical change: if the cultural context guides agency toward a certain range of potential directions, then change is both evolutionary and historical.

Whereas Engels (1972) provided a clear-cut evolutionary perspective, Marx (1964) provided the perspective that we finally arrived at in recent archaeological understandings of change. Although many archaeologists believe that Marxist theory is evolutionist theory, this is far from the case when considering how he treated precapitalist societies. For Marx, all modes of production have their processual trajectories. There are “contradictions” within the social relations of production that lead inevitably toward crises. There is no universal type of “contradiction.” These refer to that which ultimately leads to crises, and “contradictions” need to be discovered from directionality of the social relations of production. This is the evolutionary-processual part. However, in describing how past noncapitalist societies transformed from one mode to another, a wide

range of historical factors are brought into the explanations. In other words, all modes have contradictions leading to crises and ultimately their own demise, but historical perspectives and agency are required to explain *which* mode replaced the former. So, like our modern understanding that cultural context and practice direct agency, Marxist theory on change also entertained what we could identify as both evolutionary and historical. Or, we could simply view evolutionary process versus historical change as a false dichotomy.

The notion that a given set of social relations of production contains “contradictions” leading to crises, which then guide transformations, has also been incorporated into kinship research. Friedman’s (1984) classic political economic analysis provides a good example of the concept of contradictions, crises, and transformations to explain the *Gumlao* (egalitarian) and *Gumsa* (stratified) formations among the Kachin (based on Leach’s [1970] descriptions). The local Kachin patrilineages consisted of four to five households with a shrine that usually own communal horticultural land. The patrilineages were exogamous, and competitive feasting required surplus production (“work of the gods-ancestors”) that established rank among the patrilineages and their “daughters,” who will reside with their husbands after marriage. The competitive surplus production for lineage rank resulted in the formation of conical clans with chiefly lineages that demand surplus product (through tribute and corvée labor) to be given away at feasts, with inflationary tendencies in both the amount given away and bride price for the elite marriages—the *Gumsa* political formation. According to Friedman’s (1984) model, the kin-ordered social relations of production lead to contradictions. The increasing social demands on horticultural production lead to environmental degradation, territorial expansion, warfare and slavery, debts, and patron-client feuds, all of which create crises for maintaining the *Gumsa* formation. The result is a “devolution” back to the egalitarian *Gumlao* formation (Friedman 1984). In this model, the kinship-based social relations of production structure processes of lineage and lineage-leader agency, which leads to crises and then change in a cyclical system of transformations (with an alternative possibility entertained on state formation).

Peregrine (1999) incorporated sociopolitical crises into his interpretation of the collapse of Moundville. There was no evidence for subsistence, population, or environmental factors behind the collapse, and he suggested instead that lineage leaderships experienced crises in legitimacy. The prestige-goods exchange system enabled leaders to ensure and enhance the collective status of their descent groups. However, a crisis in legitimacy would have developed once those leaders could no longer control their access to prestige goods for their descent groups. Peregrine concludes that crises and collapses have many causes and that archaeologists

should look beyond subsistence to understand them. In this case, internal kin-based social organization, status, and their social maintenance provide a source for understanding dramatic social change.

These perspectives on endogenous changes are consistent with earlier Marxist understandings of how modes of production change. Fortunately, we are now enriched with a much greater understanding of kinship-based social relations of production with which to model socially driven contradictions, crises, and transformations. The remainder of this chapter focuses on internal, rather than external, forces of change to develop hypotheses on transformations in prehistoric kin-based political economies.

Marriage Systems

Lévi-Strauss (1965, 1969) originally introduced the concept of marital alliances as an alternative approach to understanding kinship relations. Rather than focusing on egocentric kinship nomenclature or on descent, this perspective emphasized how social groups are interrelated through marriages. Although presented for structuralist interpretations, marriage systems, or “marital alliances,” soon became useful for understanding the dynamics of intergroup relationships and provided insights on systems of production, exchange, and ceremonial competition (e.g., Fox 1967:175–239; Rosman and Rubel 1971). Although Lévi-Strauss also reduced marriage to exchange of women, viewed as property and earning some well-deserved criticism, there is still merit in these categories of marriage alliances having implications on surplus production and exchange and on how junior men and women are used to perpetuate social groups. There are three major categories of marriage systems: elementary, complex, and Crow/Omaha.

Elementary Marriage Systems

Elementary alliances are most common in Southeast Asia, New Guinea, and Australia (Fox 1967:227). Two exogamous groups “exchange” men or women with one another through marriage, termed *restricted exchange*, or “give” sons or daughters to one group while “receiving” sons or daughters from a third group, termed *generalized exchange*. In generalized exchange systems there must be at least three groups, but often there are numerous; for example, Group A may “give” spouses to Group B but receive spouses from Group P. Although most societies with unilineal descent groups do not have elementary marriage systems, elementary alliances, where they occur, are associated with unilineal descent groups. The exogamy reproduces the unilineal descent-based memberships of

the groups and the marriages link the different descent groups across generations.

Figure 10.1.A illustrates elementary restricted and generalized marriage systems. The small circles represent household groups. The larger dashed circles represent the exogamous descent groups. The arrows indicate the direction in which men or women *must be exchanged* with restricted and generalized exchanges. In both cases, there is a *reciprocal exchange* of members in marriage: either directly with restricted exchanges or indirectly with generalized exchanges.

Given that these systems emphasize reciprocity in the exchange of people, they tend to be associated with other forms of reciprocal and complementary relationships. Elementary alliances ensure reciprocity in access to resources within the territorial range of all participating groups, such as in Australian section systems. Because elementary marriage systems emphasize reciprocal exchanges of men and women, there is *no intergroup competition* to attract marital alliances. However, this does not mean that there is a lack of decision making, agency, or competition for individual marriages because there are potentially numerous candidates within each marriage pool. Nevertheless, *there is no need for corporate descent group competition* for attracting marriage alliances with other groups, which has implications on ceremony, surplus production, and agency.

Complex Marriage Systems

Complex alliances are found in all world regions but are most common in African and Indo-European regions (Fox 1967:227). Unlike elementary marriage systems, complex marriage systems are not based on descent group-oriented prescriptive or proscriptive rules for exchanging spouses. Instead, the marriage rules emphasize taboos for individuals. The taboos may be limited to only siblings or may be extended to cousins of either category within individual's kindreds. The marriage system is individually based because it is associated with bilateral descent systems, which lack descent groups on which to base marriage exchanges. Spouses may come from other settlements; they may come from other household or residential-household groups within the same settlement; or there may be a combination of strategies within a given society. In the case of bilocality, potential spouses may share the same natal residential-household group affiliation (e.g., with cousin marriage), unless there is an added rule for residential-household group exogamy. In the case of neolocality, however, there will always be residential group exogamy since only siblings can be found within those miniature residential groups. With unilineal

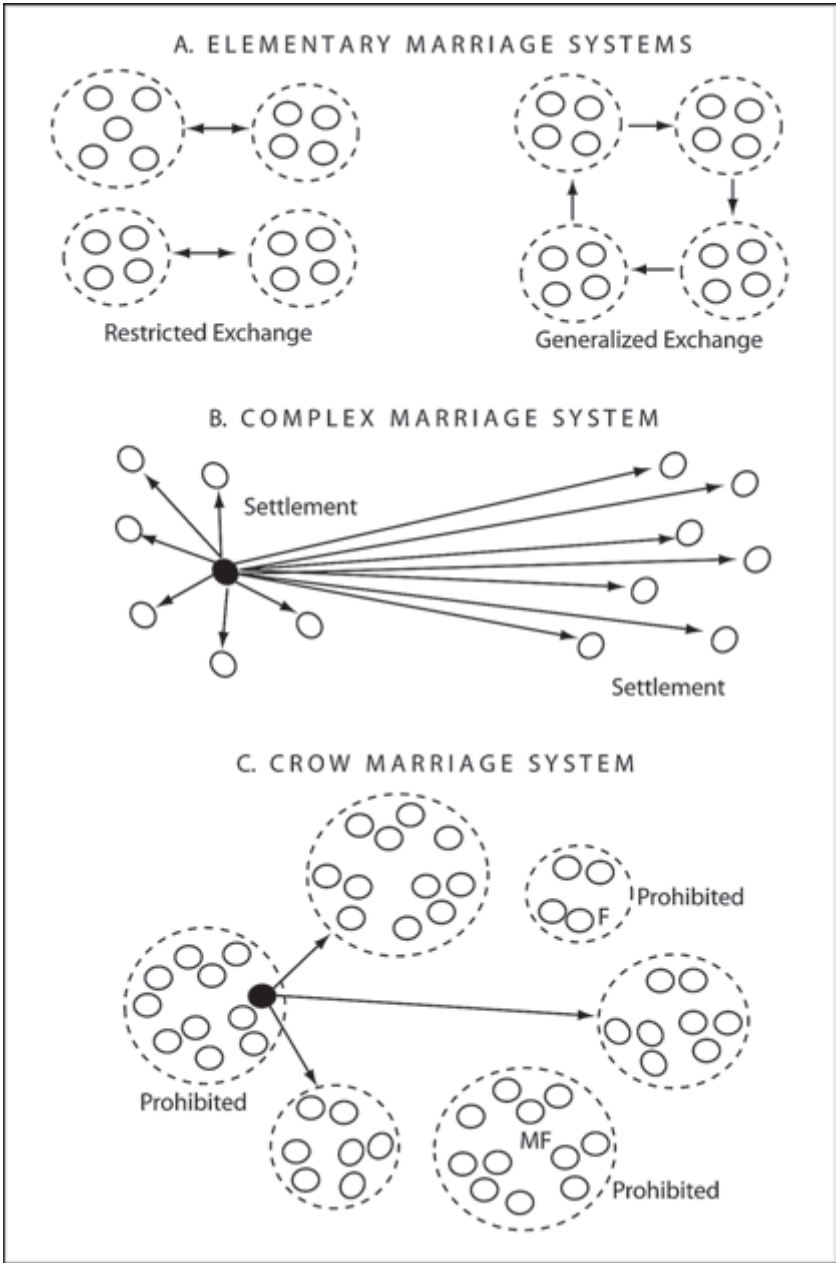


FIGURE 10.1. Elementary, complex, and Crow marriage systems (modified from Ensor 2003a: Figure 2.1)

household groups with bilateral descent, there will be a rule for household group exogamy alongside complex strategies.

Figure 10.1.B illustrates a complex marriage system. In this example, there are no descent groups, only extended residential groups or residential-household groups represented by the small circles. The solid circle is used as the group of reference. The arrows indicate *possible* marriage alliances with other household or residential-household groups. The group's members could potentially marry anyone from any one of the other groups (as long as they are not violating the individual-based incest prohibitions), either within the same settlement or beyond. There could be added preferences for settlement endogamy or for marriage with distant groups.

In elementary marriage systems, there is no corporate descent group competition to attract marital alliances because of the predetermined system of reciprocal spouse exchanges. However, in complex marriage systems, there is competition for marriages. Each household group or residential-household group must compete with others over potential marriages for its individual members. Unlike elementary alliances, there is no system for guaranteeing spouses. The household or residential-household groups are corporate groups that must actively, through agency, attract marital alliances for their members or they will disappear by not reproducing their memberships. Therefore, interhousehold or inter-residential-household group competition is structured by the marriage system. This also has implications on ceremony, surplus production, and corporate agency.

Crow/Omaha Marriage Systems

Lévi-Strauss (1965) used normative descriptions of “Crow” and “Omaha” marriage rules to define a system that combines aspects of elementary and complex marital alliances. Crow/Omaha marital alliances are most common in the Americas but are in no way exclusive to those regions (Fox 1967:227). They are always associated with unilineal descent groups and are described here in relation to descent group property and social reproduction.

In the case of matrilineal Crow social organization, there is matrilineal exogamy to socially reproduce the matrilineal basis for resource ownership. But there is the added taboo against marriage with *any members* of father's matrilineal. There is sometimes a third taboo against marriage with *any members* of mother's father's matrilineal. The reader should note that these proscriptions *prevent both parallel and cross-cousin marriages* (genealogical and classificatory), which would be seen as “incestuous.” The reader should also note that *most of the members of these prohibited social groups have no close biological relationships to one another, yet they*

are prohibited from marriage. In the absence of matrilineal, the same rules are applied to matrilineages. In the case of patrilineal Omaha social organization, the rules dictate that individuals cannot marry someone from their own patrilineal or from their mother's patrilineal (and sometimes from their father's mother's patrilineal) even though most members of those social groups are not biologically related to the prospective bride or groom. In the absence of patrilineal social organization, the same rules apply to matrilineages. In either form, the system obviously entails rules for descent group intermarriages, which differs from the individual-oriented taboos associated with complex marriage systems. It also differs from elementary marriage systems because *there are no prescribed marriage pools*, only group proscriptions (taboos against two or three groups). Once ruling out the prohibited descent groups, all other descent groups provide potential marriage pools.

Archaeologists need not be concerned with some disagreements among ethnologists over whether or not such defined marriage systems actually exist. Of course they exist! But some critics have mischaracterized the systems in their efforts to critique the marital alliance perspective. For example, in testing whether or not the Omaha people practiced the Omaha type marriage system, Barnes (1984, 2012) misrepresents the system as one involving *prescriptive restricted exchanges among subclan lineages* when there are small populations (based on a speculative suggestion on change by Lévi-Strauss). Such repeated intermarriages across generations would involve cross-cousin marriages, which were viewed as incestuous among the Omaha and would be prevented by the actual type system. Barnes' representation is obviously an inaccurate characterization of the Omaha type system and the Omaha people's normative rules, which involve the *proscriptive clan rules* described above. Finding no *prescriptive* subclan lineage restricted exchange in his nineteenth-century Omaha marriage data, Barnes (1984, 2012) argues that the Omaha never practiced the type system, thus casting doubts on whether the system actually exists! However, the very same nineteenth-century data he used actually empirically demonstrate that the Omaha followed their, and the type's, *proscriptive* clan-based rules (Ensor 2003c:7-8). Additional data from Bureau of Indian Affairs census roles, not used by Barnes, further empirically demonstrate remarkable adherence to the *proscriptive* clan-based rules (Ensor 2003c). Barnes (2012) and Kronenfeld (2012) also claim that the patrilineal Samo and matrilineal Fanti, respectively, do not follow the "Omaha" and "Crow" marriage system that they mischaracterize as *prescriptive* systems. However, their normative descriptions of practices clearly conform with the actual Crow-Omaha *proscriptions*!

Figure 10.1.C illustrates the Crow marriage system. The small solid-lined circles represent matrilineal household groups. The household groups

appear in clusters to indicate matrilineages. The larger dashed circles represent the exogamous matrilineages. The solid household group is the one of reference. The household groups of father (F) and mother's father (MF) are labeled. Matrilineal exogamy prevents marriage with any members of the same clan. Additionally, individuals in that household group cannot marry anyone in their father's matrilineage and, if we assume the third prohibition, anyone in their mother's father's matrilineage. However, they can potentially marry anyone in the remaining clans, as indicated by the arrows.

Crow/Omaha marriage systems create competition among descent groups. In elementary marriage systems, in both restricted and generalized versions, there is an emphasis on reciprocity through prescribed "exchanges" of members in a noncompetitive manner that reproduces the descent groups and their social relations of reciprocity. In complex marriage systems, there are no prescribed marriage pools, only individual-oriented prohibitions, which results in competition for marriages among the various household or residential-household groups to perpetuate themselves. Because Crow/Omaha alliances also lack prescribed marriage pools, each household group must compete to attract marriages in order to perpetuate itself by reproducing members. However, the household groups belong to corporate descent groups, which also must actively (through collective agency) ensure that members of each of its household groups have marriages; otherwise, those larger descent groups will be unable to perpetuate themselves. The result is competition for marriages among the corporate descent groups. These marriage systems produce different contexts for structured agency through the manipulation of ceremony and surplus production for exchange: kin-based social relations of production characterizing political economies.

Marriage, Ceremony, and Surplus Production

Over the past two decades, archaeologists increasingly considered the importance of ceremony for interpreting sociopolitical organization and agency in prehistory (e.g., Aldenderfer 1993; Blitz 1993; Byrd 1994; Crown and Wills 2003; Mills 2007; Pauketat et al. 2002; Potter 2000; Spielmann 2002; VanDerwarker 1999; Whalen and Minnis 1996). However, most perspectives entertain a vague notion of ceremony as an institution, in a processualist sense, or as a means for emerging leaders to manipulate commoners, in the elite-agency perspective, without contextualizing ceremony within marriage systems. The particular forms of ceremonial exchanges reflect the particular forms of kinship and marital alliances found in a given society (Mauss 1967; Rosman and Rubel 1971). Marriage systems socially reproduce kin groups (thus maintaining sources

of livelihoods and support) and provide avenues for developing collective and individual status or ranking. Within the parameters of their marriage system, people actively engage in reciprocal or competitive social acts because they and the other members of their groups have real benefits from doing so. Marriage rules are not just ideological. These are devised for social purposes. In elementary marriage systems, the reciprocal exchanges to ensure survival are ideologically reproduced through complementary ceremonial organization among all groups. In competitive marriage systems, ceremonies require elaborate knowledge, preparation, and surplus production: the basis for group and individual status and ranking. Feasting accompanies most ceremonies or stands alone as an important form of agency. Hayden (in press) draws from extensive global ethnographic and archaeological data to indicate that competitive feasting likely led to domestication for surplus and that the most common feasting events in transegalitarian and chiefdom societies involved competition among corporate kin groups. In essence, there must be competition between corporate groups for there to be large investments in ceremonial labor, features, and surplus product.

Crow/Omaha Alliances, Ceremony, and Surplus Production

Because there are no predetermined marriage pools in Crow-Omaha systems, there is competition for marriage alliances to perpetuate the household groups and their descent groups. Each household group's ability to attract marital alliances is dependent upon the collective success of the larger exogamous lineage or clan in providing gifts or by holding ceremonial offices. Ceremony requires surplus production in utilitarian and symbolic trade items, time invested in procuring or acquiring through trade rare materials and finished products, and labor and lands for feasts (e.g., Spielmann 2002). There is a greater need for surplus when marital alliances are sought with prestigious groups. The exogamous group members collectively participate in ceremony and contribute to the associated surplus production.

The exogamous groups that are more successful at producing surplus for ceremonial occasions, ceremonial offices, and marital gifts tend to have greater prestige. Because of elaborate ceremonies from competition, internal status or ranking *may* occur whereby leaders manage the collective surplus of the group, using those roles to enhance their own status. The exogamous groups may even have stratified lineages whereby this role is inherited. However, unlike classic models of chiefdoms (e.g., Fried 1967; Service 1962), a chiefdom based on Crow-Omaha alliances does not rely only on redistribution between the higher-ranked groups and the lower-ranked groups. Instead, all exogamous groups compete for

rank through ceremony, and their members produce surplus and acquire long-distance trade items for these exchange purposes.

Complex Alliances, Ceremony, and Surplus Production

With complex marriage systems there are also no predetermined marriage pools, and marital alliances are competitive. Because there are no descent groups, the household or residential-household groups are alone in their responsibility for securing gifts and food surplus for the marriages of their members. To attract marital alliances, each household or residential-household group must therefore sponsor its own competitive feasts and ceremonies through its own surplus production. At stake is the perpetuation of the household or residential-household group.

In Crow/Omaha systems in ranked societies, descent groups are ranked. In complex systems in ranked societies, households or residential-household groups are ranked through wealth and ostentatiousness. Village-wide ceremonies or feasts are typically monopolized and sponsored by the leading group to legitimize its rank and any power that comes with it.

Elementary Alliances, Ceremony, and Surplus Production

Because archaeologists typically use examples of competitive ceremony for the purpose of explaining the development of inequality through elite agency, they often overlook the significance of noncompetitive ceremonial systems and how these socially reproduce reciprocal relationships. Elementary marriage alliances involve no inter-descent group competition through ceremony. Instead, ceremony and gift-giving reaffirm the life-giving reciprocal relationships among the descent groups (e.g., Sahlin 2011:14). Because these are noncompetitive relationships, ceremony does not require the kinds of elaborate collective preparations and surplus production associated with ceremonies found in societies with competitive marriage systems.

Ceremony must be contextualized within marriage systems in order to explain why certain societies do or do not engage in enormous labor expenditures in ceremonial features, preparations, and surplus production for exchange. Elementary marriage systems generally lack competition among the descent groups, which instead emphasize reciprocal relationships. Therefore, ceremony and associated surplus production are less elaborated. Crow/Omaha marriage systems structure inter-descent group competition, requiring much greater degrees of collective and individual investments in ceremony and surplus production. At stake is the status or

rank of the collective descent group and its leadership. Complex marriage systems pit household or residential-household groups in competition with one another, and these smaller-scale groups orchestrate their own competitive ceremonies and surplus production, which is the basis of their system of status or rank. Variation in ceremony, surplus production, and status/rank cannot adequately be understood without contextualizing these within kinship- and marriage-based political economies.

Marriage Systems and Social Transformations

The dynamics of marriage systems described above can be used to model endogenous social processes leading to social transformations. Unlike most of the ethnological hypotheses on the development of certain forms of social organization, the hypotheses entertained here are based on the understanding that social relations of production have “contradictions” ultimately leading to crises and transformations. I focus on hypotheses I developed elsewhere on Crow/Omaha systems (Ensor 2003a, 2003b) and provide new but more speculative hypotheses on complex and elementary marriage systems.

Crow/Omaha Marriage Systems and Social Transformations

There is a tendency for demographic imbalances in descent group sizes in societies with Crow/Omaha social organization and marriage systems. For example, based on Ladd's (1979:487) population distributions for Zuni clans in 1916, the largest clan had 26 percent of the total number of “families,” the next largest comprised 12 percent, and the average for all other clans was less than 5 percent. Ethnologically, we know that among societies with exogamous descent groups, some groups disappeared when their populations were diminished while others were disproportionately large.

Such demographic imbalances may be the result of a stochastic “Sewell Wright effect.” For example, Moore (2001) demonstrated in simulations that endogamous and exogamous groups will experience either extinction or a “Malthusian takeoff” when considering birth rates, death rates, sex ratios, and sibship sizes. Although the stochastic processes are certainly possible factors behind disproportionate growth among descent groups, ethnographic descriptions would suggest that the marriage systems stimulate agency promoting disproportionate growth *through active competition*.

The more ceremonially prominent groups tend to be the largest due to their competitive success in attracting more alliances. The larger exogamous groups may or may not be those of the society's "chief(s)." Instead, they are those which have taken on more prominent ceremonial responsibilities for the society or those having more successfully competed in common ceremonies. Marriages favoring more prestigious groups play a large role in the disproportionate growth.

In the matrilineal Crow system, the prestigious clans attract prospective husbands from both the prestigious clans *and* the less prestigious clans. The children of those marriages belong to the wife's clan. Therefore, the men from both prestigious *and* less prestigious clans contribute to the population growth of the prestigious matriclans. Meanwhile, fewer men marry women of the less prestigious clans, resulting in little demographic growth, or even negative demographic growth. In the patrilineal Omaha system, women from prestigious clans *and* less prestigious clans are attracted to the more prestigious patrilans, their children belong to their husband's clan, and thus those women contribute to the population growth of prestigious patrilans. However, fewer women marry men of the less prestigious patrilans, resulting in little or negative demographic growth.

At this point, the reader should be reminded of what is at stake in this competition. Both the descent groups' and their internal household groups' status is evaluated in ceremonial contexts: the most animated and anticipated events for such societies. Individual members' status is also being contested when the groups compete. A "good marriage" is not determined just by individual characteristics. Perhaps more important, a "good marriage" is about the household groups' and their descent groups' communal prestige. By maintaining the spiritual knowledge, by curating the ritual paraphernalia, and by managing their own and their group's surplus for the events, the ceremonies are the avenue toward individual leadership and status or ranking. Given these dynamics, it should not be surprising that marriage alliances gravitate toward those groups with higher prestige and among internal household groups with leaders sponsoring ceremonies.

The influence of ceremonially-based prestige on demographic growth through marriages was empirically demonstrated in the case of the late nineteenth-century Omaha. This was a period in which the Omaha still greatly adhered to the Omaha marriage system: 100 percent of marriages were patrilan exogamous prior to 1883. Between 1886 and 1902, 96 percent of marriages were patrilan exogamous (and 93 percent also avoided members of mothers' patrilans) (Ensor 2003c:7–9). Marriages during the latter period gravitated toward the patrilans having more

numerous and, more significant, ceremonies for the society (Ensor 2003a, 2003b). However, the importance of the ceremonies of the largest patrilan in 1886 diminished, and the second largest patrilan became the largest by 1902, having attracted more marriages and establishing more conjugal families. The patrilans having few tribal ceremonial responsibilities remained stable, increased slightly, or decreased slightly in marriages and numbers of conjugal families. The patrilans with the fewest or less significant ceremonial responsibilities decreased considerably in numbers of marriages and conjugal families. Sex ratios and numbers of men and women of marriageable ages had no influence on the marital alliances. Patrilan prestige had a greater influence on marriage alliances and disproportionate clan growth (Ensor 2003b:315–318).

Disproportionate growth can lead to crises in the reproduction of the political economy. As the more prestigious exogamous groups grow larger, they have greater capacities for surplus production, by having more members, giving them an advantage in staging ceremonies and in attracting more marital alliances than do other groups. Friedman (1984) argued that the competitive ceremonies among Kachin patrilineages resulted in hierarchical, conical patrilans that expanded their horticultural territories through warfare. But the demands of the political economy eventually outpaced the productive capacity of horticulture leading to devolution. Unlike that model, mine emphasized the demographic imbalances resulting from the competition in ceremony (Ensor 2003a, 2003b). The logical outcome of the competition for marriages through ceremonial prominence is that a few exogamous groups grow disproportionately large in size over several generations and eventually lack enough members from outside their group with whom to intermarry. I refer to this as a *crisis in exogamy* (Ensor 2003a, 2003b).

Crises in exogamy challenge the social reproduction of the descent groups, challenge the reproduction of the competitive marriage system, and challenge the perpetuation of collective descent group and individual descent group leadership status. When the larger, more successful descent groups cannot find enough spouses among the smaller remaining permitted clans, and when those smaller clans' existence is threatened by no longer attracting enough marriages, the entire system of social organization, marriage, status/rank, property distribution, and production can collapse. In essence, *a crisis in exogamy is a crisis in political economy* (Ensor 2003a, 2003b). Additionally, the few larger and growing descent groups may experience strains on their own local resources with which to subsist and produce surplus for ceremonies (e.g., Friedman 1984). Thus, the marriage system itself, which is responsible for social reproduction and the political economic dynamics of a Crow/Omaha society, has an

internal *contradiction*. The political economy in which agency is directed toward ceremonial competition and surplus production for marriage alliances and status eventually leads to its own demise.

When such crises come about, reorganization is necessary. But there are a number of potential social transformations—we cannot necessarily predict which strategy will be taken. The strategies may merely be a reorganization of the descent groups to maintain the competitive marriage system or may result in a complete transformation of the society.

As one solution, the lineages of the disproportionately large descent groups may fission. In the case of clans, the different lineages may break away to form new smaller clans, and their lineage leaders would become the new clan founders. Junior lineage leaders would actually benefit from fissioning because they would no longer be under the hereditary authority of leading lineage leaders (Widmer 1994). This strategy increases the total number of clans, but they would be of more equitable sizes. The ceremonial responsibilities may then be redistributed among all clans, or the lineages fissioning from the formerly large clans may maintain control over their ceremonial sponsorship. This solution requires that resource areas be available to the fissioning groups. Alternatively, the smaller descent groups may merge (fusion), creating only two or few large descent groups. This second strategy would require negotiation for identifying the ancestors of the new descent groups, which would be important for identifying descent-based membership and rights to resources and support. The result of either of these reorganization strategies is that unilineal descent group social organization and competitive Crow/Omaha political economy would remain intact after reorganization, and the long-term process of disproportionate growth would begin again.

As another solution, the reorganization into more equal-size descent groups could also be accompanied by a shift to elementary marriage alliances. Each group would then have a specified group for marriage. This strategy may be an intended solution to avoid disproportionate growth in future generations. It would maintain social organization based on unilineal exogamous descent groups but would transform the marriage system and political economy from a system emphasizing competition to one emphasizing reciprocity.

A third solution would relax the rules of exogamy. Ramages might form if marriages are meant to retain descent group control over local resources. The resources of former unilineal descent groups would become the resources of ambilineal descent groups, necessitating negotiated membership and exogamy.

Alternatively, the former unilineal descent group resources may become property of the individual unilineal household groups. In this case, the larger descent groups would become insignificant as household group

membership, rather than descent group membership, becomes the basis for rights to resources. However, once the descent groups are dissolved, there is only inter-household-group competition for status and individual marriages, resulting in a *de facto* complex marriage system. This would also result in a *de facto* shift to bilateral descent. In this scenario, some elements of social organization are maintained (household groups), but other elements of social organization (descent groups) are disposed of, and the political economy is radically transformed.

Although Crow/Omaha marriage systems involve a political economy that logically leads to crises, the transformations may not be predictable. There are a number of conceivable changes. The model is neither evolutionary nor historical but in line with political economic theory. All political economies contain processual contradictions guiding agency toward crises and a range of potential negotiated transformations.

Elementary Marriage Systems and Social Transformations

Although elementary marriage systems involve descent groups, they differ considerably from Crow/Omaha marriage systems. With elementary alliances members of any given group have a specified marriage pool: they can marry only members of a predetermined group. Each descent group “gives” spouses (men if matrilineal, women if patrilineal) to that specified group while “receiving” spouses from the same group (restricted exchange) or from another specified group (generalized exchange). These are noncompetitive alliances, which enable reciprocity in marriages and access to resources. The political economy is based on reciprocity in exchanges, and there is less need for ceremonial investment in surplus production.

Given that elementary alliances do not produce competition among the descent groups, they lack the dynamics that more easily identify processes guiding agency toward crises. However, to state that there is no competition whatsoever would be misleading. In terms of the group alliances, there is no competition. Nevertheless, at the scale of individuals there can certainly be competition for status and marriages, and it is in those relationships that I entertain a speculative hypothesis on crises and transformations.

Despite the lack of group competition, individuals may still compete for prestige. In many societies with elementary alliances, individuals achieve prestige by excelling in hunting, gathering, spiritual, intellectual, and artistic pursuits. Marriages among individuals within the prescribed marriage pools can therefore be competitive, even if there is no descent group-based competition for marriages. Thus, where reciprocity is necessary for access to scarce resources (e.g., among Australian foragers),

elementary alliances are more sustainable and less affected by individual prestige.

In contrast, where individual status can be determined by surplus production, there is the possibility for a transformation to descent group-based competition. For example, in societies with “big persons,” individual status is obtained through surplus production by those individuals for sponsoring feasts and the giving away of large amounts of gifts. Individuals’ surplus production is also supplemented by their extended household members and, in the case of “big persons,” by other contributors who are most likely to be members of their descent groups. Through the competing leaders, therefore, individual status could conceivably take on a *de facto* form of descent group competition despite the lack of competitive marriage alliances. Indeed, maintaining a reciprocal elementary marriage system could be viewed as a strategy to prevent the emergence of *de jure* descent group-based competition for marriages where there actually exists such *de facto* group-based competition. I am describing a contradiction here: individual status through competition and descent group members’ contributions to individual competitors challenges the social reproduction of reciprocity. Leaders and their descent groups with higher achieved status may wish to begin marrying members of different prestigious descent groups rather than members of their prescribed marriage pools. If this is allowed, then there would be a breakdown in the elementary system, which could be replaced by only one rule for descent group exogamy or possibly the emergence of a Crow/Omaha marriage system.

Alternatively, individual-focused competition and surplus production might ultimately lead to a relaxing of exogamy and a shift to a complex marriage system and bilateral descent. For this to occur, household groups might be the basis for supporting individual competitors for status. As the stakes grow higher, household groups may find it more appealing to enter into marriage alliances with other high-status household groups regardless of their descent group memberships. Again, the individual competition for achieved status contradicts the reciprocity of elementary marriage systems. In this case, the result would be a gradual transformation to a complex marriage system and *de facto* bilateral descent.

Factionalism brought about by exogenous factors may also result in transformations. For example, San Ildelfonso Pueblo was historically reorganized from depopulated original inhabitants (Edelman 1979) who formed themselves into two moieties, and given the low population, the moieties were exogamous. This is an example of a restricted elementary marital alliance system. However, the imposed electoral system of leadership, along with policy-based factionalism among each moiety’s leading politicians, resulted in tensions between the moieties. There was a consequential shift to moiety endogamy as very few wanted to marry

members of their political rival moiety (Edelman 1979). The result was a *de facto* practice of complex marital alliances *within* each moiety and therefore an increasing recognition of bilateral descent. If similar factionalism could develop without the same exogenous forces presented by this historical case, there could be a relaxation of the rules of exogamy and prescribed marriage pools, resulting in a similar shift to complex marriage alliances within the former descent groups, and this would lead to bilateral descent. Although speculative, the basic point I wish to bring out in this discussion on elementary marriage systems is that individual-focused competition for status, whereby household groups or descent groups contribute to individual members' competitive ceremonial success, becomes a form of group-oriented competition that contradicts the reciprocal arrangements. Therein lies the possibility for crises and transformations in elementary systems.

Complex Marriage Systems and Social Transformations

Rather than descent group-based rules, complex marriage systems are individual-focused taboos. For this reason, they are associated with bilateral descent, whereby there are no descent groups above the level of the household or residential-household groups. Nevertheless, group-based ceremonial competition and competitive marriage alliances do exist: at the scale of the households or residential-household groups. Surplus production for feasts, gifts, and ceremonies is the basis for group competition. At stake in this competition is the reproduction of those resource-bearing social units and their relative status or rank.

Bilateral descent produces overlapping networks of relationships among individuals and their household or residential-household groups. These networks are used to gain access to resources and support through multiple groups within and among settlements. The flexibility of the system to allow kin recognition among numerous groups is key to both individual and group alliances. The complex marital system's individual-based marriage taboos socially reproduce, and can expand, those useful networks.

I suggest that the most likely internal process leading to potential crises is located within the competitive nature of the complex marital alliances. Just as few clans, in a Crow/Omaha system, can outcompete other clans, few household or residential-household groups in a bilateral and complex system can outcompete other like groups in ceremonial competition. The result is the monopolization of high status and/or rank among few household or residential-household groups. As described previously, within societies with bilateral descent and complex marriage systems that have ranking, there is a tendency for one household or residential-household group within a given village to sponsor major public ceremonies

through its accumulation of wealth, greater numbers of people, and patron-client relations. Those groups may even come to control public resources and infrastructure. I suggest that this monopolization is first established through the interhousehold or inter-residential-household group competition.

Competition continues among all household or residential-household groups after such ranking and monopolization of public ceremonies has already developed. For the higher-ranked groups, there are fewer similarly high-ranking groups with which to compete and intermarry, compelling village exogamy and the establishment of *regional* bilateral networks. However, there is also a tendency for inflation in the quantities of food and other gifts among the newly emerging social class of high-ranking groups. This creates greater demands on the labor of junior members and the labor of those indentured to them through patron-client relationships (as in the case of historic potlaching among the Kwakiutl in the American Northwest Pacific region [e.g., Rosman and Rubel 1971]). In the long run, the competitive complex marriage alliances that provided the networks for resource access and social support lead to social inequality and potential exploitative class formation. Therein lies the contradiction in societies with bilateral descent and complex marriage systems. External factors are not necessary for potential class formation.

Apart from potential class formation, any number of additional social transformations might occur. Societies could reorganize their settlement patterns, with household or residential-household groups dispersing away from the emerging leading groups of their former settlements. The developing leading groups could be overthrown violently if overly exploitative. In either of these scenarios bilateral descent and complex marital alliances may be maintained. Exogamous descent groups could also potentially form as an alternative to social classes. This is particularly the case if settlement exogamy is emphasized. Localized descent groups could form through *de facto* settlement exogamy and preferential unilocal post-marital residence. The individual marriage prohibitions would have to be extended to local group prohibitions. The leading household or residential-household groups may even become the fictional “founders” of the larger corporate descent groups. These are some speculative hypothetical examples. The social processes and contradictions guiding competitive agency toward crises can be modeled for each marriage system, but the specific transformations cannot be predicted—only observed and explained through agency.

This chapter emphasizes the ways in which kinship and marriage structure political economies in nonstate societies. Kinship-based social organization provides the social relations of production. Marital alliance

theory was shown to be highly useful toward understanding political economies. By recognizing that kinship and marriage are the basis for social relations of production, social reproduction, ceremonial organization, and surplus production, we arrive at the understanding that kinship and marriage structure the political economies of nonstate societies. As with any political economy, external forces can transform social relations of production and social organization. At the same time, and as with the analysis of any political economy, we can seek internal contradictions that lead to crises and ultimately negotiated transformations.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Archaeological Analysis of Marriage and Political Economy

To interpret the political economies described in Chapter 10, archaeologists need to focus on aspects of social organization, ceremonial organization, and surplus production. Social organization, and particularly the presence or absence of descent groups, can inform on which marriage system was practiced. The marriage systems also have implications on ceremonial organization: on ceremonial sponsorship and on the social contexts where ceremonies take place. Additionally, competitive marital alliance systems are linked to the surplus production associated with ceremonial investment, feasting, and gift exchanges. The critical aspects of social organization, ceremonial organization, and surplus production are now addressed in turn. Following that discussion, the expected material manifestations of elementary, Crow/Omaha, and complex marriage systems are described. The chapter concludes with a discussion on interpreting contradictions, crises, and social transformations.

Social Organization and Marriage Systems

As described in Chapter 10, elementary and Crow/Omaha marriage systems are associated with unilineal descent groups, whereas complex marriage systems are associated with bilateral descent. Once having identified the categories of household groups or residential-household groups and

descent groups in a past society, several important implications can be inferred. Social relations of production are determined by access to resources and obligatory labor with those resources. Unilocal residential groups are formed where the social relations of production for subsistence are based on unilineal household group membership. Unilineal descent groups are also the basis for access to, and obligations with, resources with which to make a living. In the absence of descent groups, in the case of bilateral descent, the distribution of the control over resources will be based on networks of individual relationships. Bilocal residential-household groups are formed where those social relations of production are instead based on the use of individuals' bilateral lines of descent to negotiate affiliation. The types of corporate resource-owning groups structure the ways by which people access resources and assign loyalties to collective labor. Those corporate groups also have implications on marriage systems.

In the case of bilateral descent, archaeologists can always interpret complex marriage alliances. The implications are that each household or residential-household group must make alliances based on individual prohibitions, and its members must collectively compete through ceremony and surplus production to attract preferred alliances. However, there are additional considerations. Unilineal household groups must also practice exogamy for social reproduction. In this case, household group exogamy would be an additional rule, alongside the individual prohibitions in the complex marriage system. What unilineal household groups lack with bilateral descent are larger descent group-based rules for marriage. In the case of residential-household groups, there are only complex alliances, which can include group exogamy (if alliances with other units are preferable), settlement exogamy (if distant alliances are preferable), and/or group endogamy (if preferable to keep resources among the group members). Thus, both unilineal household groups' and bilocal residential-household groups' members collectively contribute to ceremonial competition and surplus production to attract preferred marriages using the complex system, yet only the former will predictably have an additional rule on household group exogamy.

Where unilineal descent groups exist, these must maintain rules for exogamy to perpetuate the corporate groups. However, the presence of unilineal descent groups in and of themselves does not distinguish among an elementary system, a system based only on descent group exogamy, or a system with the additional prohibitions found in the Crow/Omaha marriage system. Nevertheless, once descent groups are identified, the implication of exogamy does allow for significant interpretations on the intergroup dynamics. Elementary alliances are not associated with collective descent group competition in ceremony or surplus production. However,

in nonelementary systems, where there is just one rule for exogamy or where there are multiple prohibitions like those in Crow/Omaha systems, the descent group members collectively engage in ceremony and surplus production to compete with other descent groups for marriages, status, and/or rank. So, where unilineal descent groups are interpreted, archaeologists can also interpret group exogamy. To further distinguish which type of marriage system was involved requires additional lines of evidence on ceremonial organization and surplus production.

Ceremonial Organization and Marriage Systems

Chapter 7 describes ceremonial organization in relation to descent group organization. Chapter 10 links ceremony to marriage systems. In competitive alliance systems, there is collective corporate group-based competition through ceremonial investments. Marriage systems therefore have implications on the social contexts for ceremony, which can be interpreted from the spatial associations of ceremonial features or structures with the kinds of households or local groups identified.

With bilateral descent and complex marriage systems, there are no descent groups. Instead, each household or residential-household group competes through ceremony for status/rank to attract favorable marital alliances. Each should have its own ceremonial spaces or structures. Large public ceremonial structures or features should be associated only with one or few households: those of leading household groups or residential-household groups, which might also be associated with greater wealth or status goods. Households should be spatially associated with some form of ceremonial features or structures, along with cemeteries. Settlements in bilateral societies having complex marital alliances have neither central plazas nor communal ceremonial structures/features. All ceremonial activities are associated with the households of the individual competing household groups or residential-household groups. All ceremony is therefore household-associated.

In nonelementary marriage systems based on unilineal descent group social organization, as with Crow/Omaha marriage or simply one rule for descent group exogamy, members are mutually and collectively associated with the ceremonies, which are the basis for competition for collective group status or rank through which to attract favorable marital alliances. At stake is the perpetuation of the descent groups. For this reason, the unilineal descent groups' local groups are formally arranged around plaza spaces: the communal locations for descent group-sponsored dances, feasts, and hosting of other groups. Plazas are public spaces for corporate descent group ceremonial events, just as they are the focal point of the

surrounding internal lineages or household groups within the descent group, sometimes a cosmological focal point (e.g., Seigel 1999) linking the living members to descent group ancestors. Just as households, segments, and cemeteries are formally arranged around the focal plazas of the group, so too are the members' communal ceremonial features. Those features should also be located in communal locations and spatially accessible within or adjacent to the central plazas.

In societies whereby each unilineal exogamous descent group has its own settlement, we can expect such a community pattern as that just described. In societies having internal ranking based on unilineal descent from ancestors, the households of "chiefly" household groups are commonly positioned in the center of the plazas or adjacent to the plazas. Those households are also frequently associated with a large ceremonial structure, although this is not always the case cross-culturally. But where this does occur, the leading household group does possess control over ceremony. However, because those locations are communal, and indeed, leadership is communally focused in the plaza, the same collective and mutual association of all members to those ceremonial structures can still be inferred.

In societies whereby each settlement consists of local groups for multiple unilineal exogamous descent groups, we can expect a slightly different version of the same pattern. Each segment belongs to a different descent group, not lineage segments within an exogamous clan-owned settlement. As such, we should expect that each descent group's location (each segment) will be spatially associated with its own ceremonial features or structures, as well as its own cemeteries. This is one way archaeologists can distinguish between settlements owned by exogamous clans with internal lineages and settlements co-occupied by multiple exogamous descent groups (see chapters 8 and 9).

With unilineal descent groups having elementary marriage systems, there is no group-oriented ceremonial competition for establishing status or rank to attract favorable marital alliances. This is because the elementary marriage systems produce and reproduce reciprocity in marriages, just as they ensure reciprocity among groups in access to resources. Thus, there is no corporate group-based ceremonial competition. Because there are unilineal descent groups, however, the community patterns for local groups should be the same for all unilineal descent groups. The major difference, however, is that there should be little, if any, investment in communal ceremonial features or structures. Without group-based competition for status/rank and marital alliances, there is little need for elaborate ceremony.

This is not to claim that competition, ceremonies, and surplus production do not take place in societies with elementary marriage systems.

As described in Chapter 10, individuals, rather than corporate descent groups, might compete for status. The plazas also provide the locational contexts for those individual-based competitive events, which in the case of “big persons” could draw large audiences to the various settlements where they take place. “Big persons” achieve that status through competition, but that status changes from members of one group to another within and across generations. The descent groups to which they belong will not have enduring ceremonial structures or features. These will be ephemeral. In contrast, competitive marriage systems require descent group investment in permanent ceremonial features.

The marriage systems are the reason for the degree of ceremonial elaboration and the social organization dictates what kinds of social groups control ceremonies. In societies with bilateral descent and complex marriage systems, the individual households or residential-household groups compete for status/rank and favorable marriage alliances through ceremonies situated at their households. In societies with exogamous unilineal descent groups, with only that one rule or with Crow/Omaha marriage systems, the permanent ceremonial features or structures are integrated into the local groups’ communal spaces around communal plazas. In societies with unilineal descent groups having elementary marriage systems, there is much less investment in ceremonial features and architecture because the marriage systems are group reciprocal rather than group competitive and because any potential competition is individually based. Just as community patterns and ceremonial feature elaboration/placement are manifestations of social organization and marriage systems, so too are many forms of surplus production.

Surplus Production and Marriage Systems

A reading of general archaeological literature in the past several decades indicates that studies on nonutilitarian artifacts focus on the use of those items to interpret trade patterns, status/rank distinctions, or negotiated identity and ideology. Much of the exchange patterns observed in non-state societies are actually indicative of alliances made in ceremonial contexts and in gift exchanges prior to and even after marriages to maintain those alliances (e.g., Fox 1967; Lévi-Strauss 1965, 1969; Mauss 1967; Rosman and Rubel 1971). But few archaeologists have interpreted production and exchange within the context of competitive ceremony (e.g., Abbott et al. 2007; Blitz 1993; Spielmann 2002; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). Even far fewer archaeologists have interpreted production and exchange within the context of marriage (e.g., Abbott 2000; Douglas 2000; Habicht-Mauche 2000; Neitzel 2000). If we simply assume that

craft production, exchange, ceremony, and feasting should take place in any society, or that these should be caused by leadership agency for self-interest, then we are missing the opportunity to ask the most essential question on surplus production: what political economies require intensified surplus production, craft specialization, exchange, ceremonies, surplus food production, and leadership? Competitive marriage-based political economies (1) compel people to go to great lengths to produce or acquire through trade surplus products, (2) create the need for craft specialists within the competing corporate groups, (3) create the needs and opportunities for leadership and internal group status, and (4) create political ecologies that lead to intensified food production. In contrast, with reciprocal marriage-based political economies, there is far less at stake at gatherings, requiring far less surplus production.

Complex Marriage Systems and Surplus Production

In societies with bilateral descent and complex marriage systems, competition for status/rank and favorable marriage alliances involves household group or residential-household group surplus production. Those groups maintain their own ceremonial structures or spaces, including cemeteries. However, members of those groups also collectively rely on their household resources and labor for the surplus production of foods and crafts with which to compete in feasting and gift giving. Within this social context, surplus products are likely to include *symbolic artifacts* (e.g., ornaments or highly stylized versions of utilitarian tools), nonlocally available raw materials or goods, and foods.

In addition to ceremonial features/spaces and cemeteries, the individual households should also be associated with structures, features, or spaces for surplus food used in feasting. The households should also be associated with large food-processing features/locations (e.g., for grinding grains or for large-scale cooking). Extensive amounts of by-products from large-scale cooking (e.g., abundant fire-cracked rock, ash deposits, faunal and floral remains) might also be expected at household refuse deposits. But, for the same reasons these, too, may not always indicate competitive feasting. For similar reasons, Hayden (in press) suggests based on extensive ethnographic and archaeological review that feasting is best indicated by modest amounts of highly valued animals in communal feasts and by greater quantities in competitive feasts. The amount of food production, storage, or by-products located at the individual households may be taken into consideration for interpreting their relevance to competitive feasting among household or residential-household groups.

In addition to hosting ceremonies and feasts among competing household or residential-household groups, nonfood gift exchanges should also

accompany complex alliance systems. There is a competitive social need for symbolic artifact production, acquisition, and exchange among those units. Therefore, an abundance of ornaments, elaborately decorated pottery, highly stylized lithic artifacts, and/or imported long-distance materials and such should also be expected at *all* households. Both the production and/or finishing of such artifacts and the consumption of them should be associated with each household's spatial contexts. Thus, even if there is evidence for ranking, all households should still be associated with an abundance of symbolic crafts. The reader should note how this expectation differs from typical assumptions by archaeologists that only elites in a ranked society should be associated with an abundance of symbolic crafts. They may truly have more associated with them, but this is in no way exclusive to them.

*Competitive Unilineal Descent Group Marriage Systems
and Surplus Production*

In societies with exogamous unilineal descent groups and those with Crow/Omaha marriage systems, ceremonial competition for status/rank and favorable marriages takes place among the collective descent groups, rather than among the individual household groups. The members of the corporate descent groups must collectively use their resources for the surplus production of foods and crafts with which to compete in feasting and gift giving accompanying their collective ceremonial activities. Therefore, the villages or segments belonging to descent groups should be associated with communal production and consumption of that surplus.

In addition to communal plazas, ceremonial structures or features, and cemeteries, the villages or segments belonging to descent groups should also have communal food and craft production areas. Large-scale storage, processing, and by-products from cooking are expected in the social contexts of competing descent groups. The localized production of foods, particularly of highly valued foods, should be of a greater magnitude than that found at individual households in a complex marriage system because descent groups entail larger populations. Likewise, an abundance of symbolic artifacts is expected to accompany the ceremonies and feasting, and their production may be associated with each village or segment's communal spatial context, as opposed to each individual household context. Consumption, on the other hand, may be household associated, as these items can be brought home by all members of the descent groups. Furthermore, direct exchanges among the intermarrying household groups within the descent groups are also expected (before and after the marriages), which would result in household-associated consumption of exchanged goods. However, the production of surplus foods and

symbolic artifacts may be more communal among descent group members. Of course, symbolic materials requiring specialized skills may mean that one or more members of a descent group serve that function for their entire descent group as a source of prestige.

Elementary Marriage Systems and Surplus Production

In societies with elementary marriage systems, there is no collective group competition for marriage alliances. Instead, the elementary alliances ensure reciprocal exchanges among the descent groups. For this reason, there is little in the form of surplus needed for establishing descent group alliances. Compared with societies having complex marital alliance systems or those with descent group exogamy, including Crow/Omaha systems, there is far less need for surplus food production or symbolic craft production in societies with elementary alliances. We should therefore expect that local groups will have surplus food production for feasting and some amount of symbolic artifacts for reciprocal exchanges. But this surplus production and exchange should not be of similar intensity as among societies with the competitive marriage systems.

Only in situations where “big persons” compete individually should we expect such levels of surplus production. In early “stages” of individual competition, there could be only few households associated with that surplus production. However, in later “stages” of this individual-oriented competition, when descent group memberships speculatively may provide *de facto* support to their “big person” (as hypothesized in Chapter 10) might we expect the scale of surplus production to match that of competing exogamous descent groups or Crow/Omaha systems. But even in these situations, not all descent groups would be associated with “big persons,” and successive “big persons” could belong to different descent groups. The material remains of communal surplus production should therefore be ephemeral in these contexts.

Interpreting Contradictions, Crises, and Transformations

In terms of archaeology, transformations in social organization and marriage systems are observed from diachronic changes in household organization, community patterns, ceremonial organization, and surplus production. The transformations themselves indicate that exogenous factors, internal systemic contradictions guiding agency toward crises, or both were involved. In the lack of evidence for exogenous factors, our attention should be drawn more exclusively toward the internal systemic

contradictions. However, the crises resulting from the contradictions may not be so easily interpreted archaeologically. In other words, transformations are easily *observed* but more difficult to *explain*.

When transformations are observed in the archaeological record for a given culture, the hypotheses developed in Chapter 10 can provide some guidance toward identifying the crises that led to the transformations. For example, the hypothesis described for Crow/Omaha contradictions and crises, which would also apply to exogamous descent groups lacking specified marriage pools, involved disproportionate growth among the competing descent groups. Through ceremonial competition, some descent groups would attract more marital alliances than other descent groups, leading to their positive growth in population while others experience static or negative population growth over successive generations. This contradiction would ultimately lead to crises in exogamy and a social transformation of one kind or another. We should therefore expect the settlements of exogamous descent groups to have experienced disproportionate growth within a region prior to a transformation. Evidence for disproportionate growth would involve some settlements gradually establishing far more numerous households than others. We should also expect those growing settlements to have evidence for greater surplus production in the forms of ceremonial investment, symbolic artifact production, and food production. Meanwhile, those not growing over time, or those reducing in population over time, should exhibit less surplus production in ceremonial investment, symbolic artifact production, and food production.

Also described in Chapter 10 is the perspective that the contradictions guiding agency toward crises cannot be used to predict a transformation to one specific system or another. Instead, human agents will address those crises in multiple ways, leading to one solution in one culture, yet different potential solutions in other cultures experiencing the same crises. The result is potentially different cross-cultural responses and transformations to the same kind of crises. In this case, the particular transformation that is observed self-explains which strategies were taken. But it is also in the period or phase under which the transformation was occurring—*transitional* periods or phases—where we might expect significant variation in strategies until a new system emerges.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Hohokam Marriage, Political Economies, and Transformations

Hohokam archaeologists have paid a great deal of attention to patterns in ceremonial behavior, craft production and exchange, and storage and food processing. In their impressive tradition of analyzing these elements of material culture in relation to spatial units (courtyard groups, village segments, and settlements) in addition to regional analyses, their results are extremely useful for the foregoing presentation. Recent treatment of the subject proposes that leaders invented or revitalized ceremony and communal ideologies as an integrative strategy to alleviate tensions caused by population growth or ecological adaptations (e.g., Craig et al. 2012:56–57; Herr and Young 2012:11–12; Schlanger and Craig 2012: 208). However, Hohokam archaeologists have also interpreted ceremonial behavior as the contexts for hosting intersettlement public events during which goods were exchanged and marital alliances were made (e.g., Doelle et al. 1987; Doyel 1991a:247; McGuire 1992a:200; McGuire and Howard 1987:130; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983), and *hornos* have been associated with feasting (Craig et al. 2012:57). Thus, the concept that ceremony, material exchanges, and feasting are associated with marriage alliances is not new to Hohokam archaeology. However, the prior interpretations suffered from the same previous problem described for social organization: vague and undeveloped interpretations of marriage exchanges. Although intersettlement differences in estimated populations, numbers of ballcourts, and plaza sizes are recently explained in

relation to environment (e.g., Craig et al. 2012:50–52; Schlanger and Craig 2012:205), these might reflect the agency and disproportionate growth expected for competitive marriage systems. This chapter contributes specific models for marriage systems that result in observations on political economic dynamics, which also may explain social transformations among the Hohokam.

Chapter 10 presents an ethnologically based argument that competitive marriage systems create a social need for surplus production in ceremony, symbolic craft production, and feasting to attract marital alliances. At stake in this competition is the social reproduction of the groups that lack predetermined marriage pools. The competitive Crow/Omaha (or Crow/Omaha-like) marriage system is associated with exogamous unilineal descent groups whose corporate surplus production for ceremony, crafts, and feasting helps attract marriages for all of their member household groups. This assists the social reproduction not just of the individual household groups but of the entire descent group itself. The competitive complex marriage system is associated with bilateral descent. Individual household groups or bilocal residential-household groups must compete among one another through ceremony, craft exchanges, and feasting to attract marital alliances to perpetuate their memberships. As with Crow/Omaha alliances, there are no predetermined marriage pools resulting in competition among the household/residential-household groups seeking to maintain their members, attract others, or establish alliances with other household/residential-household groups. Elementary marriage systems are associated with unilineal descent groups, but unlike the Crow/Omaha and complex systems, they have predetermined marriage pools. People are reciprocally “exchanged”—each descent group receives spouses for its social reproduction while reciprocally providing spouses for another group’s social reproduction. The elementary system is therefore noncompetitive and does not require much investment in surplus production for ceremony, crafts, and feasting. The analysis in this chapter tests these models with the expected material associations among social organization, ceremony, crafts, and feasting described in Chapter 11, which also contributes a new perspective on the Hohokam.

The analyses also test for the expected diachronic trends. Competing exogamous descent groups with Crow/Omaha-like marriage systems should be associated disproportionate demographic growth, a contradiction leading to the hypothesized crises in exogamy. Those making the greatest investments in ceremony, craft production, and feasting are expected to grow larger than those making fewer investments for competition. Competing household/residential-household groups with complex marriage systems should lead to ranking among those units, a contradiction leading to the hypothesized exploitative relationships. Alternatively, changes to

marriage patterns could result in the emergence of unilineal descent groups. Unilineal descent groups in an elementary system should not experience disproportionate demographic growth. Although not expected, one of the hypotheses is that potential individual “big persons” competition might contradict those relationships, leading to possible intergroup status differences. The subsequent transformations resulting from crises should be seen as active responses explained by social and ecological contexts.

The Red Mountain Phase

The analyses of social organization at Pueblo Patricio indicated neolocal residential groups with bilateral descent, which would suggest a complex marital alliance system. There were no indications of surplus production and no ceremonial features or evidence for feasting. Feature 1, the largest pithouse, had an abundance of utilitarian processing artifacts, including polishing stones for pottery manufacturing and spindle whorls for fiber processing (Ensor 2000:26). Two *Glycymeris* (from the Gulf of California) shell bracelets could be considered symbolic craft items, yet there was no evidence for shell craft production. These data on limited symbolic craft exchange suggest little need to compete for marriage alliances, perhaps because there were only conjugal families consisting of already married parents and dependent children.

The Vahki Phase

There were three Vahki phase occupations at Pueblo Patricio. All three were characterized by bilateral descent with a combination of neolocal residential groups and bilocal residential-household groups. Associated with this social organization, we can interpret a complex marriage system, and hence household-oriented ceremony and symbolic craft production/consumption. There were no ceremonial features. Ritual artifacts are present in the form of few figurines. Along with the development of bilocal residential-household groups is the first appearance of communal cooking in outdoor areas (Ensor 2000:28–32). However, there were no *hornos* to suggest residential-household group-sponsored feasting. Most of the artifacts associated with the households were for common food and utilitarian craft production. Nevertheless, dwellings were also associated with some bracelets and other artifacts made with *Glycymeris* shell, stone rings, stone vessels, and worked pieces of phyllite. These shell and stone artifacts can be considered symbolic craft items. There is

no evidence for their manufacture at the settlement. However, the shell clearly involved an interregional system of exchange, which I suggest was developed for the purpose of exchanges among intermarrying groups.

At Snaketown, the analysis of social organization identified a matrilineage comprising matrilineal household groups. As a unilineal descent group, lineage exogamy would have been necessary for social reproduction, and this should be associated with ceremony and symbolic crafts for competitive marital alliances. The central plaza is the only indication of ceremonial space. However, two of the six *hornos* found at the site were dated to the Vahki phase (Haury 1976:157–160), indicating communal feasting. A total of 138 figurine fragments were dated to the phase, suggesting rituals. Haury speculated these were representations of “household ‘gods’ or adjuncts to house-blessing and fertility rites” (1976:266). Craft production is indicated by only a few abrasive stones (Haury 1976: Figure 14.14), suggesting that most items were imported. Craft items dating to this phase included one palette, one stone vessel fragment, one stone ring, one stone axe, seven ornaments, three carved bone artifacts, and seventy-eight worked shell artifacts of six marine genera (beads, pendants, bracelets, rings, and perforated) constituting 3.5 percent of the site’s total shell artifacts (Haury 1976:309–317). Only seven intrusive sherds from extraregional pottery were present (Haury 1976: Figure 16.3). Overall, the plaza, hornos, figurines, and numbers and range of symbolic craft items suggest a greater amount of ceremony and exchange in non-utilitarian goods associated with the exogamous matrilineage (indicating a competitive Crow-like marriage system) when compared to Pueblo Patricio.

The Estrella, Sweetwater, and Snaketown Phases

The same social organization at Pueblo Patricio continued through the Estrella-Snaketown phases: bilocal residential-household groups with bilateral descent, indicating a complex marriage system. A wide range of common food and utilitarian craft production artifacts were associated with households. In the case of symbolic artifacts, there was also continuity in the production of local stone objects and access to *Glycymeris* shell artifacts. Ritual figurines were also present. However, both the Estrella-Sweetwater and the Sweetwater-Snaketown households had *hornos* in addition to outdoor hearths. The later of these households also had two activity areas where burning took place, which might have been associated with food production. The roasting pits indicate collective food processing and feasting. There was an increase in the kinds of surplus production by the residential-household groups in these phases

(Ensor 2000:32–36). Because there was only one residential-household group in each component, there can be no assessment of intergroup ranking.

At Snaketown, there was continuity in matrilineage social organization but with a shift to avunculocality in the Estrella phase, followed by a shift to multiple residential and residential-household-group strategies in the Sweetwater phase. Concomitantly, there was a dramatic increase in both domestic ritual and symbolic craft exchanges. Despite the small population, there were at least 203 human effigy figurines dated to the Estrella phase, 163 to the Estrella-Sweetwater phases, 193 from the Sweetwater phase, 61 to the Sweetwater-Snaketown phases, and 44 to the Snake-town phase. Clearly, the Estrella and Sweetwater phases represent a time of frequent domestic ritual, which began to diminish in the Snaketown phase. There were three *hornos* used during these phases, indicating collective feasting: one in the Sweetwater phase, one in the Snaketown phase, and one dating to either of these phases (Haurly 1976:157–160). In terms of other finished symbolic crafts, no palettes were associated with the Estrella phase, and only seven were dated to the Sweetwater and Snaketown phases (Haurly 1976: Figure 14.20). Stone bowls and rings were equally sparse: four dated to the Estrella phase, one to the Sweetwater phase, and five to the Snaketown phase (Haurly 1976:289–290). There were a good number of stone ornaments: seven dated to the Estrella phase, eighteen to the Sweetwater phase, and fourteen to the Snaketown phase (Haurly 1976:299). Only two engraved bones were dated to the Estrella phase, seven to the Sweetwater phase (the most for any phase at Snaketown), and none to the Snaketown phase (Haurly 1976: Figure 15.6). By far, the most frequent category of symbolic crafts was a wide variety of marine shell items (beads, pendants, bracelets, rings, and perforated), which were mostly in the form of bracelets: 127 dated to the Estrella phase, 233 dated to the Sweetwater phase, and 301 dated to the Snaketown phase (Haurly 1976:309–317). The plaza itself provides evidence for hosting ceremonies, although no other ceremonial facilities were present. In summary, there was little evidence for communal lineage ceremony other than the plaza and some feasting, domestic rituals involving figurines were at their peak, and there was a relatively large assemblage of stone ornaments and marine shell crafts considering the low population during these phases. The household-based rituals and the consumption of symbolic crafts, and some communal ceremony, in these phases do conform to the hypothesized expectations for competitive Crow-like marriage alliances.

There is no evidence for ranking within the matrilineage. However, if all or most of the Snaketown phase pithouses shown in the southeast corner of Figure 6.5 were in fact contemporary dwellings, then we could

interpret a leading residential-household group within the lineage. But because so many of those cannot be distinguished from nondwelling structures, we cannot make that inference with any confidence.

The high frequency of figurines in these phases deserves some speculation. If indeed these were associated with concerns over house blessing and human fertility (Haury 1976:266), their high frequencies in the Estrella-Sweetwater phases, when the matrilineage was smallest in population, would suggest the encouragement of domestic ritual as a means to promote lineage population growth. Stinson (2010) found that figurines were made by women and likely used by them in domestic ancestor rituals. This strategy also existed alongside the less emphasized ceremonial activities and symbolic craft consumption. It seems almost as if there was a greater emphasis on ideological strategies to promote the perpetuation of the lineage than on communal ceremonial efforts to attract marriages. However, the latter strategy emerged in the Gila Butte phase as a more successful way to promote the perpetuation and growth of the descent group.

Gila Butte–Sacaton Phase Craft Production and Exchange

As indicated in Chapter 9, the Gila Butte to Sacaton phases were largely characterized by descent groups. These phases also correspond to a remarkable increase in local, regional, and interregional craft production and exchange. However, given the tendency to view these phases in an evolutionary paradigm, the production and exchange patterns within all three phases are usually lumped together to describe an “emerging system” in the Gila Butte phase that “fully developed” in the Sacaton phase. The consequential lumping creates an obstacle for a phase-by-phase characterization of craft production and exchange alongside the individual situational changes to social organization depicted in Chapter 9. Nevertheless, those previous syntheses are still useful in that they provide general trends that are relevant to marital alliance systems.

The Gila Butte to Sacaton phases were a time of flourishing craft production and local, regional, and interregional exchange. Numerous categories of craft items were being produced within the region. Shell crafts of greater species diversity, palettes, censers, and stone rings were common. Figurine use declined significantly. Materials and finished crafts acquired from other regions included stone materials for stylized projectile points, exotic pottery, pigments, and jewelry, mosaic mirrors, and copper bells that may have been for ceremonial and ritual purposes. Nonlocal materials for utilitarian ground stone and chipped stone tools were also obtained. Crafts are found in practically all domestic contexts

—there is no good evidence for differential access. Hohokam archaeologists have long argued that locally produced pottery and several other utilitarian and symbolic crafts were made by part-time specialists (e.g., Doyel 1991a:252, 1991b; Haury 1956; Simon 1988). Local pottery was exchanged widely among settlements (Abbott 2000; Van Keuren et al. 1997:130). Within the region, distribution patterns of local and nonlocal materials indicate widespread exchange networks linking intrasite groups across practically all settlements. Ballcourts, which are also associated with the same phases, are considered to be the contexts for intersettlement craft exchanges as well as for marital alliances (e.g., Doyel 1991a:247; McGuire and Howard 1987:130; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983).

Competitive marital alliances create a need for such surplus investments in production and obtaining exotic materials. They are part of the material exchanges accompanying marital alliances but only when there is competition to attract spouses. The association of these intensified craft industries with the emergence of more numerous exogamous descent groups, in which all internal household groups obtained the widely exchanged crafts, can be explained as the result of the needs for descent group competition for alliances in a Crow/Omaha-like political economy.

The Gila Butte Phase

Beginning in the Gila Butte phase, descent groups were at Snaketown and Pueblo Grande. La Ciudad was colonized in the Snaketown–Gila Butte phase by neolocal conjugal families with bilateral descent to establish bilocal residential-households with bilateral descent. The descent groups at Snaketown and Pueblo Grande suggest the need for competitive settlement exogamy, whereas marital alliances practiced by those at La Ciudad should have involved competitive complex marital alliances.

At Snaketown, the former matrilineage with varying forms of post-marital residence strategies was transformed into a ramage. This could have resulted from a variety of intentional strategies. One advantage of the change was that it offered membership through both men and women, who through varying postmarital residence strategies could remain at the settlement. The shift could also have resulted as a response to long-term difficulties in attracting marriages for postmaritally mobile men and women. The matrilineage's local group of the Vahki phase required postmaritally mobile men when other groups in the Phoenix Basin were emphasizing bilocality. The matrilineage's local group of the Estrella phase required postmaritally mobile women when other groups were still emphasizing bilocality. In both phases, the strategy for reproducing the matrilineage was not the same system used for establishing and reproducing

groups at other settlements, potentially leading to the diminished population in the Estrella phase. Through various postmarital residence strategies, the matrilineage was better able to make marital alliances in the Sweetwater and Snaketown phases, but growth was minimal. However, beginning with the shift to cognatic descent group membership criteria, allowing membership through both men and women, alongside corporate efforts to compete for exogamous marriage alliances to attract both men and women to the local group, the descent group finally began to grow in population.

Associated with the reorganization of the descent group at Snaketown was the appearance of corporately organized ceremony. The plaza for hosting events was maintained (see Figure 9.3). The descent group was associated with the first ballcourt at the site, which provided a competitive context for material exchanges and marital alliances with other groups (Doyel 1991a:247; McGuire and Howard 1987:130; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). There was also a capped mound and a floor with linear arrangements of hearths, both of which are thought to be for communal ceremonial activities (Wilcox et al. 1981:145–146). The communal cemeteries imply the hosting of collective descent group funerary rites, which also could have been attended by affines' groups. However, no hornos for communal feasting were found dating to this phase. In contrast to the increased domestic use of anthropomorphic figurines during the Estrella-Snaketown phases, there was a significant reduction in such domestic ritual during the Gila Butte phase. There were fifty-five figurines dating to the Snaketown-Gila Butte phases, and only twenty-five dated securely to the Gila Butte phase (Hauray 1976: Figure 13.2). Thus, there was a dramatic reduction in purely ideologically based means for demographic growth, which failed, and a shift to increasing corporate descent group ceremony involving both ideological and active material agency to attract marriages.

Craft production remained limited at Snaketown, as indicated by only eight abrasive tools (Hauray 1976: Figure 14.14). However, symbolic craft consumption seemingly increased without major population increases. Five stone palettes, six stone bowls, two stone rings, and twenty-five stone ornaments date to the Gila Butte phase (Hauray 1976:284–299). There were 440 artifacts made from marine shell (19.8 percent of the site's total, the most for any phase at the site) (Hauray 1976:309–317), representing a significant increase considering little population growth at the settlement. The investment in communal descent group ceremony and exchange can be viewed as resulting from the need to honor ancestors (through cognatic descent at that time) but also to attract exogamous marital alliances, and this occurred at the same time as a dramatic increase in exotic shell crafts.

La Ciudad was colonized around the end of the Snaketown phase by neolocal residential groups to establish bilocal residential-household groups using bilateral descent in the Gila Butte phase. This form of social organization implies a complex marriage system involving competition among the bilocal groups to attract spouses to develop and perpetuate those estates. There were no indications of communal ceremony among any of the groups, other than the two *hornos* between the Brill and Bellevue loci when there were only neolocal residential groups. However, in the late Gila Butte phase, multiple *hornos* were associated with the bilocal residential-household groups at both the Brill and the 21st Street loci, indicating feasting sponsored by those household-scale groups.

The Santa Cruz Phase

In the Santa Cruz phase, ramage organization continued at Snaketown. Pueblo Grande was owned by a patrilineage, and some of the cognatic groups at La Ciudad were transformed into patrilineages. Both forms of descent groups would have engaged in competitive exogamous marriage alliances, necessitating corporate descent group-scale competition. Communal ceremonial features, feasting, and the production and consumption of symbolic artifacts are therefore expected.

Snaketown

At Snaketown, there was continuity in the ramage social organization. The households encircled the communal plaza (see Figure 9.4). The ball-court was still in use for competitive ballgames, material exchanges, and marital alliances. There were three capped mounds thought to be used for ceremonies in this phase. There was a communal crematorium for the descent group members. As McGuire (1992b:204) notes, cremation funeral rites would have created spectacular events with flames, smoke, songs, oratory, and gifts, reproducing participants' social relatedness. Although the crematorium, communal cemeteries, and some of the additional ceremonies may suggest a focus on descent group members and ancestry, these may also have been participated in by multiple social groups with marital alliances to the members. Although feasting likely accompanied the communal ceremonial events, there was only one *horno* that likely dated to this phase (Haury 1976:158). Anthropomorphic figurine use in domestic ritual continued its decline (only eight were dated to the phase, and these were primarily associated with cremation burials [Haury 1976: Figure 13.2, 260]) in contrast to the increasing communal ceremony.

Despite the demographic growth of the ramage, craft production and symbolic craft consumption did not increase at Snaketown. Only nine abrading tools were dated to the phase (Haury 1976: Figure 14.14). Although there was a slight increase in the total number of stone palettes (from five to fifteen), there was a reduction in the number of stone crafts (one stone vessel, two stone rings, and thirteen stone pendants) (Haury 1976:289–299). Although plentiful, there was also a reduction in the numbers of marine shell craft items. A total of 321 shell beads, pendants, bracelets, rings, and perforated shells were dated to this phase (Haury 1976:309–317). Although the consumption of these symbolic crafts was still relatively popular, there appears to have been a decline in their use associated with the increased communal ceremony. In general, however, the surplus production for communal ceremony, alongside the continued use of symbolic artifacts, corresponds to the expectations for competitive exogamous descent groups.

La Ciudad

By the middle of the Santa Cruz phase, two of the bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent had become small patrilineages. This transformation would have necessitated a shift from negotiated residential-household membership among kindred and affinal relations to a combination of patrilocality/virilocality *and exogamy*. Alongside that transformation, the model would suggest an increasing need for communal descent group-based ceremony to compete for marital alliances.

Beyond participating in the widespread craft production and exchange system, there are at least three indications of the surplus production expected for Omaha competitive marital alliances. The larger of the two patrilineages had a ballcourt, indicating an intergroup competitive context for material exchanges and marital alliances. The larger of the two lineages also had a communal roasting area, with two large *hornos*, for preparing feasts. Also at the larger patrilineage's segment in the Belleview Locus, the two smaller structures within the northwest courtyard may have been for surplus storage. Both patrilineages had a crematorium adjacent to their cemeteries for descent group members, possibly also attended by maritally allied groups. Craft manufacturing took place at all households of the segment for the smaller patrilineage (Kisselburg 1987), which may also have been the case for the larger patrilineage's segment. The larger patrilineage was clearly associated with more ceremonial and feasting activity than was the smaller patrilineage.

Together, these data suggest the patrilineages were participating in a competitive Omaha-like political economy to attract marital alliances,

thus ensuring the descent groups' growth and survival. However, one had invested more surplus production in ceremony and feasting, leading to disproportionate growth. By the late Santa Cruz phase, the patrilineage owning the Belleview Locus segment was clearly larger in population (see Figure 6.9). No longer participating in the competitive political economy by the beginning of the Sacaton phase (after no longer hosting ballgames and feasts), the two patrilineages were of similar sizes (Figure 6.9).

While the two patrilineages with segments at La Ciudad were participating in the competitive Omaha-like political economy, the solitary patrilineal household group (with a courtyard in the Brill Locus) and the bilocal residential-household groups with households in the 21st–22nd Street loci were also hosting feasts (indicated by one *horno* at each). However, there is no evidence for additional sources of competitive marital alliance building by these groups, whose households had already begun to disappear by the late Santa Cruz phase.

Pueblo Grande

Pueblo Grande was owned by one exogamous patrilineage that developed in the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases (see Figure 9.5). These phases correspond to the earliest communal ceremony at the settlement. Although it is unclear which area was the main plaza, at least one was present for large gatherings. Trash mounds 1 and 2 were capped (Bostwick and Downum 1994:310), suggesting use for ceremonial purposes (as at Snaketown). Unknown is whether or not the southern ballcourt was in use during these phases. Surplus food production for feasting is indicated by the communal roasting area on the north side of the settlement and one area associated with a household on the south side of the settlement. Surplus production for ceremony is indicated by the cremation rites and the mountain sheep horn cremation. The latter included pottery, eleven pieces of ground stone, eight river-worn cobbles (spirit stones), eight projectile points, five stone effigies, shell, and other artifacts (Bostwick and Downum 1994: Table 8.2).

The patrilineage at Pueblo Grande was participating in the regional production and exchange of symbolic craft surplus: palettes, stone vessels, pendants, censers, "plummet stones," and numerous shell bracelets and zoomorphic pendants (Bostwick and Downum 1994:310–316). Ritual figurines representing concerns for fertility or ancestors were present (Bostwick and Downum 1994:314–316). Pottery compositional analyses indicate exchange with settlements throughout the general Phoenix Basin area (Abbott 2000). Together with the evidence for communal ceremony and feasting, these symbolic crafts and pottery exchange data do conform

to the expectations for a competitive exogamous descent group political economy.

The three settlements illustrate how exogamous descent groups developed in association with increased investment in surplus labor for craft production and widespread exchange, ballgames, ceremonies, and feasting. These associations match precisely the ethnological predictions for a political economy based on Crow/Omaha, or simply exogamous descent group-based, marital alliances. That marriage system created the political economic dynamics requiring competition, which can explain the development of these surplus investments and exchanges.

A comparison of the three sites also indicates disproportionate demographic growth among exogamous descent groups. The Snaketown ramage was the largest and had the most numerous ceremonial structures. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the patrilineage at La Ciudad's Moreland Locus was the smallest and had no ceremonial structures. Intermediate in population size were the Pueblo Grande patrilineage, having multiple ceremonial activities and *hornos* but few ceremonial structures, and the patrilineage at La Ciudad's Belleview Locus, having only two ceremonial structures and *hornos* for competitive purposes. This comparison does suggest disproportionate demographic growth. The descent groups sponsoring more numerous public ceremonial activities, or those investing the most in ceremonial infrastructure, became the largest in population.

The Sacaton Phase

Significant changes occurred during the transition between the Santa Cruz and Sacaton phases. La Ciudad was abandoned in the early part of the phase. There was a large wave of immigrants establishing bilocal residential-household groups with bilateral descent at Pueblo Grande. In response, that settlement's patrilineage was transformed into a ramage. Meanwhile, the competitively successful ramage at Snaketown not only grew substantially in population but was transformed into a patriclan that accentuated its expression of patrilineal descent in household, segment, and village community patterns and intensified its ceremonial competition. From a kinship perspective, the Sacaton phase was not the culmination of a stable trend since Gila Butte times. Instead, it was a phase of regional instability and reorganization into diverse social organizational strategies. The political economic perspective on marital alliances can explain what was necessary for these changes in social organization to occur and can contribute new explanations for the abandonments and migrations in the phase.

La Ciudad

The only continuity in social organization from the Santa Cruz phase into the Sacaton phase among the three sites occurred at La Ciudad. However, the larger exogamous patrilineage of the Belleview Locus from the late Santa Cruz phase had reduced in population, coinciding with the abandonment of two forms of communal ceremonial features by this time: the ballcourt and the crematorium (see Figure 6.9). The communal *hornos* were also abandoned. The smaller exogamous patrilineage at the Moreland Locus experienced growth in population around that time. Both patrilineages, now without ceremonial infrastructure, remained small compared with Snaketown's and Pueblo Grande's descent groups with ceremonial investments, and eventually abandoned the settlement.

Snaketown

Through its greater ceremonial prowess and prestige, the Snaketown descent group had grown into a patriclan with three internal patrilineages, in turn comprising multiple patrilineal households (Omaha social organization). Virilocal residential groups also attached themselves to the patrilineage segments and overall patriclan settlement. At the same time, the large exogamous patriclan expanded its communal ceremonial infrastructure. These investments, along with the feasting indicated by large storage features, likely attracted more numerous marriages for members.

Another key to the patriclan's growth may have to do with symbolic craft production. There was a dramatic increase in the number of reamers and abrading tools from fewer than ten in all prior phases to at least forty in this phase (Haury 1976: Figure 14.14). In an intrasite distribution analysis, Seymour (1988) found that shell-craft manufacturing debitage was restricted to three localized areas: primarily among one dwelling cluster in the north segment (interpreted here as a patrilocal residential group), at one dwelling in the southeast segment, and at one dwelling in the south segment. She concludes, as with the pottery production in the south segment, that part-time specialists produced shell crafts for their kin groups to exchange, suggesting gifts along marital lines and/or other exchanges during hosted ceremonies, thus resulting in the widespread distribution of finished shell crafts. Given that the shell manufacturing loci are present at each segment, I would suggest that individuals produced these items for their respective patrilineage members for marital alliance-building purposes.

In terms of consumed symbolic craft items, 4 stone bowls, 15 stone rings, 31 stone ornaments, and 430 artifacts from marine shell were dated to the phase (19.3 percent of the total site's assemblage). Considering

the population growth at the settlement, these figures do not indicate an intensified use of symbolic artifacts, yet neither do they suggest a major decline in production, exchange, and use. Overall, a marriage alliance perspective suggests that Snaketown's successful demographic growth was primarily a result of its expansion of surplus production for communally sponsored ceremonies, feasting, and symbolic craft production.

Pueblo Grande

At Pueblo Grande, the descent group transformed from a patrilineage to a ramage. Rather than basing membership only on relationships through men, the shift allowed membership through both men and women. This would restrict access to ancestral resources. Additionally, the associated shift from patrilocal to ambilocality among household groups within the ramage would have replaced a reliance on postmaritally mobile women with a more flexible strategy to attract marriages enabling either men or women to join its local group. Because the Sacaton phase was a time of regional instability in social organization and abandonments, the transformation could have provided flexibility in marriages to perpetuate the group, alongside the restricting of rights to ancestral resources. In the case of Pueblo Grande, the transformation was likely a strategy to maintain descent-based control over status and ancestral resources rather than a product of disproportionate growth in an Omaha marriage system.

The immigrant bilocal groups with bilateral descent would have emphasized a complex marriage system. Households were the contexts for plazas for ceremonies, cemeteries, and hornos for feasting. There were no communal ceremonies among the immigrant population. This lack of collectiveness may have resulted in the shift to inhumation burials, as cremations require much greater investments in collective resources and labor than any one residential-household group could feasibly maintain. However, there was a great emphasis on the exchange of symbolic craft items and decorated pottery, indicating residential-household group competition for attracting marital alliances through a complex marriage system.

Discussion: Abandonments and Migrations

A depiction of regional trends can be pieced together if assuming that Snaketown, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande are representative of many settlements in the Phoenix Basin. The abandonment of less successful patrilineages, and their neighboring bilocal residential-household groups at La Ciudad, occurring at the same time that immigrant groups arrived

at Pueblo Grande, may reflect a broader reorganization in settlement whereby less successfully competing groups migrated to other settlements, prompting a shift to cognatic descent groups among the settlement owners and bilocality with bilateral descent among the immigrants. Meanwhile, the extreme formality in the expression of patrilineal descent and the increase in corporate descent group ceremonial activity at Snake-town may reflect a broader revitalization strategy among the more successfully competing exogamous descent groups in the region. Those large, successful patrilineal descent groups (like the one at Snaketown) may still have competed with one another in this Omaha-like political economy, despite the loss of the less successful participating descent groups (like those at La Ciudad and Pueblo Grande). However, this may not have been sustainable. The large successful patrilineal descent groups (like that at Snaketown) would have found it increasingly difficult to practice exogamy. As more of the region's population shifted to cognatic kinship and a complex marriage system in the Sacaton phase (like at Pueblo Grande), they would have caused a significant decline in the marriage pools for the surviving large exogamous descent groups. In these ways, a crisis in exogamy could have contributed to Snaketown's abandonment. Comparable analyses at more settlements throughout the region are needed to better evaluate this interpretation.

Political ecological factors may have converged with a crisis in exogamy in the Sacaton phase. The growth of the large descent groups (like the one at Snaketown) would have required expansion of irrigation networks to satisfy both their subsistence needs and their surplus needs for competitive exogamy. If unable to create more arable lands through expanded irrigation, and if the dry farming techniques that increased in this phase were also insufficient, then the political economic system of competition would have driven the large descent groups (like Snake-town's) into a crisis in local food production for both competitive feasting and subsistence needs.

Although we can reject outright the environmental-deterministic explanations of some Hohokam archaeologists, their observations should not entirely be ignored as contributing factors. There is evidence for canal damage in some systems and evidence for river channel changes during the Sacaton phase. Whether viewed as being caused simply by environment (e.g., Waters and Ravesloot 2001, 2003) or by a political ecology encouraging overuse of floodplain lands leading to sedimentation in the river channels (e.g., Ensor et al. 2003), the evidence at least indicates that these potential stresses may have converged with potential crises in exogamy in addition to crises in local food production caused by disproportionate growth from successful political economic competition. Unlike lineage fissioning to establish new smaller exogamous groups at

new resource areas in response to crises caused by disproportionate growth in the US Southeast (Enser 2003b), such a solution was unavailable to the Hohokam of the Phoenix Basin because viable irrigable lands were in fixed locations and already occupied. These ideas could be tested by Hohokam archaeologists by identifying social organization, examining ceremony and surplus production, and observing growth trends at more numerous settlements in the Phoenix Basin.

The Soho to Polvorón Phases at Pueblo Grande

Once reorganized in the Sacaton phase, there was continuity in social organization on through the Civano phase at Pueblo Grande. The ramage was maintained as a social organizational strategy by the original descent group. Numerous immigrant groups continued to establish bilocal residential-household groups with bilateral descent, resulting in a massive settlement population. As argued in Chapter 9, the ramage reacted to this source of potential stress on its ancestral resources by consolidating its control over ceremonial activities, eventually to the point of building an exclusionary wall around its ceremonial features. Presumably, the ramage's ancestral resources were also consolidated under members' control. These responses were apparently not a product of the marriage-based political economy but, rather, a response to the waves of immigrants that, once establishing themselves at Pueblo Grande, became the bulk of the population yet with an altogether different form of social organization.

Once established, the bilocal residential-household groups maintained their own plazas for ceremonies, their own cemeteries, and their own *hornos* for feasting. This newer, larger portion of the population had no communal ceremonies, which were instead controlled by the individual residential-household groups. There was a shift to regional pottery obtained more exclusively from within the irrigation community, in contrast to the prior widespread regional exchange (Abbott 2000), alongside increased extraregional exchange with the Anasazi region (Foster 1994), suggesting both local endogamy and long-distance exogamy. Some residential-household groups' households and cemeteries had differing sources of obsidian from long-distance exchange (Peterson 1994:93–102), suggesting variation in preferences for nonlocal marital alliances. Over 9,000 marine shell artifacts were found among the Sacaton to Civano phase bilocal residential groups, which demonstrated changing genus frequencies over time and some household differences in modified versus unmodified shell within compounds and cemeteries (Gross and

Stone 1994). Large quantities of beads, pendants, and bracelets from regional and extraregional sources were recovered from these households (Stone and Foster 1994:222–249). Fiber processing was a major activity among the bilocal residential-household groups. Spindle whorls were found at thirteen of the fourteen households, adult males were more often buried with modeled ceramic whorls, and females were more often buried with stone whorls, and there was an overall decline in whorls over time (Stone and Foster 1994:213–222). Quite possibly, textiles could also have been exchanged through marital alliances. The large quantities of regional and nonlocal craft items do reflect the expectations for competitive marital alliances through a complex marriage system. Additionally, the different sizes of the residential-household groups in this large portion of the population may reflect disproportionate growth among those competing groups. However, there is no other evidence for ranking among the bilocal residential-household groups, only between those and the ramage.

After the abandonment/decline of Pueblo Grande, the Polvorón phase occupation was more reminiscent of the colonization strategies used at Pueblo Patricio in the Red Mountain-Vahki phases and shortly after initial colonization of La Ciudad in the Gila Butte phase. Neolocal, patrilineal, and bilocal strategies combined with bilateral descent characterized the social organization in the Polvorón phase. The use of bilateral descent should correspond with a complex marriage system. However, apart from one *horno* at Habitation Area 2, there appears to be little evidence for household-located ceremony, feasting, or symbolic craft production and consumption, suggesting little competitive surplus production to attract marital alliances.

Discussion: Hohokam Complex Marriage Systems and Intensity of Competition

The degree to which complex marriage systems involve competition through ceremony, feasting, and craft production and exchange varied considerably. Bilateral descent and complex marital alliances were interpreted at Vahki to Snaketown phase Pueblo Patricio, where there was little evidence for competition through feasting and craft exchange. Complex marital alliances were interpreted at Gila Butte to early Santa Cruz phase La Ciudad, where there was some evidence for increased competition through feasting and craft production and exchange. In the case of the Sacaton to Civano phase population segments at Pueblo Grande engaged in a complex marriage system, there was intensive competition

through ceremony and craft exchange. Yet, in the Polvorón phase there was once again little evidence for competition for marriage alliances.

These differences in the intensity of competitive efforts to attract marriages using complex strategies may be related to Crow/Omaha-like political economies created by descent groups with other settlements. As the larger corporate exogamous descent groups began to compete more intensively for marital alliances with plazas, ballcourts, other ceremonial features and intensified craft production and exchange, they likely increased the competition for marriages among the residential-household groups engaged in a complex marriage system. However, after the disappearance of descent groups, the degree to which the Polvorón phase household and residential-household groups needed to compete for marriages decreased. Thus, although the expected associations with household-based ceremonial and feasting spaces/features and craft exchanges and complex marital alliances is generally supported, the intensity in which those groups competed through these means may have been dependent on a regional political economy established by the exogamous descent groups at other settlements or in other segments of the same settlements. I suggest that complex marriage systems in the pre-descent group era and post-descent group era relied mostly on the attractiveness of the land and infrastructure owned by the household or residential-household groups, with less necessity for competition in ceremony, feasting, and craft exchange to attract potential spouses to reproduce their groups. This idea could also be tested by Hohokam archaeologists using data from more settlements throughout the Phoenix Basin.

Conclusions

The Hohokam case study partially supports the models presented in Chapter 10. Exogamous descent groups were generally associated with surplus investments in ceremony, craft production/exchange, and feasting. The analysis also demonstrates disproportionate growth among the descent groups with more and less surplus investments, as predicted by the model. Those descent groups with the greatest investments in ceremony and craft exchanges grew the most and those with the least investment remained stable or declined in population.

The case study may or may not provide support to the expectation that disproportionate growth led to crises in exogamy. The successful competition by the descent group at Snaketown could be interpreted as the result of a crisis in exogamy, a crisis in local food production, or both. In combination with disruptions to the irrigation networks, those political economic-induced crises likely contributed to Snaketown's eventual

abandonment. La Ciudad, having the smallest patrilineages with the fewest ceremonies (alongside cognatic residential groups) during an era of competing descent groups, was the first to be abandoned. Although the Gila Butte–Santa Cruz phase patrilineage at Pueblo Grande conformed with the expectations for inter-descent group competitive ceremony, the transformations that took place there are suggested not to have resulted from the endogenous processes inherent in Crow/Omaha political economies. Instead, the altering of marriage practices resulting in the shift from a patrilineage to a ramage were most likely a strategy to maintain members' control over ancestral resources that were increasingly being shared with immigrating populations establishing themselves at the settlement. Although those migrations may have been a response to political economically or political ecologically induced crises from disproportionate growth, the transformation in the descent group was more likely a response to the complications of hosting the immigrants who remained until the end of the Civano phase.

There were changing degrees of competitive ceremony and surplus production with complex marital alliances. The increasing intensity of this competition may have been stimulated by the dominant Crow/Omaha-like political economy when exogamous descent groups were more common in the region. This may explain why there was less competitive surplus production among those practicing complex marriages at Vahki-Snaketown phase Pueblo Patricio, Gila Butte phase La Ciudad, and Polvorón phase Pueblo Grande (when Crow/Omaha-like political economies were less developed in the region) and much more investment in competitive surplus production among those with a complex marriage system during the Santa Cruz-Civano phases (when articulated with a more developed Crow/Omaha-like political economy).

PART FIVE

Contributions of Kinship Research

Although a hundred years of fieldwork have told us much about cross-cultural variation in residence, the conditions that give rise to the relatively small number of different patterns are still only incompletely known.

Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember, "The Conditions Favoring Matrilocal versus Patrilocal Residence"

Archaeology must accept a greater responsibility in the furtherance of the aims of anthropology. Until the tremendous quantities of data which the archaeologist controls are used in the solution of problems dealing with cultural evolution or systemic change, we are not only failing to contribute to the furtherance of the aims of anthropology but retarding the accomplishment of these aims. We as archaeologists have available a wide range of variability and a large sample of cultural systems. Ethnographers are restricted to the small and formally limited extant cultural systems. . . . Archaeologists should be among the best qualified to study and directly test hypotheses . . . particularly processes of change that are relatively slow.

Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology"

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

New Insights on the Hohokam

This chapter focuses on how the kinship analyses have advanced interpretations on the prehispanic Hohokam. It describes where we were previously to where we have arrived through kinship analysis. Prior vague interpretations are replaced by specific identifications of social organization and dynamics. In many of the phases, corporate strategies, agency, gender manipulation, and political economies were revealed that could not have been interpreted without a kinship analysis. Some of the new observations challenge conventional wisdom, thus redirecting new avenues of investigation, while others can directly address major long-existing questions in Hohokam archaeology.

Despite the vast amount of data and analyses, Hohokam models of social organization have overgeneralized patterns of pertinent material culture from few sites and continue to be vague. Prior research on social organization has emphasized all scales: from individual dwellings to regional organization. At the household scale, vague notions of “family,” “extended family,” “domestic units,” “kin groups,” and so forth, are widely assumed (e.g., Cable and Doyel 1987:65; Gregory 1991:164; Haury 1976:68; Henderson 1987b:10, 1995:231; Wilcox et al. 1981:204), but no specific interpretations had seriously been entertained. Although most archaeologists simply refer to villages, hamlets, farmsteads, field houses, courtyards, “house clusters,” segments, or “suprahousehold groups” (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012; Craig 2007; Craig et al. 2012; Gregory 1991; Herr and Young 2012; Wallace and Lindeman 2012; Wilcox 1991; Wills 2012) and assume these are important social units, *no specific interpretations* of these groups were previously made. At best, segments were suggested to indicate possible descent groups, or at least corporate groups,

without elaboration (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012:64; Henderson 1987b: 10; Herr and Young 2012:10; McGuire 1992a; Wilcox et al. 1981). Likewise, settlement spatial organization has been interpreted as reflecting vague notions of ideology (e.g., Clark and Gilman 2012; Herr and Young 2012; Wallace and Lindeman 2012; Wilcox et al. 1981). Syntheses suggest irrigation communities at an intraregional scale (e.g., Gregory 1991). Research on production and trade has modeled regional interaction (e.g., Abbott 2000; Abbott et al. 2007; Bayman 1999; Doyel 1991a, 1991b). Regional distributions of ballcourts and platform mounds have been treated as vague “systems” of interaction (e.g., Craig et al. 2012; Wilcox 1991:266) yet also as related to ceremonies, competition, and marriage (e.g., Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). The only specific interpretation on kinship was that of Haury (1956), who suggested patrilineal descent based on the presence of irrigation agriculture.

Although Hohokam archaeology is wealthy in data, the models of social organization suffer from generalization and vagueness. The following sections summarize the phase-by-phase findings on kinship-based social organization among the settlements examined, emphasizing the advancements in interpretation and new discoveries that were possible through kinship analysis. Although based on observations at few settlements in this analysis, these insights should be amenable to further investigation by Hohokam archaeologists, thus providing a new direction in research.

The Red Mountain and Vahki Phases

The Red Mountain phase, represented at Pueblo Patricio, illustrates how initial occupation of those floodplain farming areas was by neolocal conjugal families with bilateral descent. The significance of this finding is that access to new available resources did not require membership to kin groups. Beginning in the Vahki phase, however, membership to kin groups became important to accessing resources, along with the collective labor needed for irrigation. Extending from the former bilateral relationships, cognatic residential groups appeared at Pueblo Patricio. The men and women there needed to negotiate bilateral networks of kindred and affinal relationships to affiliate themselves with a residential-household group in order to gain access to resources for themselves and their children. Although the bilateral descent implies a complex marriage system, there was little craft production/exchange, and no evidence for feasting or ceremony, to attract marital alliances, indicating a general lack of competition to attract spouses for developing and perpetuating the residential-household groups. Apparently, resources were enough to attract marital alliances.

In contrast, a matrilineage with matrilocal residential groups was present at Snaketown in the Vahki phase. Access to the settlement's resources and social support was guaranteed through matrilineal relationships, along with the obligations to maintain the descent group's resources in perpetuity. The core members of the matrilocal residential groups and the larger local group were sisters and their female parallel cousins. Their married brothers, although presumably maintaining rights and obligations to the matrilineage's resources, would have moved away from Snaketown to live with their wives, whereas the localized women's husbands would have had only use rights with which to contribute to labor and children. In contrast with Pueblo Patricio, the matrilineage maintained a plaza for ceremonies, had *hornos* for communal feasting, and participated in symbolic craft exchanges: activities requiring surplus production for attracting marital alliances to perpetuate the descent group.

Despite prior suggestions that all large Vahki phase pithouses were for "communal" groups, the one such structure at Pueblo Patricio was well within the range of a conjugal family dwelling—not that of a larger extended residential group. However, the much larger Vahki phase pithouses at Snaketown were within the size range for matrilocal residential groups. The differences revealed provide another example of variation in a category of Hohokam architecture that were previously overgeneralized and demonstrate the importance of a kinship perspective on dwelling sizes.

The specific forms of household or residential-household groups, and specific descent groups or bilateral networks, and their implications for social behavior, negotiation, and gender relationships, could not have been possible without a kinship-centered analysis. Based on prior traditional approaches to social organization, the differences between Vahki phase Pueblo Patricio and Snaketown would probably only emphasize nonaggregated versus plaza-focused "corporate groups" of unspecified form, which would cast no insight on how access to resources was obtained, whether negotiation was required, what gendered relationships were involved in group organization and postmarital mobility, or why at Snaketown there were a plaza, collective feasting, and craft exchanges.

The Estrella, Sweetwater, and Snaketown Phases

At Pueblo Patricio, the households and their arrangements across these phases reflect the cross-cultural patterns for bilocal residential-household groups and bilateral descent. Men and women needed to negotiate their kindred and affinal relationships to gain access to a residential-household group's resources for themselves and their children. There were no

guaranteed sources of resource acquisition or social support from corporate descent groups. At the same time, residential-household group leaders needed to use both junior men and women to attract marriages to perpetuate their social groups and estates. The inferred feasting associated with the roasting pits may indicate an increase in competition to attract marital alliances for the individual residential-household groups through both feasting and symbolic artifact exchanges. Overall, however, there did not seem to be a need for much surplus production to attract marriages. Established farmland was presumably attractive enough for these purposes. Domestic ritual, however, was at its peak, as indicated by the largest quantities of figurines, suggesting an ideological strategy to encourage the growth of the bilocal residential-household groups.

At Snaketown, in contrast, the Vahki phase matrilineage persisted but underwent significant alterations. The Estrella phase avunculocality indicates a shift toward monopolization by men of the matrilineage's resources and a fundamental change to the local group composition. The subsequent shifts to bilocality alongside avunculocality (and possibly uxoricolocality) in the Sweetwater phase signifies a change to more negotiated local group membership and gender valuation, possibly due to a failure to attract wives to an avunculocal local group, while still emphasizing matrilineal membership to the descent group's estate. Throughout this period of manipulating gender valuations and local group compositions, the matrilineage used its plaza for ceremonial gatherings, *hornos* for feasts, and increased symbolic craft production/exchange to attract exogamous marital alliances to perpetuate the descent group and its estate. These investments, alongside communal matrilineage cemeteries, suggest the descent group remained the most important source of corporate resources and identity.

Without a kinship-focused analysis of the dwellings and their arrangements, the interpretation of bilocality with bilateral descent at one site and changes to matrilineage social organization at another site in these phases would not have been possible. Only a range of variation in conjugal family dwellings and pithouse "clusters" would have been concluded if using traditional dwelling analyses. The distinctions in resource ownership, negotiation, gender relations, and surplus production would not be entertained.

The Gila Butte Phase

Social organization once again differed among settlements in the Gila Butte phase. The matrilineage owning Snaketown was transformed into a ramage. The same colonization strategy taken at Pueblo Patricio much

earlier was duplicated at La Ciudad. Meanwhile, a patrilineage was emerging at Pueblo Grande.

At Snaketown, the various residential groups, including patrilocality that could not exist with matrilineal descent groups, suggests a transformation from matrilineage to ambilineal descent group organization. This would have required a change in membership criteria to be negotiable through both men and women. Membership criteria was not the only change taking place. At the same time that other descent groups were forming in the region, exogamous marital alliances became more competitive, leading to an intensification in descent group collective ceremonial investments (indicated by the plaza, ballcourt, capped mound, and series of pits, all in open communal spaces). Symbolic craft consumption increased significantly. As descent group-scale ceremony and exchanges needed to become more elaborate, domestic rituals involving the use of figurines began to decline. Communal cemeteries were first established. The decline in domestic ritual and the establishing of communal cemeteries, alongside the collective investments in ceremonial spaces and features, all indicate that descent group agency and identity had become more important than household-group affiliation.

La Ciudad was first occupied in the Snaketown–Gila Butte phase. The same colonizing pattern observed at Pueblo Patricio centuries before also characterized this settlement's foundation. Neolocal conjugal families with bilateral descent indicate that land was available for the taking, which did not require access through kin relations or collectivized labor. However, the same neolocal groups eventually developed into cognatic residential groups with bilateral descent in the same locations, indicating that each had ancestral relations to the neolocal founders. Men and women at this point needed to negotiate their, and their childrens', access to resources through bilateral kindred and affinal relations. Although the development of bilocal residential-household groups occurred at the same time as the construction of the canals, there was no descent group organization at La Ciudad. That infrastructure must have been built and managed by a sodality based on co-residence at the settlement. During these initial colonizing strategies to form corporate groups at La Ciudad, *hornos* were associated with individual bilocal residential-household groups. However, other than these indications of hosting feasts, the lack of additional household-scale ceremonies and the limited symbolic crafts generally suggest little competition within the complex marriage system to attract spouses. Perhaps land and canal ownership was sufficient enough to attract marriages.

Whereas previous approaches to characterize social organization in this phase would suggest a time at which vague courtyards were developing, or that vague "corporate segments" continued to develop, the kinship

analysis was able to make significantly different and specific interpretations on social organization for the two settlements. Courtyards were not characteristic of either settlement. Instead, informally arranged aggregates of dwellings for cognatic residential groups were the norm. The analysis enabled interpretation of manipulation of Snaketown's matrilineage membership criteria to form a ramage. The analysis also enabled the observation that plazas, ballcourts, capped mounds, and other public ceremony were exclusively associated with descent groups, not settlements per se. Furthermore, the interpretation makes sense of the declining numbers of domestically used figurines, as descent group collectivity in ceremony and identity superseded household-group agency and identity. The analysis of the early occupations of La Ciudad, characterized by neolocal conjugal families with bilateral descent that later formed bilocal residential-household groups, also enabled a comparative model for social organization during colonization of new farmlands because it mirrored the same developments during the early phases at Pueblo Patricio. Although "corporate groups" were previously assumed to accompany irrigation canal construction and maintenance (e.g., Henderson 1987b), the kinship analysis was able to characterize what specific form of corporate groups was used at La Ciudad: bilocality/bilateral descent with a sodality based on settlement co-residence. The distinction between a non-kin-based sodality at La Ciudad and a corporate ramage at Snaketown is significant in that it leads to the conclusion of alternative strategies to form corporate groups, negating generalizing normative models for phases or a "developing Hohokam system."

The Santa Cruz Phase

The Santa Cruz phase was a time of both continuity and change. There was continuity in divergent exogamous descent group social organization, yet with competitive exogamous marital alliances. The social organization at Snaketown remained essentially the same. There was continuity in ramage social organization whereby exclusive membership was based on negotiated matrilineal or patrilineal ties to ancestors. However, the expanded investments in collective ceremonial surplus production, symbolic craft production, and exchange attracted exogamous marital alliances, leading to population growth.

Although some bilocality persisted through the Santa Cruz phase at La Ciudad, engendered relationships at two bilocal residential-household groups were manipulated to form small patrilineages. Whereas some of the groups continued to grant access to resources through negotiated

men's and women's kindred and affinal relationships, the rights to patrilineage resources were granted through descent-based relationships through men. Despite some internal patrilineal household organization, many members emphasized only the patrilineage scale of social organization for access to resources and identity, as indicated by the accompanying virilocality. Women belonging to the patrilineages would have been postmaritally mobile yet could potentially have remained within the settlement through marriage with the neighboring bilocal residential-household groups. Likewise, the married women of the patrilineages' brothers and parallel male cousins (emic "brothers") could potentially have come from the cognatic groups within the settlement. At different times, the two patrilineages each had a crematorium servicing the larger settlement. The ballcourt was associated with the larger patrilineage, perhaps not coincidentally as the hosting of ballgames would have made its members more attractive for marriage alliances. Other evidence for collective agency that would attract marital alliances by the larger patrilineage includes communal roasting for feasts and craft production for exchanges. The additional residential-household groups had no evident control over public ceremonies, only smaller-scale household-based roasting for feasting. However, both the patrilineages and the bilocal residential-household groups were participating in the intensified craft production and exchange caused by a growing regional political economy dominated by competitive descent group exogamy. The collection of patrilineages and bilocal residential-household groups at La Ciudad would have required a sodality to manage the settlement's collective irrigation canals, as there was no settlementwide corporate descent group. La Ciudad may not be unique in this respect: San Simon Village in southeastern Arizona may also consist of both small patrilineage local groups and bilocal residential-household groups (see Clark and Gilman 2012: Figure 5.6).

Pueblo Grande, in contrast, was owned by one patrilineage comprising multiple patrilineal household groups during the Gila Butte–Santa Cruz phases. The implications are that rights and obligations involving the settlement's resources (farmland and irrigation infrastructure) were determined through relationships to men. Women belonging to the patrilineage would have left the settlement but potentially maintained their rights and social support of lineage kin. The women married to the core group of men at Pueblo Grande would have come from other settlements, maintaining rights and obligations to their natal groups, but would have received only use rights at Pueblo Grande to contribute to the reproduction of the lineage. The patrilineage had a plaza, a communal cemetery, a public set of *hornos*, capped mounds, and a public ceremony involving

the unusual mountain sheep cremation. Additionally, one ballcourt may have been in use at this time. Once again, public ceremonies and surplus craft production and exchange were associated with an exogamous descent group.

Whereas most Hohokam literature would view the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases as a time of continuity in which the Sacaton phase “system” was “developing,” “emerging,” or “evolving,” the kinship analysis revealed these phases to be another time of social diversity and change. The Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases are shown to be a period during which diverse bilocal, ambilineal, and patrilineage social organizations were emphasized. If any pattern was “crystallizing” during this time, it involved the exclusive association of communal ceremonial investments by descent groups. The diversity in social organization, the trend toward patrilineal descent groups, and the observation that public ceremony was associated only with exogamous descent groups would not be possible without a kinship analysis.

The marital alliance perspective gives new meaning to the craft production, ceremony, and feasting of the Gila Butte and Santa Cruz phases. Although Hohokam archaeologists already linked material exchanges and ballcourts to marital alliances, there was only a general assumption that marriages needed to be made without linking these to a specific marriage system *creating the need for* such surplus production. Ceremony and surplus production were just assumed necessary and thus poorly explained. The remarkable increase and diversity in symbolic craft production and regional exchange coinciding with the increased number of exogamous descent groups indicate Omaha-like competition for marital alliances throughout the Phoenix Basin. It may be no coincidence that red-on-buff pottery peaked in sophistication during this phase. The appearance of ballcourts for competitive intergroup ballgames in association with the numerous exogamous descent groups also indicates competitive ceremony to attract marital alliances. *Hornos* in communal spaces suggest the corporate hosting of feasts, which can also be contextualized within a need for competition. The additional ceremonies contributed to each descent group’s efforts to establish prestige, which also ensured marital alliances to perpetuate and further grow those groups. Attractive lands and irrigation infrastructure were no longer enough to attract marital alliances. Without the competitive descent group exogamy to ensure group perpetuation and growth, there would have been no need for plazas, ballcourts, capped mounds, other public ceremonies, and surplus craft production and exchange.

The Santa Cruz phase also illustrates disproportionate demographic growth among the competing descent groups examined. The Snaketown ramage, having the most investment in ceremonial infrastructure and

surplus production and exchange of symbolic crafts, became the largest. The larger patrilineage at La Ciudad and the patrilineage of Pueblo Grande had less ceremonial investment and were intermediate in population. The smaller patrilineage at La Ciudad had little investment in ceremony and feasting and nearly disappeared at the end of the Santa Cruz phase. The observation of the Omaha-like political economy explains why some descent groups grew larger than others and why some were at risk of disappearing, without relying on environmental or land-form permission as an explanation for differential success.

The Sacaton Phase

Hohokam social organization had changed (again) by the beginning of the Sacaton phase. At La Ciudad, the two patrilineages continued to occupy their village segments into the early Sacaton phase, while all but one of the bilocal residential-household groups had abandoned the settlement. The larger patrilineage had only one household for a large patrilocal residential group accompanied by virilocal residences indicating primacy in descent group affiliation and identity. No larger corporate descent groups had emerged at La Ciudad, indicating a continuation of a non-kin-based, village-scale corporate sodality for managing irrigation agriculture. Although each segment had its own cemetery, there was a decline in ceremony. The ballcourt associated with the larger patrilineage and the crematorium were no longer in use. It was only after the giving up of competitive public ceremony by the larger patrilineage that the smaller patrilineage grew to an equivalent population size. Yet, both patrilineages remained relatively small. Eventually all of the small groups abandoned the settlement at the beginning of the phase.

The Snaketown ramage members had manipulated the engendered criteria for descent group membership to form a large patrilineal descent group. Courtyards were established in a formal expression of households for *de jure* patrilocal residential groups. Three well-defined segments indicate internal patrilineages. The segments and additional households for virilocal conjugal families and other household groups were arranged around the large plaza, emphasizing a higher-order patriclan. Each segment was associated with one or multiple ceremonial features and symbolic craft production, reflecting complementary ceremonial organization among the lower order lineages within the clan. The core members of the residential groups, local groups, and settlement were men and their parallel male cousins. Their sisters and parallel female cousins were post-maritally dislocated through settlement exogamy. Married women residing at Snaketown would have come from other settlements, perhaps

maintaining their ties to resources and social support with their natal groups, yet were valued and controlled by elders/leaders at Snaketown for their role in reproducing clan members. Communal cemeteries surrounded the center of the plaza, signaling that membership to, and identity with, the patriclan superseded patrilineal household group or patrilineage affiliation and identity. The members of the northern lineage, however, apparently negotiated which scale of descent group was more significant.

The division of ceremonial surplus labor, alongside the part-time specialization by lineage members in craft production, would have enabled each lineage to develop prestige through ceremonial prowess. Such investment and successful competition would have made the entire patriclan a more attractive marriage pool for members of other descent groups in the Phoenix Basin. Whereas La Ciudad's small patrilineages' members collectively abandoned their major efforts to participate in the competitive alliance building, the collective agency and continued investment in ceremony and craft production at Snaketown led to further successful demographic growth by attracting marriages for its members.

At Pueblo Grande, major changes were also already in place at the beginning of the Sacaton phase. The former patrilineage was manipulated to form a ramage by opening negotiated membership through both men and women. Despite this transformation, the descent group maintained its control over public ceremonies and ballgames and maintained its locational affiliation with its founding settlement ancestors. Internal descent group ranking was evident in the unusually rich burial in the southern mound and one household group's control over some ceremonies in an ancestral location. These changes to descent group membership criteria and internal ranking were associated with the first major wave of immigration to Pueblo Grande by bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent and a complex marriage system. The changes to the settlement-owning descent group may have been in response to the hosting of those immigrants. Without this kinship analysis, however, the social differences between the descent group and the immigrant populations and their influences on one another could not have been observed.

Competitive exogamy was emphasized by the descent group at Pueblo Grande. The ramage members continued to collectively invest in a plaza, platform mound, other public ceremonies, and craft production and exchange for the purpose of developing prestige with which to attract preferential marital alliances, potentially with socially attractive members of the immigrant population, as well as with members of other descent groups at other settlements. This resulted in modest demographic growth but not at the scale achieved by the Snaketown patriclan through its more numerous communal investments. These interpretations could not be made with the prior vague understandings of groups, ceremonies, and exchange.

The analyses also suggest that the increasingly competitive marriage system among the Santa Cruz-phase exogamous descent groups, and consequential increases in surplus production, led to further disproportionate growth in the Sacaton phase. The larger successful descent groups with numerous ceremonies, such as Snaketown's, would have begun to encounter crises in exogamy, and possibly political ecological crises in local surplus food production from its successful growth. Meanwhile, smaller patrilineages with few ceremonies, like those at La Ciudad, were not attracting marriages and eventually disappeared from the record. Descent groups like that of Pueblo Grande's may have survived to host immigrant bilocal residential-household groups only by allowing negotiated membership through men and women to form a ramage. The immigrating bilocal residential-household groups in turn may have come from settlements abandoned (like La Ciudad). Although there is support for the hypothesis on disproportionate growth with the competitive Omaha-like marriage system and political economy, it is not clear whether the abandonments and migrations beginning early in the Sacaton phase were responses to crises in exogamy or other factors.

The Soho and Civano Phases

At Pueblo Grande, the Soho and Civano phases illustrate continuity in the social organizational patterns initiated at the beginning of the Sacaton phase. The corporate ramage maintained its control over all public ceremony, which by the end of the Soho phase had become exclusive to descent group members, coinciding with more waves of immigrating bilocal residential-household groups. Through descent from the village founders and control over all public ceremony, the ramage's collective membership maintained its higher status over the large numbers of residential-household groups. Although the population increased and new architectural forms, along with other "traits," were introduced in the Soho and Civano phases, there was no significant change to social organization at Pueblo Grande since the beginning of the Sacaton phase.

The material expectations for complex marital alliances are found among the large immigrant population at Pueblo Grande. Each of the bilocal residential-household groups maintained its own household-scale cemetery. Symbolic crafts were exchanged among members of the bilocal residential-household groups. However, pottery exchange patterns indicate a shift toward irrigation community endogamy, alongside long-distance marriages with groups in northern regions. Such long-distance marital alliances, in turn, may have laid the foundational basis for recently hypothesized migrations from those regions into the Hohokam region. Although indications of competitive alliance building, these lines of

evidence suggest a variety of sources of marriage pools. Most likely, the only rules governing marital alliances were based on individual's close consanguineal kin, allowing flexibility in marriage choices to establish bilateral networks within and across settlements.

The kinship analysis revealed continuity at Pueblo Grande when conventional wisdom focusing too heavily on culture historical "traits" suggests the significant changes occurred between the Sacaton and Soho phases. Thus, the kinship analysis enabled the identification of significant social change much earlier (during the Santa Cruz–Sacaton phase transition), and the observation that the culture historical trait changes lagged behind those. Nevertheless, the consolidation of control over the settlement's resources and ceremony by the ramage eventually led to its overthrow by the much larger bilocal population with bilateral descent from the immigrant groups at the end of the Civano phase. Assuming that the social dynamics at Pueblo Grande were similar to those at other contemporary settlements, Hohokam social history might have been vastly different if the waves of immigrants had been granted greater participatory roles in the control over resources and ceremony.

The Polvorón Phase

The Polvorón phase households and their distributions indicated a mixture of patrilineal household groups, cognatic residential groups, and neolocal conjugal families, all emphasizing bilateral descent. Whereas kin were not necessary to acquire farmland for some conjugal families, most formed themselves into extended household/residential-household groups, perhaps to have access to the benefits of corporate household-scale irrigation features. As with the original colonizations of Pueblo Patricio and La Ciudad, bilateral descent was once again associated with the occupation of resources not already affiliated with, or in this case no longer affiliated with, an existing group. Also like those situations of colonization, there appears to have been little surplus production for competition to attract marriages in the complex marriage system. Ownership of resources was enough to attract marriages. This repeated pattern in social and political economic organization within the social contexts of initial occupation, and during the occupations of largely abandoned settlements, could not be observed without a kinship analysis.

Conclusions

The kinship analysis resulted in new observations and interpretations on the Hohokam. By forcing more detailed observation of dwellings and their

arrangements, some of the well-accepted generalizing normative models on residential arrangements were found to be inadequate for capturing the actual range of variation that existed. Courtyards were not as common as the previous generalized models would suggest. Where they existed, they were often associated with other meaningful arrangements, for example, alongside informally organized aggregates (for bilocal residential groups) or accompanied by conjugal family dwellings around plazas (for virilocal groups). Likewise, models of community patterns based on Sacaton phase Snaketown and other selected sites failed to recognize the diversity among settlements and within settlements over time. By forcing the analyst to focus on dwellings and their arrangements on a phase-by-phase basis, knowing that different arrangements have different significances among contemporary residential groups and among the same altered groups over time, the kinship analysis led to a new awareness of the diversity in household organization.

The kinship analysis enabled specific interpretations on social organization, advancing us far beyond the prior vague interpretations of families, extended families, “possible kin groups,” and “possible corporate groups,” which greatly advances our understanding of Hohokam social dynamics. Additionally, through these identifications of specific kinship formations, we are better able to contextualize and explain the appearance and disappearance of material culture such as ballcourts and surplus craft production and exchange without relying on speculative environmental and/or leader agency-in-a-vacuum arguments. The kinship analysis also enabled us to fill the immense gaps between observations on the distribution of material remains and interpretations of cosmological organization with materialistic social and ceremonial behavior.

Diversity in household-scale and descent group organization is apparent within phases, even within some settlements, and over time, which could not be possible without a kinship analysis. The variation in the observed kinship behavior forces us to better appreciate the diversity in strategies to found and expand corporate groups within phases, within settlements, and over time, revealing that kinship and resource ownership was constantly being manipulated through agency, with consequences to gender relationships. The analysis revealed far greater variation across time and space than the prior generalizing models had ever predicted.

The kinship analyses produced several revelations that defy collective wisdom in Hohokam archaeology. Indeed, biased by those generalizations, I did not anticipate prior to examining the settlements in detail the number of observations that challenge and redirect our understanding of Hohokam culture history. Prior models of specific settlement compositions suggesting continuity were found to be inaccurate, as household-scale and descent group-scale social organization was shown to be constantly changing. The kinship analyses enabled the discovery that, despite

being widely separated in time, groups colonizing new available resources emphasized bilocality and bilateral descent to found corporate groups—clear evidence for a situational strategy as opposed to a chronological norm. Without a kinship perspective, ballcourts and platform mounds would still merely be associated with settlements, rather than with descent groups. Without a kinship perspective, a belief would be perpetuated that Snaketown had lengthy continuity in an organizational theme that “crystallized” in the Sacaton phase (e.g., Wilcox et al. 1981). In contrast, the kinship analysis reveals that there were significant changes in community patterns and social organization over time at Snaketown: from a matrilineage with changing local group and gender organization, to a ramage, and to a patriline. Without a kinship perspective, Pueblo Grande’s population simply grew over time. However, the kinship analysis indicates that there was a changing, high-status descent group linked to ancestral settlement founders and a larger immigrant community practicing bilocality and bilateral descent.

The Sacaton-Soho phase transition was a time of continuity, not a time of change. Without a kinship perspective, the dramatic changes during the Santa Cruz–Sacaton phase transition, which challenges prevailing culture trait- and environmental/ecological-based hypotheses on change, would have been ignored. The forces behind those changes would still be attributed to the later Sacaton-Soho phase transition. Meanwhile, the continuity from the beginning of the Sacaton phase through the Soho phase and on to the end of the Civano phase would not have been observed. Instead, changes in construction techniques, pottery types, and the shift to platform mounds would continue to guide vague interpretations on change.

If anything, *the variability and divergent histories discovered in the kinship analysis defy expectations for a single developmental path toward a “classic Hohokam pattern”* common to processualist discourse on the region. The results suggest that *Hohokam kinship was situational*. Neolocal and cognatic residential groups are found only in association with the colonization of areas having new available resources (e.g., at Pueblo Patricio, La Ciudad, and Polvorón phase Pueblo Grande) and among immigrants to settlements already occupied (e.g., Sacaton phase Pueblo Grande). Divergent forms of descent groups with public ceremony formed gradually out of those social contexts. These do not illustrate a progression along one path. This revelation indicates that Hohokam social organization cannot be predicted through phase-by-phase sequences, which has always been assumed in the literature. Instead, predictions on Hohokam social organization should be based on the situational contexts of the groups examined. Rather than asking what Hohokam society was like in such-and-such phases, and rather than asking how Hohokam society

of such-and-such phase developed out of prior phases, archaeologists of the region may instead ask how Hohokam culture reacted to such-and-such circumstances wherever and whenever they occur.

Although based on data from few settlements, the kinship analyses here should be sufficient to demonstrate that Hohokam social organization, agency, gender relations, and political economies were diverse, changing, and manipulable strategies. There is no normative generalization to be found. On the other hand, a regional understanding of changing Hohokam social organization, agency, gender relations, and political economy can be sought by conducting more analyses on individual settlements and tying those to histories at other settlements to piece together a more comprehensive understanding or explanation for why certain strategies to perpetuate social groups were taken at each. For example, I have already suggested that the formation of exogamous descent groups in some places led to intensified regional competition for marital alliances (explaining ballcourts, ceremonial infrastructure, and surplus craft and food production) and that this explains an intensification in surplus craft and food production among bilocal residential-household groups emphasizing bilateral descent and complex marriage strategies in other places—something that did not occur prior to or after that Omaha-like political economy. Although normative patterns for the Hohokam are unlikely to be found, there may be subregional patterns. For example, could the long-lasting descent group at Snaketown be a pattern among settlements along the Gila River Valley? Could the overall tendency for more cognatic social organization, with fewer instances of patrilineages, like at Pueblo Patricio, La Ciudad, and later on at Pueblo Grande, be a pattern among settlements in the Salt River Valley? Some generalizations might be worth pursuing, such as the one I make for settlement colonization strategies or for dramatic (yet divergent) changes during the Santa Cruz–Sacaton phase transition followed by continuity from the Sacaton to the Civano phases. Obviously, more sites need analysis, and those with data readily available may lend themselves first to this purpose, for example, Grewe (e.g., Craig 2004; Craig and Abbot 2001), Las Colinas (e.g., Gregory et al. 1988), and El Polvorón (e.g., Sires 1984). No matter how Hohokam archaeologists might pursue future kinship analyses, these will no doubt lead to new understandings of social organization, agency, gender relations, and political economies that can address many of the existing questions on the region, make new discoveries, and open new doors for inquiry.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Archaeological Contributions to Kinship Theory

This chapter is devoted to archaeological testing of ethnologically derived hypotheses on kinship. As described in Chapter 2, much knowledge on kinship is derived from cross-cultural comparisons of cultures existing during the periods of ethnography, after their “traditional” kinship systems had developed or were already undergoing substantial changes through depopulation or expanding global capitalism. The resulting hypotheses on the origins of kinship practices are entirely based on cross-cultural generalizations, long after the kinship practices in a given culture had already developed or had undergone profound changes. Ethnohistorical documentary evidence from early periods of colonization could provide partial sources with which to test these hypotheses. However, those sources are limited to relatively recent periods after the development of kinship behaviors and historic changes. Additionally, they provide only partial empirical data to work with or are based on normative descriptions influenced by bias, misunderstandings, or potentially overlooked variation. Given the limitations of ethnology and ethnohistory, only archaeology remains to test the ethnological hypotheses on the origins of kinship behaviors because only archaeology provides the depth of time possible to make the appropriate observations on how and when those behaviors developed and under what social contexts. Several of the hypotheses described in chapters 2, 4, and 7 are addressed here using the results of the case study. These include hypotheses on the origins of the different residence systems, the different kinds of descent groups,

and bilateral descent. The chapter also examines the hypotheses presented in Chapter 10 on the political economic dynamics of marriage systems: their associations with surplus production and their social contradictions leading to social transformations. However, I begin this chapter with some overall reflections on how an archaeological analysis of kinship has contributed to refining some ethnological concepts.

Refining Ethnological Concepts

In preparing this book, I was forced to conceptualize how the principles and presentations of kinship behaviors in ethnological works could best be envisioned by archaeologists working with material remains. Additionally, the massive amount of confusion in archaeological literature over basic concepts led me to identify the ways that ethnologists have presented discussions of kinship behavior, which have a tendency to exacerbate that confusion. In several ways, I believe that the dialectic between ethnologically presented concepts and the needs of archaeologists lead to refinements in how both audiences can improve their treatment of social organization.

When ethnologists describe postmarital residence, they often fail to distinguish between memberships that “belong to” and memberships that “reside at.” Thus, when speaking of “families,” the fact that these are not actually groups is often glossed over. Some of the erroneous claims emanating from the “house-centric” perspective are the product of the failure to make explicit these important distinctions. Of course, ethnologists understand the difference but too often fail to make explicit distinctions. Archaeological analyses of kinship force anthropologists to explicitly make distinctions among the material estate, the residential group, and the group that owns the estate. Archaeological analysis encourages us to restrict our definition of *the household* to the material estate only—not a social group. A household comprises not only the dwellings but also all of the corporate resources, which are the basis for group membership in the first place. Unilocality produces two social groups. One is the unilocal *residential group* whose members include some of the co-owners of the estate and their spouses, who do not share in that ownership. The other social group is the *household group* that co-owns the estate. Some of the members are found within the residential group, but others are postmaritally located at other estates. Negotiated ambilocality also produces two social groups: the residential group and the estate-owning household group. Only in the case of bilocality is there a convergence between the two social groups. The residential group *is* the estate-owning household group, but this occurs only with bilocality.

Similarly, ethnologists writing of “local groups” typically fail to provide a scalar definition of what this means. Are they referring to residential groups? Are they referring to those residing at a descent groups’ location? This lack of explicit clarity leads to confusion. Archaeological spatial data, in contrast, force the analyst to make scalar distinctions among dwellings, households, segments, and settlements. For this reason, a distinction between residential groups and local groups became necessary. This archaeological necessity helps to make this kinship concept more explicit, relevant, and useful for all analysts.

The scales of archaeological observation also forced another set of distinctions. As they are sometimes defined and sometimes described in ethnographic literature, the distinctions between matrilocality and uxori-locality and between patrilocality and virilocality are obscured. Matrilocality involves uxori-locality because both result in a core group of sisters and female parallel cousins. Patrilocality involves virilocality because both result in a core group of brothers and male parallel cousins. Without formal scalar definitions, stating only that people practice uxori-locality or virilocality can lead to confusion over what groups are important. By restricting the definition of uxori-locality and virilocality to residence with larger descent groups, both concepts become significantly more meaningful. Likewise, by restricting avunculocality to residence with a descent group, that concept also becomes more meaningful. In all three cases, the significance is that household group membership is not necessary for access to resources. The descent groups provide that access and sources of mutual support and provide the most important group identities. Although derived from archaeological necessity, this is a useful distinction for all analysts.

Archaeological analysis of kinship also contributes to a greater appreciation for the malleability of kinship. Throughout the history of kinship research, most ethnologists have always assumed that kinship is a malleable strategy. Whether entertained through evolutionary paradigms or functionalist paradigms, kinship was always treated as something that can change in response to other cultural factors. Structural-functionalists using historic or modern kin terminologies have often entertained how these systems of nomenclature developed over time, in addition to how they may shed light on changing social organization. The political economic perspective that reinvigorated kinship research since the 1970s explicitly viewed kinship behavior both as responsive to broader political economic changes and as a means to manipulate power among groups and genders. Despite this ever-present assumption of diachronic change, many ethnological texts implicitly give the impression that kinship is static. We read that such-and-such culture has a specific kinship system, a product of limiting our understanding of cultures to normative and

synchronic ethnographic observations. The unintended consequences are that archaeologists and sometimes ethnohistorians believing that their interpretational capacity is subservient to ethnology use those synchronic normative depictions as a basis for interpreting earlier periods, as if culture does not change. When archaeology engages in kinship analysis, however, change and variability are omnipresent. Classes are observed to have different kinship behaviors (e.g., Ensor 2013). Diachronic analysis of Hohokam dwelling sizes and arrangements, community patterns, and so forth, demonstrate remarkable variation within given periods of time and across time in response to social contexts. Although ethnologists can view kinship as malleable, they are restricted to observing far smaller units of time—fewer changes can be observed. The variation and change in the Hohokam case study spanning nearly one and a half millennia, in contrast, result in a far greater appreciation for the malleability of kinship. In these multiple ways, archaeology contributes to the refining of anthropological concepts on kinship.

Explaining Residence Strategies

The different ethnological hypotheses on the origins of postmarital residence are now tested with the observations from the case study. Because most of the hypotheses are based on ecology and gender, some assumptions must be made on Hohokam gender roles. Ecological interpretations synthesized elsewhere are also relied upon. Additional archaeological data are similarly used where other factors have been hypothesized to result in certain residential behaviors. The gender roles, ecological orientations, and additional data provide the contexts with which to compare the origins of the kinship behaviors, thus testing the hypotheses on these relationships. Of course, one case study cannot hope to lead to the rejection, modification, or support of any cross-cultural hypothesis. The following tests are therefore more of an illustration for how archaeologists can go about testing the hypotheses with more data from diverse regions and periods.

Gender Roles

A model for engendered divisions of labor for the case study is required to evaluate the subsistence-related hypotheses on postmarital residence. At all costs, we should avoid the assumption that specific gender roles were associated with specific kinship behaviors or subsistence strategies. To do so would implicate us in willful participation in ethnographic tyranny: applying untested or poorly tested ethnological hypotheses to explain

the past, and circularly claiming that the archaeological results confirm the ethnological hypotheses (Maclachlan and Keegan 1990; Wobst 1978). Gender is a malleable cultural construct. Gender relationships are variable within as well as across cultures, they are manipulated, and they change over time, making any uniform model on gender roles for the case study seem dubious. Nevertheless, we cannot begin to assess the ethnological hypotheses on kinship behavior, having their own set of problems, without interpreting gender roles. Although the projection of any uniform model of engendered division of labor must be seen as problematic—indeed, it may be seen as the Achilles heel in this test on residential behavior—this section requires us to proceed with the caveat that the roles described here may not capture the variation at any one time in the past, or may be projecting late roles onto earlier phases when roles were different.

For this section, I chose to base the gender role models on regional direct-historical generalizations rather than on individual direct-historical analogies or universal generalizations. Direct-historical analogy with singular ethnographic cultures would be risky when characterizing prehispanic societies. To do so would be projecting that culture's specific history of gender and changes onto a broader past. Cross-cultural studies on gender roles merely indicate that we should avoid universal generalizations, as these studies typically illustrate remarkable cross-cultural variation. However, when similar gender roles characterize multiple cultures within a given region, those results suggest a broader tradition maintained among each specific culture within the region, despite the potential for varying and diverse histories of changes. These regional characterizations are then fortified with direct evidence on gender in the prehispanic periods from bioarchaeology and mortuary research.

Regional studies on gender roles in the US Southwest have resulted in plausible generalizations that can be used in the tests of the ethnological hypotheses. Crown (1997) synthesized multiple lines of evidence from the prehispanic US Southwest, including ethnographic sources, paleopathology studies on prehispanic samples, and prehispanic burial accompaniments, to arrive at a regionwide engendered division of labor over time. The results suggested that women were primarily responsible for food production and processing (cultivation, collecting, milling grains, and cooking). Men's roles were overlapping and complementary in food production: when heavy labor was involved, when far from settlements (e.g., on hunting excursions), or to assist women in food processing (e.g., collecting firewood). The results of another study on the broader US Southwest (Mills 1997) concluded that there did not appear to be an engendered division of labor in craft and tool production, which was organized by "households" rather than individually by men and women. Overall,

most activities observed at Hohokam households are actually reflective of women's gender roles, while men's gender roles took them away from settlements (Whittlesey 2010). However, field houses away from settlements also appear to have involved both men's and women's labor (Henderson 2010). It would also seem that women's wild plant harvesting also took them away from settlements. Based on these studies, this chapter assumes that prehispanic Hohokam women of all phases were responsible for cultivating crops, collecting wild plant foods, and food processing, whereas men were responsible for heavier labor in food production (I will assume irrigation canal construction and maintenance, with women's assistance), assisting women in cultivation, and hunting. However, no engendered division of labor in craft or tool production can be assumed, although Harry and Huntington (2010) suggest pottery production was by women based on direct historical analogy alone. Because these studies included bioarchaeological and mortuary evidence from prehispanic periods, in addition to ethnographic synthesis, they may seem more reliable to project onto the ancient Hohokam. However, the reader is still cautioned that as a malleable cultural construct the actual gender roles may have been more variable among settlements and more manipulated over time than this model would suggest.

Matrilocality

Most of the hypotheses on the origins of matrilocality focus on the relationships among gender roles, subsistence, and group formation. The cross-cultural ethnological models indicate that matrilocality is associated with the importance of localizing women's labor (e.g., horticulture or wild food processing), whereas men's labor did not need to be localized (e.g., forays/traveling for hunting, fishing, or warfare) (Driver and Massey 1957; Fox 1967:77–85; Gough 1961a:551–564; Korotayev 2003). However, Ember and Ember (1971) found this association to be strong among North American cultures but not globally. They also found a correlation between nonlocal warfare and matrilocality. Additionally, external warfare in combination with migration to new territories was also linked to matrilocality. This is a non-subsistence-related need to have men travel. To test this hypothesis, the development of matrilocality in the case study must be compared with the assumed gender roles, the documented subsistence strategies, and evidence for warfare and migration.

Matrilocality was evident among the Hohokam, but only within one phase and only at one settlement (the Vahki phase at Snaketown). At that time the settlement consisted of a matrilineage comprising three (possibly four) matrilineal household groups, with households for matrilo- cal residential groups. There is no evidence for warfare in this phase,

internal or external, that has been proposed by Hohokam archaeologists (e.g., Fish and Fish 1989; LeBlanc 2000:45–46; Nelson 2000:326). Subsistence at Snaketown in this phase was characterized by cultivation of crops through irrigation farming. Although the record is sketchy, it seems safe to conclude that a variety of cultivated and wild plants and animals were consumed in this phase. The model adopted for gender roles would suggest that the women were primarily responsible for cultivation and men were primarily responsible for maintaining the canal. Assuming that the fields primarily worked by women were in the general vicinity of the settlement and that the small first canal extending beyond the settlement area was primarily maintained by men, we might assume that women's localized cultivation was associated with matrilocality. However, this is merely an association. Because the settlement was first occupied in the Vahki phase by a matrilineage with matrilocal residential groups, it cannot be used to test of the *origins* of matrilocality since we do not know how the matrilocal postmarital residence appeared in the first instance. At best, this example provides a prehispanic culture to add to the list of ethnographic cultures supporting the *associations* among gender roles, subsistence, and residence strategies.

Patrilocality

The leading ethnological hypotheses on the origins of patrilocality come from the same sources. The cross-cultural associations suggest that subsistence necessitated the localization of men's labor, but not women's, resulting in residential groups formed around brothers and their male parallel cousins (Driver and Massey 1957; Fox 1967:77–85; Gough 1961a:551–564; Korotayev 2003). However, Ember and Ember (1971) also found that internal regional warfare was associated with patrilocality—a nonsubsistence factor that also might encourage co-residence among related men. These hypotheses would be supported by independent archaeological evidence on subsistence, warfare, kinship behavior, and gender roles.

The analysis of Hohokam kinship identified patrilocality emerging as a relatively common form of postmarital residence at La Ciudad and Pueblo Grande in the Santa Cruz phase. At La Ciudad, patrilocality was present, primarily within the Santa Cruz–Sacaton phase patrilineages, but was rarely the dominant form of postmarital residence. At Pueblo Grande, patrilocality was common in the Gila Butte to Santa Cruz phases. At Snaketown, patrilocality was the dominant form only in the Sacaton phase.

Although having different settlement histories leading up to the emergence of patrilocality in the Santa Cruz phase, one broader situational

context associated with it was the expansion in the length of earlier irrigation canals in much of the region (Nicholas and Neitzel 1984:173). But despite these investments in labor, general consensus is that dry farming and the manipulation of wild plants were increasingly relied upon (e.g., Fish 1984; Miksicek 1984), possibly in response to occasional floods that temporarily disrupted the canal systems (Masse 1991:217). Greater expansion of the irrigation networks took place in the Sacaton phase, with more secondary branches off the primary canals and more settlements added along each network, which would have required more organizational efforts among settlements (Nicholas and Neitzel 1984: 173–174).

If men, as the model for Hohokam gender roles would suggest, were increasingly required to construct and maintain these canals, then their labor was increasingly nonlocalized. They were needed for collective sodality work on the entire canal networks away from their settlements. As such, men's labor would have become irrigation community oriented. At the same time, if women were more involved in dry farming and manipulating wild plants, their labor would also have become increasingly non-localized at settlements in these phases.

The ecological hypothesis, given these contexts, would not predict patrilocality, as men's and women's principle contributions to subsistence increasingly took them both away from local settlement environs. Yet, it is precisely during these phases when patrilocality was most common. The Hohokam case study does not support the engendered subsistence hypothesis for the origins of patrilocality.

There is no evidence for warfare in these phases (Fish and Fish 1989; LeBlanc 2000:45–46; Nelson 2000:326). In fact, they are usually considered a time of increased regional interaction through trade and ceremonies (e.g., Crown 1991:156; Doyel 1991a:246–247; Masse 1991:216–217; McGuire 1992a:48; McGuire and Howard 1987:130; Wilcox 1991: 266; Wilcox and Sternberg 1983). Because warfare is extremely doubtful for these phases, Ember and Ember's (1971) internal warfare hypothesis for patrilocality is also not supported by the Hohokam case study.

Although the engendered subsistence hypothesis does not explain patrilocality among the Hohokam, there was another potential source of localized men's activities in the Santa Cruz and Sacaton phases. During this time, there was a significant increase in ceremonial activities associated with descent groups, as exhibited by the more numerous capped mounds, ballcourts, plazas, and other ceremonial spaces. If men were principally involved in the management of these ceremonial activities for their descent groups, then their localized labor contributions to the successful reproduction of their descent groups would have increased. In this scenario, engendered ceremonial roles led to group formation around

brothers and their male parallel cousins. If additional archaeological tests come to the same conclusion, we may modify the hypothesized reasons for matrilocality and patrilocality to include *any form of localized labor contributing to the social success of groups*.

Ambilocality

Although less researched, there are two ethnological hypotheses on the origins of ambilocality. A widely held understanding is that ambilocality, like other cognatic strategies, occurs after the breakdown of a unilocal system. Fox (1967:159–162) provided an alternative materialistic hypothesis to explain ambilocality, which relies on a restricted availability of arable farmland. In situations where only small areas can be farmed, the numerous tightly spaced plots, each owned by a household group, make it feasible for either men or women to become postmaritally mobile among the closely packed households. Meanwhile, the restricted total area of precious farmland leads men and women to maintain co-ownership of their household group's resources, rather than relying on their spouse's group's resources, which is feasible because postmarital mobility among adjacent household groups keeps them close to those natal resources.

At Snaketown, the Vahki-Snaketown phase matrilineage had become a ramage in the Gila Butte phase, which does support the idea that ambilocality developed out of unilocality. By this time, the settlement population had gradually increased and much of the farming would have focused on irrigated plots (although other farming techniques would also have been practiced). The first major expansion of canal networks did not occur until the Santa Cruz phase. Thus, the existing irrigation may have created a restricted area for farming in the Gila Butte phase. This interpretation suggests an ecological context in which population growth prior to the expansion of canals could have resulted in competition for access to concentrated plots of irrigated farmland. Only by expanding the irrigation systems could the restricted area of arable land be expanded. But that did not happen until the Santa Cruz phase. The criteria behind Fox's (1967:159–162) hypothesis could be interpreted to explain ambilocality at Snaketown.

The Pueblo Grande patrilineage with patrilocality was altered to form a ramage with ambilocality, which also supports the idea that ambilocality results from a breakdown in unilocality. However, the social contexts may give greater support to Fox's hypothesis. The shift to an ambilocal ramage occurred at the same time as the first large wave of immigrants arrived at Pueblo Grande. In this case, ambilocality developed to maintain control over increasingly limited irrigable farmland resources through both men and women. They maintained this kinship strategy to restrict

access to those original, and perhaps best, resources among the members of the ramage until the end of the Civano phase.

The Hohokam case study supports the general hypothesis that ambilocality develops from the breakdown of unilocality. A better question is why this may happen. Fox's (1967) hypothesis seeks to address that question and is partially supported. At both Snaketown and Pueblo Grande ambilocality emerged under socially created restrictions on resources. If other archaeological studies come to similar conclusions, then the hypothesis on restricted farmland could be supported. Given that few ethnographers and ethnologists have sought to explain the origins of ambilocality, this and other archaeological tests could contribute to theory on this category of postmarital residence.

Bilocality

There are multiple ethnological hypotheses on the origins of bilocality, but all emphasize its use as a strategy to cope with demographic circumstances, migration, or a lack of resource security. Pasternak (1976:48) indicated that bilocality is associated with small populations. Ember and Ember (1972) found bilocality and bilateral descent to be associated with severe depopulation. Lévi-Strauss (1982, 1987) argued that "houses" and "house societies" result from the breakdown of unilocal and unilineal systems, as a stage between kin-based and non-kin-based political economies. Murdock (1949:204) suggested that bilocality was associated with migration among foraging bands to access resources in each band's area, or with gender equality in resource ownership. Eggan (1966:58–64) associated bilocality with resource shortages and unpredictability. These hypotheses can be lumped into three categories: as a flexible strategy using numerous relationships to access resources during migration, during demographic disruptions, or under any other situations of resource scarcity.

Among the sites in the Hohokam case study, bilocality developed under three circumstances. The first situation was as a strategy to form corporate groups after initial settlement colonization by neolocal conjugal families at Pueblo Patricio and La Ciudad. Polvorón phase Pueblo Grande provides another example of bilocality in somewhat similar contexts. However, those residential-household groups were accompanied by patrilocal and neolocal groups as well. Uncertainty over the productive capacity of the new small irrigation systems creating dependency on fixed fields and streamflows may have encouraged the flexible strategies for accessing resources afforded by the combination of bilocality and bilateral descent reckoning. The second context under which bilocality appeared was among the immigrating populations to the already occupied settlement at

Pueblo Grande, first in the Sacaton phase but with continued immigration in the Soho and Civano phases. The large waves of immigrants may have been placed in circumstances of scarcity or unpredictability caused by the hosting descent group's exclusionary social control over vital resources. Yet, the original descent group of that settlement did not shift to bilocality. The third circumstance was at Snaketown where bilocal residential-household groups appeared within the matrilineage's local group in the Sweetwater-Snaketown phases. This third situation was not apparently linked to migration, demographic disruptions, or resource scarcity. As an alternative explanation, agriculture, perhaps by women, and early canal construction and maintenance, perhaps by men, may have led to an equal valuation of localized engendered labor, with no emphasis on exclusive retention of men or of women.

In the case of the Hohokam, bilocality developed in association with migration, possible equal valuations of localized and complementary gender roles, and possible resource insecurity. Bilocality was not associated with smaller populations (it occurred with both smaller and larger Hohokam populations). Bilocality did not result from the disintegration of unilineal descent groups, nor were they replaced by a "non-kin-based" political economy. While there can be no doubts about depopulation causing shifts to bilocality in historic times (e.g., Ember and Ember 1972; Ensor 2011; Haviland 1970, 1973), no incidences of dramatic depopulation were associated with Hohokam bilocality. Rather than one cause, migration, equal contributions to engendered localized labor, and resource scarcity all conditioned bilocality. If additional archaeological case studies lead to the same diverse conclusions, they could broaden our understandings of the contexts under which bilocality, and also "houses," are most useful and likely to develop.

Uxorilocality, Virilocality, and Avunculocality

There has been little in the form of ethnological hypotheses on the conditions favoring uxorilocality and virilocality. However, Gough (1961a: 560–561) reasoned that avunculocality could only develop if there was a prior system of matrilocality and matrilineal descent group organization, whereby men came to exclusively control the resources of the matrilineal descent group. However, this hypothesis was never adequately tested with the necessary longitudinal data to observe a transition within matrilineal descent groups from matrilocality to avunculocality.

The matrilineage at Snaketown provides an archaeologically identified example of a shift from matrilocality to avunculocality. The descent group's local group composition changed from the cross-cultural pattern for matrilocality in residential groups, during the Vahki phase, to the cross-

cultural pattern for either virilocality or avunculocality in the Estrella phase. Although it may seem a circular argument to claim the shift was to avunculocality, based on Gough's (1961a) hypothesis, the Sweetwater-Snaketown phase bilocal residential-household groups with matrilineal biases, further suggest that the descent group remained a matrilineage throughout the Vahki to Snaketown phases. Thus, the case study provides reasonable support for Gough's hypothesis. Although specific dwelling size data are generally lacking for the prehispanic periods of the Greater Antilles, it is generally recognized that earlier villages consisted of large dwellings surrounding plazas and later villages had small dwellings around plazas. This also suggests a shift from matrilineage settlements with matrilocality to matrilineage settlements with possible avunculocality (Ensor 2012). If confirmed, this may be a second archaeological region that would support this hypothesis. The Amazon Basin and the Greater US Southeast, where matrilineal descent may have been widespread, are additional regions where archaeologists could potentially seek evidence to support the hypothesis.

Virilocality was interpreted based on the observation of some conjugal family dwellings associated with patrilineages at Snaketown, La Ciudad, and Pueblo Grande. In no phase or at no settlement examined was virilocality a *norm* for postmarital residence. Instead, virilocality by some members of the descent groups accompanied patrilocality at the local groups for patrilineal descent groups. This indicated that some members were denied, or chose not to have, access to patrilineal household groups' resources and instead relied on their descent groups' resources alone. They were also buried in the communal cemeteries of the descent groups, indicating those larger groups were the most significant resource-bearing groups for identity. The broader significance to theory on descent groups is that they offer nested scales of groups (segmentary organization) for rights to resources and social support leading individual members to negotiate the importance to their interests of the different scales.

Neolocality

As a form of postmarital residence already dominating Western societies—where it is often assumed to be “natural,” “divine,” or “modern”—and as a form of postmarital residence rapidly replacing others around the world, the origins of neolocality deserve attention by archaeologists as well as ethnologists. The leading hypotheses on neolocality emphasize historic and modern factors applicable only to the era of capitalism. Linton (1952:84) indicated that neolocality arises when there are greater opportunities for individualized profits. Steward (1959) emphasized economic independence through private property, or a dependence on wage

labor, as a major determinant. Ember (1967) found a strong correlation between neolocality and commercialized exchange systems whereby people rely on wages to make a living. Gough (1961c) similarly viewed these factors as sources for the disintegration of descent groups. Although these hypotheses were based on expanding capitalism, we can extend a similar argument for feudal societies, whereby serfs are denied resource ownership and must therefore depend entirely on working for the estates of the lords. Elsewhere, I interpreted such a relationship among a resource-deprived class of Chontal Maya commoners emphasizing neolocal residence (Ensor 2013). Thus, neolocality is widely observed among the bulk of the population in state societies whereby resources are only owned by one class (as in capitalism or feudalism) or through the possibility for private property (like under capitalism). Because anthropologists have repeatedly observed the association between expanding capitalism and neolocal social organization, we can accept these hypotheses as already having the status of theory. Nonetheless, archaeology may still contribute additional perspectives. Most important, this theory has never before been tested with data from a nonstate society free of influence by expanding capitalism or feudalism!

Others have argued that neolocality is associated with ecological factors making conjugal family residence favorable. Murdock (1949:203) suggested that resource scarcity would lead to neolocality, as larger groups would be unfavorable under these conditions. Similarly, Pasternak (1976:89) argued that environmental conditions requiring a high degree of mobility among foragers would favor “neolocality” (in this case conjugal family bands). Such minibands would have greater flexibility in resource acquisition. One problem with these arguments is that the “neolocal” minibands may actually comprise more than just parent-child members and were mistakenly classified as “nuclear families” because they are small.

In the Hohokam case study, neolocality was observed in three situations of settlement colonization: at Pueblo Patricio, half a millennium later at La Ciudad, and accompanying patrilocal and cognatic residential groups at Pueblo Grande in the Polvorón phase. The Hohokam case study clearly demonstrates that the colonization of unoccupied, available resource areas was strongly associated with neolocality, particularly before irrigation requiring collective labor at the first two sites. In each of these contexts, however, there was the opposite of resource scarcity. The neolocal colonizers of Hohokam settlements established themselves where resources were available and plentiful.

Although already accepting the ethnological theory that private property or the alienation of people from resource ownership in feudal and capitalist state societies results in neolocality, the archaeological findings enable a test to examine neolocality in a nonstate society free of

expanding capitalism or feudalism. At first glance, the instances of neolocality among the Hohokam might suggest that this form of postmarital residence is not exclusive to expanding capitalism or feudalism. Put simply, the initial founders of Hohokam settlements were neolocal when kin were not necessary to *acquire* farmland. Farmland was available to whomever settled those floodplain areas. However, a complication of this presence/absence approach to neolocality in Hohokam society arises when taking a diachronic perspective on social organization and property. Bilocal residential-household groups developed out of those initial neolocal groups in subsequent generations and in association with canal irrigation. This suggests that the neolocal colonizers claimed resources that were later passed to their bilateral descendants. More critically, this diachronic observation indicates that the conjugal family landholdings *were never truly claimed by individuals*, as would be the case for private property in capitalism. Instead, they were conjugal family owned. They were not just residential groups or households owned by one parent; they were miniature *residential-household* groups that had *yet to grow into extended* bilocal residential-household groups! The significance of these observations is that neolocality was only a temporary generational strategy associated with initial colonization of new resources as only one component of a larger strategy to establish bilocal residential-household groups.

This revelation supports the hypotheses that neolocality (as a norm) is exclusively associated with the political economic conditions found under expanding capitalism or serfdom. Before this test, we knew that expanding capitalism or feudalism favored neolocality among private property holders, proletarians, and serfs. However, the theory was never turned into a hypothesis and tested to see if it was *only* associated with periods of expanding capitalism or feudalism. Without the longitudinal data from an archaeological case study to expand observation beyond the periods of capitalism and feudalism, there would be no way to test and support this hypothesis with a nonstate society. The Hohokam case study, although indicating temporary generational neolocality with colonization, does indeed support the notion that neolocality as a norm is recent and is exclusively associated with private property or a dependence upon nonkin for making a living. If this is supported by other studies, archaeology can contribute an important reflexive understanding of what so many people today experience.

Explaining Descent Groups

Ethnological hypotheses on the origins of descent group social organization are evaluated in light of the diachronic evidence from the archaeological case study. Bilateral descent, lacking in descent groups, is

addressed in the following section. Earlier hypotheses suggested that postmarital residence followed from symbolic descent. However, these were overturned with materialistic perspectives suggesting that descent groups are expansions of resource-owning household groups. Other hypotheses suggest associations with warfare, subsistence strategies, or resource scarcity. Although the models are diachronic in nature, these are based on cross-cultural synchronic associations within historical or ethnographic cultures, long after descent groups had already developed and were affected to varying degrees by expanding capitalism. As such, archaeological testing is required to evaluate each hypothesis on the origins of the different forms of descent groups.

Matrilineal Descent Groups

The ethnological hypotheses on the origins of matrilineal descent groups emphasize relationships with postmarital residence, subsistence, and warfare. Previously, matrilineal descent groups were viewed simply as an outcome of symbolic matrilineal descent. More recently, a materialist perspective prevails, and the most widely accepted hypothesis on the origins of matrilineal descent groups is that they developed out of matrilineal household groups practicing matrilocality. As members of a matrilineal household-group fission (most likely female sibling-sets of parallel cousins) and establish new additional matrilineal household groups, the result is a lineage whose members are matrilineally related to one another and to the resources of the founding matrilineal household group (e.g., Fox 1967:84). In a survey of *Ethnographic Atlas* data, Ember et al. (1974) did not find a strong correlation between unilocality and unilineal descent, which casts doubts on this leading hypothesis. Instead, they indicated that warfare could predict unilineal descent groups. Unilineal descent as a basis for membership creates large groups with exclusive loyalties. On the other hand, those data only reflect relationships between descent and postmarital residence among ethnographic cultures and not the development of unilineal descent groups. In another survey, Aberle (1961) found that nearly 70 percent of ethnographic matrilineal societies were horticultural, suggesting that matrilineal descent groups may arise from the need to localize women's subsistence labor. This is an extension of Gough's (1961a) hypothesis on matrilocality. None of these diachronic hypotheses on the origins of matrilineal descent groups was tested with diachronic data. All are based on synchronic cross-cultural associations during the historical and ethnographical periods.

In the Hohokam case study, only one matrilineal descent group was recognized: the Vahki to Snaketown phase matrilineage at Snaketown. Because earlier occupations were not observed, we cannot use this example

to diachronically examine the factors leading up to the emergence of matrilineage social organization. We do not know if the descent group developed out of an earlier founding matrilineal household group. Because the earliest canal probably dates to the Vahki phase (Haury 1976:132–151), suggesting localized cultivated fields, and thus localized women's labor, we should expect matrilineality according to Aberle's (1961) cross-cultural associations. On the other hand, if irrigation agriculture was more labor intensive, like "plow cultivation," then we would not predict matrilineality. In the end, this example cannot be used to examine how a matrilineage developed. However, there is no evidence for warfare among the Hohokam of this time (Fish and Fish 1989; LeBlanc 2000:45–46; Nelson 2000:326), thus eliminating conflict as a factor. More archaeological research needs to be devoted to the origins of matrilineal descent groups.

Patrilineal Descent Groups

The major hypotheses on the development of patrilineal descent groups are based on synchronic associations with postmarital residence, warfare, and subsistence. For much of the last century, most suggested that symbolic patrilineal descent resulted in patrilocality. However, the later materialist perspective argued that patrilineal descent developed out of patrilocality. If new household groups splintered from a patrilineal household group, they would maintain comembership to the original group's resources through patrilineal descent relations, thus forming a patrilineage (e.g., Fox 1967). Fox (1967) also suggested a second hypothesis: patrilineal descent groups could develop out of cognatic groups, based on the observation of a cross-cultural bias for patrilineal descent and patrilocality in ramagees or when the resource stress favoring ambilineal groups is relieved. Ember et al. (1974) indicated that the relationship between patrilineal descent groups and patrilocality among ethnographic cultures was not strong enough to support this association, instead suggesting that warfare is a better predictor for unilineal descent groups. Aberle (1961) found that patrilineal descent was more likely to be associated with plow agriculture and pastoralism (assumed cross-cultural masculine activities), yet these were not strong correlations. Earlier, Haury (1956) made a similar argument for the Hohokam, suggesting they were patrilineal based on ethnographic associations of this form of descent among irrigation agriculturalists. However, none of these diachronic hypotheses on the origins of patrilineal descent groups was previously tested with diachronic data.

Patrilineal descent groups were observed in the Hohokam case study. At La Ciudad, two small patrilineages developed out of bilocal residential-

household groups in the Santa Cruz phase. At Snaketown, a ramage was transformed into a patrilineage during the Santa Cruz-Sacaton phase transition. A patrilineage owned Pueblo Grande in the Gila Butte-Santa Cruz phases, but the case study could not observe how it developed out of a prior form of social organization. This was also a time when prior irrigation canal networks were expanded to make more cultivable lands available (Nicholas and Neitzel 1984:173).

The available data do not support the engendered subsistence hypothesis based on Aberle's (1961) correlations or the warfare hypothesis based on Ember et al.'s (1974) correlations. The expansion of the irrigation systems may have created a greater need to localize men's collective labor. However, irrigation agriculture was also present long before the formation of patrilineages. Additionally, after more expansions of canal networks, there was a shift from a patrilineage to a ramage accompanied by bilocal residential-households at Pueblo Grande. Although some researchers have entertained warfare, or conflict, they have found little evidence for it, in contrast to much evidence for warfare in surrounding cultural regions, and only suggest it may have been present, albeit limited, in later periods among the Hohokam (e.g., Fish and Fish 1989; LeBlanc 2000:45-46; Nelson 2000:326). Therefore, both of these hypotheses fail to explain the origins of Hohokam patrilineal descent groups.

The Hohokam case study does partially support Fox's (1967) second hypothesis. We cannot observe the social organization prior to the patrilineage at Pueblo Grande. However, the emerging patrilineages at Snake-town and at La Ciudad did not develop through the expansion of an earlier patrilineal household group. At Snaketown, patrilineal descent groups emerged through a shift from ambilineal membership to patrilineal membership in an already established descent group. At La Ciudad, the two patrilineages developed out of bilocal residential-household groups. These patrilineal descent groups appear to have developed in tandem with patrilocality. They were not expansions of an earlier patrilineal household group. The descent groups developed by manipulating the patrilineal biases in ambilineal descent groups and bilocal residential-household groups. Fox's second hypothesis that patrilineal descent groups may develop out of cognatic groups could partially explain the emergence of patrilineages at these two settlements. However, the hypothesis also suggests that this would occur when resources are no longer strained. Both cases correspond to times at which expanded canals offered new cultivable lands, which may have alleviated prior stress on restricted irrigable farmland enabling a possible patrilineal bias to be manipulated by men into a norm for group membership and access to resources. More tests with other Hohokam settlements and other regions could help to clarify the conditions under which patrilineal descent group strategies are favored.

Ambilineal Descent Groups

Fox (1967:152–153) provided three hypotheses on the possible origins of ambilineal descent groups. The first is that children and grandchildren of both genders co-inherit collectivized lands originally claimed by an ancestor, forming a cognatic descent group bound by fixed association to those resources. The descendants of both genders continue to attach themselves to those resources. Alternatively, cognatic kin may choose to associate themselves exclusively with a common cognatic ancestor's land, giving up rights and obligations with others. His second hypothesis was based on population pressure. Growing unilineal descent groups may become ambilineal if there are no additional resources available. Some members affiliate themselves with other descent groups, which breaks down the principle of unilineal group membership, resulting in cognatic descent groups. His third hypothesis emphasized the cross-cultural tendency for a patrilineal and patrilocal bias found in ramares. He suggested that ambilineal descent groups could form from the breakdown of patrilineal descent groups, potentially through the process described in the second hypothesis. His second and third hypotheses may be combined into one model. Ramares may be viewed as an alternative strategy to patrilineal descent groups during times of resource stress but could lead back to patrilineal descent groups if that stress is alleviated. Fox admits that these hypotheses are based on the characteristics of few cases, long after they were formed and observed ethnographically. However, there are no other major hypotheses on the development of ramares.

Ambilineal descent groups were present among the Hohokam at some settlements and in some phases. A ramage developed out of a prior matrilineage at Snaketown in the Gila Butte phase. At Pueblo Grande, in contrast, a ramage developed in the Sacaton phase out of a prior patrilineage. A brief period of ramage organization characterized one of the two descent groups at La Ciudad within the Santa Cruz phase. Fox's first hypothesis, that ramares can form out of one founding household group, does not find support from the case study. However, the brief ramage at La Ciudad did develop out of a prior bilocal residential-household group. This one case does suggest that ambilineal descent groups may form as a means to claim access to the resources of founding cognatic ancestors through matrilineal or patrilineal descent.

Despite having different origins, the diachronically observed formation of the ambilineal descent groups at Snaketown and Pueblo Grande also support the combined model from Fox's second and third hypotheses. This model predicts that, when under resource stress, patrilineal descent groups will become ambilineal but, on removing that strain on resources, there will be a shift back to patrilineal membership principles.

Although the Gila Butte phase Snaketown ramage developed out of a matrilineage, it did become a patrilineage after irrigation systems were expanded to create new farmland in the Santa Cruz phase. This may indicate that the irrigated land was too restricted for the slightly larger descent group in the Gila Butte phase, which could explain why there was a shift to ambilineal membership principles then. However, once the new lands were made available in the Santa Cruz phase, there was a shift to patrilineal membership in the Sacaton phase.

At Pueblo Grande, the founding patrilineage became a ramage in the Sacaton phase when existing local resources were most certainly strained by the large wave of recent migrants to that settlement. The ramage also concentrated control over public ceremonies, and probably its resources (ancestral farmland and irrigation facilities), in response to that stress. The strain on Pueblo Grande's resources never abated, as multiple waves of immigrants arrived throughout the Sacaton to Civano phases, which may also explain the stability of the ambilineal organization of that descent group. Thus, the model combining Fox's second and third hypotheses receives support in light of the diachronic archaeological evidence on these two Hohokam ramage.

Some final interesting observations on Hohokam descent groups, discussed in the next section, have great relevance to ethnological and ethnographic understandings of kinship. Two points need to be made. First, each descent group observed, no matter when it emerged, lasted until its settlement was abandoned. The Snaketown descent group lasted eight centuries from the Vahki phase to the end of the Sacaton phase when the settlement was abandoned. The Pueblo Grande descent group lasted at least from the Gila Butte phase until the end of the Civano phase when the settlement was either abandoned or largely abandoned. The La Ciudad descent groups had a much shorter duration but lasted until that settlement was abandoned. The second point, which perhaps deserves more attention, is that once descent groups were formed, their membership criteria were altered, resulting in the same descent group with the same ancestors and estates yet with different strategies for claiming descent from those ancestors and rights to those resources. The matrilineage that owned Snaketown was not replaced by a ramage, and the ramage was not replaced by a patriclan. The *same* descent group, estate, and ancestors persisted. What changed were the ways that people claimed descent from those ancestors and rights to the estate. At Pueblo Grande, the patrilineage was not replaced by a ramage. Instead, the ways that people claimed descent from those same ancestors and rights to the estate were modified. Ethnohistorians and ethnographers should therefore consider that an observed descent group may have been based on a completely different set of membership criteria only centuries before the

ethnohistorical or ethnographic observation. But the observed descent groups were the same descent groups from the past no matter how membership criteria changed.

Explaining Bilateral Descent

Bilateral descent is a significant alternative form of cognatic kinship. Individuals' and their affines' use multiple ascending and descending lines of descent-based relationships to access *potential* rights to resources and inheritance. However, these descent-based kindreds are not corporate resource-owning groups with fixed memberships. The household groups or residential-household groups are the largest corporate groups. The networks of individuals' relationships are negotiated to claim, or to grant, potential rights among household/residential-household groups. This system allows for flexibility in rights to resources and social support, and it provides individuals with multiple strategic avenues through which to negotiate new alliances from one household or residential-household group to another. If corporate groups larger than the household or residential-household groups are needed, sodalities must be forged.

Ember and Ember (1972) found bilateral descent was characteristic among populations having suffered dramatic historical depopulations. This explanation is accepted as theory because the ethnohistorical data did, in this case, support the causal relationships. Furthermore, numerous additional ethnohistorical observations support the theory. However, depopulation may not be the only cause for bilateral descent, and additional hypotheses need to be considered for prehistoric cases of bilateral descent in the absence of holocausts.

The ethnological hypotheses on the origins of bilateral descent are based on associations with other cultural behaviors during the historical and modern periods: among cultures that had already developed bilateral descent by the time the observations could be made. Most hypotheses emphasize ecological associations. For example, Haury (1956) and Gjessing (1975) suggested that bilateral descent should be associated with food scarcity or mobility, situations in which fixed group memberships may limit people's abilities to address their immediate needs, because it allows people the flexibility with which to negotiate kin-based relationships among numerous household or residential-household groups. However, Aberle's (1961) study of *Ethnographic Atlas* data found bilateral descent associated with all subsistence strategies. Pasternak (1976: 44–46), and Ember et al. (1974) similarly found no correlations between bilateral descent and type of postmarital residence. Perhaps for these reasons, there have been no suggestions that bilateral descent develops

as an expansion of bilocality, even if such a proposition might seem logical. Ember et al. (1974) did find a strong correlation between an absence of warfare and bilateral descent. Fox (1967:152–153) distinguished the “advantages” of bilateral descent: a person can claim access to resources in multiple groups, which cannot be done in the case of fixed, exclusive ambilineal descent group memberships (and this would also apply to other forms of descent groups). We could infer from his argument that numerous situations (be they ecological, social, or political-economic in nature) whereby flexible household or residential-household group membership is advantageous can lead to the use of bilateral descent.

The Hohokam case study allows for the elimination of some of the ethnological hypotheses as potential explanations for Hohokam bilateral descent. Bilateral descent was observed among the early neolocal colonizers of Pueblo Patricio (in the Red Mountain–Vahki phases) and La Ciudad (in the Snaketown–Gila Butte phase transition). The appearance of bilateral descent in different phases at different places indicates a situational and flexible strategy to deal with the uncertainties of new resource colonization. Ecological factors did not seem to condition the development of bilateral descent. Resources were available for colonization. There was no resource scarcity. Mobility was not a factor. The same subsistence strategies were used by descent groups. There have been no suggestions of warfare during these phases, which might support Ember et al.’s (1974) hypothesis if it were not for the fact that descent groups also emerged during the same periods without conflict.

Bilateral descent among the Hohokam also appeared under an additional context. At Pueblo Grande, the descent group that had descent-based legitimacy to the settlement’s ancestral resources and infrastructure altered its membership criteria from patrilineal affiliation to ambilineal affiliation in response to the first wave of immigration in the Sacaton phase. The immigrants, however, established bilocal residential-household groups with bilateral descent. The two strategies among Pueblo Grande’s population coexisted until the end of the Civano phase. In this case, the descent group likely controlled the expanding irrigation infrastructure, making the immigrating populations *vulnerable to resource scarcity*. Whereas the earlier instances of bilateral descent were not a strategy to deal with resource scarcity, this later instance of bilateral descent involved vulnerability to resource scarcity created by power differences between those who could claim descent to control resources and those who were granted, by the former, access to its ancestral resources. Fox’s (1967) general depiction of this flexible strategy for accessing resources can explain the appearance of bilateral descent among the Hohokam. Two different causes can be attributed to the use of bilateral descent among the Hohokam: uncertainty and resource scarcity. This suggests that bilateral descent

may appear *under any circumstances* where flexibility in membership is an advantage.

Some discussion of the general hypothesis that descent follows from residence is warranted. The cross-cultural correlational studies (e.g., Pasternak 1976:44–46) indicate that bilocality does not predict bilateral descent, and this was widely recognized by the 1970s. Perhaps for this reason, there has been no explicit hypothesis that bilateral descent is the result of diachronic expansion of the same relationship principles behind bilocality. In the case study, bilateral descent emerged simultaneously with the establishment of neolocal and bilocal residential-household groups—not as a diachronic expansion out of earlier neolocality or bilocality. Descent appears to change simultaneously with changes to household or residential-household group strategies. Patrilineal, matrilineal, and ambilineal descent groups were previously shown to *not* develop as an expansion from prior patrilocality, matrilocality, and ambilocality, respectively. Bilateral descent was also shown to *not* develop as an expansion from prior neolocality or bilocality. Instead, the two appeared simultaneously. Additional archaeological case studies might support this revision of ethnological thought on the relationship between descent groups and residence.

Political Economy and Social Transformations

Part IV of this book entertains hypotheses on social transformations from a political economic perspective on kinship and marriage. Largely presented as alternatives to exogenous environmental or ecological causes of cultural change, the hypotheses are based on the dynamics of marriage systems. Household and descent group social organization dictates the social relations of resource ownership. Marriage systems dictate many of the needs for surplus production. Crow/Omaha and complex marriage systems require competition for prestige to attract marital alliances. At stake in this competition is the social reproduction of the estates—the means for making a living—given by ancestors and held in perpetuity for future generations. Surplus production through collective ceremony, feasting, and gift exchanges is the means by which competition for prestige, marital alliances, and successful social reproduction of exogamous corporate groups without guaranteed marriage pools are achieved. Where ranking occurs, leadership in surplus production for competitive collective ceremony, feasting, and gift exchanges is the means by which groups, as well as their leaders, compete for rank vis-à-vis other groups and their leaders. Elementary marriage systems, in contrast, emphasize reciprocity in marital alliances and do not require much investment in surplus

production. There is no corporate competition by descent groups to attract marital alliances for social reproduction. Kin-based social organization and marriage systems therefore lay the foundations for the political economic dynamics of surplus production.

Omaha Political Economy and Transformations

As predicted by the hypotheses, Omaha-like marriage systems were indeed associated with investments in corporate descent group-oriented ceremonial investments (e.g., ballcourts, capped mounds, early platform mounds, other public ceremonial structures, and specific pottery). This marriage system was also associated with corporate descent group-scale production of crafts that were exchanged widely throughout the region. The Hohokam case study also indicates corporate descent group-organized roasting for feasting in association with an Omaha-like marriage system.

According to the model, the contradiction in this political economy should lead to disproportionate growth among the descent groups. As some descent groups outcompete other descent groups through more successful investment in surplus production for ceremonies, feasts, and gift exchanges, they become larger in population because their members attract more marriages than less successfully competing descent groups. The latter remain small or decrease in population as their household groups attract fewer marriages. The Hohokam case study also supports the hypothesized disproportionate demographic growth in an Omaha political economy. The exogamous descent group with the most numerous public ceremonies gradually grew to be the largest, those with fewer public ceremonies remained relatively stable in size, and those with little investment in public ceremony decreased in population.

Also according to the model, the disproportionate growth will eventually lead to crises in exogamy when the members of the larger descent groups no longer find enough potential spouses among the smaller descent groups. A crisis in exogamy would involve a crisis for the social reproduction of the household groups and for the entire descent group. A crisis in exogamy is also a crisis for the system upon which status (prestige and/or ranking) is based. In short, a crisis in exogamy is a crisis for the entire political economy. Solutions could include lower-order descent groups fissioning from larger descent groups to perpetuate the same competitive marriage system and political economy, the reorganization of the descent groups and the adoption of an elementary marriage system with a new political economy based on reciprocity, or the relaxation of the rules for exogamy and the dissolving of descent groups. The latter would result in a complex marriage system and a competitive political economy among household or residential-household groups. Unfortunately, the abandonments of the Sacaton phase prevented the observation

of the hypothesized crises from disproportionate growth. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that the larger descent groups, like that of Snaketown, may have begun to experience crises in exogamy. Additionally, the larger successfully competing descent groups may have experienced crises in surplus food production as their populations and competitive needs may have outgrown the capacity of their irrigable farmlands and other resource zones. In this way, a political economic and political ecological explanation can serve as an alternative to environmentally deterministic explanations for abandonments and migrations.

The Hohokam case study therefore provides support for some aspects of the hypothesis. Exogamous descent group social organization, requiring competitive exogamy, did correspond with the expected surplus production for ceremony, feasting, and symbolic craft production and exchange. There is also evidence for disproportionate demographic growth among the more successfully competing descent groups and the less successfully competing descent groups. However, it is unclear if the transformations occurring in the Sacaton phase were primarily or only partially responses to the hypothesized crises in exogamy resulting from disproportionate growth. Although the social transformations *can be explained by* the hypothesized crisis in exogamy, making this ethnotyrannical interpretation does not provide *a test of* the hypothesized crisis in exogamy. More comparable analyses at numerous Hohokam settlements are required to further test for disproportionate growth and crises in exogamy on a regional scale to resolve this problem.

Complex Political Economy and Transformations

The association of complex marital alliances with household-based ceremony, feasting, and craft production and exchange was partially supported. The early Vahki to Snaketown phase occupants of Pueblo Patrio had limited involvement in these activities. The Gila Butte to early Santa Cruz phase bilocal residential-household groups at La Ciudad also had limited involvement in surplus production for ceremony, feasting, and craft production and exchange. In the Polvorón phase there was again little investment in such surplus production among the household and residential-household groups engaged in complex marital alliances. In contrast, the Sacaton to Civano phase bilocal residential-household groups at Pueblo Grande expended a great deal of energy on craft production and exchange. Based on these observations, I suggest that the intensity of surplus labor to attract marital alliances in a complex system was largely a consequence of articulation with the exogamous descent groups engaged in an Omaha-like political economy within the same social formation. But prior to the expansion of that political economy, and after the disappearance of competing exogamous descent groups, the

ownership of irrigable farmland was largely sufficient for attracting marriages with less elaboration of ceremony and craft production and exchange. Reflexively, this archaeological observation should alert ethnologists that dominant political economic forces may influence varying degrees of competition in ethnographically and ethnohistorically observed complex marriage systems.

My hypothesized contradiction in this political economy is the potential for the development of ranking among household or residential-household groups. Once ranking is established, the leading social groups would intermarry, resulting in possible class formation. This speculative hypothesis of ranking in complex political economies was not supported by the Hohokam case study. The bilocal residential-household groups early on at Pueblo Patricio and during the Gila Butte to early Santa Cruz phase at La Ciudad did not exhibit indications of intergroup ranking. The later bilocal residential-households with complex marital alliances at Pueblo Grande also did not result in intergroup ranking. Ranking at Pueblo Grande was between the ramage that held a position of power and the collection of bilocal residential-household groups. This circumstance does not address the hypothesized development of ranking through complex marital alliances. However, disproportionate growth does appear to have taken place among the competing bilocal residential-household groups of the Soho and Civano phases at Pueblo Grande, suggesting differences in abilities to attract marital alliances.

Conclusions

The Hohokam case study provided an opportunity to begin evaluating ethnological hypotheses on postmarital residence strategies to form and maintain residential, household, or residential-household groups. This is significant because the diachronic ethnological hypotheses were never tested against sufficient longitudinal data. Instead, most are based on cross-cultural “after-the-fact” synchronic associations or without the time depth to observe the formation of the strategies. The archaeological case study supports some ethnological hypotheses but not others. The engendered subsistence hypothesis could not explain changing Hohokam postmarital residence. Because conflict was not a factor in most periods when diverse forms of postmarital residence were observed, the warfare hypothesis also fails to explain any one form among the Hohokam. Resource stress, and its alleviation, may explain some postmarital residence changes but does not explain most cases of bilocality among the Hohokam. More accurately, bilocality was associated with situations of migration, possible equal valuations of localized and complementary gender

roles, and possible resource insecurity. Perhaps the best-supported hypotheses were those suggesting that matrilineal descent groups must precede avunculocality and that neolocality is strictly associated with capitalism and feudalism in state societies.

The archaeological case study also provides an opportunity to finally evaluate, using appropriate diachronic evidence, the varying hypotheses on the formation of descent groups. What may be viewed as the most logical and most widely accepted ethnological hypothesis—that descent groups develop from the expansion of household groups organized around the same principle—was not supported by the diachronic archaeological data. In no cases did descent groups result from the expansion of earlier unilineal household groups or ambilineal household groups. The subsistence hypotheses could not explain the form of descent groups among the Hohokam. Similar subsistence strategies, and changes to them, were associated with multiple forms of descent groups and bilateral descent. The case study best supports Fox's (1967) hypotheses on the relationship between descent group membership principles and stress on resources. Patrilineal descent groups developed out of prior ramages during times when new resources were made available (at both Snaketown and La Ciudad). Likewise, the case study also indicated that ramages developed during times of potential resource stress.

The archaeological case study has indeed contributed valuable diachronic data with which to test many of the assertions in Chapter 10 on marriage systems and political economies. The ethnological associations of surplus production with Crow/Omaha systems were supported. Some of the predictions associated with the hypotheses on contradictions within Crow/Omaha and complex marital systems and their political economic dynamics were also supported. The association of surplus production for ceremony, feasting, and craft production and exchange with complex marital alliances was partially supported, although the intensity of these strategies was largely dependent upon articulation with the dominant Omaha-like political economy. The hypothesized ranking in complex marriage systems was not supported. Other elements of the hypotheses, on crises, could not be addressed by the case study due to the few numbers of settlements analyzed and the currently speculative explanations for abandonments and migrations. However, reorganizations could be interpreted as the results of crises in exogamy or resource stress. More analyses on settlements within the Phoenix Basin would be required to test this aspect of the model on Crow-Omaha political economies.

Four archaeological observations add new light to ethnographic data. First, since the 1970s, ethnologists had become well aware that postmarital residence could not be used to predict descent or descent groups in ethnographic populations. However, in the Hohokam case study, unilineal

descent developed simultaneously with unilocality. Although not developing from prior unilocality, this may indicate that unilineal descent does correspond to unilocality *when it first develops*, something that cannot be observed in ethnographic populations of the historic and modern era. Second, there was no evidence for, or suggestion of, warfare among the Hohokam for the phases during which matrilineages or patrilineal descent groups appeared (although warfare has been suggested for later phases). I suggest that ethnological correlations between unilineal descent groups and warfare are largely a product of the timing of ethnographic observations. Unilineal descent groups are better able to resist conquest, thus prolonging conflicts into the observed ethnographic periods. In contrast, conquered unilineal descent groups are more likely to be broken up into smaller groups once their resource base has been appropriated or partitioned through colonialism and capitalism, leading to the greater likelihood of observing bilateral descent in postconflict periods. Third, ethnographic observations on descent groups do not necessarily inform us of how the same descent groups were organized in the past. The case study suggests that corporate descent groups can have great antiquity but that the criteria upon which people claim association with the same estates and with the same ancestors can change over time. The ethnographic or ethnohistorical observations of one form of descent principles do not necessarily indicate how the ancestors who founded the same group organized their membership principles. Fourth, the case study suggests that the demands on surplus production in complex marriage systems and political economies are influenced by the degree of articulation/disarticulation with broader political economic forces.

The case study illustrates how archaeologists can address existing hypotheses on kinship and contribute new perspectives on ethnographic observations. Of course, more archaeological case studies need to enter the fray to adequately test these hypotheses and new perspectives. As an alternative to ethnographic tyranny (the acceptance of poorly tested ethnological hypotheses for interpretation), these examples illustrate archaeology's potential to contribute to kinship theory.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

New Frontiers in Kinship Research

This book begins with a defensive argument that kinship should be important to archaeologists. The pessimism within archaeology on the possibilities to address kinship is argued to be based on misunderstandings of the subject matter. Kinship analysis is then argued to be relevant to a wide range of topics in contemporary archaeology, followed by a justification for archaeological assessment of ethnologically derived hypotheses. Parts II through IV of the book clarify kinship behaviors and their significance, illustrate how interpretations free of ethnological bias are indeed within the reach of archaeology, and interpret a wide range of practices among the Hohokam, leading to new alternative perspectives on Phoenix Basin prehistory. In the last chapter, the archaeological case study is used to evaluate a wide range of ethnologically derived hypotheses on the origins of kinship systems and on their political economic dynamics. Some of the most widely accepted hypotheses from ethnology—the long presumed only reliable source of knowledge for kinship theory—are found to be inadequate, while other hypotheses are supported or modified. Of course, many more tests from different regions and periods are required to fully evaluate any hypotheses.

The book has gone a long way toward demonstrating how we can transform archaeology from a skeptical and hesitant passive consumer of ethnological hypotheses on kinship to a source for interpretation and an important evaluator of ethnology. Anthropological archaeology should be

more meaningful than just applying ethnological theory to interpret the past. Archaeologists should be just as critical of the biases in ethnological data and interpretations as they are with their own sources of data, interpretations, and paradigms. Ethnological theory should be consumed for culture-specific hypotheses to test with archaeological means, which advances knowledge on those societies, but never for final interpretations. At the same time, ethnological hypotheses should be evaluated in archaeology, with the hopes of sending both ethnologists and archaeologists scrambling back to the drawing board occasionally to stimulate new observations and hypotheses. It is my hope that this book stimulates such endeavors. As an end to the book, the following pages present some ideas on further productive directions for an archaeology of kinship. Undoubtedly, many archaeologists would find additional questions to pose and avenues to pursue.

Methods for Interpretation

The need for independent archaeological interpretations on kinship behaviors—to test ethnohistorical reconstructions, to test ethnological hypotheses, and to explain change through prehistory leading up to the historical patterns—favored a focus on dwelling sizes and their spatial arrangements. The dwelling patterns for most forms of postmarital residence strategies (see Chapter 5), and for the community patterns for descent groups and bilateral descent (see Chapter 8), are well documented through cross-cultural associations allowing these to be recognized and interpreted with a high degree of confidence. However, some of the arrangements appearing in the Hohokam case study were not predicted. Those arrangements are discussed in Chapter 6, forcing interpretations primarily based on logic. Those interpretations, in turn, could benefit from future scrutiny by serving as hypotheses for cross-cultural research.

The cross-cultural dwelling arrangements for patrilocal residential groups are described in Chapter 5 as consisting of multiple conjugal family dwellings surrounding a small plaza space. In the case study, the degree of formality for this pattern is varied. In many cases, there are formal arrangements of dwellings having entryways obviously focused toward the small plaza space, which clearly reflects patrilocality. In other cases, however, multiple dwellings encircle a small common space yet their entryways and orientations are less formally arranged. This nuanced difference between formal and informal expressions of the cross-cultural pattern for patrilocal residential groups are interpreted as differences in

de facto versus *de jure* patrilineal household groups. I surmise that *de jure* patrilineal household groups had a greater ideological need to express unilineal ancestry in the built environment, much the same way as descent groups need to express their social organization in formal community patterns.

Some of the households for cognatic residential groups in the case study also illustrate biases in matrilocality or patrilocality. This is not anticipated in Chapter 5, yet perhaps should be. With either form of cognatic residential behavior, some individuals will practice matrilocality while others will practice patrilocality. Meanwhile, others will find themselves at residential groups that are neither their nor their spouse's natal residence. The occasional observations of large dwellings *within* cognatic residential groups are interpreted as accommodations for those who had practiced matrilocality and an indication of a matrilocality bias. The occasional observation of some conjugal family dwellings encircling a shared space, while all others were informally arranged in the same cluster, are interpreted as a bias toward patrilocality within the cognatic residential group.

As described in Chapter 5, the dwelling sizes and arrangements in households structured by ambilocality and bilocality should appear the same. Both are recognizable by informal aggregations of dwellings. When recognized in the case study, these are simply referred to as cognatic residential groups (for either ambilocal residential groups or bilocal residential-household groups). However, the differences in the two forms of household-scale social organization are significantly different. The approach I use to distinguish the two relies on whether these were associated with the community patterns for descent groups or bilateral descent. If associated with bilateral descent, I assume they are households for bilocal residential-household groups. If incorporated within descent groups' local groups, there are two possibilities: bilocality with matrilineal descent groups or ambilocality with ambilineal descent groups. Because patrilocality could not be associated with matrilineal descent groups, households for patrilocality residential groups alongside households for cognatic residential groups, or the presence of a patrilocality bias within cognatic residential groups, within a descent group's settlement or segment are used as the basis for interpreting a ramage, and hence ambilocality.

Although logical interpretations, these products of the case study have yet to be tested in the same manner that led to the well-accepted patterns for other forms of postmarital residence and descent-based organization. We could use more information on differences in material culture related to *de facto* and *de jure* practices. Having a better idea on how to identify different postmarital strategies *within* cognatic residential groups could

improve explanations for change following a shift away, or preceding a shift toward, a specific form of unilocality and/or unilineal descent. Any and all cross-cultural research on distinguishing ambilocality and bilocality would also provide a significant advancement for archaeological kinship analysis.

Finally, it should be restated that physical anthropology has enormous potential to address issues of social organization at the household and descent group scales. However, the fundamental assumptions in that subfield on postmarital residence and marriage need reevaluation. For example, cross-cultural research on the influences of postmarital residence, postmortem burial location, and marriage systems could aid in modeling expectations for intra- and intercemetery phenotypic distributions on settlement and regional scales. Once established, physical anthropologists would be in a better position to identify postmarital residence practices. This could also provide an independent means to test the archaeological interpretations in addition to evaluating ethnological hypotheses and culture-specific ethnohistorical reconstructions.

New Perspectives on Culture-Specific Questions

Any given cultural region is likely to have unresolved questions approached in the past through a variety of paradigms. A kinship perspective can provide alternative explanations for those long-recognized but enigmatic cultural phenomena. In the Hohokam case study, for instance, alternative *explanations* are given for the development of plaza orientations, ballcourts, craft production and exchange, and major transformations. Elsewhere, I applied marital alliance theory to offer a hypothesis on chiefly cycling in the US Southeast and the development of Moundville (Ensor 2003b). I used the techniques for identifying kinship behaviors described herein to argue that Maya tributary political economies differentially structure kinship strategies and gender by class, a perspective that may resolve a number of long-term problems and debates in ethnohistorical interpretation of ancient Maya kinship (Ensor 2013). Keegan (2011) used a kinship perspective on postmarital residence strategies to explain the well-recognized but enigmatic “long pause” in colonizing Oceania and a similar phenomenon during the colonization of the Caribbean. As an alternative approach to interpreting the Chaco phenomenon, Peregrine (2001) used dwelling sizes to argue for a matrilocal chiefdom organization, which stimulated useful debates on those methods and the role of physical anthropology (Peregrine and Ember 2002; Schillaci and Stojanowski 2002). These are but a few examples of how archaeologists may find kinship-informed perspectives useful for addressing major questions,

and stimulating healthy debates, on the prehistory of any given cultural region.

Evaluating Ethnohistorical Reconstructions

Throughout the book, I argue that ethnohistorical reconstructions of kinship behaviors should be used as hypotheses, or tentative interpretations, but rarely for final interpretations. Normative historical accounts may be biased or based on misunderstandings. Analyses of documentary empirical data need to consider whether or not the samples provide enough coverage of a society or only a partial glimpse at one or few segments of a society. If these reconstructions are fragmentary or merely normatively described by early observers unfamiliar with anthropological perspectives, then historical archaeologists may find in kinship analysis a means for evaluating them. Ultimately, no matter how confident we are with the ethnohistorical interpretations, these still may not be representative of the later and earlier prehistoric periods because kinship strategies are malleable and often variable.

Elsewhere, I used an archaeological kinship analysis in an attempt to address questions on ethnohistorical reconstructions of Caribbean Taíno social organization (Ensor 2012). Keegan's and coworkers' ethnohistorical reconstructions strongly suggest matrilineal descent groups and avunculocality for the contact period (Keegan 1992a, 1992b, 2006; Keegan and Maclachlan 1989; Keegan et al. 1998). Questioning how applicable that interpretation is to the prehispanic periods, the analysis confirmed unilineal descent group organization and suggests matrilineal descent groups. The results also contextualized the emergence of ranking. Meanwhile, the analysis pinpointed the specific kinds of data needed to better address the question and debates.

Undoubtedly, every cultural region has its set of questions on social organization resulting from ethnohistorical analyses and debates. An archaeology of kinship can help resolve such questions. Perhaps one of the most unusual normative descriptions of North American kinship and social organization is that for the Natchez (Le Page du Pratz 1758; White et al. 1971). An archaeological analysis of historic and late prehistoric Natchez communities could evaluate that historical information. Of course, archaeological kinship analysis can not only evaluate the historical reconstructions but also potentially explain the pre- and protohistoric development of historical configurations. An archaeology of kinship could also contribute to reconciliation efforts with indigenous populations radically changed by European colonization in the Americas and elsewhere.

Hypotheses Based on Kinship Nomenclature

Perhaps one of the riskiest approaches to characterize ancient kin-based social organization is through the use of ethnohistorical analyses of kinship terminology. To do so, researchers must not only leap from terminology to a specific form of social organization, which is full of pitfalls, but also assume static kinship, which is highly improbable because both social organization and kinship terminologies change in response to social circumstances and can even vary within a given culture. Nevertheless, past and ongoing research on kinship nomenclature and how it interacts with social organization can provide hypotheses on social organization to test through archaeology. There are some interesting new activity-focused approaches toward this goal in South American ethnology (e.g., Coehlo de Souza 2012; Turner 2012). Furthermore, archaeological observations on changing social organization may also address hypotheses on changing and diverse kinship terminologies, which are usually based on synchronic observations of confusing combinations of nomenclature used.

Archaeologists may also wish to keep an eye on an exciting developing area combining historical linguistics with kinship terminology and social contexts (e.g., Ehret 2012; Jones and Milicik 2011; McConvell 2012; McConvell et al. 2013; Whiteley 2012). Competing methods and theories are being developed to reconstruct prehistoric migrations, diffusion, and changing social organization particularly for the Holocene (McConvell et al. 2013). This research on prehistory is proceeding without archaeology. Archaeologists have had no role to date. Ethnologists and linguists are modeling social change and interaction over time, by working backward from the recorded kinship terminologies of one culture or of numerous cultures throughout large regions. Sophisticated databases are being developed for these purposes. One well-advanced program is compiling such data for Australia (AUSTKIN 2012). Of course, many of the studies rely on synchronic data with which to develop the diachronic hypotheses. It remains to be seen if archaeologists will consume those hypotheses for interpretation or, more appropriately, test the diachronic assertions. Because many of the approaches postulate migration or diffusion, those could easily be tested using culture historical techniques to observe changing regional distributions of artifact stylistic attributes. However, more increasingly, attention is being paid in this literature to social-historical explanations for change in prehistory, and the methods and perspectives advocated herein are appropriate for testing such models. Ideally, the merging of archaeology with this new trend could lead to a tacking back and forth among the different data sets to identify problems, produce broader theory, and better understand social and cognitive change in prehistoric regions.

An archaeology of kinship is not as difficult as many archaeologists perceive it to be. There is more material evidence on kinship behaviors than for many other behavioral or belief systems popularly interpreted by archaeologists. Despite this, the long history of negative baggage will undoubtedly persist about an archaeology of kinship. Perhaps this book may at least open some eyes toward the possibility and pave the way for more acceptance of the theme as time goes by. Many ethnologists and ethnographers who have benefited from the traditional training and expertise in kinship research may applaud the effort yet be uncomfortable with the use of archaeology to test their conclusions. I hope they will be willing to acknowledge that lacunae are present (they seem to have no problems debating amongst themselves), clarify archaeologists' understandings of kinship principles and research themes, and assist in the development of an archaeology of kinship. At any rate, if this book enables some archaeologists to recognize the value of kinship and reconsider the prevailing pessimism, better understand the concepts, consider that the dwelling arrangements and community patterns they observe may be a product of specific forms of kinship-based social organization, accept that settlement patterns are as much a product of kinship as they are of environment or subsistence, view archaeology as a potential contributor to kinship theory, or serve as a source of information with which to solve questions derived from ethnohistory, then it was well worth writing. If it inspires new kinship-based interpretations and new research avenues, along with productive debates, then the book will have accomplished its highest goal.

GLOSSARY

- affine:** A relative through marriage; one's own spouse or the spouse of another recognized kinsperson.
- ambilineal descent:** A form of *cognatic* descent whereby relationships are traced through either *patrilineal* or *matrilineal* descent, or through both.
- ambilineal descent group:** A *cognatic* social group whose members define relationships traced through *patrilineal* or *matrilineal* descent, or through both. The functions of the descent group may vary (e.g., for resource ownership, marriage regulation through *exogamy* or *endogamy*, or social support for members). Also referred to as a *ramage*.
- ambilineal household group:** A *corporate estate*-owning ambilineal descent group, some of whose members are spread across residential groups after marriage (as introduced and defined here to distinguish the estate-owning group from the *residential group*).
- ambilocality:** A strategy whereby couples negotiate postmarital residence with either's *patrilineal* kin or *matrilineal* kin, or both, resulting in a variety of postmarital residence strategies within the formed *residential group*.
- avunculocality:** A postmarital residence strategy whereby the couple resides with the husband's *matrilineal* uncles; this comes about through *virilocality* with *matrilineal descent groups*.
- bilateral descent:** A form of *cognatic* descent whereby emphasis can be placed on relatives on both the father's and mother's sides, which would also include all those descended from relatives of both sets of grandparents. By recognizing multiple lines of descent as a source of relationships, this system allows flexibility in kin-based identities and alliances.
- bilocality:** A postmarital residence strategy that allows a couple to negotiate residence with either the husband's or wife's natal residence, or

with any of their *bilateral* kin; the best socioeconomic opportunities for the couple and their children are a major consideration.

bilocal residential-household group: A *cognatic residential group* formed through the multiple postmarital residence strategies associated with *bilocality*. Unlike all other forms of postmarital residence, the same residential group members also form the *corporate estate*-owning group. The types of corporate groups that Lévi-Strauss referred to as “houses” when combined with *bilateral descent*.

clan: A *unilineal descent group* (matrilineal or patrilineal) that includes members who are related to a common known or mythical ancestor and that comprises multiple *lineages*. The socioeconomic functions of clans may vary, but typically they are *corporate* groups, are exogamous, sponsor specific ceremonial themes/roles, and provide a source of mutual social support among members. In some early and mid-twentieth-century definitions, the term applied only to co-residing unilineally related people and their affines; however, subsequent simplifications do not include affines—only the unilineally related people—regardless of members’ residential location.

cognatic: A nonunilineal system or strategy that can emphasize either *matrilineal* or *patrilineal* descent, or both (in the case of *ambilineal descent*), or that can emphasize either *matrilateral* or *patrilateral* relationships (in the case of *bilateral descent*), through which individual alliances are negotiated.

cognatic residential group: The term applied herein to either *ambilocal* or *bilocal* residential groups, formed through a variety of postmarital residential strategies, because the two cannot be distinguished archaeologically (nor sometimes with ethnohistorical documentary data).

complex marriage system: A marriage system based on individual-oriented taboos (as opposed to group-oriented rules) whereby spouses can be sought in practically any other *residential*, *household*, or *residential-household group* in the society. It is usually associated with *bilateral descent*, which lacks *descent groups*; the lack of prescribed marriage pools results in competition for marriages. One of Lévi-Strauss’s (1969) categories of marital alliances.

conical clan: A principle of ranking within *clans*, whereby the oldest *lineage*, which through *unilineal* descent is more directly associated with the founding ancestors, has the privileges of highest rank, titles, and best lands. The remaining lineages are ranked according to their descent-based distance from the leading lineage. Within the lineages, individuals are also ranked according to their distance to their group’s founders and their distance to the leading lineage.

- conjugal family:** Kin defined by parent-child relationships, with a variety of arrangements (e.g., a single mother and child[ren], two or more parents and child[ren]). The term is preferred over “nuclear family,” which connotes the discredited belief in a universal biological basis of family and a biological “building block” of kinship.
- consanguineal kin:** Relatives defined by biological genealogical relationships, or “blood” ties; whereas some consanguineal kin will share membership in social groups, many others will not. The relationships are not the basis for *descent group* membership in most systems but are the basis for individuals’ *kindreds* and can be used to negotiate individual *cognatic* group membership.
- corporate:** A group that collectively owns property that is transmitted to new generations of members or that has other collective roles or support functions; although house-centric archaeological literature suggests only *houses* are corporate, most kinship groups have long been known to collectively own and pass property to new generations of members (e.g., *household groups*, *lineages*, *clans*, *ramages*).
- corporate estate:** All material property (buildings, other features, productive resources, etc.) collectively owned by a social group (e.g., household group, lineage, clan); the ways that ownership is transmitted across generations varies with the type of *household group* or *descent group*.
- cross cousin:** A child of parental opposite-gender siblings (a father’s sister’s child or a mother’s brother’s child); or rather, cousins who trace relationships by “crossing a gender” among parents’ siblings (e.g., my cross cousins are the children of my father’s sister [crossing a gender] or of my mother’s brother [crossing a gender]); cousins who are not unilineally related to ego; the opposite is a *parallel cousin*.
- Crow kinship terminology:** A system of classificatory nomenclature that distinguishes with intimate generational and gender terms members of one’s *matrilineal descent group* (e.g., M, MB, Z, B, D, and S) and that lumps, or “skews,” all members of one’s father’s *matrilineal descent group* into two engendered terms regardless of generations (e.g., F and FZ). This system is only associated with *matrilineal descent* and the need to distinguish *matrilineal descent groups* for resource-owning and/or marriage purposes.
- Crow marriage system:** A marriage system based on *matrilineal descent group exogamy* that also prohibits marriages with members of father’s *matrilineal descent group*. There is also a frequent third prohibition against marriage with members of mother’s father’s *matrilineal descent group*. One of Lévi-Strauss’s (1969) categories of marital alliances; see *Omaha Marriage System* for the patrilineal equivalent.

- Crow social organization:** A matrilineal system whereby people are members of a matrilineal household groups, members of a *matrilin-
eage* (composed of multiple matrilineally related household groups), and members of a larger *matriclan* (composed of multiple matrilineally related matrilineages). Each scale of *descent group* provides its members with important socioeconomic functions and responsibilities; the matriclans are the exogamous groups.
- de facto:** Any social practice that is based on solutions to immediate needs, which may or may not be a shared cultural norm, that is not considered a rule of conduct.
- de jure:** Any social practice that can be considered a formal cultural rule of conduct.
- descent group:** Any social group defined on the basis of descent relations. Unilineal descent groups have memberships defined only by *patrilineal descent* from a common known or mythical ancestor, *matrilineal descent* from a common known or mythical ancestor, or through either of these or both in the case of *ramages*. However arranged, the social groups typically provide members with access to resources, offer a source of social support among members, may have ceremonial themes/roles, and are usually the exogamous social unit.
- double descent:** A cross-culturally uncommon system whereby people have both *patrilineal descent* and *matrilineal descent*; descent is through fathers and their fathers, but also through mothers and their mothers; not to be confused with cognatic descent—only patrilineal and matrilineal relationships are emphasized for group membership, inheritance, and so forth, which differs from *patrilateral* and *matrilateral* relationships.
- duolocality:** A cross-culturally uncommon postmarital residential strategy whereby each spouse remains at their natal household after marriage.
- dwelling:** A habitational architectural structure; the building size, numbers and kinds of internal rooms, and spatial relationships to one another varies according to the social needs of the residential group; not synonymous with *household* but used herein to identify *households* and interpret their associated postmarital *residential groups*, from which one can infer the types of *household groups*.
- elementary marriage system:** A marriage system emphasizing reciprocal “exchanges” of people through marriage. In restricted elementary marriage systems, members of two *exogamous* groups intermarry; in generalized elementary marriage systems, one group “gives” spouses to a second group but always receives spouses from a third group; one of Lévi-Strauss’s (1969) categories of marital alliances.

- endogamy:** A rule or preference for finding spouses within one's social group, no matter how social groups are defined.
- Eskimo kinship terminology:** A system of classificatory nomenclature that distinguishes members of a neolocal conjugal residence (M, F, Z, and B for one's "natal" residence, and M, F, D, and S for one's procreative residence) from all others in a *kindred* who are lumped together regardless of which parent's sides they belong (e.g., A, U, C).
- exogamy:** A rule or preference for finding spouses outside one's social group, no matter how social groups are defined.
- extended family:** Loosely defined *consanguineal* relatives defined by biological genealogical relationships, or "blood" ties, of one person or of both spouses combined. Whereas some extended family members may share membership in social groups, many others will not; the relationships are not the basis for *descent group* membership in most systems but are the basis for individuals' *kindreds* and can be used to negotiate *cognatic* group membership.
- genealogical amnesia:** The cognitive deemphasis of kin relationships; occurs where kin are not important to making a living or when obligations to them obstruct individual ambitions.
- Hawaiian kinship terminology:** A system of classificatory nomenclature that lumps all members of ego's parent's generation only into engendered terms (M and F) and all members of ego's generation only into engendered terms (Z and B) regardless of parental sides. This terminology system is associated with *cognatic residential groups*.
- Hohokam:** A major, well-researched prehispanic archaeological culture of central and southern Arizona from at least CE 0 to CE 1450; traditionally defined by red-on-buff and later polychrome pottery, pit-house and later compound architecture, ballcourts and later platform mounds, trash mounds, large roasting pits, cremation and later inhumation burials, irrigation agriculture, and elaborate nonutilitarian crafts; ancestral to the Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Tohono O'odham (Papago) cultures of the region.
- Hohokam compound:** Multiple above-ground adobe/caliche-walled habitational and other structures associated with small plazas. The structures are surrounded by, or abutting, thicker above-ground walls around the entire aggregate and/or framing the individual plaza spaces. Generally understood to be the residential locus of an extended social group; associated with the Civano phase (ca. CE 1300–1400).
- Hohokam courtyard group:** Multiple *Hohokam pithouses* framing a courtyard (a small plaza) with entries facing that space; the pithouses may be rebuilt or additional structures may be added in a way that

maintains the focus on the same space; as indicated in Chapter 5, this is a pattern of dwelling arrangements cross-culturally associated with households for patrilocal residential groups.

Hohokam pithouse: For much of the cultural sequence, this is a square, rectangular, or elliptical structure with an extending entry (indicated by wall postholes) constructed within a shallow pit of the same shape (a house in a pit); in late phases, there are “true pithouses” whereby the pit walls form the lower walls of the structure and upper post and adobe or cobble-reinforced walls were constructed along the edge of the pit. Domestic structures are typically indicated by central hearths placed in front of the entry and storage pits along the edges; most have central postholes indicating support posts; some structures have lines of postholes indicating internal walls.

horno: In Hohokam archaeological terminology, a large roasting pit having highly oxidized or semivitrified walls and typically containing abundant fire-cracked rock, charcoal and ash, and cooked floral and/or faunal remains.

house: A corporate estate-owning group that is based on *bilocal* combined with *bilateral descent*, and, unlike all other systems, negotiated *residential group* membership also entails *household group* membership. Although this is not emphasized in house literature, it is synonymous with *bilocal residential-household group* (introduced here to emphasize and clarify this unique characteristic). Lévi-Strauss coined the term “house” (after Waterman [1920] and Spott and Kroeber [1942:166]) to refer to this category of social groups that are different from other kin-based residential and household group categories, but which operate similarly; for example, they also have corporately owned estates that are referred to as “houses” within the indigenous language, they also have longevity, and they also have heirlooms, although none of these are exclusive to “houses.” In archaeology, *houses* and *house societies* are typically but not always interpreted by the presence of corporate groups, rebuilt dwellings (especially in the same proximate locations), and artifacts that could be considered ancestor-associated or other types of heirlooms transmitted across generations. For some archaeologists, “houses” are a category of corporate group. For others the concept applies more universally to describe all corporate groups.

house-centric perspective: A perspective emphasizing the interpretation of social groups, particularly residential groups; the goal is to understand corporate group organization and its socioeconomic significance. More broadly, a “house-centric perspective” implies an exploration of residential groups and their corporate characteristics, with or without the interpretation of *houses* per se.

- house society:** A society composed of *houses* (*bilocal residential-household groups* combined with *bilateral descent*); they generally lack larger kin-based social groups but have interhouse alliances and competition for ranking or status.
- household:** Used herein as the physical estate belonging to a *household group*: the habitational dwelling(s), adjacent domestic spaces and features, resources with which to make a living, and other property associated with the group. Although owned by the household group, the household is organized to accommodate social characteristics of the *residential group*.
- household group:** The social group that owns the *household*; defined here to distinguish between that owning group and the *residential group*. After marriage some members may no longer reside at the household to which they belong, but all remain members of the group, co-owning its resources, taking part in its decision making, inheriting property/titles, and receiving social support from its other members. Affines are normally not members of the household group that owns the household at which they reside—they belong to their natal household group despite postmarital mobility.
- Iroquois kinship terminology:** A system of classificatory nomenclature that is useful for distinguishing *matrilineal* or *patrilineal descent groups*. Mother's sisters (and their children [matrilateral parallel cousins]) and mother's brothers are given intimate terms (M, MB, Z, and B), as are father's brothers (and their children [patrilateral parallel cousins]) and father's sisters (F, FZ, Z, and B); the children of mother's brother and father's sister (cross cousins) are regarded as more distant and are all lumped together.
- kindred:** All *consanguineal kin* recognized by an individual ego regardless of social group affiliations (usually identified using ethnographic genealogical charts produced during interviews). These are not social groups; some kin recognized by an ego may belong to his or her social groups but most will not; different egos will have different kindreds.
- levirate:** A strategy to maintain a marital alliance between two groups, whereby a widow remarries her deceased husband's brother.
- lineage:** A *unilineal descent group* (matrilineal or patrilineal) that includes members of multiple unilineal household groups who are related to a common ancestor; lineages may be the largest descent groups, in which case they are the exogamous unit, or multiple lineages whose members share a common unilineal ancestor (known or mythical) may form a *clan*. The socioeconomic functions of lineages may vary but typically they are *corporate* groups, sponsor specific ceremonial themes/roles, and provide a source of mutual social support among members. In early and mid-twentieth-century definitions, the

term sometimes applied only to localized resource-owning descent groups; however, subsequent simplifications do away with the distinction—localized resource ownership is no longer a defining characteristic of lineages. Likewise, earlier definitions required that the common ancestor, or founding ancestor, be an identifiable individual, which also is no longer a criterion for lineages.

matriclan: A *clan* whose members are related through *matrilineal descent* from a common known or mythical ancestor, typically comprising members of multiple *matrilineages* who share the common ancestor; having the socioeconomic functions of a clan.

matrilateral: Reference to any or all of mother's *consanguineal* kin and their descendants, regardless of their social group memberships or the particular descent system used; not to be confused with *matrilineal descent*—matrilateral relatives can also include those descended from mother's brothers.

matrilineage: A *lineage* whose members are related through *matrilineal descent* from a common ancestor, typically comprising members of multiple *matrilineal household groups* who share the common ancestor; having the socioeconomic functions of lineages.

matrilineal descent: The tracing of descent through mothers only; thus, an ego is descended from mother, her mother, and her mother, and so forth, but is not descended from father or anyone related to him.

matrilineal descent group: A generic term for any *descent group* whose members are related to one another through *matrilineal descent* (e.g., *matrilineal household groups*, *matrilineages*, or *matriclans*); having the socioeconomic functions of descent groups.

matrilineal household group: A *household group* whose members are related to one another through *matrilineal descent*; having the socioeconomic functions of household groups. Memberships are not based on residence, as men move away from other members after marriage yet retain membership.

matrilocality: A postmarital residential strategy whereby a couple lives at the wife's mother's location; sisters are kept together within the same household after marriage, whereas husbands are postmaritally mobile and displaced from their kin.

matrilocal residential group: The group of people who reside together as a result of *matrilocality*. It includes a core group of sisters, their parents, affinal husbands, all children of the sisters, and any unmarried brothers; or it may include multiple sets of sisters who are *matrilineal parallel cousins*, along with their parents, husbands, children, and unmarried brothers. Unlike household group membership, which is unchanging after marriage, matrilocal residential group membership does change after marriage for men.

- moieties:** Two halves of a society. The moiety division rarely regulates marriages or provides a basis for political organization, except in cases where there are only two small exogamous unilineal descent groups (e.g., from depopulation). Many societies have moiety divisions that represent cosmological and engendered ceremonial themes.
- neolocality:** A postmarital residential strategy whereby a couple establishes a new, small household away from other relatives; associated with a lack of resource ownership or with individual private property.
- Omaha kinship terminology:** A system of classificatory nomenclature that distinguishes with intimate generational and gender terms members of one's *patrilineal descent group* (e.g., F, FZ, Z, B, D, and S) and that lumps, or "skews," all members of one's father's *patrilineal descent group* into two engendered terms regardless of generations (e.g., M and MB). This system is only associated with *patrilineal descent* and the need to distinguish *patrilineal descent groups* for resource-owning or marriage purposes.
- Omaha marriage system:** A marriage system based on *patrilineal descent group exogamy* that also prohibits marriages with members of mother's patrilineal descent group. There is also a frequent third prohibition against marriage with members of father's mother's patrilineal descent group. One of Lévi-Strauss's (1969) categories of marital alliances; see *Crow Marriage System* for the matrilineal equivalent.
- Omaha social organization:** A patrilineal system whereby people are members of a patrilineal household group, members of a *patrilineage* (composed of multiple patrilineally related household groups), and members of a larger *patriclan* (composed of multiple patrilineally related patrilineages). Each scale of *descent group* provides its members with important socioeconomic functions and responsibilities; the patriclans are the exogamous groups.
- parallel cousin:** A child of parental same-gender siblings (a father's brother's child or a mother's sister's child); or rather, cousins who trace relationships through siblings of a parent's generation who are the same gender (e.g., my parallel cousins are the children of my father's brother [siblings of the same gender] or of my mother's sister [siblings of the same gender]); the opposite of a *cross cousin*.
- patriclan:** A *clan* whose members are related through *patrilineal descent* from a common known or mythical ancestor, typically comprising members of multiple *patrilineages* who share the common ancestor; having the socioeconomic functions of a clan.
- patrilateral:** Reference to any or all of father's *consanguineal* kin and their descendants, regardless of their social group memberships or the particular descent system used; not to be confused with *patrilineal descent*—patrilateral relatives can also include those descended from father's sisters.

- patrilineage:** A *lineage* whose members are related through *patrilineal descent* from a common ancestor, typically comprising members of multiple *patrilineal household groups* who share the common ancestor; having the socioeconomic functions of lineages.
- patrilineal descent:** The tracing of descent through fathers only; thus, an ego is descended from father, his father, and his father, and so forth, but is not descended from mother or anyone related to her.
- patrilineal descent group:** A generic term for any *descent group* whose members are related to one another through *patrilineal descent* (e.g., *patrilineal household groups*, *patrilineages*, or *patriclans*); having the socioeconomic functions of descent groups.
- patrilineal household group:** A *household group* whose members are related to one another through *patrilineal descent*; having the socioeconomic functions of household groups. Membership is not based on residence, as women move away from other members after marriage yet retain membership.
- patrilocality:** A postmarital residential strategy whereby a couple lives at the husband's father's location; brothers are kept together within the same household after marriage, whereas their wives are postmaritally mobile and displaced from their kin.
- patrilocal residential group:** The group of people who reside together as a result of *patrilocality*. It includes a core group of brothers, their parents, affinal wives, all children of the brothers, and any unmarried sisters; or it may include multiple sets of brothers who are patrilineal *parallel cousins*, along with their parents, wives, children, and unmarried sisters. Unlike household group membership, which is unchanging after marriage, patrilocal residential group membership does change after marriage for women.
- ramage:** A nonunilineal *descent group* whose members share *ambilineal descent* to a common ancestor, typically comprising members of multiple ambilineal household groups who are related to the common ancestor; although nonunilineal, these have the same socioeconomic functions as *lineages*.
- ranchería settlement pattern:** A settlement pattern whereby individual households are widely distributed across the landscape (as opposed to an aggregated settlement).
- residential group:** The group of kin who co-reside at a household; membership includes the affines recruited after marriage; defined herein to distinguish those who live together at a household from those forming the *household group* that owns the household/estate. Unlike household group membership, which does not change after marriage, the residential group membership does change after marriage for the mobile spouses.

- residential-household group:** The *cognatic* social group created by bilocality, whereby negotiated membership to the residential group is also the basis for membership in the household group. Unlike all other systems of postmarital residence, the resulting residential group and household group is the same in the case of bilocality.
- segmentary social organization:** Social organization whereby multiple lower-order unilineal descent groups (segments) are nested within middle-order descent groups, and where multiple middle-order descent groups (segments) are in turn nested within higher-order descent groups. With the exception of the smallest scale of descent groups, each “segment” is composed of multiple smaller descent groups. The number of levels of segmentation may vary cross-culturally; matrilineal *Crow* and patrilineal *Omaha* social organization can be considered “segmentary.”
- sib:** A classificatory term from the early and mid-twentieth century seldom used today to refer to a unilineal *descent group* composed of two or more lineages who share a mythical common ancestor; now replaced by *clan*, regardless of whether or not the ancestor is mythical, which no longer specifies residence location, and which excludes affines.
- sodality:** Any social group whose membership is not based on kinship relations; members come from numerous kin groups.
- sororate:** A strategy to maintain a marital alliance between two groups, whereby a widower remarries his deceased wife’s sister.
- social relations of production:** The social relationships among people, or groups, that structure the ownership of resources and technology, and the relationships among them in the acts of producing things.
- social reproduction:** The perpetuation of a given set of social relations.
- unilineal:** An emphasis on only one line of descent (i.e., matrilineal or patrilineal).
- unilocality:** Postmarital residence with the parent of the same gender as the spouse at whose natal household the couple resides (i.e., matrilocality or patrilocality).
- uxorilocality:** A postmarital residence strategy whereby the couple lives with the wife’s social group’s location; used herein to indicate residence with the wife’s *lineage-* or *clan-*owned locations but not with a matrilocal residential group.
- virilocality:** A postmarital residence strategy whereby the couple lives with the husband’s social group’s location; used herein to indicate residence with the husband’s *lineage-* or *clan-*owned locations but not with a patrilocal residential group.

REFERENCES CITED

- Abbott, David R.
2000 *Ceramics and Community Organization among the Hohokam*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Abbott, David R., Alexa M. Smith, and Emiliano Gallaga
2007 Ballcourts and Ceramics: The Case for Hohokam Marketplaces in the Arizona Desert. *American Antiquity* 72:461–484.
- Aberle, David F.
1961 Matrilineal Descent in Cross-cultural Perspective. In *Matrilineal Kinship*, edited by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, pp. 655–727. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Aldenderfer, Mark
1993 Ritual Hierarchy and Change in Foraging Societies. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 12:1–40.
- Allen, William L., and James B. Richardson
1971 The Reconstruction of Kinship From Archaeological Data: The Concepts, the Methods, and the Feasibility. *American Antiquity* 36:41–53.
- Anderson, R. Scott, and Susan J. Smith
1994 Pollen Analysis. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 5: Environment and Subsistence*, edited by S. Kwiatkowski, pp. 205–247. Publications in Archaeology No. 2. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Arcand, Bernard
1989 The Political Power of Genealogical Amnesia. *Dialectical Anthropology* 14:117–125.
- Arden, Traci
2002 *Ancient Maya Women*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.
- Ashmore, Wendy
1991 Site-Planning Principles and Concepts of Directionality among the Ancient Maya. *Latin American Antiquity* 2:199–226.
- Ashmore, Wendy, and Jeremy A. Sabloff
2002 Spatial Orders in Maya Civic Plans. *Latin American Antiquity* 13:201–215.

AUSTKIN

- 2012 Detail of Project. Found on <http://austkin.pacific-credo.fr/index.php?page=project>, accessed on 7 May 2012.

Barnes, Robert H.

- 1984 *Two Crows Denies It: A History of Controversy in Omaha Sociology*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- 2012 Omaha and "Omaha." In *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*, edited by Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley, pp. 69–82. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Bayman, James M.

- 1999 Craft Economies in the North American Southwest. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 7:249–299.

Bayman, James M., and M. S. Shackley

- 1999 Dynamics of Hohokam Obsidian Circulation in the North American Southwest. *Antiquity* 73:836–845.

Beck, Robin A. (ed.)

- 2007a *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Beck, Robin A.

- 2007b The Durable House: Material, Metaphor, and Structure. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 3–24. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Befu, Harumi

- 1968 Origins of Large Households and Duolocal Residence in Central Japan. *American Anthropologist* 70:309–319.

Binford, Lewis R.

- 1972 Galley Pond Mound. In *An Archaeological Perspective*, edited by Lewis R. Binford, pp. 390–420. Seminar Press, New York.
- 1977 General Introduction. In *For Theory Building in Archaeology*, edited by Lewis R. Binford, pp. 1–10. Academic Press, New York.
- 1982 Meaning, Inference and the Material Record. In *Ranking, Resource and Exchange*, edited by Colin Renfrew and S. Shennan, pp. 160–163. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Blackwood, Evelyn

- 2007 Mothers to Daughters: Social Change and Matrilineal Kinship in a Minangkabau Village. In *Globalization and Change in Fifteen Cultures: Born in One World, Living in Another*, edited by George Spindler and Janice E. Stockard, pp. 117–143. Thompson Wadsworth, Belmont, CA.

Blanton, R. E., G. M. Feinman, S. A. Kowalewski, and P. N. Peregrine

- 1996 A Dual-Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization. *Current Anthropology* 37:1–14.

- Blitz, John H.
1993 Big Pots for Big Shots: Feasting and Storage in a Mississippian Community. *American Antiquity* 58:80–96.
- Boas, Franz
1966 *Kwakiutl Ethnography*, edited by Helen Codere. University of Chicago Press.
- Bohrer, V. L.
1991 Recently Recognized Cultivated and Encouraged Plants among the Hohokam. *Kiva* 56:227–235.
- Bostwick, Todd W., and James H. Burton
1993 A Study in Sourcing Hohokam Basalt Ground Stone Implements. *Kiva* 58:357–372.
- Bostwick, Todd W., and Christian E. Downum
1994 Site Structure and Ceremony at Pueblo Grande. In *Archaeology of the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound and Surrounding Features*, Vol. 2: *Features in the Central Precinct of the Pueblo Grande Community*, edited by T. W. Bostwick and C. E. Downum, pp. 297–386. Anthropological Papers No. 1. Pueblo Grande Museum, Phoenix.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Brown, James A.
2007 The Social House in Southeastern Archaeology. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 227–247. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Brown, Judith
1975 Iroquois Women: An Ethnohistoric Note. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, pp. 235–251. Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Brown, Susan E.
1975 Love Unites Them and Hunger Separates Them: Poor Women in the Dominican Republic. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, pp. 322–332. Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Brubaker, Pamela K.
1994 *Women Don't Count: The Challenge of Women's Poverty to Christian Ethics*. Scholar's Press, Atlanta.
- Brumfiel, Elizabeth M.
1992 Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology: Breaking and Entering the Ecosystem—Gender, Class, and Faction Steal the Show. *American Anthropologist* 94:551–567.
- Byrd, Brian F.
1994 Public and Private, Domestic and Corporate: The Emergence of the Southwest Asian Village. *American Antiquity* 59:639–666.

- Cable, John S., and David E. Doyel
 1987 Pioneer Period Village Structure and Settlement Pattern in the Phoenix Basin. In *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*, edited by David E. Doyel, pp. 21–70. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.
- Cable, John S., Karen S. Hoffman, David E. Doyel, and Frank Ritz
 1985 *City of Phoenix, Archaeology of the Original Townsite: Block 24-East*. Publications in Archaeology No. 8. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Carmack, Robert M.
 1973 *Quichean Civilization*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
 1981 *The Quiché Mayas of Uatlán: the Evolution of a Highland Guatemala Kingdom*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Carr, Christopher
 1994 A Crosscultural Survey of the Determinants of Mortuary Practices. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 7: An Analysis of Classic Period Mortuary Patterns*, edited by Douglas R. Mitchell, pp. 7–69. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
 1995 Mortuary Practices: Their Social, Philosophical-Religious, Circumstantial, and Physical Determinants. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 2:105–200.
- Carsten, Janet
 2000 Introduction: Cultures of Relatedness. In *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*, edited by Janet Carsten, pp. 1–36. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 2004 *After Kinship*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Carsten, Janet, and Stephen Hugh Jones
 1995 Introduction: About the House—Lévi-Strauss and Beyond. In *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, edited by J. Carsten and S. Hugh Jones, pp. 1–46. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chan, Sucheng
 1994 *Hmong Means Free: Life in Laos and America*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Chang, Kwang-Chi
 1958 Study of the Neolithic Social Grouping: Examples from the New World. *American Anthropologist* 60:298–334.
- Chase, Arlen F., and Diane Z. Chase
 1992 Mesoamerican Elites: Assumptions, Definitions, and Models. In *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*, edited by Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, pp. 3–17. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Chase, Diane Z., and Arlen F. Chase
 2004 Archaeological Perspectives on Classic Maya Social Organization From Caracol, Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 15:139–147.

Chesson, Meredith S.

- 2007 House, Town, Field, and Wadi: Landscapes of the Early Bronze Age Southern Levant. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 317–343. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Choi, Soo Ho

- 2000 Land Is Thicker than Blood: Revisiting “Kinship Paternalism” in a Peasant Village in South Korea. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 56:349–363.

Clark, Jeffrey J., and Patricia A. Gilman

- 2012 Persistent and Permanent Pithouse Places in the Basin and Range Province of Southeastern Arizona. In *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*, edited by Lisa C. Young and Sarah A. Herr, pp. 61–77. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Coelho de Souza, Marcela

- 2012 The Making and Unmaking of “Crow-Omaha” Kinship in Central Brazil(ian Ethnology). In *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*, edited by Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley, pp. 205–222. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Craig, Douglas B.

- 2004 *Beyond Snaketown: Household Inequality and Political Power in Early Hohokam Society*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson.

- 2007 Courtyard Groups and the Emergence of House Estates in Early Hohokam Society. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 446–463. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Craig, Douglas B., and David R. Abbott (eds.)

- 2001 *The Grewe Archaeological Research Project*, Vols. 1–3. Anthropological Papers No. 99–1. Northland Research, Tempe, AZ.

Craig, Douglas B., Henry D. Wallace, and Michael W. Lindeman

- 2012 Village Growth and Ritual Transformation in the Southern Southwest. In *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*, edited by Lisa C. Young and Sarah A. Herr, pp. 45–60. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Crown, Patricia L.

- 1991 The Hohokam: Current Views of Prehistory and the Regional System. In *Chaco and Hohokam: Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*, edited by P. L. Crown and W. J. Judge, pp. 135–157. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.

- 1997 *Food Processing, Preparation, and Gender in the Greater American*

- Southwest*. Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Nashville, TN.
- Crown, Patricia L., and W. James Judge (eds.)
 1991 *Chaco and Hohokam; Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM.
- Crown, Patricia L., and Earl W. Sires, Jr.
 1984 The Hohokam Chronology and Salt-Gila Aqueduct Research. In *Hohokam Archaeology along the Salt-Gila Aqueduct, Central Arizona Project: Synthesis and Conclusions*, edited by Lynn S. Teague and Patricia L. Crown, pp. 73–86. Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series No. 150, Vol. 9. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Crown, Patricia L., and W. H. Wills
 2003 Modifying Pottery and Kivas at Chaco Canyon: Pentimento, Restoration, or Renewal? *American Antiquity* 68:511–532.
- Curet, L. A.
 1992 *The Development of Chiefdoms in the Greater Antilles: A Regional Study of the Valley of Maunabo, Puerto Rico*. Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI.
 1996 Ideology, Chiefly Power, and Material Culture: An Example From the Greater Antilles. *Latin American Antiquity* 7:114–131.
 2002 The Chief Is Dead, Long Live . . . Who?: Descent and Succession in the Protohistoric Chiefdoms of the Greater Antilles. *Ethnohistory* 49:159–280.
- Curet, L. A., and J. R. Oliver
 1998 Mortuary Practices, Social Development, and Ideology in Precolumbian Puerto Rico. *Latin American Antiquity* 9:217–239.
- Deetz, James
 1960 *An Archaeological Approach to Kinship Change in Eighteenth-Century Arikara Culture*. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
 1965 *The Dynamics of Stylistic Change in Arikara Ceramics*. Illinois Studies in Anthropology No. 4. University of Illinois Press, Champaign.
- Divale, William T.
 1974 Migration, External Warfare, and Matrilocal Residence. *Behavior Science Research* 9:75–133.
 1977 Living Floors and Marital Residence: A Replication. *Behavior Science Research* 12:109–115.
- Doelle, William H., Frederick W. Huntington, and Henry D. Wallace
 1987 Rincon Phase Community Reorganization in the Tucson Basin. In *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*, edited by David E. Doyel, pp. 71–95. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.

Douglas, John E.

- 2000 Exchanges, Assumptions, and Mortuary Goods in Pre-Paquimé Chihuahua, Mexico. In *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond*, edited by Michelle Hegmon, pp. 189–208. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Doyel, David E.

- 1980 Hohokam Social Organization and the Sedentary to Classic Transition. In *Current Issues in Hohokam Prehistory: Proceedings of a Symposium*, edited by David E. Doyel and F. Plog, pp. 23–40. Anthropological Research Papers No. 23. Arizona State University, Tempe.
- 1986 A Short History of Hohokam Research. In *Emil Haury's Prehistory of the American Southwest*, edited by J. Jefferson Reid and David E. Doyel, pp. 193–210. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- 1991a Hohokam Cultural Evolution in the Phoenix Basin. In *Exploring the Hohokam: Prehistoric Desert Peoples of the American Southwest*, edited by G. J. Gumerman, pp. 231–278. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- 1991b Hohokam Exchange and Interaction. In *Chaco and Hohokam: Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*, edited by P. L. Crown and W. J. Judge, pp. 225–252. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.

Doyel, David E. (ed.)

- 1987 *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.

Doyel, David E., and Jeffrey S. Dean (eds.)

- 2006 *Environmental Change and Human Adaptation in the Ancient American Southwest*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Draper, Patricia

- 1975 Kung Women: Contrasts in Sexual Egalitarianism in Foraging and Sedentary Contexts. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by R. R. Reiter, pp. 77–109. Monthly Review Press, New York.

Driver, Harold E., and William C. Massey

- 1957 *Comparative Studies of North American Indians*. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Dube, Leela (ed.)

- 1997 *Women and Kinship: Comparative Perspectives on Gender in South and South-east Asia*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo.

Earle, Timothy

- 2001 Economic Support of Chaco Canyon Society. *American Antiquity* 66:26–35.

Edelman, Sandra A.

- 1979 San Ildefonso Pueblo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9:

- Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 308-316. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Eggan, Fred
 1937 Historical Changes in the Choctaw Kinship System. *American Anthropologist* 39:34-52.
 1966 *The American Indian*. Aldine, Chicago.
- Ehret, Christopher
 2012 Deep-Time Historical Contexts of Crow and Omaha Systems: Perspectives from Africa. In *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*, edited by Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley, pp. 173-202. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Ellison, James
 2009 Governmentality and the Family: Neoliberal Choices and Emergent Kin Relations in Southern Ethiopia. *American Anthropologist* 111:81-92.
- Ember, Carol R., and Melvin Ember
 1972 The Conditions Favoring Multilocal Residence. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 28:382-400.
- Ember, Carol, Melvin Ember, and Burton Pasternak
 1974 On the Development of Unilineal Descent. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 30:69-94.
- Ember, Melvin
 1967 The Emergence of Neolocal Residence. *New York Academy of Sciences, Transactions* 30:291-302.
 1973 An Archaeological Indicator of Matrilocal versus Patrilocal Residence. *American Antiquity* 38:177-182.
- Ember, Melvin, and Carol R. Ember
 1971 The Conditions Favoring Matrilocal versus Patrilocal Residence. *American Anthropologist* 73:571-594.
- Engels, Frederick
 1972 *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Ensor, Bradley E.
 2000 Social Formations, Modo de Vida, and Conflict in Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 65:15-42.
 2003a *Crow-Omaha Marital Alliances and Social Transformations: Archaeological Case Studies on the Taíno, Hohokam, and Archaic Lower Mississippi Valley*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida.
 2003b Disproportionate Clan Growth in Crow-Omaha Societies: A Kinship Demographic Model for Explaining Settlement Hierarchies and Fissioning in the Prehistoric US Southeast. *North American Archaeologist* 23:309-337.
 2003c Kinship and Marriage among the Omaha, 1886-1902. *Ethnology* 42: 1-14.

- 2011 Kinship Theory in Archaeology: From Critiques to the Study of Social Transformations. *American Antiquity* 76:203–227.
- 2012 Kinship and Social Organization in the Pre-Hispanic Caribbean. In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William F. Keegan, Corinne C. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, pp. 84–96. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- 2013 *Crafting Prehispanic Maya Kinship*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Ensor, Bradley E., Greg E. Berg, Greg B. Brown, and Gina S. Gage
 1997 AZ V:9:220/86(ASM/FS), The BC Site. In *Preliminary Report of Phase Two Data Recovery at the BC, Murray Wash, and Smiling Dog Sites, State Route 88-Wheatfields (Northern Segment), Gila County, Arizona*, edited by David E. Doyel and Teresa L. Hoffman, pp. 2-1–2-32. Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd., Tempe.
- Ensor, Bradley E. and Lucia Ledwith
 1997 AZ V:9:365/908(ASM/FS), The Rocky Point Site. In *Preliminary Report of Phase Two Data Recovery at the Bohme Ranch, JR, Rocky Point, and Triangle g Sites, State Route 88-Wheatfields (Southern Section), Gila County, Arizona*, edited by David E. Doyel and Teresa L. Hoffman, pp. 4-1–4-40. Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd., Tempe.
- Ensor, Bradley E., and Marisa O. Ensor
 2009 Hurricane Mitch: Root Causes and Responses to the Disaster. In *The Legacy of Hurricane Mitch: Lessons from Post-disaster Reconstruction in Honduras*, edited by Marisa O. Ensor, pp. 22–46. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Ensor, Bradley E., Marisa O. Ensor, and Gregory W. De Vries
 2003 Hohokam Political Ecology and Vulnerability: Comments on Waters and Ravesloot. *American Antiquity* 68:169–181.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
 1940 *The Nuer*. New York: Oxford University Press.
 1990 *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Faubion, James D. (ed.)
 2001 *The Ethics of Kinship: Ethnographic Inquiries*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, MD.
- Feinberg, Richard and Martin Ottenheimer
 2001 *The Cultural Analysis of Kinship: The Legacy of David M. Schneider*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Firth, Raymond
 1936 *We the Tikopia*. G. Allen, London.
- Fish, Suzanne K.
 1984 The Modified Environment of the Salt-Gila Aqueduct Sites: A Palynological Perspective. In *Hohokam Archaeology along the Salt-Gila Aqueduct, Central Arizona Project: Environment and Subsistence*, edited by Lynn S. Teague and Patricia L. Crown, pp. 39–52. Arizona State

- Museum Archaeological Series No. 150, Vol. 7. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Fish, Suzanne K., and Paul R. Fish (eds.)
 1984 *Prehistoric Agricultural Strategies in the Southwest*. Anthropological Research Papers No. 33. Arizona State University, Tempe.
 2008 *The Hohokam Millennium*. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.
- Fish, Paul R. and Suzanne K. Fish
 1989 Hohokam Warfare from a Regional Perspective. In *Cultures in Conflict: Current Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Diana Tkaczuk and Brian Vivian, pp. 112–129. Proceedings of the 20th Annual Chacmool Conference, University of Calgary, Calgary.
- Fish, Suzanne K., and Gary P. Nabhan
 1991 Desert as Context: The Hohokam Environment. In *Exploring the Hohokam: Prehistoric Desert Peoples of the American Southwest*, edited by G. J. Gumerman, pp. 29–60. An Amerind Foundation Publication. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Fletcher, Alice C., and Francis La Flesche
 1992 *The Omaha Tribe*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Fortes, Meyer
 1958 Introduction. In *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*, edited by Jack Goody, pp. 1–14. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 1959 Primitive Kinship. *Scientific American* 200(6): 146–158.
 1969 *Kinship and the Social Order: The Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan*. Aldine, Chicago.
- Foster, Michael S.
 1994 Intrusive Ceramics. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 4: Material Culture*, edited by Michael S. Foster, pp. 119–166. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Fowles, Severin M.
 2005 Historical Contingency and the Prehistoric Foundations of Moiety Organization among the Eastern Pueblos. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 61:25–52.
- Fox, John W.
 1987 *Maya Postclassic State Formation: Segmentary Lineage Migration in Advancing Frontiers*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Fox, John W., Dwight T. Wallace, and Kenneth L. Brown
 1992 The Emergence of the Quiche Elite: The Putun-Palenque Connection. In *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*, edited by Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, pp. 169–190. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Fox, Robin
 1967 *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Franklin, Sarah, and Susan McKinnon (eds.)
 2001 *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Fried, Morton
 1967 *The Evolution of Political Society*. Random House, New York.
- Friedl, Ernestine
 2004 Society and Sex Roles. In *Classic Readings in Cultural Anthropology*, edited by Gary Ferraro, pp. 48–54. Wadsworth, Belmont, CA.
- Friedman, Jonathan
 1984 Tribes, States, and Transformations. In *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology*, edited by M. Bloch, pp. 161–202. Malaby, London.
- Gailey, Christine W., and Thomas C. Patterson
 1988 State Formation and Uneven Development. In *State and Society: The Emergence of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*, edited by J. Gledhill, B. Bender, and M. T. Larsen, pp. 77–90. Routledge, London.
- Gao, Shi-Zhu, Yi-Dai Yang, Yue Xu, Quan-Chao Zhang, Hong Zhu, and Hui Zhou
 2007 Tracing the Genetic History of the Chinese People: Mitochondrial DNA Analysis of a Neolithic Population from the Lajia Site. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 133:1128–1136.
- Gibson, Jon L.
 1973 *Social Systems at Poverty Point: An Analysis of Intersite and Intrasite Variability*. Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Methodist University, Dallas.
- Gillespie, Susan D.
 2000a Beyond Kinship: An Introduction. In *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, pp. 1–21. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
 2000b Rethinking Ancient Maya Social Organization: Replacing “Lineage” with “House.” *American Anthropologist* 102:467–484.
 2007 When Is a House? In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 25–50. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Gjessing, Gutorm
 1956 *Socio-culture: Interdisciplinary Essays on Society and Culture*. Studies Honouring the Centennial of Universitetes Etnografiske Museum. Universitetes Etnografiske Museum, Oslo.
 1975 Socio-archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 16:323–341.
- Gladwin, Harold S.
 1948 *Excavations at Snaketown IV: Review and Conclusions*. Medallion Papers No. 38. Globe, Gila Pueblo, AZ.
- Gladwin, Harold S., Emil W. Haury, Edwin B. Sayles, and Nora Gladwin
 1937 *Excavations at Snaketown 1: Material Culture*. Medallion Papers No. 25. Globe, Gila Pueblo, AZ.

- Godelier, Maurice
- 1978 Infrastructures, Societies, and History. *Current Anthropology* 19:763–771.
 - 1982 Social Hierarchies among the Baruya of New Guinea. In *Inequality in New Guinea Highland Societies*, edited by Andrew Strathern, pp. 3–34. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 - 1984 Modes of Production, Kinship, and Demographic Structures. In *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology*, edited by Maurice Bloch, pp. 3–27. Malaby, London.
 - 2011 *The Metamorphoses of Kinship*. Verso, New York.
- Godelier, Maurice, Thomas R. Trautmann, and Franklin E. Tjon Sie Fat (eds.)
- 1998 *Transformations of Kinship*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Goldstein, Lynn G.
- 1981 One-Dimensional Archaeology and Multi-dimensional People: Spatial Organization and Mortuary Analysis. In *The Archaeology of Death*, edited by Robert Chapman, Ian Kinnes, and Klavs Randsborg, pp. 53–70. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Goodenough, Ward
- 1970 *Description and Comparison in Cultural Anthropology*. Aldine, Chicago.
- Gough, Kathleen
- 1961a Variation in Residence. In *Matrilineal Kinship*, edited by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, pp. 545–576. University of California Press, Berkeley.
 - 1961b Descent Groups of Settled and Mobile Cultivators. In *Matrilineal Kinship*, edited by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, pp. 450–456. University of California Press, Berkeley.
 - 1961c The Modern Disintegration of Matrilineal Descent Groups. In *Matrilineal Kinship*, edited by David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, pp. 631–652. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Gregory, David A.
- 1987 The Morphology of Platform Mounds and the Structure of Classic Period Hohokam Sites. In *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*, edited by D. E. Doyel, pp. 183–210. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.
 - 1991 Form and Variation in Hohokam Settlement Patterns. In *Chaco and Hohokam: Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*, edited by P. L. Crown and W. J. Judge, pp. 159–193. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.
- Gregory, David A., William L. Deaver, Suzanne K. Fish, Ronald Gardiner, Robert W. Layhe, Fred L. Nials, and Lynn S. Teague
- 1988 *The 1982–1984 Excavations at Las Colinas: The Site and Its Features*. Archaeological Series No. 162(2). Arizona State Museum, Tucson.

- Gross, G. Timothy, and Tammy Stone
 1994 Marine Shell. In *The Pueblo Grande Project*, Vol. 4: *Material Culture*, edited by Michael S. Foster, pp. 167–202. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Gumerman, George J. (ed.)
 1991 *Exploring the Hohokam: Prehistoric Desert Peoples of the American Southwest*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Habicht-Mauche, Judith A.
 2000 Pottery, Food, Hides, and Women: Labor, Production, and Exchange across the Protohistoric Plains-Pueblo Frontier. In *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond*, edited by Michelle Hegmon, pp. 209–234. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Hagstrum, Melissa
 2001 Household Production in Chaco Society. *American Antiquity* 66:47–55.
- Hammond, Laura
 2011 Obligated to Give: Remittances and the Maintenance of Transnational Networks Between Somalis “At Home” and Abroad. *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* 10:125–151.
- Harris, Marvin
 1968 *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*. Harper and Row, New York.
- Harry, Karen G., and Fred Huntington
 2010 Households, Gender, and Specialized Pottery Production: Exploring the Nature, Causes, and Consequences of a Prehistoric Cottage Industry for Women in the West Branch Settlement. In *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, edited by Barbara J. Roth, pp. 76–97. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Haury, Emil W.
 1956 Speculation on Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Southwest. In *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World*, edited by Gordon R. Willey, pp. 3–10. Publications in Anthropology No. 23. Viking Fund, New York.
 1976 *The Hohokam: Desert Farmers and Craftsmen*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Haviland, William A.
 1970 Marriage and the Family among the Maya of Cozumel Island, 1570. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 8:217–226.
 1973 Rules of Descent in Sixteenth Century Yucatan. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 9:135–150.
- Hayden, Brian
 In press The Power of Feasts: An Ethnographic and Archaeological History, from Prehistory to the Present. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Heitman, Carrie C.

- 2007 Houses Great and Small: Reevaluating the “House” in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 248–272. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Helms, Mary W.

- 2007 House Life. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 487–504. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Henderson, T. Kathleen

- 1987a The Growth of a Hohokam Community. In *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*, edited by D. E. Doyel, pp. 97–125. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.
- 1987b *Structure and Organization at La Ciudad*. Office of Cultural Resource Management, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- 1995 *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Heritage Square*. Anthropological Papers No. 3. Pueblo Grande Museum, Phoenix.
- 2010 It’s All in the Family: Hohokam Farms and Households on the Salt River Floodplain. In *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, edited by Barbara J. Roth, pp. 98–115. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Hendon, Julia A.

- 2007 Memory, Materiality, and Practice: House Societies in Southeastern Mesoamerica. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 292–316. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Herr, Sarah A., and Lisa C. Young

- 2012 Introduction to Southwestern Pithouse Communities. In *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*, edited by Lisa C. Young and Sarah A. Herr, pp. 1–13. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Hill, James N.

- 1966 A Prehistoric Community in Eastern Arizona. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 22:9–30.

Hoebel, E. Adamson

- 1979 Zia Pueblo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, edited by A. Ortiz, pp. 407–417. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Howard, Jerry B.

- 1985 Courtyard Groups and Domestic Cycling: A Hypothetical Model of Growth. In *Proceedings of the 1983 Hohokam Conference*, edited by

- A. E. Dittert and D. E. Dove, pp. 311–326. Occasional Paper No. 2. Arizona Archaeological Society, Phoenix.
- Hubbe, Mark, Walter Alves Neves, Emiliano Castro de Oliveira, and André Strauss
 2009 Postmarital Residence Practice in Southern Brazilian Coastal Groups: Continuity and Change. *Latin American Antiquity* 20:267–278.
- Huckleberry, George
 1999 Stratigraphic Identification of Destructive Floods in Relict Canals: A Case Study from the Middle Gila River, Arizona. *Kiva* 65:7–33.
- Hutchinson, Sharon E.
 1996 *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money War, and the State*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Jarvenpa, Robert
 2004 Silot'ine: An Insurance Perspective on Northern Dene Kinship Networks in Recent History. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 60:153–178.
- Jones, Doug, and Bojka Milicik (eds.)
 2011 *Kinship, Language, and Prehistory: Per Hage and the Renaissance in Kinship Studies*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Joyce, Rosemary A.
 2000 Heirlooms and Houses: Materiality and Social Memory. In *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, pp. 189–212. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
 2002 *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
 2007 Building Houses: The Materialization of Lasting Identity in Formative Mesoamerica. In *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, edited by Robin A. Beck, pp. 53–72. Occasional Paper No. 35. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Keegan, William F.
 1992a *The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
 1992b “No Man [or Woman] Is an Island”: Elements of Taino Social Organization. In *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, edited by Samuel M. Wilson, pp. 111–117. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
 2006 All in the Family: Descent and Succession in the Protohistoric Chiefdoms of the Greater Antilles—A Comment on Curet. *Ethnohistory* 53:383–392.
 2009 Central Plaza Burials in Saladoid Puerto Rico: An Alternative Perspective. *Latin American Antiquity* 20:375–385.
 2011 Demographic Imperatives for Island Colonists. In *Global Origins of*

- Seafaring*, edited by Katie Boyle and Atholl Anderson, pp. 171–178. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Keegan, William F., and Morgan D. Maclachlan
 1989 The Evolution of Avunculocal Chiefdoms: A Reconstruction of Taino Kinship and Politics. *American Anthropologist* 91:613–630.
- Keegan, William F., Morgan D. Maclachlan, and Bryan Byrne
 1998 Social Foundations of Taino *Caciques*. In *Chiefdoms and Chieftancy in the Americas*, edited by Elsa M. Redmond, pp. 217–244. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Keesing, Roger M.
 1975 *Kin Groups and Social Structure*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Kirchoff, Paul
 1968 The Principles of Clanship in Human Society. In *Readings in Anthropology, Vol. 2*, edited by Morton H. Fried, pp. 370–381. Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.
- Kisselburg, JoAnne
 1987 Specialization and Differentiation: Non-subsistence Economic Pursuits in Courtyard Systems at La Ciudad. In *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*, edited by D. E. Doyel, pp. 159–170. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.
- Korotayev, Andrey
 2003 Form of Marriage, Sexual Division of Labor, and Postmarital Residence in Cross-cultural Perspective: A Reconsideration. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 59:69–89.
- Kosso, Peter
 1991 Method in Archaeology: Middle-Range Theory as Hermeneutics. *American Antiquity* 56:621–627.
- Kroeber, Alfred L.
 1925 *The Yurok*. Handbook of Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 78, pp. 1–97. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Kuper, Adam
 1982 Lineage Theory: A Critical Retrospect. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11:71–95.
- Ladd, Edmund J.
 1979 Zuni Social and Political Organization. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9: *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 482–491. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Leach, E. R.
 1970 *The Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, London.

- Leacock, Eleanor
- 1972 Introduction. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, by F. Engels, pp. 7–67. International Publishers, New York.
 - 1978 Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution. *Current Anthropology* 19:247–275.
- LeBlanc, Steven A.
- 2000 Regional Interaction and Warfare in the Late Prehistoric Southwest. In *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond*, edited by Michelle Hegmon, pp. 41–70. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Ledgerwood, Judy
- 1995 Khmer Kinship: The Matriline/Matriarchy Myth. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 51:247–261.
- Le Page du Pratz, Antoine S.
- 1758 *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina*. London.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude
- 1956 The Family. In *Man, Culture, and Society*, edited by Harry L. Shapiro, pp. 261–285. Oxford University Press, New York.
 - 1965 The Future of Kinship Studies. *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1965:13–22.
 - 1969 *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Beacon Press, Boston.
 - 1982 *The Way of the Masks*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
 - 1987 *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures, 1951–1982*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Lewis, Barry R., and Charles Stout (eds.)
- 1998 *Mississippian Towns and Sacred Spaces: Searching for an Architectural Grammar*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Linton, Ralph
- 1952 Cultural and Personality Factors Affecting Economic Growth. In *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas*, edited by B. F. Hoselitz, pp. 73–88. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Longacre, William A.
- 1964 Archaeology as Anthropology: A Case Study. *Science* 144:1454–1455.
 - 1966 Changing Patterns of Social Integration: A Prehistoric Example from the American Southwest. *American Anthropologist* 68:94–102.
 - 1968 Some Aspects of Prehistoric Society in East-Central Arizona. In *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, edited by S. R. Binford and L. R. Binford, pp. 89–102. Aldine, New York.
- Maclachlan, Morgan D., and William F. Keegan
- 1990 Archaeology and the Ethno-tyrannies. *American Anthropologist* 92: 1011–1013.
- Marx, Karl
- 1964 *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*. New York: International Publishers.

- Masse, W. Bruce
 1991 The Quest for Subsistence Sufficiency and Civilization in the Sonoran Desert. In *Chaco and Hohokam: Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*, edited by Patricia L. Crown and W. James Judge, pp. 195–223. School of American Research Press, Albuquerque, NM.
- Mauss, Marcel
 1967 *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. W. W. Norton, New York.
- McAnany, Patricia A.
 1995 *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- McConvell, Patrick
 2012 Omaha Skewing in Australia: Overlays, Dynamism, and Change. In *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*, edited by Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley, pp. 243–260. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- McConvell, Patrick, Ian Keen, and Rachel Hendery (eds.)
 2013 *Kinship Systems: Change and Reconstruction*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- McCurdy, David
 2003 Family and Kinship in Village India. In *Conformity and Conflict*, edited by James Spradley and David McCurdy, pp. 134–143. Allyn and Bacon, New York.
- McEvoy, Brian, Katharine Simms, and Daniel Bradley
 2008 Genetic Investigation of the Patrilineal Kinship Structure of Early Medieval Ireland. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 136:415–422.
- McGuire, Randall
 1992a *Death, Society, and Ideology in a Hohokam Community*. Westview Press, Boulder, CO.
 1992b *A Marxist Archaeology*. Academic Press, San Diego.
- McGuire, Randall H., and Ann V. Howard
 1987 The Structure and Organization of Hohokam Shell Exchange. *Kiva* 52:113–146.
- McGuire, Randall H., and Dean J. Saitta
 1996 Although They Have Petty Captains, They Obey Them Badly: The Dialectics of Prehispanic Western Pueblo Social Organization. *American Antiquity* 61:197–216.
- McKnight, David
 2004 *Going the Whiteman's Way: Kinship and Marriage among Australian Aborigines*. Ashgate, Aldershot, UK.
- McPherron, Alan
 1967 Pottery Style Clustering, Marital Residence, and Cultural Adaptations of an Algonkian-Iroquoian Border. In *Proceedings of the 1965*

- Conference on Iroquois Research*, edited by E. Tooker, pp. 101–107. New York State Museum, Albany.
- Means, Bernard K.
2007 *Circular Villages of the Monongahela Tradition*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Meillassoux, Claude
1972 From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology. *Economy and Society* 1:93–105.
1981 *Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic Community*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Miksicek, Charles H.
1984 Historic Desertification, Prehistoric Vegetation Change, and Hohokam Subsistence in the Salt-Gila Basin. In *Hohokam Archaeology along the Salt-Gila Aqueduct, Central Arizona Project: Environment and Subsistence*, edited by Lynn S. Teague and Patricia L. Crown, pp. 53–80. Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series No. 150, Vol. 7. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Miller, Jo Anne
1994 Pueblo Grande Flotation, Macrobotanical, and Wood Charcoal Analysis. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 5: Environment and Subsistence*, edited by S. Kwiatkowski, pp. 127–204. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Mills, Barbara J.
1997 *Gender, Labor, and Inequality: Dynamics of Craft Production in the American Southwest*. Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Nashville, TN.
2007 Performing the Feast: Visual Display and Suprahousehold Commensalism in the Puebloan Southwest. *American Antiquity* 72:210–239.
- Mitchell, Douglas R. (ed.)
1994a *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 2: Feature Descriptions, Chronology, and Site Structure*. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
1994b Architecture and Feature Descriptions. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 2: Feature Descriptions, Chronology, and Site Structure*, edited by Douglas R. Mitchell, pp. 33–83. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
1994c Reconstruction of the Pueblo Grande Occupation. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 2: Feature Descriptions, Chronology, and Site Structure*, edited by Douglas R. Mitchell, pp. 255–286. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
1994d Summary and Conclusions. In *The Pueblo Grande Project, Vol. 7: An Analysis of Classic Period Mortuary Patterns*, edited by Douglas R. Mitchell, pp. 7–69. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.

- Mitchell, Douglas R., and Michael S. Foster
 1994 Habitation Area and Burial Group Descriptions. In *The Pueblo Grande Project*, Vol. 2: *Feature Descriptions, Chronology, and Site Structure*, edited by Douglas R. Mitchell, pp. 5–32. Publications in Archaeology No. 28. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Modjeska, Nicholas
 1982 Production and Inequality: Perspectives from Central New Guinea. In *Inequality in New Guinea Highland Societies*, edited by Andrew Strathern, pp. 50–108. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Moore, John H.
 1988 The Dialectics of Cheyenne Kinship: Variability and Change. *Ethnology* 27:253–269.
 1991 Kinship and Division of Labor in Cheyenne Society. In *Marxist Approaches in Economic Anthropology*, edited by Alice Littlefield and H. Gates, pp. 135–158. University Press of America, Lanham.
 2001 Evaluating Five Models of Human Colonization. *American Anthropologist* 103:395–408.
- Moore, John H., and Janis E. Campbell
 2002 Confirming Unilocal Residence in Native North America. *Ethnology* 41:175–188.
- Moore, John H., and Michael E. Moseley
 2001 How Many Frogs Does it Take to Leap around the Americas? Comments on Anderson and Gillam. *American Antiquity* 66:526–529.
- Morgan, Lewis H.
 1870 *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Murdock, George P.
 1949 *Social Structure*. Macmillan, New York.
 1960 Cognatic Form of Social Organization. In *Social Structure in Southeast Asia*, edited by George P. Murdock. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 29. Wenner-Gren, New York.
 1962 Ethnographic Atlas. *Ethnology* 1:1–4.
 1963 Ethnographic Atlas. *Ethnology* 2:1–2.
 1967 *Ethnographic Atlas*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.
- Neitzel, Jill E.
 2000 What Is a Regional System? Issues of Scale and Interaction in the Prehistoric Southwest. In *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond*, edited by Michelle Hegmon, pp. 25–40. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Nelson, Ben A.
 2000 Aggregation, Warfare, and the Spread of the Mesoamerican Tradition. In *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare,*

- and *Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond*, edited by Michelle Hegmon, pp. 317–337. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Nials, Fred L., David A. Gregory, and Donald A. Graybill
 1989 Salt River Streamflow and Hohokam Irrigation Systems. In *The 1982–1984 Excavations at Las Colinas: Environment and Subsistence*, by Donald A. Graybill, David A. Gregory, Fred L. Nials, Suzanne K. Fish, Robert Gasser, Charles Miksicek, and Christine Szuter, pp. 59–78. Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series No. 162, Vol. 5. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Nicholas, Linda, and Jill Neitzel
 1984 Canal Irrigation and Sociopolitical Organization in the Lower Salt River Valley: A Diachronic Analysis. In *Prehistoric Agricultural Strategies in the Southwest*, edited by Suzanne K. Fish and Paul R. Fish, pp. 161–178. Anthropological Research Papers No. 33. Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Oliver-Smith, Anthony
 2009 Understanding Hurricane Mitch: Complexity, Causality, and the Political Ecology of Disaster. In *The Legacy of Hurricane Mitch: Lessons from Post-disaster Reconstruction in Honduras*, edited by Marisa O. Ensor, pp. 1–21. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Ong, Aihwa
 1987 *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Parkin, Robert and Linda Stone (eds.)
 2004 *Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.
- Pasternak, Burton
 1976 *Introduction to Kinship and Social Organization*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Pauketat, Timothy R., Lucretia S. Kelly, Gayle J. Fritz, Neal H. Lopinot, Scott Elias, and Eve Hargrove
 2002 The Residues of Feasting and Public Ritual at Early Cahokia. *American Antiquity* 67:257–279.
- Peletz, Michael G.
 1995 Kinship Studies in Late Twentieth-Century Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:343–372.
- Peregrine, Peter N.
 1999 Legitimation Crises in Prehistoric Worlds. In *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production, and Exchange*, edited by P. Nick Kardulias, pp. 37–52. Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD.
 2001 Matrilocality, Corporate Strategy, and the Organization of Production in the Chacoan World. *American Antiquity* 66:36–46.

- Peregrine, Peter N., and Melvin Ember
 2002 Response to Schillaci and Stojanowski. *American Antiquity* 67:357–359.
- Peterson, Jane D.
 1994 Chipped Stone. In *The Pueblo Grande Project*, Vol. 4: *Material Culture*, edited by Michael S. Foster, pp. 49–118. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Pilling, Arnold R.
 1978 Yurok. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8: *California*, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 137–154. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Potter, James M.
 2000 Pots, Parties, and Politics: Communal Feasting in the American Southwest. *American Antiquity* 65:471–492.
- Raab, L. Mark, and Albert C. Goodyear
 1984 Middle-Range Theory in Archaeology: A Critical Review of Origins and Applications. *American Antiquity* 49:255–268.
- Reiter, Rayna R. (ed.)
 1975 *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Remy, Dorothy
 1975 Underdevelopment and the Experience of Women: A Nigerian Case Study. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, pp. 358–371. Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Rice, Glen E.
 1987 La Ciudad: A Perspective on Hohokam Community Systems. In *The Hohokam Village: Site Structure and Organization*, edited by D. E. Doyel, pp. 127–158. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Glenwood Springs, CO.
- Rosman, Abraham, and Paula G. Rubel
 1971 *Feasting with Mine Enemy: Rank and Exchange among Northwest Coast Societies*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Roth, Barbara J. (ed.)
 2010 *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Rubbo, Anna
 1975a The Spread of Capitalism in Rural Colombia: Effects on Poor Women. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, pp. 333–357. Monthly Review Press, New York.
 1975b Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production, and Private Property. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, pp. 211–234. Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Sahlins, Marshall D.
 1961 The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion. *American Anthropologist* 63:322–345.
 1974 *Stone Age Economics*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

- 2011 What Kinship Is (Part One). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17:2–19.
- Saitta, Dean J.
2000 Theorizing the Political Economy of Southwestern Exchange. In *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond*, edited by Michelle Hegmon, pp. 151–166. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Saxe, Arthur A.
1970 *Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices in a Mesolithic Population from Wadi Halfa, Sudan*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Scheffler, Harold W.
2001 *Filiation and Affiliation*. Westview Press, Boulder.
- Schiffer, Michael B.
1988 The Structure of Archaeological Theory. *American Antiquity* 53:461–485.
2011 Archaeology as Anthropology: Where Did We Go Wrong? *SAA Archaeological Record* 11(4):22–28.
- Schillaci, Michael A., and Christopher M. Stojanowski
2002 A Reassessment of Matrilocal in Chacoan Culture. *American Antiquity* 67:343–356.
2003 Postmarital Residence and Biological Variation at Pueblo Bonito. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 120:1–15.
- Schlanger, Sarah H. and Douglas B. Craig
2012 Pithouse Communities and Population. In *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*, edited by Lisa C. Young and Sarah A. Herr, pp. 198–209. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Schneider, David M.
1968 *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
1984 *A Critique of the Theory of Kinship*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Schneider, David M., and Kathleen Gough (eds.)
1961 *Matrilineal Kinship*. University of California Press.
- Schweizer, Thomas, and Douglas R. White (ed.)
1998 *Kinship, Networks, and Exchange*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Seigel, Peter E.
1999 Contested Places and Places of Contest: The Evolution of Social Power and Ceremonial Space in Prehistoric Puerto Rico. *Latin American Antiquity* 10:209–238.
- Service, Elman R.
1962 *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*. Random House, New York.

- Seymour, Deni J.
 1988 An Alternative View of Sedentary Period Hohokam Shell Ornament Production. *American Antiquity* 53:812–829.
 1994 Peripheral Considerations: Defining the Spatial and Physical Correlates of Storage Behavior in Hohokam Structures. *Kiva* 59:377–394.
- Shandy, Dianna J.
 2007 *Nuer American Passages: Globalizing Sudanese Migration*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Sillitoe, Paul
 1999 Beating the Boundaries: Land Tenure and Identity in the Papua New Guinea Highlands. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 55:331–360.
- Simon, Arlyn W.
 1988 *Integrated Ceramic Analysis: An Investigation of Intersite Relationships in Central Arizona*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Sires, Earl W., Jr.
 1984 Excavations at El Polvoron (AZ U:15:59). In *Hohokam Archaeology along the Salt-Gila Aqueduct, Central Arizona Project: Prehistoric Occupation of the Queen Creek Delta*, edited by Lynn S. Teague and Patricia L. Crown, pp. 221–326. Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series No. 150, Vol. 4. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Sousa, Paolo
 2003 The Fall of Kinship: Towards an Epidemiological Explanation. *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 3:265–303.
- Spielmann, Katherine A.
 2002 Feasting, Craft Specialization, and the Ritual Mode of Production in Small-Scale Societies. *American Anthropologist* 104:195–207.
- Spott, Robert, and Alfred L. Kroeber
 1942 Yurok Narratives. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 35:143–256.
- Steward, Julian H.
 1937 Ecological Aspects of Southwestern Society. *Anthropos* 32:87–104.
 1942 The Direct Historical Approach to Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 7:337–343.
 1955 *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*. University of Illinois Press, Chicago.
 1959 Prediction and Planning in Culture Change. *Human Organization* 18:5–7.
 1963 *Theory of Culture Change: the Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Stinson, Susan L.
 2010 Gender, Household Ritual, and Figurines in the Hohokam Regional System. In *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, edited by Barbara J. Roth, pp. 116–135. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

- Stojanowski, Christopher M., and Michael A. Schillaci
 2006 Phenotypic Approaches for Understanding Patterns of Intracemetery Biological Variation. *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 49:49–88.
- Stone, Linda
 1997 *Kinship and Gender: An Introduction*. Westview Press, Boulder, CO.
- Stone, Tammy, and Michael S. Foster
 1994 Miscellaneous Artifacts. In *The Pueblo Grande Project*, Vol. 4: *Material Culture*, edited by Michael S. Foster, pp. 203–262. Publications in Archaeology No. 20. Soil Systems, Phoenix.
- Sued-Badillo, Jalil
 1992 Facing Up to Caribbean History. *American Antiquity* 57:599–607.
- Swanton, John R.
 1946 *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin no. 137. US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
- Szuter, Christine R.
 1991 Hunting by Hohokam Desert Farmers. *Kiva* 56:277–291.
- Teague, Lynn S.
 1993 Prehistory and the Traditions of the O’Odham and Hopi. *Kiva* 58:435–454.
- Terray, Emmanuel
 1984 Classes and Class Consciousness in the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman. In *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology*, edited by Maurice Bloch, pp. 85–135. Malaby, London.
- Tomczak, Paula D., and Joseph F. Powell
 2003 Postmarital Residence Practices in the Windover Population: Sex-Based Dental Variation as an Indicator of Patrilocality. *American Antiquity* 68:93–108.
- Trautmann, Thomas R., and Peter M. Whiteley (eds.)
 2012 *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Tsing, Anna L., and Sylvia J. Yanagisako
 1983 Feminism and Kinship Theory. *Current Anthropology* 24:511–516.
- Turner, Terence
 2012 Schemas of Kinship Relations and the Construction of Social Categories among the Mebêngôkrê Kayapó. In *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*, edited by Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley, pp. 223–239. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- VanDerwarker, Amber M.
 1999 Feasting and Status at the Toqua Site. *Southeastern Archaeology* 18:24–34.
- Van Dyke, Ruth M.
 2004 Memory, Meaning, and Masonry: The Late Bonito Chacoan Landscape. *American Antiquity* 69:413–431.

- Van Keuren, Scott, Susan L. Stinson, and David R. Abbott
1997 Specialized Production of Hohokam Plain Ware Ceramics in the Lower Salt River Valley. *Kiva* 63:155–175.
- Wallace, Henry D., and Michael W. Lindeman
2012 Hohokam Village Formation in the Phoenix and Tucson Basins. In *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*, edited by Lisa C. Young and Sarah A. Herr, pp. 34–44. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Waterman, Thomas T.
1920 Yurok Geography. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 16:177–324.
- Waters, Michael R., and John C. Ravesloot
2001 Landscape Change and the Cultural Evolution of the Hohokam along the Middle Gila River and Other River Valleys in South-Central Arizona. *American Antiquity* 66:285–299.
2003 Disaster or Catastrophe: Human Adaptation to High- and Low-Frequency Landscape Processes—A Reply to Ensor, Ensor, and DeVries. *American Antiquity* 68:400–405.
- Whalen, Michael E., and Paul E. Minnis
1996 Ball Courts and Political Centralization in the Casas Grandes Region. *American Antiquity* 61:732–746.
- Whallon, Robert E.
1968 Investigations of Late Prehistoric Social Organization in New York. In *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, edited by S. R. Binford and L. R. Binford, pp. 223–244. Aldine, Chicago.
- White, Douglas R., George P. Murdock, and Richard Scaglion
1971 Natchez Class and Rank Reconsidered. *Ethnology* 10:369–398.
- White, Leslie A.
1943 Energy and the Evolution of Culture. *American Anthropologist* 45:335–356.
1962 *The Pueblo of Sia, New Mexico*. Bulletin No. 184. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, DC.
- Whiteley, Peter M.
2012 Crow-Omaha Kinship in North America: A Puebloan Perspective. In *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*, edited by Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley, pp. 83–108. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Whittlesey, Stephanie M.
2010 House, Home, and Hearth: Gender in the Pre-classic Hohokam Household. In *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, edited by Barbara J. Roth, pp. 50–75. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Widmer, Randolph J.
1994 The Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms. In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited

- by Charles Hudson and Carmen C. Tesser, pp. 125–155. University of Georgia Press, Athens and London.
- Wilcox, David R.
- 1991 Hohokam Social Complexity. In *Chaco and Hohokam: Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*, edited by Patricia L. Crown and W. James Judge, pp. 253–275. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM.
- 1994 *Three Macroregional Systems in the North American Southwest and Their Relationships*. Paper presented for the seminar “Great Towns and Regional Polities: Cultural Evolution in the US Southwest and Southeast,” held at the Amerind Foundation, Dragoon.
- Wilcox, David R., Thomas R. McGuire, and Charles Sternberg
- 1981 *Snaketown Revisited*. Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series No. 155. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Wilcox, David R., and Charles Sternberg
- 1983 *Hohokam Ballcourts and Their Interpretation*. Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series No. 160. University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Willey, Gordon R.
- 1953 *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú Valley, Peru*. Bulletin No. 155. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, DC.
- Wills, W. H.
- 2012 Pithouses, Property Rights, and Household Organization in the Prehispanic Southwest. In *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*, edited by Lisa C. Young and Sarah A. Herr, pp. 183–197. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Wilson, Gregory D.
- 2010 Community, Identity, and Social Memory at Moundville. *American Antiquity* 75:3–18.
- Wittfogel, Karl
- 1957 *Oriental Despotism, a Comparative Study of Total Power*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Wobst, H. Martin
- 1978 The Archaeo-ethnology of Hunter-Gatherers or the Tyranny of the Ethnographic Record in Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 43:303–309.
- Wolf, Eric R.
- 1972 Ownership and Political Ecology. *Anthropological Quarterly* 45:201–205.
- 1982 *Europe and the People without History*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Yengoyan, Aram A.
- 1968 Demographic and Ecological Influences on Aboriginal Australian Marriage Sections. In *Man the Hunter*, edited by R. Lee and I. DeVore, 185–199. Aldine, Chicago.

- 1970 Demographic Factors in Pitjandjara Social Organization. In *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology*, edited by R. Berndt. University of Australia Press, Nedlands.
- 1972 Biological and Demographic Components in Aboriginal Australian Socio-economic Organization. *Oceania* 43:85–95.
- Young, Lisa C., and Sarah A. Herr (eds.)
2012 *Southwestern Pithouse Communities, AD 200–900*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

INDEX

- affinal/affines, 1, 15, 47, 49, 67, 110–11, 114, 118, 120, 137, 144–47, 159, 163, 170, 189–90, 192, 205, 242, 244, 258–59, 261, 263, 291, 307, 308, 313, 314, 316, 317
- agency, 8, 10, 12, 17, 19–23, 26–27, 30, 61, 109, 119, 131–32, 139, 193, 197–98, 204, 207–8, 210, 212, 214–18, 220–21, 224, 231, 233–34, 236, 242, 257, 261–63, 266, 269, 271. *See also* manipulation and negotiation
- Allen, William, 11, 13–14, 149
- alliance. *See* marriage system
- ambilineal:
- archaeological interpretation, 67, 143, 147, 154, 169–70, 301; descent, 133, 143, 154, 307; descent groups/ramages, 21, 109, 111–12, 113, 127–29, 133, 137, 138, 139, 147, 200, 205, 220, 287–91, 292, 293, 297, 307; household groups, 45–47, 48, 49, 56–57, 67, 74, 111, 127, 297, 307
- Hohokam ambilineal descent groups/ramages, 168–70, 171–72, 176, 181–88, 190–91, 241, 243–44, 246, 248, 250, 251, 253, 260–64, 265–68, 270, 280–81, 287–91, 292, 293, 297
- Hohokam ambilineal household groups, 74, 78, 97, 98, 181, 188, 297
- ambilocal:
- archaeological interpretation, 67–68, 301–2; residential groups, 6, 45–47, 111, 273, 280, 281, 293, 307
 - Hohokam ambilocal residential groups, 89, 188, 248, 280–81
- ancestors, 18, 21, 25, 41, 44, 65, 66–67, 98, 109, 111, 114, 116–17, 119, 121–22, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131–34, 136, 139, 170, 181, 192, 193, 200–201, 205, 208, 220, 229, 240, 242, 245, 262, 266, 289, 290, 293, 298
- avunculocal:
- archaeological interpretation, 68, 141, 142, 155, 156–57, 159; avunculocality, 7, 25–26, 51, 58, 136, 143, 274, 282, 297, 303, 307
 - Hohokam avunculocality, 77, 80, 89, 91, 93, 165, 166–67, 171, 190, 239, 260, 282–83
- Barnes, Robert, 213
- bilateral:
- archaeological interpretation, 141, 142–44, 147–48, 150–52, 154–60; bilateral descent, 6, 8, 15, 48–49, 52–54, 109, 113, 128–31, 133–34, 138–39, 143, 147–48, 200, 205–6, 210, 212, 221, 222–24, 226–27, 228, 230, 231, 236, 273, 281, 285, 291–93, 307

- bilateral (*continued*)
 Hohokam bilateral descent, 162–63, 165–66, 168, 170, 174, 176, 182–83, 186, 188–89, 190–93, 237, 238, 241, 243, 244, 246–51, 258–60, 261–62, 266, 268, 270–71, 281, 285, 292, 297
- bilocal:
 archaeological interpretation, 67–68; residential-household group, 6, 15, 47–49, 54, 56, 57, 130, 133, 142–44, 155, 210, 227, 236, 273, 281–82, 285, 288, 292–93, 301, 302, 307–8
 Hohokam bilocal residential-household groups, 74, 80, 89, 97–98, 165–68, 170, 173–74, 176, 179–80, 182, 183, 186, 188, 190–92, 237–38, 241–46, 248–49, 250–51, 259–71, 281–82, 283, 285, 287–89, 295–96
- Boas, Franz, 15, 130
- capitalism, 3, 18, 26, 115, 141–42, 198, 199, 202, 204–5, 206, 272, 283–85, 286, 297, 298. *See also* private property *and* proletarianization
- Carr, Christopher, 61–62, 157
- cemetery:
 kin groups, 61–63, 65–68, 141–42, 157–58, 160, 228–29, 231, 232, 302
 Hohokam cemeteries, 32, 87, 94–99, 101–2, 164–66, 168, 170–72, 174, 176, 179, 181–83, 185, 192, 242–44, 248, 250, 260, 261, 263, 265–66, 267, 283
- ceremony:
 marriage, competition, and surplus production, 20, 133, 152, 153, 197, 201, 210, 212, 214–19, 227–31, 235, 236, 293–96, 297; social organization, 11, 20, 119, 123, 197
 Hohokam ceremony, 34–35, 174, 185, 187–88, 191, 235, 237, 238, 239, 242–46, 250, 251–53, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264–68, 270
- Chang, Kwang-chi, x, 19, 37, 149–52, 154, 155
- Civano phase, 33–34, 91, 99–102, 104, 105, 161, 176, 180, 181, 183–84, 186–88, 191, 193–94, 250–51, 253, 267–68, 270, 271, 281, 282, 290, 292, 295–96
- clan. *See* descent groups, clan. *See also* matrilineal *and* patrilineal
- cognatic:
 descent, 13, 15, 110, 126–28, 130, 143, 147, 154, 197, 206, 242–243, 280, 289, 291
 Hohokam cognatic residential groups, 70, 72–80, 83–91, 93–94, 97–105, 162–63, 165–67, 169–73, 180–83, 187–90, 192, 243, 249, 253, 258, 261–62, 263, 270, 281, 284, 301
 residential groups, 15, 45–47, 56, 64, 67–68, 301. *See also* ambilineal *and* bilateral
- community patterns, 7, 19, 71, 144–47, 150–52, 155–60, 162–91, 229–30, 233, 246, 269–70, 275, 300–301, 305
- complex marriage/alliances. *See* marriage system, complex
- conjugal:
 family, 21, 40, 49, 50–52, 57–58, 62, 65–68, 129, 156–57, 159–60, 219, 284, 300, 309
 Hohokam conjugal family dwellings, 72–80, 83–85, 87, 91–95, 99, 102, 104, 105, 162–63, 166–68, 170, 173–76, 177, 179, 182, 190–91, 237, 241, 258–60, 261–62, 265, 268–69, 281, 283, 285, 301
- consanguineal, 1, 40, 42, 47, 268, 309
- Craig, Douglas, 30, 34, 36, 69, 192, 235–36, 271
- cross-cousins, 46, 48, 56, 118, 126–27, 212, 213, 309

- Crow (type):
 marriage/alliance, *See* marriage,
 Crow (type); social organization,
 116–17, 123, 197, 310; terminology,
See kinship terminology, Crow
 (type)
- Curet, L. A., 12, 131, 134–35
- de facto* practices, 23, 25, 41, 75, 83,
 97–99, 105, 176, 180, 183, 204–
 7, 221–223, 224, 233, 300–301,
 310
- de jure* practices, 41, 75, 97–99, 104,
 163, 176, 222, 265, 300–301,
 310
- descent groups (nonspecific):
 clan, 11–12, 21, 63, 109–13, 122–
 23, 127, 132–34, 137, 138, 144,
 145–47, 150–51, 154, 159, 208,
 215, 219–20, 223, 229, 308; con-
 ical clan, 131–32; lineage, 11–12,
 21, 34, 63, 109–13, 115, 127,
 131–33, 137, 138, 147, 150–51,
 154, 161, 208, 213, 215, 220,
 228–29, 249, 313; sib, 12, 109–
 10, 150–51, 317. *See also* ambi-
 lineal, matrilineal, *and* patrilineal
- direct historical analogy, 7, 52–53, 58,
 59–61, 68, 104, 139, 141, 148,
 158, 276–77
- Divale, William, x, 25, 64–65
- double descent, 126–27, 139, 143–44,
 310
- elementary alliances. *See* marriage sys-
 tem, elementary
- Ember, Carol, 24–25, 49, 119–20,
 126, 131, 255, 277–78, 281, 286,
 287–88, 291–92
- Ember, Melvin, x, 24–25, 49, 50, 64,
 65, 119–20, 126, 131, 255, 277–
 79, 281, 284, 286, 287–88, 291–
 92
- endogamy, 127, 146, 147, 154, 170,
 212, 222–23, 227, 250, 267,
 311
- Engels, Frederick, 197, 207
- Ensor, Bradley, 5, 13–14, 59–60, 151–
 55, 206, 213, 217, 218–19, 249–
 50, 283, 284, 302, 303
- Eskimo terminology. *See* kinship termi-
 nology, Eskimo
- Estrella phase, 31–32, 69, 73, 76–78,
 105, 164–66, 181, 190, 238–40,
 241–42, 259–60, 283
- Ethnotyranny (tyranny of ethnogra-
 phy), 5, 52, 61, 63, 142, 275,
 298
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 125
- exogamy, 63, 112–13, 116, 118–19,
 122–23, 126, 127, 129, 144,
 146–47, 152, 154, 155, 165, 170,
 177–79, 191, 197, 203, 206, 208,
 209–11, 212, 214–15, 217–20,
 222–24, 227–30, 232–34, 236,
 238, 241–47, 249–50, 252–53,
 260, 261, 262–64, 266–67, 271,
 293, 294–95, 297, 311
- extended family, 40, 42, 44, 104, 257,
 311
- Fox, Robin, 12, 47, 107, 110, 112,
 119, 127–28, 280, 287, 292
- Friedman, Jonathan, 208, 219
- gender:
 and kin groups, 17, 20, 22, 128,
 134; as topic, ix, 3, 6–7, 8, 10,
 16–17, 20, 22, 26, 27, 39, 61,
 209, 274, 302
- Hohokam, 35, 95, 99, 104–5, 170,
 173, 190, 257–59, 260, 262, 265,
 269–70, 271, 275–89, 296–97
- kinship terms, 54–56, 138, 201–2;
 moieties, 119, 123; postmarital
 residence, 17, 20–21, 24–25, 42–
 44, 47, 60, 62, 64, 68, 95, 277–
 89, 296–97; status, 22, 49, 109,
 135–37, 139, 202
- genealogical amnesia, 129, 311
- generalized exchange/alliances. *See*
 marriage system, generalized
- generational skewing, 54, 138
- genetic distance, 59, 61–63, 68, 142

- Gila Butte phase, 32, 35, 69, 78, 80–86, 89, 168–70, 171–76, 177, 190–91, 240, 241–43, 245, 246, 251, 253, 260–64, 278, 280, 288–90, 292, 295, 296
- Gillespie, Susan, 13–14, 136, 139
- Gjessing, Gutorm, 37, 130–31, 291
- Gladwin, Harold, 29, 31, 35, 70, 162
- Godelier, Maurice, 131, 203
- Gough, Kathleen, 25–26, 114–15, 282, 284
- Grew (site), 36, 271
- Haury, Emil, 29–30, 34, 91, 130–31, 161, 171, 179, 238, 258, 287, 291
- Hawaiian terminology. *See* kinship terminology, Hawaiian
- Henderson, T. Kathleen, 34, 87, 89, 161
- Hohokam culture history, 31–34, 193, 268, 269–71
- Hohokam research, 28–31, 34–35, 69–70, 104, 161, 191, 192, 235–36, 249, 257–58, 262, 264, 269–71
- house society/house-centric, 12–15, 17, 22, 34, 49, 67, 130, 273, 281, 312
- identity, 10, 18, 27, 39, 99, 102, 105, 138, 141, 145–46, 158, 160, 163, 167, 172–74, 179–80, 183, 192, 250, 260–63, 265–66, 283
- incest, 112–13, 130, 212, 213
- inheritance, 15, 18, 21, 25, 49, 52–54, 58, 97, 166, 190, 291
- Iroquois:
 - gender status, 135, 136; terminology. *See* kinship terminology, Iroquois
- Keegan, William, x, 5, 16, 53, 135, 195, 302, 303
- Keesing, Roger, 114, 121, 144–47
- kindred, 47–49, 56, 116, 127–28, 130, 138, 139, 147, 163, 188–89, 190, 244, 258, 261, 262–63, 313
- kinship terminology:
 - Crow (type), 54–56, 138, 309; Eskimo (type), 56–57, 311; Hawaiian (type), 56–57, 138; Iroquois (type), 54–56, 138, 313; Omaha (type), 54–56, 138, 315
- Kuper, Adam, 12
- La Ciudad (site), 35, 70, 80, 83–93, 94, 97, 105, 162, 168, 170, 171, 172–74, 176, 179–80, 182, 190–92, 241, 243, 244–45, 246, 247, 248–49, 251, 253, 261–63, 265–68, 270–71, 278, 281, 283–84, 287–90, 292, 295–96, 297
- Las Colinas (site), 36, 271
- levirate, 123, 124, 313
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 3, 12, 13, 15–16, 49, 130, 209, 212, 213, 281
- lineage. *See* descent groups, lineage. *See also* matrilineal and patrilineal linguistics, ix, 24, 304
- local groups, 12, 40, 141, 144–48, 150–51, 154, 156–60, 164–66, 168, 170, 171, 173, 177–79, 181, 187, 190, 224, 228–30, 233, 241–42, 248, 259, 263, 265, 270, 274, 282–83, 301
- manipulation, ix, 5, 12, 20, 32, 104–5, 132, 171, 173–74, 176, 190, 191, 204, 207, 214, 257, 260, 262, 265–66, 269, 274, 276, 277, 279, 288. *See also* agency and negotiation
- marriage:
 - archaeological interpretation, 226–33, 251–52, 295–96; complex, 8, 130, 152, 197, 198, 209, 210–14, 216–17, 221–24, 226–28, 230, 231–33, 256, 293, 294, 295–98, 308; Crow (type), 8, 60, 63, 118, 122, 129, 152, 154, 198, 209, 211–14, 215–23, 226–28, 230, 232, 233, 234, 236, 238, 239, 241, 246, 252, 253, 293, 297,

- 309; elementary, 8, 197–98, 209–17, 220–23, 226–30, 233, 236–37, 293, 294, 310; generalized, 203, 209, 210, 214, 221, 310
- Hohokam complex marriage, 237–38, 241, 243, 248, 249, 251–52, 253, 258, 261, 266–68, 271, 295–98
- Hohokam Crow type marriage, 238, 239
- Hohokam Omaha type marriage, 236, 241, 244–49, 252–53, 264–65, 267, 271
- Omaha (type), 8, 63, 129, 152, 154, 197, 198, 209, 212–14, 215–16, 217–21, 222, 223, 226–28, 230, 232–34, 293, 294–95, 297, 315
- restricted, 209–10, 213, 214, 221, 222, 310
- Marx, Karl, 197, 207–8
- Marxist theory, 3, 197–204, 207–9
- matrilateral, 47, 48, 56, 127, 133, 314
- matrilineal:
- archaeological interpretation, 60, 65, 142–44, 154–57, 159–60, 169–70; descent, 25–26, 41–42, 45–46, 48, 51, 53, 56, 109–11, 114–20, 126–27, 135, 136, 142–44, 156, 171, 204, 213, 283, 286–87; descent groups, 21, 25–26, 50–51, 110–11, 113–20, 123, 134–36, 137, 138, 139, 144, 154, 155–57, 159–60, 212, 213–14, 218, 221, 282, 286–87, 293, 297, 301, 303, 314; household groups, 25, 41–43, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 110–11, 114–19, 130, 133, 138, 213–14, 286
- Hohokam matrilineal descent groups, 162–68, 170, 190, 191, 238–42, 259–62, 270, 277–78, 280, 282–83, 286–87, 289–90, 298
- Hohokam matrilineal household groups, 75, 105, 163, 190, 238, 277, 287
- matrilocal:
- archaeological interpretation, 64–65, 68, 302; residential groups, 6, 25, 41–42, 51, 117, 142–43, 145, 159, 255, 278, 314
 - Hohokam matrilineal residential groups, 75, 78, 83, 89, 104, 105, 163, 166, 169, 171, 259, 278, 283, 301
- Maya, 5, 11–12, 59–60, 126, 136, 139, 206, 284, 302
- McGuire, Randall, 161, 192, 243
- middle-range theory, x, 4, 59, 63–64, 68, 98–99, 141–42, 149, 151, 162
- moieties, 11, 118–19, 122–23, 222–23, 315
- Moore, John, x, 57, 60, 201–02, 217
- Morgan, Lewis, 197
- Murdock, George, 49–50, 281, 284
- negotiation, 6–7, 10, 13, 17, 19–20, 22, 27, 39, 45–48, 52, 54, 57, 74, 94–95, 105, 111, 127–28, 130, 147, 158, 163, 166–68, 170–71, 179, 181, 184–85, 187, 188–92, 220–21, 225, 227, 230, 244, 258, 259–63, 266–67, 273, 283, 291.
See also agency, identity, *and* manipulation
- neolocal:
- and capitalism, 50, 53, 137, 205–6, 283–84, 297; archaeological interpretation, 65–67, 68, 141, 142–43, 155, 156–57, 159–60; residence, 7, 21, 49–50, 51, 53, 56–57, 64, 130, 138, 143, 210, 284, 293, 315
 - Hohokam neolocality, 70, 71–72, 74, 77–80, 81, 83, 84–85, 89, 91, 102–5, 162–63, 168, 170, 188–92, 237, 241, 243, 251, 258, 261–62, 268, 270, 281, 284–85, 292, 293
- Nuer, 125–26
- Omaha, 213, 218–19

- Omaha (type):
 marriage/alliance. *See* marriage,
 Omaha (type); social organization,
 117, 121–23, 125, 126, 176, 177,
 179, 315; terminology. *See* kinship
 terminology, Omaha (type)
- parallel cousins, 42, 44, 48, 56, 97,
 111–12, 114, 118–20, 126–27,
 132, 165, 190, 212, 259, 263,
 265–66, 274, 278, 279–80, 286,
 315
- Pasternak, Burton, 25, 49–50, 51–52,
 61, 119–20, 126, 131, 142–44,
 155, 281, 284, 286, 287, 288,
 291–92
- patrilateral, 47–48, 56, 127, 133, 204,
 315
- patrilineal:
 archaeological interpretation, 65–
 66, 97–99, 142–44, 154, 155–57,
 159–60, 300–301; descent, 15,
 25, 34, 44, 45–46, 48, 53–54,
 56–57, 109, 110–13, 120–28,
 130, 133, 135, 139, 161, 213,
 246, 249, 258, 262, 265, 289; de-
 scent groups, 21, 51, 109, 110–
 13, 120–26, 128, 136, 137, 138–
 39, 208, 213, 218–19, 221,
 287–89, 293, 297, 315, 316;
 household groups, 44–45, 48, 49,
 51, 53, 54–57, 65, 110–11, 121–
 22, 124–26, 130, 133, 138, 316
 Hohokam patrilineal descent groups,
 171, 173–74, 176–77, 179–81,
 190–91, 193, 243–49, 253, 261,
 262–67, 270, 271, 278, 280, 283,
 287–90, 293, 297, 298
 Hohokam patrilineal household
 groups, 97, 98, 104, 180, 191,
 245, 263, 266, 268, 283, 288,
 301
- patrilocal:
 archaeological interpretation, 64–
 67, 68, 70, 101, 156–57, 159,
 300–301; residential groups, 6,
 13, 21, 24–25, 44–45, 51, 53, 62,
 64, 124, 127–28, 133, 142–43,
 145, 155, 159, 255, 274, 278–80,
 287, 289, 316
 Hohokam patrilocal residential
 groups, 80, 83–84, 87–89, 90,
 91–94, 97–99, 101–2, 104–5,
 169–70, 171, 173–74, 182–83,
 188, 191, 244, 247, 248, 251,
 261, 265, 278–80, 281, 283, 284,
 288, 293
- Peregrine, Peter, x, 1, 62, 64–65, 132,
 208–9, 302
- Pueblo Grande (site), 35, 70, 91, 93–
 104, 105, 162, 171, 174–76,
 180–93, 241, 243, 245–46, 248–
 53, 261, 263, 265–68, 270–71,
 278, 280–84, 288–90, 292, 295–
 96
- Pueblo Patricio (site), 35, 70–78, 80,
 83, 89, 105, 162–63, 165–66,
 168, 170, 190–92, 237–39, 251,
 253, 258–62, 268, 270–71, 281,
 284, 292, 295–96
- physical anthropology, ix, 62–63, 68,
 142, 158, 302
- Polvorón phase, 34, 35, 102–4, 105,
 188–89, 191, 251–52, 253, 268,
 270, 281, 284, 295
- Polvorón (site), 36, 271
- private property, 50, 121, 131, 143,
 153, 183, 185–86, 199, 202,
 204–06, 283–85
- proletarianization, 18, 22, 115, 143,
 153, 199, 205, 285
- ramage. *See* descent groups, ambilineal/
 ramage
- ranchería, 66, 148, 153, 154, 155,
 158, 159, 162, 163, 166, 170,
 188, 316
- Red Mountain phase, 31, 35, 70–72,
 74, 83, 162, 163, 166, 190, 191,
 237, 251, 258, 292
- Richardson, James, 11, 13–14, 149
- Sacaton phase, 32–33, 35, 69, 91–95,
 97–98, 102, 105, 174, 176–82,

- 183, 186, 191, 193–94, 240–41, 245–50, 251, 264–71, 278–80, 282, 288–90, 292, 294–95
- Sahlins, Marshall, 1, 18, 125
- Santa Cruz phase, 32–33, 69, 80–93, 97, 105, 171–77, 181, 184, 190, 193–94, 243–47, 251, 253, 262–65, 267–68, 270–71, 278–80, 287–90, 295–96
- Scheffler, Harold, 12, 113
- Schillaci, Michael, 65, 302
- Schneider, David, 3, 15, 25
- segmentary social organization, 125–26, 159, 283, 317
- settlement patterns, 17–19, 30–31, 33, 141, 145, 148, 150, 153–55, 158–60, 224, 305
- sib. *See* descent groups, sib.
- Snaketown phase, 32, 35, 69, 73, 76–81, 83–86, 165–70, 190–91, 238–43, 251, 253, 259, 261, 280, 282–83, 286, 292, 295
- Snaketown (site), 35, 69–70, 74–82, 89, 91–94, 97, 105, 162–72, 176–79, 181–82, 190–93, 238–49, 252, 259–62, 264–66, 269–71, 277–78, 280–86, 288–290, 295, 297
- sodality, 17, 61–62, 67, 129, 139, 148, 157–58, 160, 170, 174, 179–80, 190, 205, 261–63, 265, 279, 291, 317
- Soho phase, 33, 91, 95–98, 105, 176, 182–86, 191, 193, 250–52, 267–68, 270, 282, 296
- social relations of production, 3, 195, 198–205, 207–9, 214, 217, 224–25, 227, 293, 317
- social reproduction, 6, 8, 16–20, 25, 64–66, 97, 111, 116, 118, 122, 131, 133, 137, 139, 149, 197, 199–201, 202–4, 209, 212, 214–16, 219–23, 225, 227, 229, 236, 238, 242–43, 263, 293–94, 317
- sororate, 124, 317
- Steward, Julian, 24, 50, 198, 283–84
- Stojanowski, Christopher, 65, 302
- structural-functionalism, 3, 12, 52, 54, 58, 60, 274
- succession, 18, 52–54, 58, 109, 134–35, 139, 192
- Sweetwater phase, 31–32, 69, 76–81, 105, 165–69, 177, 181, 190, 238–40, 242, 259–60, 282–83
- Taíno, 134, 135, 136, 303
- unilineal, 12, 13–15, 43, 45–47, 49, 53–57, 65–67, 109–11, 113, 119–20, 122–24, 126–34, 143–45, 147–48, 151–52, 154–56, 159, 171, 174, 176, 192, 200, 205–7, 209–12, 220, 226–30, 232, 236–38, 281–82, 286–87, 289, 297–98, 301–3, 317
- unilocal, 12–15, 47, 49, 119, 126, 130–31, 156, 202, 224, 227, 273, 280–81, 286, 298, 302, 317
- uxorilocal:
 - archaeological interpretation, 68, 141, 155–56, 159; residence, 7, 50–51, 58, 274, 282
 - Hohokam uxorilocality, 77–80, 89, 91, 93, 163, 166–67, 171, 190, 260
- Vahki phase, 31, 35, 72–80, 83, 162–66, 190, 191, 237–38, 241, 251, 253, 258–60, 277–78, 280, 282–83, 286–87, 290, 292, 295
- virilocal:
 - archaeological interpretation, 68, 141, 155–57, 159; residence, 7, 50–51, 58, 274, 282–83, 317
 - Hohokam virilocality, 77, 78, 89, 91, 93, 166, 171, 173–74, 176–77, 179, 191, 244, 247, 263, 265, 269, 283
- Wilcox, David, 69–70, 74, 91, 161, 163, 171, 179

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Bradley E. Ensor received his PhD in anthropology from the University of Florida in 2003 and is currently a professor at the Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminology of Eastern Michigan University. His areas of research include Mesoamerica and North America with a focus in political economy, kinship, and social organization through archaeology and ethnohistorical analyses. Currently, he is conducting archaeological investigations in Mexico and southeast Michigan and ethnohistorical research on Native American kinship. Dr. Ensor is the author of *Crafting Prehispanic Maya Kinship* (2012). His work has appeared in a number of journals, including *American Antiquity*.