MOLDED IN THE IMAGE OF CHANGING WOMAN

NAVAJO VIEWS ON THE HUMAN BODY AND PERSONHOOD

Maureen Trudelle Schwarz

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CHAPTER IV

THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE NIHOOKÁÁ DINE'É

> A complete individual is from the sole of his moccasins, kétl'ááh, you know, kéyah, is land, kéyah, earth. Kétl'ááh means more the attachment, like the earth to you. It is a word that is used with affection like a mother and infant relation, you know. So this is important, it is a connection between you and your mother. This is why little children, you don't slap them on their feet. You don't tickle them on the soles of the feet, it is a vital point, it is where, it connects you to your mother. . . . So, the prayers always say . . . from the bottom or soles of your feet. And then all the way up to the point where my feather emerges. Meaning the strand of hair where the swirl is like that, that is the top of your head. And then so, they take that and then they attach a feather to it. So, from the soles of your feet to the strand of hair that you attach a feather to, it makes a complete individual. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/12/93).

Navajo people are explicitly linked to Mother Earth and Father Sky. The complete Navajo person is made up of several integrated parts: the physical outer form, the inner form, the body surface, the body print, the power of movement, garments, hair, the "anchoring cord," and the "feather of life." The physical outer form is animated by the inner form, which is made up of intertwined winds. The individual Navajo person is connected to Mother Earth by his or her body print and "anchoring cord," and to Father Sky by the "feather of life" at the top of his or her head.

The first Nihookáá Dine'é were constructed on the earth's surface out of the primordial elements used to construct all life in this world—moisture, air, substance, heat, and vibration in the form of sound (language)—according to the par-

adigms established in the construction of the world at the place of emergence. In addition to these elements, powerful influences linked to the four cardinal directions and to an individual's clans are involved in the conception, growth, and development of every Navajo. The structural features shared by all persons in the Navajo world, first evidenced in the construction of baskets, hooghan, cradles, looms, and the first Nihookáá Dine'é by the Diyin Dine'é, continue in the action and process of contemporary living—developing, thinking, and being. These features are attention to the trajectory of growth, a pathway, or "way out," that enables factors to move from inside to outside, and a binary division of the person that distinguishes left (male) from right (female). Directional orientation is evidenced in attention to the trajectory of growth during manipulations of the body in ceremonial contexts, as well as by the sunwise movement of Holy Winds entering the body and by human thought and actions in a variety of contexts. The need for a "way out" is evidenced in ceremonial contexts as well as in day-to-day activities involving creative processes.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST NIHOOKÁÁ DINE'É

> From the beginning of the basket, when the earth was created, when the universe was created, when the sun was created, when Changing Woman came into being, turquoise basket existed, white shell basket existed. They were used then. Obsidian basket and crystal basket were used. The Holy People used these baskets to create us. We were created as the first Earth Surface People. The Diné. . . . Changing Woman, who was found on the top of Ch'óol'íí, created us. After her Kinaaldá and after she gave birth to the twins, after the twins killed the monsters and other beings. . . . Changing Woman and the Holy People did it. Created us. (The words of an anonymous elder, Chinle, Arizona, 7/10/91, translated by Wesley Thomas)

Nihookáá Dine'é consider Changing Woman, the inner form of the earth, to be their mother because she constructed them here on the earth's surface from her own flesh, corn, and the "hard goods" (ntł'iz) associated with each of the cardinal points in Navajo cosmology.[1] Navajo oral historians recount several different processes of generation that brought these beings into existence, including transformation of figurines or corn, asexual creation from Changing Woman's flesh or a mixture of other materials or both, and, eventually, heterosexual reproduction, the means by which Nihookáá Dine'é continue to multiply. Systematic comparison of these seemingly disparate generative processes reveals threads of continuity that can be used to explain Navajo beliefs about the makeup and functioning of the human body. The fundamental living elements—moisture, air, substance, heat, and vibration—take a variety of forms in individual accounts.

> *The Holy People are the ones who planted us here on the Earth by their handiwork. They did this by using their great powers in planting the first seed of White Corn and Yellow Corn. Through the image of White Corn a male being was made. Through the image of Yellow Corn a female being was made. The Holy People also had with them the four sacred minerals. With the seed of white shell, turquoise, abalone shell and black jet, the human body was made. These four minerals were used for creating all parts of the human body. We are a seed, a plant, in the eyes of the Holy People. We are the flesh and the seed of the Holy People. (Aronilth 1990:33).*

In most versions of this portion of Navajo oral history, the substance used in the creation of humans was Changing Woman's own flesh, rubbed from the surface of her breast, back, shoulders, sides, and arms (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Franciscan Fathers 1910:356; Fishler 1953:91; Wyman 1970:447, 633; Yazzie 1971:74). Other accounts document the use of substance composed of a mixture of Changing Woman's skin wastes and ground white shell (O'Bryan 1956:166), a mixture of Changing Woman's flesh and the power from the primordial medicine bundle and the corn stalk (Wyman 1970:239), or a mixture of ground white shell and corn of all colors (Goddard 1933:168).

According to these accounts, Changing Woman rubbed skin wastes from various portions of her body and molded this substance, alone or in combination with ground corn and ntł'iz, into soft cylindrical or round forms. For example, in an account told to Aileen O'Bryan by Old Man Buffalo Grass in 1928, "the White Bead Woman wished now to have her own people. . . . She took a white bead stone and ground it to powder. She put this powder on her breasts and between her shoulders, over her chest and on her back; and when this powder became moist she rubbed it off her body and rolled it between her fingers and on the palm of her hand. From time to time a little ball dropped to the ground. She wrapped these little balls in black clouds. They arose as people" (O'Bryan 1956:166–67).

Alternatively, the first Nihookáá Dine'é are said to have been constructed of ears of corn or figurines of ntł'iz. In the following account, Nakai Tso tells how the first humans were constructed from turquoise and white shell figurines.

> It is retold that White Shell Woman made four persons. She placed them and spoke a word for each person. They spoke. . . . The sun entered the house of White Shell Woman. People tell these stories.

> The sun was not aware that he entered the house of White Shell Woman. He picked up the tobacco container and prepared the pipe, then he lit the tobacco. While he was smoking, he heard this song. [Sings part of a song]. The song was sung by White Shell Woman when the sun entered her home. . . . I do not want to be accused of making up stories. Here White Shell Woman prepared and rolled a "cigarette" then she smoked it. The sun, all this time, just watched her. She smoked her "cigarette." The prepared four, turquoise and white shell figurines, were near her. She spoke to the figurines. They rose up. She spoke for them. "I am not returning, I am staying here," she said. "You four will return to where I came from. You will become humans, so you, my children, have to return to where I came from," it is said. The figurines arose and were sent on their way. (The words of Nakai Tso, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/8/92, translated by Wesley Thomas)

In other accounts, the first humans are said to have been constructed of substance consisting of ears of white and yellow corn (Matthews 1994 [1897]:136), a turquoise figurine in humanlike form coupled with white corn and a white shell figurine in humanlike form coupled with yellow corn (O'Bryan 1956:102–3), or the white shell and abalone shell images of corn mentioned in the following account.

> *Then First Man and First Woman . . . made an image of a man of the ear of white shell corn, rounded at the end, with which First Man came into existence. Then they made an image of a woman of the yellow ear of corn made of abalone shell, rounded at the end, with which First Woman came into existence. . . . Then he [First Man] began to sing and in the morning they began to move and breathe. The newly created pair couldn't get up, however. They invited the holy ones in vain. Finally, they sent messengers to the Sky with hard substances [ntł'iz] as a fee. Then smoke [Holy Wind] came and blowing through the new pair, passed each other and came out. This made the body hairs and air came out (the pores of the skin). Six women and six men, twelve all together stood up. Thus Navajo were made. (Goddard 1933:146–47)*

In these accounts, heat is introduced to the process of creation as a result of either the friction of grinding, carving, or otherwise shaping figurines (Goddard 1933:146–47; O'Bryan 1956:102–3; Nakai Tso, 8/8/92) or the friction of rubbing epidermal substance off Changing Woman's body and molding it (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Franciscan Fathers 1910:356; Fishler 1953:91; O'Bryan 1956:102; Wyman 1970:447, 633; Yazzie 1971:74), grinding it (O'Bryan 1956:166–67), or mixing it with other materials (Goddard 1933:168; Wyman 1970:239). Heat might also be introduced as the warmth of sunlight (Goddard 1933:143–47) or of smoke (N. Tso, 8/8/92). Moisture is introduced when the primordial forms are covered by, or wrapped in, a variety of different manifestations of moisture, such as "the four clouds and the four vapors" (O'Bryan 1956:103), "a dark cloud" and "dark fog" (Wyman 1970:633), "black clouds" (O'Bryan 1956:166–67), or "a layer of rising haze" (Wyman 1970:240).

The first humans were animated by the air and vibration of Changing Woman's breath (Wyman 1970:633), by her voice in the form of speech (Franciscan Fathers 1910:356; Wyman 1970:448; N. Tso, 8/8/92) or in the form of song (Goddard 1933:168), by the combined song of Changing Woman and Talking God (Fishler 1953:91), by the combined song of Changing Woman, Talking God, and other Diyin Dine'é (Fishler 1953:91), or by Holy Winds (Matthews 1994 [1897]:137; Goddard 1933:147; O'Bryan 1956:102–3). The Holy Winds slipped between the buckskins, blankets, or sheets of moisture covering the modeled Nihookáá Dine'é and entered their bodies. Talking God raised these coverings several times to check on the progress of their animation.

> *Once again did he raise the top skin and look in. But this time he did not lower it. This time he held the two skins apart for a longer while. For this time he saw that the white ear of corn had been changed into a man. And he saw this time that the yellow ear had likewise become a woman.*
>
> *It was the wind that had given life to these two Nihookáá Dine'é, or five-fingered Earth Surface People. . . .*
>
> *Nílch'i the Wind had entered between the heads of the two buckskins and had made his way through all four legs of both, thus transforming those ears of corn into two mortals.*
>
> *It is the same wind that gives those of us who dwell in the world today the breath we breathe.*
>
> *The trail of that very same wind can actually be seen in our fingertips to this day. That very same wind has likewise created our ancestors ever since.*
>
> *That very same wind continues to blow inside of us until we die. (Zolbrod 1984:287)*

The multiple levels of understanding presented in these diverse accounts reveal that the Nihookáá Dine'é are simultaneously constructed of Changing Woman's flesh, ntł'iz, and corn. Regardless of what form the fundamental elements—moisture, air, substance, and heat—take in individual accounts, on the most ab-

stract of the twelve levels of knowledge inherent to Navajo philosophy, all humans can be interpreted as being constructed of the same fundamental elements, linked by metaphoric structures (including particular directionality and complementarity), permeated by vibration in the form of sound or movement, and possessed of the same seven senses and anatomical components as all other persons in the Navajo world—birds, corn plants, mountains, cradles, corn beetles, or homes.

The first Nihookáá Dine'é were not made to live as individuals; rather, they immediately were matched and paired to found the Navajo social order. It is generally agreed that Changing Woman selected men and women from the first Nihookáá Dine'é to live as husband and wife and thus established the four original clans of the Navajo and the practice of clan exogamy (Matthews 1994 [1897]: 148; Reichard 1950:28; O'Bryan 1956:167; Wyman 1970:458, 634; Yazzie 1971:74; Aronilth 1985:83). Many accounts, such as the following version told by Wilson Aronilth, detail the specific part of Changing Woman's body from which each clan was formed.

> *As she rubbed the upper portion of her right breast, she created a female. Then she rubbed the upper portion of her left breast and made a male. They became the Towering House Clan [Kinyaa'áanii]. She made them brothers and sisters and to be related as a clan.*
>
> *Then Changing Woman rubbed her back and made a man from her right side. As she rubbed her left side of her back, she made a woman. This created pair became the Near The Water Clan [Tó'áhani]. They became related as one clan.*
>
> *Next, Changing Woman rubbed her arms and the upper part of her right arm became a man while the underside of her arm down to her waist became a female. These became the Bitter Water Clan [Tódích'íi'nii]. She paired these two to be related by clan as brothers and sisters.*
>
> *Finally, Changing Woman rubbed her left arm on the upper part and formed a man. Next, she rubbed the underside of her left arm all the way down to her waist and formed a woman. These became the Mud Clan [Hashtl'ishnii] and these two were then related as brothers and sisters by clan.*
>
> *This came to pass that Changing Woman then made four pairs by rubbing her flesh from various parts of her body, switching them around and matching them until she laid them down as man and wife. (Aronilth 1985:83)*

There is no consensus in the various accounts of this episode about exactly which clans originated from Changing Woman's flesh, or which clans originated from which parts of her body, but members of the clans believed to have come from her flesh take special pride in their sense of being members of an original clan (Wyman 1970:34).[2] Once paired, these men and women were directed to go forth to where Changing Woman's sacred cornfields were in the east, within the sacred mountains of Dinétah, and increase their numbers through heterosexual reproduction (Aronilth 1985:83). As a result, the creation of Nihookáá Dine'é in the contemporary world begins with the traditional Navajo wedding ceremony, sexual intercourse, and conception.

THE FORMATION OF NIHOOKÁÁ DINE'É IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

> Our lives are like the corn plant—the seed is planted in the earth and the power of the sunlight is what makes you grow. When conception occurs, the female represents the earth and the male represents the universe. When they come in union during the sexual act it is sort of reliving the whole plan of creation. So that is how they teach it. The seed is planted and the power of the sun and the universe is what makes it grow. (Ursula Knoki-Wilson, Chinle, Arizona, 8/10/92)

Navajo people understand and explain creation and conception both metaphorically and physiologically. They use the metaphorical accounts to go beyond simple descriptions of physical or biological events and to convey the complexities of Navajo philosophy. Ursula Knoki-Wilson uses the corn plant metaphor to explain human conception. This account acknowledges the Navajo sense of intimate connection to, and dependence on, the universe. Navajo people consider every individual act of human reproduction a reenactment of the creation of the universe.

> We believe that we come out of Mother Earth. From the Father Sky. They are facing one another, in between there we are the child of the Holy People, and in there we have mountains that we live by. That is our body and soul, that is our flesh and blood, too. And then there is the water. Nahasdzáán áádóó Tó Asdzáán [Mother Earth and Water Woman], that is how we, we believe that that is where we come from. Áádóó, eiya ei Nílch'i dóó [and, the wind also]. We have the spirits, the four spirits of the four directions, that would be like dawn, midday, evening, and then darkness. The spirits in those areas and then the spring, summer, fall, and winter. In these areas there is a spirit of the Holy People. These Holy

> People that is what gives us life. . . . The Holy People made it so people can be born and live the full extent of their life as a human being. We have 102 years old, that is how far we have to go. So, there is a road of life. It is set aside for us that on these sacred mountains we are going to go on our road of life to make our complete cycle. (Avery Denny, Chinle, Arizona, 8/11/93)

First Woman designed the means for human reproduction—so people could be born and live the full extent of their lives as human beings—at the same time that she created sexual desire to ensure that men and women could attract each other for a lifetime. "Then she made a penis of turquoise. She rubbed loose cuticle from the man's breast. This she mixed with yucca fruit. She made a clitoris of red shell and put it inside the vagina. She rubbed loose cuticle from a woman's breast and mixed it with yucca fruit. She put that inside the turquoise penis. She combined herbs and waters of various kinds which should be for producing pregnancy" (Goddard 1933:138–39).

Despite references to reproductive fluids such as "herbs and waters of various kinds" in many oral accounts on the subject, the Navajo theory of human conception was never fully explicated by any of the numerous prior ethnologists who wrote on this topic (Leighton and Kluckhohn 1947:1; Bailey 1950:18; Reichard 1950:29–30; Witherspoon 1975:24). Indeed, fundamental misinterpretations have been promulgated in the anthropological literature over the years. In one of the earliest accounts of Navajo views of the process of human conception, Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn wrote that "according to Navajo belief, conception results from the union of the male fluid with menstrual blood or other secretions of the female. Most Navahos seem to feel that menstrual blood is the principle basis for the fetus" (1947:1).

Leighton and Kluckhohn's findings were corroborated by Flora Bailey, who conducted the most complete investigation to date on Navajo sex beliefs and practices.[3] In 1950 she noted that her consultants offered a variety of explanations in answer to the question "What starts the baby?" or "What is the cause of conception?" Yet Bailey saw as a "common core" running through each explanation "the fact that intercourse is necessary, and that there is some important connection between menstrual blood and conception" (Bailey 1950:18). In publications following Bailey's pioneering study, Leighton and Kluckhohn's phrase "or other secretions" was dropped, and the Navajo theory of human conception was simplified to "the man's water (semen) and woman's blood (menstrual) make the baby" (Witherspoon 1975:24).

More recent analyses of native theories of conception and of the significant roles various substances can play in the construction of the body or individual body parts (Poole 1981:126; Battaglia 1990:38) served as models in my own research as I developed questions about the Navajo theory of human conception—a theory involving "fluids" other than those recognized in biomedical models of human conception.[4] Contemporary Navajo educators and philosophers believe that human conception occurs as a result of the mixing of the reproductive fluids—"herbs and waters of various kinds"—during sexual intercourse between a man and a woman. The sex of a child is determined by the type of fluid the *'ílǫ́ǫsh*, or sperm, contacts in the mother's womb. Combining 'ílǫ́ǫsh with *tó ał'tahnáschíín* results in a male child, and combining it with *tó biyáázh* results in a female child (Walters, 8/18/92). Tó ał'tahnáschíín, "all different kinds of waters come together," is identified as male, while tó biyáázh, "child of water," is identified as female (Aronilth 1990:33).[5] If a male child is conceived, the *'atsǫ́stíín*, or the embryo from conception to birth, and the placenta will lodge on the left side of the mother's uterus; a female embryo and placenta will lodge on the right side. This positioning is believed to be virtually infallible; indeed, traditional Navajo midwives determined the sex of a child by ascertaining to which side of the mother's womb the placenta was attached.[6]

The Navajo theory of conception clearly distinguishes the act of conception from the development of the fetus in the womb. After conception, blood from the mother's body and both types of fluid contribute to the child's growth and development in the womb. The growing fetus is nurtured by blood supplied by the mother—the blood that would have become menstrual fluids if conception had not occurred (Knoki-Wilson, 8/10/92; Walters, 8/18/92). In addition, tó ał'tahnáschíín and tó biyáázh each play a fundamental role in the proper development of the fetus, for they foster the development of contrasting aspects of the person—male/female, warrior/peaceful (Aronilth 1990:33).[7]

Conception and the subsequent development of the child involve more than bodily fluids from the mother and father. They involve the whole cosmic order. Powerful influences from the sacred mountains are called into action by the traditional Navajo wedding ceremony.

> As the Diné people we always go back to the four sacred mountains, that is part of our biggest belief. We believe that there is no other place on this planet where there are the four sacred mountains, the four directions, where there are four cardinals [the four cardinal points], where there is dawn, and blue daylight, and evening yellow twilight, and then the folding darkness. That is how we believe. And there is white shell and then minerals, you know. And then there is turquoise, and then the abalone shell, and then the black jet. And then through there, we find that is where our thinking, our thoughts, are. And then our planning throughout the whole, our life. And then our life, how we are going to live this life.

And then how we are going to have integrity and strength and faith and prayers and songs has to go with it. Then according to that, from these creation, we believe that our Holy People, the Holy People, created us from these areas. (Avery Denny, Chinle, Arizona, 8/11/93)

The actions of bride and groom during the wedding ceremony, particularly the consumption of cornmeal mush out of a ceremonial basket, call upon the powers associated with each of the four cardinal directions to assist with the conception and development of the couple's future children. Nihookáá Dine'é were given the marriage ceremony by Changing Woman. When the time came for the first marriage between members of the four original clans, Changing Woman said,

HW "You take a basket. This basket will be used," like that. "It has a history in it, hajíínáí, and then there are the six sacred mountains and then the rainbow inside which is your 'agáál, I mean your means of travel, the rainbow is what gives us movement." There is rainbow in here [points to the bottoms of his shoes] underneath our shoes, you know, the soles of our feet. And uh, "And then the clouds. There are two forms of clouds. K'os dilhil ááhdilhil, male and female clouds. . . . Dark cloud and then ááh, ááh means foggy, foggy, dark fog."

MS Which one is female?

HW The dark fog, the one that covers up the whole sky, you know. "And gentle rain." That is what, that is female. And then so that is what those, the outer terrace, is what it is, those clouds.

MS The terraced designs on the basket?

HW Yes, uh-huh. "And then that also represents male and female rain, because rain represents birth. The beginning of new life." Without rain, you know, there would be no procreation and so it is a necessary part of creation. And so. And she said, "Use this basket." (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 3/24/95)

Throughout Navajo history, the marriage ceremony has been performed exactly as Changing Woman directed. It continues to be performed in this manner today.[8] After the marriage arrangements are made, a date is set for the wedding ceremony. The bridegroom and his family arrive at the bride's home at sunset on the appointed day. When entering the hooghan prepared for the ceremony, the groom walks sunwise around to the west side, where he sits on blankets spread there for the couple to sit upon. The bride enters a short while later, holding a fire poker and a ceremonial basket. As a physical embodiment of the world constructed at the place of emergence, of Navajo history, and of Navajo philosophy, the ceremonial basket plays a profound role in this melding of two lives and the subsequent creation of new life.

The basket is our life. That is where we come from, that is why you have to have a holy matrimony and eat from the basket. That is what gives life. So, it is alive. See it is alive, it is living. To have the holy matrimony you have to have a wedding basket, from that wedding basket is going to come a child, out of that is going to come a child. A child is going to be born. That is life. (Avery Denny, Chinle, Arizona, 8/11/93)

The basket carried by the bride contains a specially prepared cornmeal mush made from water and ground blue corn (Fishler 1954:206), white corn (Roessel 1993a:44), or white corn mixed with yellow (Witherspoon 1975:17). Moving sunwise, she sets the basket down before the groom and takes her place on his right. The father or the maternal uncle of the bride precedes her as she walks to her place. He carries a container of water, a ladle, and a bag of pollen. The bride takes the ladle and pours water over the groom's hands as he washes them; the groom then pours water over the bride's hands as she washes hers. This washes away the past and symbolizes the fact that from this point forward the couple will share life together (Roessel 1993a:44).

The bride's relative then adjusts the ceremonial basket so that the opening in the design is oriented to the east, toward the doorway of the hooghan. He takes a pinch of pollen from his *tádídíín bijish,* or pollen pouch, and draws a line with it from east to west across the mush. With another pinch of pollen he draws a line across the mush from south to north. Finally he draws a complete line with pollen around the circumference of the mush, from the opening in the basket's design sunwise—east, south, west, north. The groom takes a fingerful of mush from the place where the pollen lines intersect at the eastern edge of the mush. He eats this, and then the bride dips from the same place. Subsequent fingerfuls of mush are taken from the south, the west, the north, and the center by both groom and bride. As Harry Walters explains in the following passage, each pinch of cornmeal mush eaten from the basket has singular significance.

The reason that they take the cornmeal from the four directions is because you are saying that, "All the knowledge that lies to the east, we want that in our marriage. All the knowledge that lies in the south, we want that in our marriage. All the knowledge to the west, all the knowledge to the north." And where the pollen crosses in

the center—the direction from the east to west is male, the direction from the north to south is female. And then so, when you take, you know, pinches [of] the cornmeal from where the male and female [lines of pollen] cross it is for the children that you are going to have. The grandchildren, the great-grandchildren you are going to have. That is what it signifies. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 3/24/95)

Consumption of the pinches of mush taken from each of the cardinal directions ensures that the type of knowledge associated with each particular point in Navajo cosmology will become incorporated into the marriage. Consumption of the pinches of mush taken from the center—where the lines of pollen drawn across the mush from east to west (male) and south to north (female) intersect—guarantees that the marriage will be blessed with fertility.

After the bride and groom have eaten mush from each appointed place, the basket is passed to the relatives and friends in attendance, who eat the remaining mush. Consumption of this mush notifies the Holy People of the union of the bride and groom and their respective clans in marriage.

When they do this, when they eat like this [referring to the groom and bride eating cornmeal mush from the ceremonial basket during the wedding ceremony], then when they have sex, when they have sex then automatically, this is your clan, right here is your mother's clan [pointing to the sacred mountain of the east on a sketch he has made], and then your father's clan, and then your maternal and the paternal grandparents, their clan, in these four areas, you know. And then you are going to make a connection like this, all these connections, all these connections. . . . When they unite in the holy matrimony, the four clans, they have this meal. Then it would seed. The sperm of these four sacred mountains, they come into working, they work together. . . . They go to work as they witness all of this, the holy matrimony, all the prayers and the songs that goes with it, all these Holy People they are notified so when they [the newlyweds] have sex, when they have sex, then it goes into action. . . . Out of this whole creation of the whole cosmic order of life, of the Mother Earth and the Father Sky, of all these four sacred mountains that I mentioned, evening, yellow, morning, the twilight, morning, dawn, blue daylight, yellow evening twilight, and the black jet, or darkness, folding darkness. And then spring, summer, fall, and all, this whole cycle of this, everything that is created in between the Father Sky and the Mother Earth they all got notified, they go into action, so when they have sex, this white shell and the abalone shell [pointing again to his drawing], they make contact here. They make contact in a mysterious spiritual way that nobody can explain. It happens, they fertilize the egg. (Avery Denny, Chinle, Arizona, 8/11/93)

The powerful personages from each of the cardinal directions, who are notified of the marriage by the eating of corn mush during the wedding ceremony, must contribute to the child's growth for proper development to occur. These influencing personages, who govern the timing of development not only in the womb but continuously throughout life, work as pairs. Early Dawn Boy and Early Dawn Girl, from the east, direct the child's physical growth and development (Aronilth 1990:32; Denny, 8/11/93). Blue Daylight Boy and Blue Daylight Girl, from the south, supervise the child's learning and knowledge (Aronilth 1990:32; Walters, 1/20/95). Yellow Evening Twilight Boy and Yellow Evening Twilight Girl, from the west, guide the child's social life, love, and unity with family. Folding Darkness Boy and Folding Darkness Girl, from the north, govern the development of the child's awareness and make sure the child has proper rest (Aronilth 1990:32).[9] These entities consistently influence all Navajo children. Personal heritage comes into play in regard to inherited substances and lifelong influences from the clans from which one descends.

The profound influence of the clan system in the Navajo world cannot be overstated. As Avery Denny told me, "to us the clan system is the foundation of our generations" (8/11/93). Navajo people refer to themselves as "born of" their mother's clan and "born for" their father's clan. They also reckon descent through their maternal grandfather's clan and their paternal grandfather's clan.[10] A lifelong connection exists between every Navajo and the clans from which she or he descends. Navajo people distinguish four types of "blood" that run through every individual's system, one type from each of the clans with which she or he is associated.

And then through the clans, the four clans. Your mother's clan, your father's clan, and then your maternal grandfather's clan and paternal grandfather's clan. You represent four people. Through your mother's clan, you were born for your father's clan, and then your maternal and paternal grandfather. So you represent four bloods, there are four types of blood in your system. So through that, OK, if you want to look at it like this again, your mother's clan, your mother's clan through her genes or through your blood flow of your mother or your grandmother. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

Through this shared substance—one of the four types of blood—each clan influences the development and functioning of a bodily system—the digestive, the skeletal, the nervous, or the respiratory system.[11] As Avery Denny explained these associations:

> The nervous system, the skeletal, and then your digestive system and then your respiratory system. There are four, so you have four bloods and then you have the four clans, everything is four. So, everything is four in your body. So, the vital parts, you can't separate the heart from one another, or the lungs this way, and say that, that is the one, the main one. It all works together as one. Just like this natural order. . . . Your mother would be your nursing, you're fed on your mother's milk, so that is your digestive system. And then your father is the one that gives you that support to stand up, that would be your skeletal system. . . . Your respiratory system would be your paternal grandfather, meaning he is the one that is going to teach you how to pray and all that stuff. And your maternal [grandfather] would be your nervous system. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

In addition, each of the clan categories reckoned by Navajo people is associated with a cardinal direction—mother's clan with the east, father's clan with the south, maternal grandfather's clan with the west, and paternal grandfather's clan with the north. Clan members have responsibilities regarding the principle of Navajo philosophy—nitsáhákees, nahat'á, 'iiná, or sihasin—associated with their respective cardinal point.[12] The principles of Navajo educational philosophy supervised by the clans are the fundamental tenets of Navajo life. Nitsáhákees refers to the development of awareness, up to the level of planning. Nahat'á refers to action based on thought, or the carrying out of plans. 'iiná refers to the act of living according to a pattern established by the Diyin Dine'é. Sihasin refers to the confidence, assurance, and security gained from spirituality (Walters, 8/12/93; McNeley 1993). "Your mother gives you the thinking, your father gives you the planning, your maternal grandfather will give you the life to live, and stand for what you believe, and then your paternal grandfather teaches you how to pray, have hope and songs" (Denny 10/8/93). Therefore, nitsáhákees is associated with the mother's clan, nahat'á with the father's clan, 'iiná with the maternal grandfather's clan, and sihasin with the paternal grandfather's clan (see fig. 6 for a summary of these associations).

The intimate relationship between mother and child reinforces the responsibility of the mother's clan for training children in nitsáhákees—the development

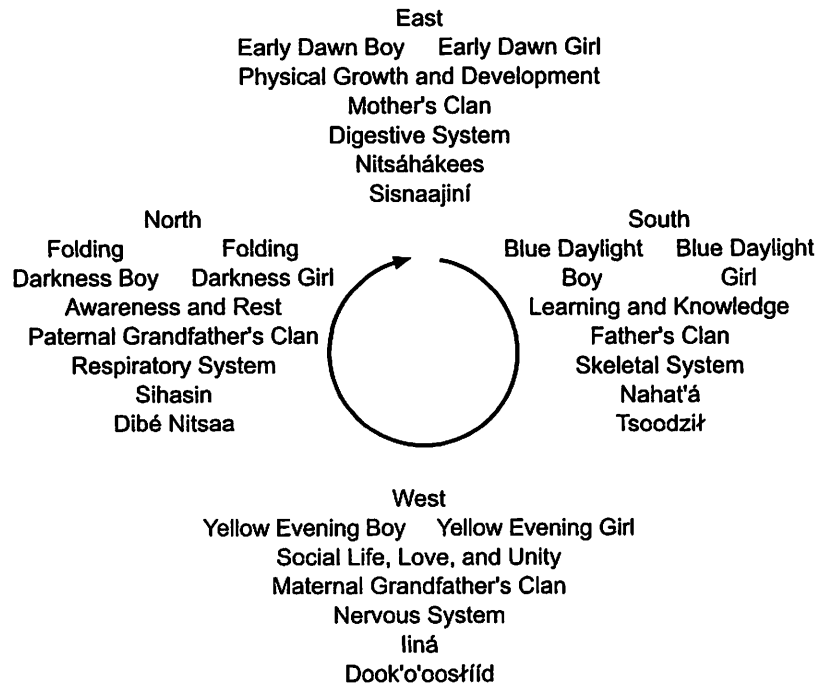

Figure 6. Navajo cosmology II.

of awareness up to the level of planning. A child acquires initial awareness and thinking through the flow of substance from her mother's clan.

> Through your blood flow of your mother, or your grandmother, they are the ones that teach you that mind, or thinking, is the one that gives you that intelligency [*sic*] to, for you to realize a mother's love. She is the one that teaches you how to love yourself. . . . She is the one that is going to be carrying you for nine months in her womb. And she is the one that is going to give you birth, and then she is the one that is going to feed you, and raise you. So she is the one that knows love for you. So, through your mother you learn how to love. Through your mother's blood she teaches you how

to love. Even if your mother is not here. Your mother is gone, but you already have that blood in your system so she is the one that teaches you how to love and then through that you learn how to love yourself, because you love your mother. That is how you take care of yourself. And then through that understanding, and then you are not alone, you have all these mothers. Just like Mother Earth and the Water [Woman], that is your mother, too. . . . You call them "Shimá" then that is how you use shimá, in that way you talk to Mother Earth and then that Water Woman, or Tó Asdzáán. . . . Then through that you learn how to communicate with people. Through that you learn how to love your mothers, and then you love to take care of this Mother Earth and then that water and then the mountains. They are all your mothers. So, that is how you respect them. And they are the ones that clothe you with how they are dressed and then that is how you, that is your clothing, or, whatever is blessed or endured with those mountains and this Mother Earth, and they are the ones that give you that appearance, or that character, or the personality, and then your appearance. So, you have to, in that way, you have to take care of yourself, watch what you say, watch where you go, because you represent your mother. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

The role of the father's clan is to instruct children in the proper order of the world. Nahat'á—action based on thought, or the carrying out of plans—is associated with the father's clan. A child learns to plan and put his thoughts and his surroundings in order through the flow of substance from his father's clan.

Your father's blood teaches you how to, you say like, put things in the right places, in the right order. Maybe clockwise and then all these other ways called, through the natural cosmic order of life, you put things in the right order. So, if you stand in the center you would already know that it is clockwise, and this is east and north and all that stuff. It teaches you that the sun comes up and then it goes this way and then the darkness comes this way. Everything that your father teaches you is true. Teaches you, or it trains you. Teaches you how to say, "Dad," and then he is going to say, "Shawéé' shiyázhí," too. And then you found out this Father Sky is your father, and then some of these are your fathers, and then nature is your father, and then that is how you respect those natural resources, or natural order. Some of them are your fathers. So, you say, "Dad. Dad. The sun is my father, even the Father Sky is my father." So that is how, and then when you look into them, it teaches you how things are in order, and then you will never be lost. So if you have a dad he could buy you a little toy and say, "Here son this little toy is yours and then when you finish playing with it put it back in this place right here. And then put your shoes in the right place, put your—" and then you just watch him, what he does. And then after he is finished with working with something, he will put it back, put it away in the right order. Same here, everything is in the right order. It teaches you that. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

The role of the maternal grandfather's clan is to instruct its children in the proper pattern of life according to the Navajo way. It is this clan's responsibility to instruct children in 'iiná—the act of living according to a pattern established by the Diyin Dine'é. Clan members accomplish this by teaching children about their history. They teach a philosophy for living by recounting Navajo oral history. This process allows children to place themselves in a context, to envision their own lives within the time frame of the entire history of the Navajo people.

And then through your maternal grandfather's blood, he is already gone, he is not here with you, but in your blood. He is the one that teaches you about your history, about your heritage, or about where you come from. Meaning, if you are a Navajo, you kind of look back and then there is that emergence place, and then all these events there, the ceremonial records, the timeline. It is just like a timeline. You look through all this and then your maternal grandfather is going to train you how to have curiosity or questions. . . . And then it is going to teach you, or train you how to look this way, where you are going to be at twenty-five, thirty, or forty years. And then how are you going to raise your kids. And then you are going to be a grandfather. You will be where he was, for you, and then how are you going to greet your grandchildren, and all this. And then some of these natural [phenomena], or just like Talking God would be your grandfather, and then through that, you know, it trains you about your history, where you are going to go, it is like that. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

A child acquires spirituality through the flow of substance from his paternal grandfather's clan. It is this clan's responsibility to guide the child to sihasin—

confidence, assurance, and security. Clan members accomplish this by instructing the child in ceremonial matters. A child gains confidence, security, assurance, and, ultimately, peace of mind through acquired faith and belief.

> OK. And then through your paternal grandfather's clan. He is going to teach you, or that blood is going to teach you, to understand your spirituality. Meaning, you are going to have a prayer and a song. You are going to have a belief, you are going to have faith, or something like that. It is going to teach you how to say . . . "May I walk in beauty, beauty before me, beauty behind me, below me, above me, all around me." . . . Your grandfather is going to say, "Come on grandchild, say this, say this. Pray for yourself, come on pray for yourself. Have a ceremonial belief," or something like that. So, he is the one that is going to teach you to say "Hózhǫ́ násháádóó." And then that is going to be your nalí's, your paternal grandfather's clan, they are the ones that are going to teach you how to have a ceremonial belief. And then he is the one that is going to tell you to learn these prayers, and learn these songs, and then he is the one that is going to say, "Try to have a ceremony for yourself, try to think like this." (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

Many elements and factors contribute to the construction of Nihookáá Dine'é—'Íígąsh, tó al'tahnáschíín, tó biyáázh, blood from the mother's body, the influences of the powerful personages associated with the cardinal directions, and the influences carried in the four clan bloods. Individually or in combination, each of these contributes to the growth and development of every contemporary Navajo person from the moment she or he is conceived, through every stage of life for the full extent of her or his life as a human being.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAJO PERSONS

> MS Well the other thing I wanted to ask you to do, being an artist will make it a lot easier, is to draw what you called the complete individual. And you said there was a strand of hair, with the feather connected to the sky.
>
> HW Uh-huh.
>
> MS So, I wondered if you would please try to draw out the Navajo conception of the complete individual, and include the vital parts of the body. You know what we were talking about the other day? Which parts are considered the most vital? And also the placement of the mind.
>
> HW Uh-huh [he begins to sketch] . . . OK the genital point, the heart, the eyes, the mouth, the let's see, on the back side, the back side is the liver, and then the throat right here, the eyes, the mouth, the throat, the voice box. The heart, and then the back is the liver, and then there are rainbow in here [indicating the knee and elbow joints]. Rainbow is what gives us movement.
>
> MS In the joints?
>
> HW Yes. You look at the sandpainting and a short rainbow is right there, it is what gives us movement. And then down here [pointing again to his sketch], we stand on a rainbow. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/12/93)

As Walters spoke, he sketched the image of the complete Navajo person shown in figure 7. A Navajo is made up of the physical outer form (which is animated by an inner form), the body surface, the hair, the garments, the capacity for movement, the body print and anchoring cord (which connect the individual to Mother Earth), and the "feather of life" at the top of the head (which connects the person to Father Sky). The physical outer form, or Navajo body, is divided into layers from its center outward and by binary divisions that distinguish inside from outside and left from right. The body surface accumulates lifelong protection through painting, blackening, bathing, and the application of other ritual paraphernalia in ceremonies. Hairstyle and garments serve to identify a person's age, gender, and condition. The body print is the impression left in the ground by the hands, the feet, or the reclining figure. It reflects the intimate relationship of the person to her world. The feather represents a person's confidence, assurance, and faith in his or her own abilities.

The physical outer forms, or bodies, and other aspects of contemporary Nihookáá Dine'é are constructed of the same fundamental living elements as those used in the construction of the first Earth Surface People: "Our whole body, such as our arteries, veins, flesh and bones, are made up of beautiful white shell, turquoise, abalone shell, black jet, red beads, and sacred banded rock. . . . The red blood is also identified as a glittering coral mineral and the blue blood is identified as a turquoise stone" (Aronilth 1985: 147).

The rain, clouds, rainbow, white corn, yellow corn, and ntł'iz used in the construction of the original Nihookáá Dine'é correlate directly with the parts of the human body and other aspects of the person in the contemporary world.[13] *'Atsiighá*, "the hair on the head," is composed of male rain, female rain, and the moisture of clouds (Aronilth 1985: 145–48, 7/3/91; Regina Lynch, 7/16/91;

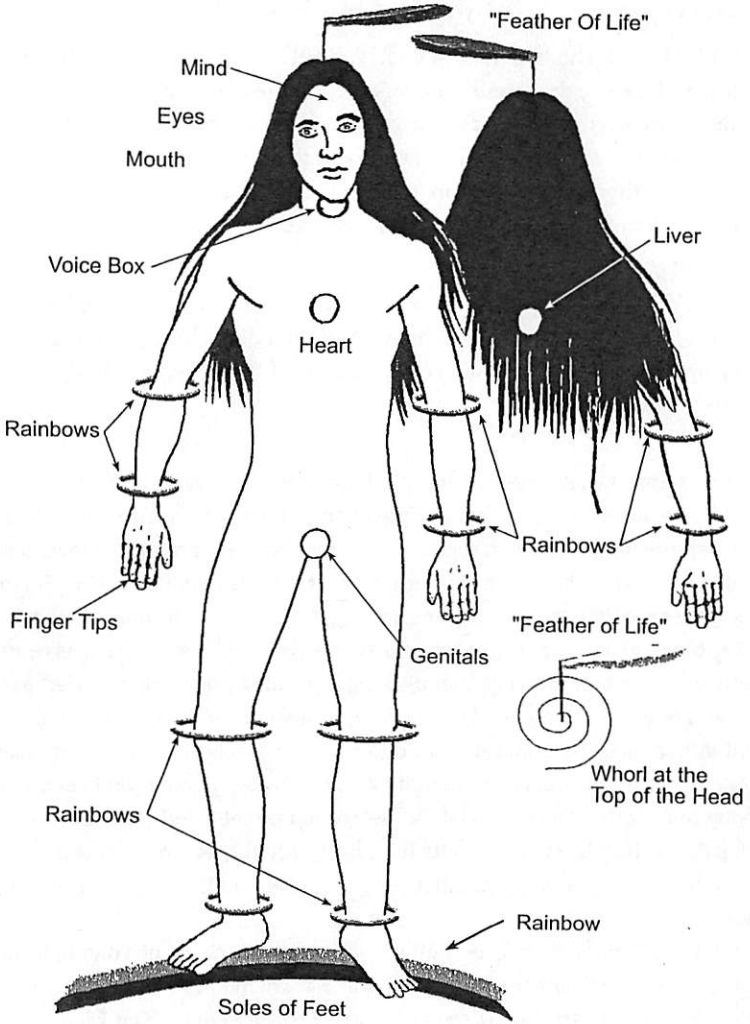

Figure 7. The complete Navajo person, or *diné.* Original sketch by Harry Walters; redrawn by Greg Schwarz.

Jean Jones, 7/25/91; Mae Bekis, 8/5/92). The flesh of contemporary Nihookáá Dine'é is a mixture of sacred white and yellow corn and dirt from the mountain soil bundle (Aronilth 1985:145–48). *'Atsoo'*, "the tongue" (Aronilth 1985:147), and *'agáál*, "the moving power," at the joints and under the soles of the feet are constructed of rainbow (Walters, 8/12/93).[14]

Náátsʼíílid, "rainbow," plays an important role in communication, movement, and transportation, owing to the make-up of both 'atsoo' and 'agáál (Walters, 8/12/93). Communication by means of spoken language became possible through the "mysterious power" and "blessing" of Talking God when, "by his power, he inserted the sacred rainbow into our mouth. This became our tongue and our words and then the words began to become effective with the mixture of moisture and of a little water. For this reason, the spirit, roots and foundation of our language is this rainbow beam and Talking God" (Aronilth 1985:147).

The *náátsʼíílid 'agod*, "short rainbow," in the joints provides Nihookáá Dine'é with the capacity and power to move. The spirit of rainbow is called the sacred transportation of the Holy People and Nihookáá Dine'é (Aronilth 1985:195). Rainbow in one form or another provides simultaneously the power for movement and safe conveyance to Nihookáá Dine'é on and off the reservation, beginning while a child is in the cradle.

The footrest of the Navajo cradle consists of short rainbow (see fig. 5). The child stands on it throughout her time in the cradle, and it provides a secure means by which to transport her. Once out of the cradle, Nihookáá Dine'é stand and travel on rainbows while within the area demarcated by the sacred mountains (see fig. 7). Nihookáá Dine'é who live or work outside of Dinétah carry a specially prepared *náátsʼíílid 'agod'i*, "short rainbow being," with them to ensure safe movement. Wesley Thomas of Mariano Lake, New Mexico, told me that his short rainbow being maintains a continuous link between himself and his mother's home, regardless of how far he may travel.[15] As he explains:

> One end is rooted within Navajo sacred space and the other is temporarily rooted wherever I am. Should I travel, I do so by rainbow. It provides the energy for modern technology, as my mode of transportation. When I return home to the reservation, the rainbow retracts with me. At home I have a particular ceremonial to revitalize and reenergize the rainbow. It is reblessed. The 'agod'i I have is retied and secured during this ceremony, so it will not become undone when I am away from home—during my travels away from Dinétah. (Thomas, 11/29/94)

Most parts of the physical outer form found between the soles of the feet and the top of the head are made of one of the ntłʼiz associated with the cardinal directions in Navajo cosmology—white shell, turquoise, abalone, and jet. *'Azoołʼ*, the windpipe, (Hill 1938:124; Haile 1947; Lang and Walters 1972:61), *'alizh*, the urine, (Haile 1947), *'ajóózh*, the vagina, (Reichard 1950:31), and *'íígháátsiighąą'*, the spinal cord (Haile 1947), all consist of white shell, the precious shell of the east. *'Azid*, the liver (Hill 1938:124; Haile 1947), *'acho'*, the

male genitalia or penis (Goddard 1933:138–39), and the blue blood traveling to the heart (Mustache 1970; Aronilth 1985:145–48) all consist of turquoise, the precious stone of the south. *'Acázis,* the pleurae, are abalone (Hill 1938:124; Haile 1947), the hard good most commonly associated with the west. In addition, *'ajéí,* the heart and lungs (Hill 1938:124; Haile 1947; Lang and Walters 1972:61), and *'adátsoo',* the clitoris (Goddard 1933:138–39), are said to be red coral, a material often associated with the west. *'Anáá',* the eyes, are composed of jet (Haile 1947), the precious stone of the north.

Opinions often vary regarding exactly which parts of the body are made from which ntł'iz. Consider, for example, the composition of blood, brains, fingernails, and toenails. Wilson Aronilth considers red blood to be a "glittering coral mineral" (1985:145–48), whereas Curly Mustache, an elder from Tsaile, Arizona, states that it is composed of pyrope, a type of garnet (1970). Father Berard Haile was taught by his consultants that *'atsiighąą',* the brains, were made of abalone (Haile 1947).[16] In contrast, Mae Bekis was taught that the brains were made of white shell: "And then they said that we have what we call a white shell that has not been dropped, that has not been touched by anything but the Holy People, that sits in the forehead of her [Changing Woman's] head" (8/5/92). Curly Mustache specifically stated that "all our nails (fingers and toes) are said to be all polished, beautified White Shell beads" (Mustache 1970).[17] As he explains below, Wilson Aronilth believes *'alánshgaan,* the fingernails, and *'akéshgaan,* the toenails, are made from a combination of materials to fulfill an important communicative function.

> *Our toenails are said to be made out of a beautiful polished abalone shell and white shell that are interwoven together. This is the very reason why the White Shell Boy controls us from the East direction, the Abalone Shell Girl controls us from the West direction. We communicate with these two Holy People through a mysterious power of a holy beam. Also, moisture and a mixture of air and water is what our toenails are made with. This is why it continues to grow and for this reason we are told to keep natural. (Aronilth 1985:146)*

In addition, the specific materials from which parts of the body are composed can vary from person to person. For example, some experts believe *'awoo',* teeth, are made from a combination of white shell and white corn (Aronilth 1985:145–48), but others believe that teeth are made of either white shell or white corn alone (Mustache 1970), rather than in combination. As Curly Mustache explains: "Our teeth are said to be White Corn Kernels. These are said to be imitation White Shell Beads. This is the reason why our teeth do not last too long. There are very few who do have the real White Shell Bead teeth. This lasts a lifetime. It is foretold this was granted by White Shell Woman to certain people" (Mustache 1970).

These materials make up all components of the physical outer form—internal organs, flesh, bones, muscles, and skin. These components do not form a solid mass; rather, they interconnect to form an intricate series of layers with spaces between them: "The body is composed of skin, flesh, bones, and internal organs—all considered layers, each tissue carefully fitted to those next to it. Nevertheless, between the layers are interstices ('atatah [*sic*]) through which ghosts [winds] may travel. They enter the body where there are whorls—for instance, at the finger tips [*sic*] and hair spirals—as frequently as through orifices—mouth, nose, ears" (Reichard 1950:31–32).

The purpose of these *'atá't'ah,* "the interior recesses, pockets, and folds," between the internal organs and the layers of the body surrounding them—skin, flesh, bones—is to allow air to circulate throughout the body. Air, one of the living elements essential to life, enters Nihookáá Dine'é shortly after birth in the form of the first gulps of air taken by newborn infants and the entrance of inner forms—the Holy Winds (Walters, 8/18/92; Bekis, 7/28/93; Denny, 10/8/93).

THE INNER FORM

> When you were born and took your first breath, different colors
> and different kinds of wind entered through your fingertips
> and the whorl on the top of your head. Within us, as we breathe,
> are the light breezes that cool a summer afternoon,
> within us the tumbling winds that precede rain,
> within us sheets of hard-thundering rain,
> within us dust-filled layers of wind that sweep in from the mountains,
> within us gentle night flutters that lull us to sleep.
> To see this, blow on your hand now.
> Each sound we make evokes the power of these winds
> and we are, at once, gentle and powerful.
>
> —*Luci Tapahonso,* from "Shą́ą́ Áko Dahjiníleh: Remember the Things They Told Us"

As it did in the creation of the first Nihookáá Dine'é, air plays a pivotal role in the animation of every contemporary human being. Wind gives life and breath to Earth Surface People. In the Navajo view, the entrance of air into an infant marks the beginning of life for every person; a newborn is not considered to be alive until he breathes and cries.[18] The winds that enter the body at birth animate the outer body, leaving it partially during dreaming and permanently at death.

The locations of entrance and departure of the winds are evidenced on the body surface by the whorls on the fingertips, on the bottoms of the feet and toes,

and at the top of the back of the head (McNeley 1981:35; Walters, 8/18/92; Bekis, 7/28/93; Denny, 10/8/93). The whorl at the top of the back of the head mirrors the spiral at the center of a ceremonial basket. In each case, the spiral marks the entrance of the "breath of life," the animating winds into the person.

RL OK. See this, where your hair starts here?

MS Uh-huh.

RL That's your breath of life here—

MS The whorl on the top of your head?

RL Yeah this [points to whorl on top of her head]. . . . So this is what they call . . . your thinking, your knowledge of what you're made of. So actually, this is, like a little baby, they say the soft spot here? [She points to the fontanel.] But after they get to a certain age, it grows together, but we as Navajo this circle here [pointing again to the whorl at the top of the back of her head], is the representation of the basket here, that's where it starts, where life begins, the breath of life.

MS And what about the whorls on your fingers and your feet?

RL I was told they're the same thing. . . . We think that way, everything in the Navajo thinking is done clockwise in the circle, OK. Everything that is done that way is, you know, because the circle has to do with well-being. (Regina Lynch, Tsaile, Arizona, 7/16/91)

Winds also mark the internal components of the body. For example, as Hastiin Mustache points out in the following account of how the winds entered Changing Woman shortly after she was found, winds leave their circular imprints on the muscles. According to Curly Mustache, all the Holy People assembled to deal with a matter of critical concern:

The infant was not crying like it should. What shall we do? They all were concerned. The Black Wind was asked to perform his ritual on the infant. Black Wind went to the infant and entered into her right foot through her body to the tip of her head. Making a whorl encircled there where he came up. This is where the hair center spot is now, as we see it on our heads. The Blue Wind then went through the hair center spot and came out on the bottom of our toes and our fingers have circle imprints on them. Our muscles also have circle markings on them which we do not know, or see them. This is exactly how it was told long ago. We all can see the imprints on the tip of our fingers and toes. The White Wind went into the infant's left foot and came out where the Black Wind first came out. . . . Yellow Wind entered the infant on the top of her hair center spot and came out on the bottom of her right foot. . . . The infant began to cry faintly. (Mustache 1970)

Once an infant breathes and cries, the constitution of its body begins to undergo transformation. Navajo infants are soft at birth. After the child emerges from the birth canal, internal contact with air through respiration, along with contact between air and the outer surfaces of the child's body, begins to firm the infant.

MB When the baby is born there are Holy People there, and they want the baby. "I want my feeling in the baby. I want mine." And there isn't only one, starting with Coyote. . . . And so, there is different breath that goes into the baby when it is born. And the baby is usually real soft. That is why when you see a big baby, until . it gets contact with the air when it comes out, then it forms, like the head is kind of hard?

MS Uh-huh.

MB But at first it is just really soft.

MS So what is it that makes it hard? The air?

MB It is the air. The contact of air into the baby. [Whispering] That makes it form after it is out. And there it has to do with the Holy People again. And they are the ones that contacts, you know, the wind. Well it is the air that contacts with the body, with the flesh, and then that is when the baby [becomes firm]. I have seen it, I have. Well, I don't know if, I, uh, with my song, that is the way it goes. My song goes that way.

MS For when the baby is born?

MB Uh-huh.

MS And there are no Holy Winds that come into the baby at conception or during the time that it is in the mother's womb?

MB No, uh-unh. No, not until it is completely out. And it contacts with the air, then it is. I don't know if the other way is different. In your way. I don't know. (Mae Bekis, Tó'tsoh, Arizona, 7/28/93)

The air entering the child permeates its interior, filling the pockets, recesses, and folds of the internal layers. This process gradually makes the child's body firmer. The bodies of young children remain malleable for the first year or two, and Nihookáá Dine'é return to this soft, malleable state at critical times in the life cycle, such as at puberty and extreme old age (Walters, 8/18/92; Bekis, 7/28/93

E. Yazzie, 12/5/93). For best advantage the infant's body is molded by female relatives shortly after birth. Additional molding occurs during puberty, when the body is again malleable (Knoki-Wilson, 8/10/92; Walters, 8/18/92; Denny, 8/11/93).

Once air fills the outer form to capacity, fine hairs emerge from pores all over the surface of the body (Reichard 1950:497). These fine hairs and pores are necessary to the proper functioning of the body, "for it is through these that air comes out of the body" (O'Bryan 1956:103; see also Goddard 1933:147). These fine body hairs are likened to *nanise' bikéti'óól,* "the vegetation roots," in Mother Earth's body: "The tiny 'hair' on our arms, legs and body are the representation of 'vegetation roots.' We communicate with moisture, mist and a mixture of water and air through this and this is how our physical body breathes. For this reason, we are told not to cut the tiny hair on our arms and legs" (Aronilth 1985:147).

The air circulating in, through, and out of the body maintains the constant connection of individual Nihookáá Dine'é to their world. Small winds form over the entire surface of the body wherever air flows through the tiny hairs and pores. These animating winds make moving, talking, and thinking possible.

> We are covered with winds, which enables us to do what we want. What it is supposed to do, it works our minds for us. So that we can move, we can talk, we can think, you know, and that is what it is all made of, is from the winds. And it is not just one, because if it was one then you would only have like one fingerprint. But because there is seven different kinds, and then in seven different directions when it entered us, that is why you got the, you know, different fingerprints. It is not just one type of, one whorl, or one spin. It is just a number of them and they all go in different directions because of that. And that is what makes us, you know, our minds and our spirits, and it makes all of that up in one person. Or in each individual. (Anonymous woman, Upper Greasewood, Arizona, 8/13/92)

The individual natures of the specific winds that enter a child after birth determine what kind of personal characteristics he or she will have. There are many different kinds of winds that may enter a child.[19] According to Hastiin Mustache, once a child is born, various types of winds vie to enter it. The natures of the particular winds that enter the child ultimately determine its health, personality, and habits. When, as in the situation described in the following passage, an unwelcome wind enters a child, he will develop undesirable characteristics despite all efforts on the part of his parents.

> *The Smooth Wind was very fast. Before he was given permission [by the Holy People] he got into the child first. These are the unfortunate ones who are unhealthy and are always sick. Although some healing ceremonies are performed for them. The people who have been granted the Good Winds are blessed with everything good. These people are sometimes the least appreciative. What they are gifted with does not satisfy them and they fail to care for them. They are careless. They are the troublemakers. All these have been discussed and approved by the Holy People long ago. Well competent intelligent parents do not always have children raised according to their standards. Some become delinquents. This is why the whole human race differs. We cannot make them all turn to good people. There is always the bad, half and half. Some people are blessed with valuable possessions. Others cannot seem to get a hold of them some way or the other. (Mustache 1970)*

Regardless of the particular types of winds that enter an individual, homology between Nihookáá Dine'é and other persons in the Navajo world—hooghan, deer, corn plants, baskets, birds—is evidenced in the sunwise direction of the markings of the entrance of the winds at the fingertips, the bottoms of the feet and toes, and the whorl at the top of the back of the head. The direction of the hair growing from this portion of the scalp demonstrates the proper direction for human thought—sunwise. Hair grows sunwise because hair is a physical embodiment of thought.

HAIR, MOISTURE, AND THOUGHT

> When the human beings were made by the Holy People, at the beginning of time, we were directed not to cut our hair. It is rain. It comes from the black cloud. When it is raining you would see sheets of rain, that is human hair. . . . That is why the hair tie was created for Navajo people. It is used to keep our hair tied. When a ceremony is being conducted for you, your hair is untied. When you are not a patient in a ceremony, you are not to have your hair untied. But today, everyone is like that [with hair untied]. According to the stories of how we were raised, these same stories are not acknowledged by the young people today. (Anonymous elder, Chinle, Arizona, 7/10/91)

Hair, which is composed of male rain, female rain, and the moisture of clouds (Aronilth 1985:145–48, 7/3/91; Lynch, 7/16/91; Jones, 7/25/91; Bekis, 8/5/92), is affiliated with the mind and thought. Hair is a physical embodiment

of thought and lifelong knowledge (Aronilth, 7/3/91; Lynch, 7/16/91; Bekis, 7/28/93; Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93). The direction of Nihookáá Dine'é thought is sunwise—east, south, west, north—because Talking God dictated that all Nihookáá Dine'é would think according to the plan for life embodied in the ceremonial basket.

> This [basket] is made according to the hooghan, sunwise. The house blessing are done with this basket. You start from this side, then this side and this side. It is all done according to the sun. The way it travels. At the end, the last part you take and distribute the cornmeal out the front door. There are very important stories related to these baskets. Talking God, Yé'ii Bicheii, instructed, "This is how it is to be made," he said. It was constructed according to him. He continues that, "The thinking process of us all will be sunwise. The thinking process of humans will be in rows and in sequences. The process will continue to the ending part of the basket." That was according to Talking God. (The words of Irene Kee, Crystal, New Mexico, 8/3/92, translated by Wesley Thomas)

The direction of human thought mirrors the direction of the coiling in ceremonial baskets and in the whorls marking the entrance of winds into Nihookáá Dine'é—at the top of the back of the head, on the fingertips, and on the bottoms of the feet and toes. In each case the spirals go sunwise. As Mrs. Flora Ashley of Shonto, Arizona, points out in the following conversation, a direct correlation exists between the spiral of the basket, which is representative of Navajo philosophy and the history of the Navajo people since their emergence onto the earth's surface, and the clockwise spiral of human thought.[20]

> FA Well, this basket is a representation of our orientation, our livelihood. That is what it is. Start out from the center, means that it is your thought process again. And, it is also the entrance of our emergence. That is what that is.
>
> MS So the center represents the emergence—
>
> FA Uh-huh, all through your thought process.
>
> MS Through the underworlds? And the individual thought process?
>
> FA Uh-huh. It is your livelihood, the emergence, and your thought process. Everything goes clockwise. That is the way our thought process is. We think clockwise. That is why we don't, there is no such thing as [a] deadline, and we don't have a linear mind. We always, everything has to be.
>
> MS You don't have a linear mind? You mean like Western?
>
> FA Our thought processes. Uh-huh.
>
> MS Western is linear, right.
>
> FA Uh-huh. So—
>
> MS Navajo is? How would you describe Navajo?
>
> FA Clockwise spiral, I guess that is what you would call it. (Flora Ashley, Tsaile, Arizona, 7/29/91)

The hair growing out of the *'atáá'ha'noots'eel*, "the point at the top of the back of the head where the hair assumes a concentric spiral growth pattern," is one's "feather of life." Individual feathers are distinctive. Holy People use these feathers to identify individual Earth Surface People. As an elder from Lukachukai, Arizona, told me: "The feather of life is her thought and her livelihood. This portion of hair hanging over the forehead contains her thought and her livelihood-to-be. This hair extends from the swirls, where the hair originates from. The swirls are from the wind which first entered her body when she was born. From that it created her feather. She is known by that, her own individual feather of life" (anonymous elder, Lukachukai, Arizona, 8/13/92, translation by Wesley Thomas).

Because of its importance, the Holy People directed the Nihookáá Dine'é in strict rules regarding manipulation of the hair at specific stages in the life cycle. For example, a child's hair should not be cut before it begins to speak a language of the Earth Surface People such as Navajo or, more recently, English, instead of Áltsé Saad, the language of the First World (Lynch, 7/16/91; Jones, 7/25/91; Agnes Begay, 7/26/91; Dooley, 8/19/92; Bekis, 7/28/93), or until after the fontanel closes (Bekis, 7/28/93; Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93). Cutting of the hair before this time risks impairing the child's development (Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93; Walters, 8/10/93). In addition, hair must be carefully groomed daily to contain and control one's thoughts.

> They tell us that while you are living as an earthly human being you should never untie your hair and let it hang down loose, you should always tie it, and like the way it is illustrated here [pointing to a diagram of the traditional hair bun like that in figure 8]. Tie it clockwise. . . . That way you would have a real solid, strong mental and emotional and philosophical and psychological thought and thinking and feeling. That's what they said. . . . The only time that they untie our hair is when we live to the full extent of our life. When death takes our life then they untie it and utilize that traditional comb or brush . . . and they separate our hair from the middle

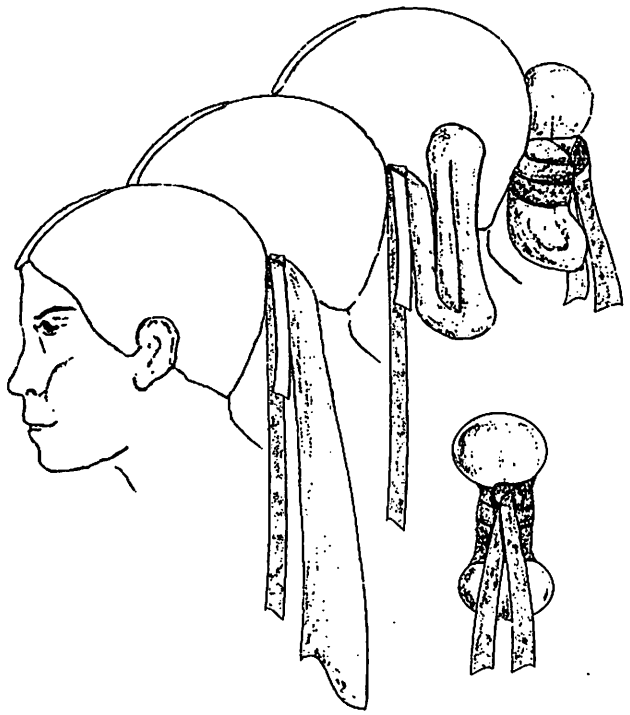

Figure 8. The traditional Navajo hair bun, or *tsiiyéél*. Drawing by Greg Schwarz.

and they make our hair just loose and straight. That's how they put our body away. You should never bury somebody with their hair tied. So, for that reason, they say you shouldn't just let your hair loose while you're living. Only, for certain special participation in ceremonies. (Wilson Aronilth, Tsaile, Arizona, 7/3/91)

The Holy People directed all Nihookáá Dine'é to wear their hair in the *tsiiyéél*, or traditional hair bun, shown in figure 8. When I asked women what the relationship was between thinking and the hair bun, they told me the bun helped to contain and control one's accumulated knowledge so that one could think effectively and not have one's thoughts "scattered." As Sunny Dooley of Vanderwagen, New Mexico, explained:

SD [Women] tie their hair down at the nape of their neck and pile all of their knowledge into a bun, you know. . . . It just represents all the knowledge that you have to accumulate and you hope to tie it together so that you can use the knowledge effectively and just not let it be, you know [makes hand motions around head].

MS Scattered?

SD Scattered, and be a scattered brain kind of thing. (Sunny Dooley, Gallup, New Mexico, 8/21/92)[21]

Or worse, as Ruth Roessel of Round Rock, Arizona, pointed out, leaving your hair unsecured risks having your thoughts literally "blow away." Mrs. Roessel told me the purpose of the bun was to "just have your hair folding back to your head, and that is where all the thinking is developed, and if you have your hair hanging down and blown on, and there is hardly any, any, you know, thoughts into your head and it is blown away [chuckles]. That is the whole idea, I guess" (7/26/91).[22]

Wearing your hair in the traditional bun demonstrates that you are "thinking in the proper way" (Dooley, 8/19/92), that you are "strong and the mind is good" (Jones, 7/25/91), that the "mind is all set" (H. Ashley, 7/23/91), and that your "thinking is controlled" (Bekis, 7/28/93). When thinking becomes uncontrolled, illness will likely ensue. An ill person's thoughts must be realigned in order for health to be restored. Mae Bekis gave the following account of the way she realigns a patient's thoughts during the Blessing Way ceremony.

MB When you wash up your patient, you know, you use a regular brush. That was, you know that has been brought down. I have one of those brushes. You use that, you don't use a hair brush that we have around here that is from the store.

MS Oh, you use the grass brush?

MB You use the grass brush. And they said that when you are brushing their hair all their thinking, all the things are put together back in place. And that is where you comb all that together. To, back here [indicating the nape of her neck] and make their bun. You put all their thinking back together. (Mae Bekis, Tó'tsoh, Arizona, 7/28/93)

The traditional Navajo hair bun contains and controls a person's "feather of life," the connection to Father Sky extending from the top of his or her head. In doing so, it embodies a person's thought, knowledge, and material wealth. "The bun is the tied feather of life. Your thought is enclosed and it also contains your planning capabilities. It contains your material wealth and knowledge. We have left that whole concept behind. We have done that as Navajo. Other people, non-Navajo people, have always had short hair. They operate on a different system,

unlike Navajo" (anonymous elder, Lukachukai, Arizona, 8/13/92, translation by Wesley Thomas).

As this elder notes, many Navajo no longer wear the distinctive bun every day. Pressures from the outside world, such as grooming requirements at government-run boarding schools and dress codes for government employees, have taken their toll over the last fifty years. As a result, the majority of Navajo people today do not wear the traditional hair bun on a daily basis, but it is still recognized as a strong symbol of ethnic identity among contemporary Navajo. As Jean Jones of Rock Point, Arizona, told me: "The Holy People, they know us for that" (7/25/91).[23]

STRUCTURAL HOMOLOGY

> MS Do you know, is there a certain side of the body that is considered male and female?
>
> OT Yeah.
>
> MS Can you tell me about that?
>
> OT OK, the right side, well, the right side is the representation of your mother, from your mother's side. And your left is from your father's side. So if you want to consider anything male, then it is your left side.
>
> MS OK, is that the same for men and women?
>
> OT [Nods his head.] Same as that cradle board, you know [indicating a cradle hanging on the wall].
>
> MS Yeah. I noticed that.
>
> OT The right side, if you laid down, your right side would be Mother Earth and your left would be Father Sky, you know. Same thing, you know?
>
> MS So it is the same thing with the human body?
>
> OT Uh-huh, yeah. There is, uh, you know, it is a, there are aspects of something from your father's side and something from your mother's side. So your left side is a representation of your father's side, or you can consider that the male. The male side of you. (Oscar Tso, Many Farms, Arizona, 8/9/92)

The sunwise directionality of the whorls at the back of the top of the head and the wrapping of hair in the bun serve to identify Nihookáá Dine'é as living entities functioning within the "natural order" of the Navajo world. Structural homology with other persons in the Navajo universe also includes attention to the trajectory of growth, a pathway, or "way out," enabling factors to move from inside to outside, and a binary division of the person that distinguishes left (male) from right (female). Like cradles, grinding stones, and hooghan, humans are divided laterally into male and female sides.

The structural homology shared by all persons in the Navajo world is demonstrated by an infant in a cradle lying on the floor of a hooghan with its head to the east. The backboards of the cradle have been carefully placed to ensure that the trajectory of growth of the tree from which they were cut is maintained in the completed cradle. The direction of growth is from bottom to top, correlating with the future growth of the child. As Oscar Tso pointed out, while lying in a cradle, a child has the female side of its body on top of Mother Earth, the female side of the cradle, and the male side of its body on top of Father Sky, the male side of the cradle (see fig. 5). When the child is placed with its head toward the doorway of the hooghan (east), the female and male sides of its body and the female and male sides of the cradle correspond with the female (north) and male (south) sides of the hooghan.

The binary structural division shared by all persons in the Navajo world reflects a fundamental principle of Navajo philosophy and cosmology—duality. An underlying aspect of Navajo philosophy is that any "whole" is a combination of parts. As John Farella has noted, "on whatever basis Navajos bound an entity, it is not in terms of homogeneity. Wholes seem to be composed of two parts which are in a sense complementary and in another sense opposed" (1984:176). In fact, "what Anglos call the pairing of opposites, Navajos conceptualize as the halves of a whole, with each half necessary for completeness" (Griffin-Pierce 1992:66). The Navajo with whom I consulted used information about the body and personhood to elucidate the nature of dualism in the Navajo world. Navajo views on the cultural construction of the human body and personhood reveal that Nihookáá Dine'é embody the essence of duality—the pairing of contrasting but complementary components to make a whole.

Complementarity delineates and informs all aspects of the Navajo world, including human relationships and the human body. As Harry Walters explained: "Everything is in terms of male and female in the Navajo. This is the duality. There is a male part and then the female counterpart in everything, you know, even us. I am a man, but my left side is my male side, my right side is my female" (8/18/92).

Pairings such as life and death, hunger and satiation, hózhǫ́ and hóchxǫ́, night and day, and male and female exist on all levels of the web of interconnection formed by the relationships of persons to each other and to the universe: the cosmic, the social, and the individual levels. As Walters noted, this complementarity establishes a base paradigm found throughout Navajo cosmology in which male and female are paired in myriad homologues. On the cosmic plane, the universe

consists of Mother Earth and Father Sky. Since their reunion in the last underworld, men and women have been considered necessary counterparts. Being complete, a couple represents a stronger entity than does a single person. Therefore, on the social level, no man or woman is considered to be complete or whole unless he or she has a counterpart of the opposite gender (Dooley, 8/19/92).[24]

On an individual level, every person is regarded as a whole possessing both male and female aspects or qualities, a pairing that is demonstrated in the actual composition of the human body. As Wilson Aronilth explains, "we are divided right in half from the tip of our head down to our feet. One side of our body is male and the other side is female" (1985:147). The left-hand side of the body is considered male while the right-hand side of the body is female (Aronilth 1985:147; Annie Kahn, 7/8/91; McPherson 1992:44; Nakai Tso, 8/8/92; Oscar Tso, 8/9/92; Knoki-Wilson, 8/10/92, 7/29/93; Walters, 8/18/92, 8/10/93, 8/12/93; H. Ashley, 7/27/93; Bekis, 7/28/93; Denny, 8/11/93, 10/8/93).[25]

In our discussions, English-speaking Navajo consultants consistently used the terms "male" and "female" to refer to the contrastive sides of the body. The English term "male" literally translates into Navajo as *bikǫ'*, "its male sexual partner," and "female" literally translates as *ba'áád*, "its female sexual partner."[26] These terms, bikǫ' and ba'áád, are commonly used to make biological sexual distinctions among domestic or game animals such as sheep, goats, and deer, and they have been used by prior researchers to refer to male and female aspects and qualities.[27] But I was told that according to current usage, these terms are considered impolite in reference to human companions. When I sought clarification on this point, Ursula Knoki-Wilson used humor to enlighten me about why it was inappropriate to use the terms ba'áád and bikǫ' to refer to one's spouse or companion. She explained that ba'áád and bikǫ' were used to distinguish biological sexual differences but that you should address your companion by "the relationship, not by the biological difference" (Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93). Accordingly, she said,

> I wouldn't call my husband "Penis." And he wouldn't call me "Vagina" in our relationship. He would call me "Honey" or "Sweetie," or whatever. So in Navajo it is the same thing, the "ba'áád dóó bikǫ'ii" kind of determines the biological difference. In sexual terms. They are not the bodily terms for the body, but they connote a sexual difference between the sexes. . . . In our relationships we call them companions . . . but when they are in ceremony and ritual, you know, they might be making a sandpainting and they will refer to it as "ba'áádii" and "bikǫ'ii." And that is appropriate because they are describing the sexual difference there, the biological difference, [the] gender difference. (Ursula Knoki-Wilson, Fort Defiance, Arizona, 7/29/93)

When I asked people what Navajo terms they would use to refer to the respective sides of the body, a variety of terms were mentioned. For specific reasons explained later in this chapter, Harry Walters used the term *naayéé' k'ehjigo*, "on the side of protection," for the male side and *hózhǫ́ǫjigo*, "on the side of peace, harmony, and order," for the female (8/18/92). Hanson Ashley told me he preferred the terms *dinego*, "the man's side," and *asdzáángo*, "the woman's side," to connote the concepts of masculine and feminine respectively (7/27/93). Avery Denny uses są'ah naagháí to refer to the male side and bik'eh hózhǫ́ to refer to the female because at the most abstract level of knowledge, the level of songs and prayers, these terms encapsulate all that is male and female (8/11/93; see also Benally 1994:24–26).

In the following account, Curly Mustache elaborates on this binary division of the body and correlates human veins with their counterparts in the body of the earth:

> *It is said that half of our blood veins are blue, the other half red. I do not recall which side is red. It divides right in half from the head down between our legs. The two colors join in the middle. Each side of the blood veins do their work for the body. When it comes together it just automatically turns to its own color fast. All these blood vessels are called "earth veins" (Nahasdzáán bits'oos). When digging in the damp ground you will find these long worms, which we call earth worms. The blood flows in these throughout our system. The fluid that we call blood has its work to do to purify our system to keep us alive. (Mustache 1970)*

The red—coral or pyrope—veins found on the right-hand side of the human body are female. The blue—turquoise—veins that run through the left-hand side of the human body are male (Aronilth 1985:147).

The interworkings of the complementary components of the body are further refined to form a complex system of checks and balances, with female parts of the body controlling male parts of the body and male parts controlling female parts. For example, as Hanson Ashley explained, nerves from each side of the brain crisscross at the back of the neck so that the right side of the brain (female) controls the left side of the body (male), while the left side of the brain (male) controls the right side of the body (female).

> They talk about the human body and in Navajo they say like on the right, the right side of the body is feminine, on the left side is masculine. And then they talk about the brain, [the] right side is female, the left side is male. But somewhere in the back of your

head, it crisscrosses there, so the right side of the brain takes care of the left side of the body. And then the left side of the brain takes care of the right side of the body. So they believe that it crisscrosses somewhere. So that is the way, that is the same way that they do things, like in traditional ceremonies, there are a lot of things that they do and they always have this, the cross, or the crisscross motions. (Hanson Ashley, Shonto, Arizona, 7/27/93)

This division—left side male, right side female—correlates with the placement in the mother's womb of male and female embryos, respectively. In addition to contributing to the development of the complementary male and female components of the body in utero, the fluids tó ał'tahnáschíín (male) and tó biyáázh (female) foster the development of distinctive qualities that are associated with each of these contrasting, yet complementary, sides (Aronilth 1990:33). As Ursula Knoki-Wilson explains, these contrasting sides and qualities are regarded as aspects of personhood rather than as purely physical attributes: "What I learned is they say that your right side is your female side and the left side is your male side. And so they teach you that, you know, you're always balanced in that way psychically. That you are, you know, you respect both, the male and the femaleness within you. . . . It is more like psychic energies that they are referring to rather than, you know, the actual physical dimensions" (8/10/92).

On one of the twelve levels of knowledge, the left-hand side of every individual is naayéé' k'ehjigo, "on the side of protection," the "warrior" side of the person, while the right-hand side is hózhǫ́ǫjigo, "on the side of peace, harmony, and order," the female or "peaceful" side of the person (Walters, 8/18/92). This division is not unique to humans; every living entity in the Navajo world has had naayéé'jí and hózhǫ́ǫjí components since the first underworld (Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93; Walters, 8/10/93; Denny, 8/11/93). These contrasting aspects of personhood caused perpetual problems in the underworlds because the ability to control them did not become available until after Changing Woman was found.

HW It began in the First World, yes. There, First Man and First Woman had two minds. But they didn't know it, they didn't know how to control that. That is why, uh . . .

MS When you say two minds, you mean they had two sides to their minds?

HW Two sides—

MS Or was it two minds?

HW They were deceitful, they were cheats, they were evil on one side. All of us are like that, we are like that, we are like that.

MS Yeah.

HW We are like that. But, then they let this, the negative evil side take over. They didn't know how to balance that see, each time, in each world, you know, it goes like this. It was, actually Changing Woman was the one that showed us how to use that. How to balance, that, the two minds, the two sides. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/12/93)

Changing Woman gave the Nihookáá Dine'é the knowledge necessary to control and balance the naayéé'jí and hózhǫ́ǫjí sides of life through thoughts, songs, prayers, and ceremonies.

Naayéé' k'ehjigo, the warrior side, represents the essence of masculinity, whereas hózhǫ́ǫjigo, the peaceful side, represents the essence of femininity in the Navajo world. Fundamentally, there are no mutually exclusive characteristics associated with one side or the other; instead, the contrast between sides reflects dual facets of every trait or aspect of personhood. There are aggressive and passive, protecting and blessing facets to all personal characteristics, including creativity, developing, thinking, and feeling (Walters, 8/18/92). For example, Ursula Knoki-Wilson told me that the warrior side is associated with "shielding," "wisdom," and "emotional release," while the peaceful side is associated with "nurturing," "analytical thought," and "being in touch with one's emotions" (8/10/92). Shielding and nurturing are necessary components of fostering development; wisdom and analytical thought are two parts of thinking; and connection and release are both aspects of experiencing emotion. One or the other of these dual facets may come to the fore in direct response to any situation in which an individual may find himself.

There are male (warrior) and female (peaceful) reactions appropriate to every situation:

HW Suppose that you are walking down the street and somebody throws a punch at you? You know, you put out your hand to protect yourself. Whether you are male or female, that is your male side. Your warrior side reacting. And so this is what I mean by male and female characteristics. . . .
Now, if you are in a war, say even though you are not a soldier in the military and you are running, and then you came upon an enemy, you know, somebody you don't know. But he is an enemy and he has a gun in his hand. And you see a gun there and you pick it up and shoot him. Now, that is your warrior side reacting in a warrior way. See?

MS Give me an example of how the female side reacts. Or what the female side does.

HW And then, let's say you're a soldier in enemy territory and then after you have driven off the enemy then you find women and children. And then do you go and gun them down? No. You leave them alone. That is your female side, your [peaceful] side reacting, you know. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/18/92)

These contrasting sides are not viewed as separate. Indeed, in our discussions, Hanson Ashley took exception to my choice of words when I explained how I had learned that the body was "divided right in half from the tip of the head down to the feet," and to my repeated references to the sides of the body as the "male half" and the "female half."

HA I guess to say half male and female that is—[shakes his head].

MS That's wrong?

HA That is the wrong way to say it in English.

MS How would you say it?

HA In Navajo "alheesilá," alheesilá, when you say alheesilá, is a umm, OK, what is the best way? There is interaction, OK. (Hanson Ashley, Shonto, Arizona, 7/27/93)

Later, catching himself using the term "divided," Ashley pointed out that in his opinion, use of this term was misleading because it tended to highlight the distinction between the sides of the body rather than the more important consideration, the complementarity of the sides of the person. He told me: "OK anyway that is how the body is umm, is divided, not necessarily to say they are divided but, it is just two 'hemispheres' you might say, or two different oppositions that have to interact. And like for men, for men there are certain times that you are going to react like a woman they say. There are certain times. You have that, the woman's characteristics, sometimes it comes out" (7/27/93).

In an effort to clarify the relationship between the male and female "hemispheres" in the Navajo model, Ashley turned to concepts he believed would be familiar to me—components found in the biomedical model of the human system. He made an analogy between the sympathetic and the parasympathetic nervous systems found in the biomedical model and the male and female "hemispheres" referred to in his own explanation to illustrate how the contrastive sides interrelate.

HA Just to give you an illustration, like umm, talking about this, I am thinking medical, they use the term sympathetic nervous system, and there is parasympathetic nervous system. There are two systems.

MS OK.

HA [The] sympathetic nervous system is in control when you are awake and [the] parasympathetic nervous system is resting, but when you go to sleep then that nervous system [the parasympathetic] activates, and the other system [the sympathetic] retreats, and it rests again. So they alternate. But they are not separate really, but it is just a two [part] system that interacts and interacts.

MS So that is a better analogy, that there is a male system and a female system,

HA Right, there you go.

MS That are both necessary . . .

HA It is both, yes! (Hanson Ashley, Shonto, Arizona, 7/27/93)

Avery Denny also made an analogy to a biomedical concept—the immune system—to explain the purpose and functioning of these complementary aspects of the person. He told me that on the most fundamental level of Navajo philosophy, the sides of every individual represent Są'ah Naagháí and Bik'eh Hózhǫ́, the parents of Changing Woman, who are the animating forces of the entire Navajo universe. The male side is są'ah naagháí because of its protective role, and the female side is bik'eh hózhǫ́ because of its blessing role.[28] As Denny explained:

Są'ah naagháí means protection, and then bik'eh hózhǫ́ is Blessing Way. Meaning that your body has its own immune system to fight off any kind of disease or sickness. We Diné believe that we have that kind of, są'ah naagháí bik'eh hózhǫ́, is the one that is separated like a male and a female, inside our body. So, if I was a man then my left side of my whole body, it represents a male. That is where I hold the bowguard and the bow and arrow. And then on the right side, I hold the corn pollen. And then I say "Hózhǫ́ náshádóó." That is Blessing Way. So, in that way my body is in balance, like Protection Way and then Blessing Way. So, any kind of disease, or sickness, or cold, ever comes into my body, or if I am into it, then my left side of my body is mainly just, it would protect the right side. And then over here too. They crisscross to take care of one another just like a man and a [woman], a male and a female. To have that balance. Blessing Way, protecting. Protection Way and then Blessing Way depend on one another inside the body. So, that is what we believe, są'ah naagháí bik'eh hózhǫ́. It works like that. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

Time and again, Navajo with whom I consulted stated that they do not consider one side of the person, or one facet of any particular characteristic, more significant than the other; both sides and facets are necessary for harmony, balance, and health to exist. This was reiterated when I inquired whether treatment differed if a health problem was limited to one side of the body or the other. I was told that although the distinction between sides is readily acknowledged on a philosophical level, and Navajo people are conditioned from early childhood to perform certain activities with one hand or the other (and certain activities are done to one side of the body or the other in ceremony), Navajo people do not routinely make a conscious differentiation between the experiences associated with the right or left sides of their bodies (H. Ashley, 7/27/93; Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93; Walters, 8/10/93; Denny, 10/8/93).

> MS In terms of healing, I am wondering, are there different treatments depending on if the illness or ailment has affected the male or the female side of the body? For example, what if someone is having paralysis on their right side? Is there a different treatment than if it was paralysis on the left side?
>
> HA OK, now I need to go back on that. You don't treat your body to be male or female. If you are a man you don't treat it that, "My right-hand side of my body is a female," you know, you don't do that. You know, in your mind you don't have that. But in the story, you understand that. That there is [a distinction]. But in real life, in reality, you don't treat it that way. So when there is a sickness, when there is a sickness, and then if there should be, let's say, if your left-hand of your body is ailing or the right side of the body is ailing. You don't say, "Oh, it is my female or male part that is sick," or whatever. You don't think that way. But, within the ceremony, they have that. Whatever spirit that they talk about, or let's say they make a sandpainting, there has to be two. There has to be male and female figures within the sandpainting. That has to do with the body, OK. So, but in reality you don't think of it that way, but through ceremonial, and through the stories, it is understood. So through songs and through prayers, you know, it is in there, it is mentioned. Male and female. (Hanson Ashley, Shonto, Arizona, 7/27/93)

In combination, the naayéé' k'ehjigo and hózhǫ́ǫjigo aspects of the individual contribute to the development and maintenance of a physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually harmonious person. To be whole and remain harmonious, all

Navajo must respect both the maleness and the femaleness within themselves (Knoki-Wilson, 8/10/92). Fundamentally, the purpose of all living entities in the Navajo world having male and female sides is "to have respect for both, the power of both dimensions. And [to] perpetuate the feeling of harmony and balance. And that there is unity, that there are physical differences, but then you also have unity. [Pause]. So, you know, it is an important concept especially when it comes time to do healing work. I mean herbs have to have come from male and female herbs and certain waters have to have male and female put together for ritualistic work and things like that" (Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93). Indeed, when illness occurs as a result of imbalance, or when a new stage of life is broached, the naayéé' k'ehjigo and hózhǫ́ǫjigo aspects of the individual play important roles in ceremony.

HOMOLOGY AND SYNECDOCHE IN PRACTICE

> OT A bowguard is worn on the left. And then when there are prayers that are going to be taking place, there are certain things that you hold on your left, and certain things that you hold on your right.
>
> OT Anything for protection you hold it on your left side.
>
> MS Both men and women?
>
> OT Yeah. And anything that is good, you hold it on your right side. Well, like uh, like protection ceremony they usually have paraphernalia that are, they say ádináályéél. Ádináályéél means something that you take around yourself for protection. Ádináályéél is something that you hold up to say prayers.
>
> MS So what you would wrap around you : . .
>
> OT Or take around you for protection is the ádináályéél. It is, like you might hold an arrowhead on your left. Which is a form of a weapon. . . . So that is kind of like a protection, so you hold it with your left hand, you never hold it in your right. Tádídíín, you hold it in your right.
>
> MS Uh-huh, yeah I noticed that at the Kinaaldá everyone used their right hand to make the tádídíín blessing. And, um, I think you were explaining to me that when you take the first pinch of the tádídíín it goes in your mouth. And the second one goes on the top of your head. And you said those represent two things?
>
> OT No, there are three things. One thing that you take in for your physical, and then one goes on top of your head, then the other

one to pray [motions out away from his body when referring to the third].

MS OK, so did you say that the one that goes in your mouth is to represent your physical development and growth?

OT Uh-huh.

MS And the one that goes on the top of your head is your mental development and growth?

OT Uh-huh.

MS And then the third one, which, you are right, I had forgotten to mention, was where you go from east to west. Do you always go from east to west? Or do you go away from you?

OT Yeah, you kind of make an offering, you know, like away from you, [demonstrates] like that, you know. You're offering something to something like nature. So you are kind of going like this [spreads imaginary pollen out in front of his body]. It is not that something is going to go away from you or anything. That is how you are praying, make an offering. (Oscar and Opal Tso, Many Farms, Arizona, 8/9/92)

Reflective of the protecting and blessing aspects associated with the respective sides of the body, certain activities are done exclusively with, or to, the right or the left side of the body. Anything having to do with blessing and good will involves the right hand and side, regardless of the handedness of the individual (Walters, 8/12/93; Denny, 10/8/93). As illustrated in Oscar Tso's example, the tádídíín bijish, or pollen pouch, is held with the left hand, but the fingers of the right hand must be used to pinch the pollen that gets applied to the tip of the tongue and the top of the head, and the same fingers are used to make the offering (Oscar Tso, 8/9/92; Walters, 8/12/93; Denny, 10/8/93). In addition to using the right hand in prayer, Navajo people extend their right hands in greeting.

MS I noticed that when greeting, people shake hands with the right hand.

HW Yeah, because you are extending good will.

WT Handshakes are on the right hand.

HW Yeah, handshakes, and then mountain soil, you always hold it there, in your right hand. Mountain soil, prayer sticks, things that are related to good will. Prayer sticks, offerings, white shell, turquoise, abalone, jet, and those kinds of things. That is good will. (Harry Walters and Wesley Thomas, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/12/93)

In contrast, certain activities are done exclusively with the left hand. A man holds his bow with his left hand and wears his *k'eet'oh*, or bowguard, on his left arm (Oscar Tso, 8/9/92; Walters, 8/12/93; Denny, 10/8/93).

AD If you are in the male way, you hold that bow on this side [indicating his left] and you have that bowguard. Even if you stretch this to use [motions as if drawing a bowstring with his right hand to shoot an arrow], but this is already your shield, already your protection.

MS You hold the bow, and the k'eet'oh on your left arm?

AD Uh-huh, yeah. (Avery Denny, Tsaile, Arizona, 10/8/93)

In Protection Way ceremonies, protective materials such as arrowheads or armor must be held with the left hand or worn on the left side of the body (Walters, 8/12/93; Denny, 10/8/93). As Harry Walters explains:

HW Things that are weapons, arrowheads, you hold in your left, and a stone knife. "Anáályéél," you know, for protection and, those kinds of things, bow and arrow, you hold in your left hand.

MS And is there anything else that you can only do with your left hand?

HW [Pause] Ahh, things that are from Naayéé'jí, the Protection Way ceremony, are associated with the left. In the Protection Way ceremony they have charms, you know, you always wear it on the left. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/12/93)

The trajectory of growth—from the soles of the feet to the top of the head—and the distinction between the masculine and feminine sides of the body are carefully observed in the manipulation of the human body in all ceremonial contexts. According to Sunny Dooley, "when you have any kind of blessing done, you never go from the head down, you always go from this way up [indicates from her feet upward], because that is how nature grows. Trees don't just develop. They grow from that way, you know, they go from [motions from her feet upward], and so you always encourage growth upwards, whatever blessing" (8/21/92).

A variety of materials may be ceremonially applied to patients, including herbal mixtures, ashes, sheep fat, pigments, pollen, cedar smoke, and an assortment of accouterments such as sashes, moccasins, handwoven textiles, shoulder straps, or braided wristbands and anklebands made of yucca. These artifacts served as the clothing or armor worn by Diyin Dine'é during the critical junctures in Navajo

history that are returned to in the process of the specific ceremony. These materials are used to dress the patient in the image of a particular member of the Diyin Dine'é.

Every substance or artifact with which a patient is ceremonially painted or dressed provides a layer of lifelong protection to the surface of the body (Walters, 8/10/93; Denny, 10/8/93). Such a layer is acquired, for example, when a young woman is adorned with items of traditional female attire such as a sash, moccasins, a handwoven dress, or a hair tie as she is ritually dressed in the image of Changing Woman during her Kinaaldá. Another example comes from a critical point in the Hóchxǫ́ǫ́'jí, the Evil Way ceremony, when the patient is dressed in shoulder straps that have protective materials such as arrowheads, deer hooves, bear claws, shells, and ntł'iz attached to them. As Harry Walters explains, in this context these artifacts are used to dress the patient in the image of Monster Slayer, thereby instilling lifelong protection:

> HW To protect, you know, just like a coat of armor that he, like a soldier, will put on. There was a ritual involved in that, so, then even if you take it off, you still have the armor.
>
> MS You always wear it?
>
> HW Yes.
>
> MS You always have it?
>
> HW You always have it.
>
> MS As a protection?
>
> HW Yes, just like the yé'ii mask when you, once you put it on, and then you take it off. You have been initiated, and then you are blessed with that. You have certain [privileges]. You can dance in it. When there is a ceremony involving someone to be dressed in a yé'ii to treat the person you can do that.
>
> MS Uh-huh.
>
> HW Otherwise, you can't do this. That is what it symbolizes. The place, when you put that armor on, and then after the prayer is said, and then you can take it off, you always have that protection. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/10/93)

Individuals acquire an additional layer of protection each time such items are ceremonially applied to them. As a result, people accumulate multiple layers of protection during their lifetimes.

Each protective layer, which is beneficial to the person to whom it is ceremonially applied, can cause grave harm to the uninitiated. For example, snakes are painted onto the feet and big toes of patients as a means of protection during Na'at'oyee, the Shooting or Lightning Way ceremony (Reichard 1950:645–48; Bekis, 3/22/95), the Diné binítch'ijí, or Small Wind Way, and the Níłch'ihjí, or Wind Way (Bekis, 3/22/95). As Mae Bekis points out in the following passage, harm can result from the simple act of an uninitiated person's wearing the footwear of someone who has been ceremonially painted in this manner.

> Even the shoes like if uh, if uh, somebody was initiated with some singing, you know, like Lightning Way and uh, when they do the painting on their patients, like Lightning Way and they have a, you know, they use a snake as a painting for their patients. Right here [points to the place on her own body]. . . . On the [outside of the] calf. And then on your big toe, under here [pointing to a sketch she is making of the body painting]. From the nail down is the head of a snake that is coming down and then the tip is the tongue here. The forked tongue? And then they said, it does an imprint in your shoes. And you are not supposed to wear [the moccasins or other footwear of] anybody that is initiated like through Lightning Way, Wind Way, the Small Wind Way and all of this. You are not supposed to wear somebody's shoes like that because the imprint, it puts an imprint forever on the shoes. It just, you know, the black paint that they use? It makes an imprint inside of your shoes and it imprints deep into your skin. . . . And they said the black paint that they use, it is a, it is just a clay. The black clay, but it imprints on your body in your flesh and they said it stays a long time in there. Even on [places her hand on her chest]. They put it on you, on your chest too. And then they said, that imprint stays within you as long as you live because you are initiated. (Mae Bekis, Tó'tsoh, Arizona, 3/22/95)

Once application to the patient is complete, the pigment, pollen, ashes, herbal mixture, or other substance is passed sunwise to all members of the family and others in attendance. Individuals apply each substance to their own bodies in the same manner as the singer applied them to the patient's body, or such applications are completed by an assistant to the singer. When a seriously ill person needs a ceremony but cannot be present—for example, if he or she is hospitalized in a comatose state or in intensive care—articles of the individual's unlaundered clothing are used in place of the entire person.[29] This clothing is laid out and "worked on" during the ceremony. Harry Walters explained why this method of treatment is effective:

HW [It is because] that clothing has touched you, that is a part of you. See?

MS Yeah, uh-huh. So if they have that piece of clothing there, when let's just say, when the herb is passed, would someone sprinkle the herb on the clothing?

HW Yes, everything that is done.

MS And would they blacken it?

HW Everything that is done to the patient would be done to that.

MS As if it was the person?

HW [Nods his head.] They lay them out, shoes, socks, trousers, shirt, even a hat.

MS Of the person that can't come?

HW Yes. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/10/93)

An absent patient derives benefit through treatment of his or her garments because the sweat, sloughed-off skin cells, and other bodily substances that become attached to articles of clothing when they are worn make the garments part of the person.

Depending on the nature of the ceremony, the singer starts with either the right or the left side when applying blessing or protecting materials to the patient. Manipulations begin on the right and move to the left during ceremonies associated with blessing, such as the molding and painting of a young woman during her Kinaaldá. Application of materials starts on the left and moves to the right in healing and protection ceremonies (H. Ashley, 7/27/93; Walters, 8/12/93), as in the portion of the Hóchxǫ́ǫ́'jí described in my field notes:

The singer and his assistant took the patient out by the ash pile north of his mother's hooghan and had him strip down to his shorts. When they walked over to the ash pile I was directed to enter the hooghan and watch from the window or door. The singer's assistant twirled a bull roarer in front of the patient, to the north. The singer carefully helped the patient bathe in the water prepared with a herb collected from the base of a tree that had been struck by lightning. Once he was done washing they turned to enter the hooghan. I sat down and awaited their entrance. I sat on an old sofa on the south side, I noticed neat piles of ash at each of the cardinal points around the woodstove.

The singer, his assistant, and the patient entered. The patient took his position on the west side of the hooghan to the left of the singer. The patient sat with his legs and arms outstretched. His feet were flexed and his hands were lying on his legs with the palms up. The singer began a series of songs, using a gourd rattle. After one or two songs he stopped and crushed some herbs into water in a coffee can and then put the bull roarer in this. Then he dug through his paraphernalia bag [an old suitcase] and removed some arrowheads, herbs, and rocks. . . .

Next, the patient was treated with ashes from the piles around the fire with an eagle feather fan. The singer began a new series of songs as he dipped the fan into the ash pile on the east. Starting on the patient's left, the singer tapped the patient on the soles of his feet with the feather fan. He dipped the fan into the ash pile on the south and tapped the patient's knees and palms. He continued singing. Next, he dipped the fan into the ash pile on the west and tapped the fan against the area over the patient's heart and on his upper back. Then he dipped the fan into the ash pile on the north. With this ash he tapped the fan on the patient's shoulders, on the sides of his head, along the crest of his head from the nose backwards and then on the top of his head. Finally, the singer made a clockwise circular motion around the patient's head with the fan, concluding his song as he clapped the feather fan to the north [the patient's left]. In each case, the singer started on the left and moved to the right [left sole, right sole, left knee, right knee, etc.] tapping twice at each location. (Field notes, 8/8/93)

A Hóchxǫ́ǫ́'jí ceremony is required to restore health when a person has been infiltrated by harmful factors as a result of contact with the death of a Navajo. Such malevolent factors can enter at numerous locations on the body.

UKW They enter through the fingertips and the palms of your feet, they say.

MS Both hands and both feet?

UKW Uh-huh.

MS They can enter either side?

UKW [Nods her head.] Well they can enter anywhere in the pores too. (Ursula Knoki-Wilson, Fort Defiance, Arizona, 7/29/93)

The singer motions his eagle feather fan clockwise over the patient's head, raises it upward to the smokehole, and then claps it sharply to the left of the patient to direct the harmful factors leaving the patient. Some Navajo are of the opinion that the singer directs his motions to the left of the patient at this juncture in the cere-

mony because negative elements must leave the body through the fingertips of the left hand (Knoki-Wilson, 7/29/93). Others are of the opinion that malevolent factors are perceived to be leaving the body from the left side at this point in the ceremony only because of the patient's position in the hooghan, not because the fingertips of the left hand provide the point of departure (Walters, 8/10/93). A patient sitting on the west side of the hooghan facing east has her or his left side to the north. Therefore, the singer motions to the left as he uses his eagle feather fan to drive the malevolent factors leaving the patient's body out of the hooghan to the north. A clear passage or "way out" must be provided for the flow of personal creative powers on a day-to-day basis as well as for the expulsion of harmful phenomena in such ceremonial contexts.

As Flora Ashley explains in what follows, because of the paradigm established by the Diyin Dine'é through their emergence out of the underworlds, the need for a "way out" is universal in the Navajo world. Navajo people must provide a "way out" in all artifacts they manufacture because in the process of construction the artifact becomes both part of its creator and a conduit for creative processes and thoughts. As a result, an artisan who neglects to include a "way out" in an artistic product risks blockage of her or his thinking and creative powers.

FA We always have an opening. Because we breathe every day. And we want our artifacts to breathe with us too. And then, they also tell us that somewhere you do it unfinished, like it might have an unfinished place, in order that your whole cycle is not done yet.

MS Uh-huh.

FA That is what it means. And then when . . .

MS Hnn, OK, so is this [pointing to the break in the design on a ceremonial basket], what is called the atiin [road], is that the opening?

FA Uh-huh, this is your path of the life here. If you close it then you are just blocking up your own path. So, there is always a path in every, a passage through everything, because of the emergence. Because we believe there is always another "way out." There is always an "out" somewhere. So, when you make this basket the weave at the end [must be at the opening in the design].

MS Uh-huh.

FA They say that you are supposed to complete it in one day. The last round. So they start it real early so they can complete it before the end of the day. And if you don't do it they say it might give you blindness. Yeah, that is what they told me. (Flora Ashley, Tsaile, Arizona, 7/29/91)

The "way out" may take a variety of forms, depending on the item under construction. As Mrs. Ashley pointed out, it can be found as the distinctive break in the design of the ceremonial basket that is likened to the doorway of a hooghan. As Irene Kee notes, openings such as these are necessary because of the nature and direction of human thought. The clockwise spiral of human thought can go only forward, never backward.

IK Our minds were constructed so that our thinking would be progressive, not in reverse. It will always be forward, similar to the sun. It moves only forward, never backward. He [Talking God] told us that is how it will be done. The ending part of the basket ends here [pointing to the end of the outermost coil on a basket she is holding] and the opening part of the basket is in the same location. When your house door is locked and you are inside, you cannot exit through any other place except when you open your house door. You cannot exit through any part of the wall. It is not possible. There is always an opening. From there you are able to continue thinking and be progressive. This was made according to the Talking God.

LT Well I guess all this clockwise, the way they do it this way . . .

MS Uh-huh.

LT You have to do it that way so that it will keep your mind open. It is the way the mind goes. It has something to do with your mind.

MS Shá bik'ehgo [sunwise], is the way that your mind goes?

LT Uh-huh, and then it goes, it goes straight out and if you don't have this [pointing to the break in the design of a ceremonial basket] then you're all closed in, I guess. This [the opening in the basket design] is just like your mind is wide open. (Irene Kee and Lillie Tsosie,[30] Crystal, New Mexico, 8/3/92. The words of Mrs. Kee translated by Wesley Thomas.)

Openings can also take the form of breaks in the designs of woven textiles that provide pathways from the center to the edge, or they can be the untying of a woman's hair during childbirth to prevent complications in the delivery. As Ursula Knoki-Wilson makes clear in the following account, in each case the opening provides a pathway for human thought so that it can continually move forward to new undertakings.

MS I know that when a basket is woven they have to have that passageway from the center to the rim. And I know that in weav-

ing, women are supposed to put these two yarns all the way out, which is called by some women a "way out?"

UKW Uh-huh.

MS And what I have always wondered is, do men also have to include a way out? Like if they are a silversmith? Or is this only something women do?

UKW No, men do it too. In anything that you do that is creative, you know, like your artwork, you are supposed to put it in.

MS Anything creative?

UKW Yeah, anything you do you are supposed to leave a pathway for . . . And that is what, I guess, in a way, you know, it has to do with your body too. You know, they say if you get anything stored inside it is, that is not the natural way so you have to let them go. It is sort of like you have a spiritual pathway that is connected to your inside, to the outside too. So they say anything you do if you don't include a pathway, you are shutting yourself off from the power of spirit. So that you have to do it. (Ursula Knoki-Wilson, Chinle, Arizona, 8/10/92)

An opening is incorporated into every ceremonial sandpainting, and silversmiths must incorporate them into their work as well (Jonah Nez, 7/1/92). A "way out" is needed to ensure that all of an artist's thoughts and creativity will not be locked into any single artifact. As D. Y. Begay, a weaver from Salina Springs, Arizona, notes in regard to the contrasting line frequently woven through one corner of a rug's selvage: "It is for us [weavers]. There are times when I go somewhere or I'm with a group, and I can't think of anything but my weaving. I want to be working. My mind gets so totally taken up with weaving that it is hard to think of anything else. When both mind and body become so absorbed, a weaver may become trapped. We add the line to give us 'a way out' " (quoted in Jacka 1994:24–25).

This pathway guarantees that the artist will be able to move on to future endeavors, but the flow of a person's creativity can still become blocked if the person does not put his or her special skills to constructive purposes. As Harry Walters points out in the following passage, noteworthy skill as a potter, painter, weaver, or silversmith is considered a gift from the Holy People. If they misdirect the rewards gained by means of their gifts, artisans can develop creative blocks that render them unable to work.

HW You come to a period that you can't do anything, you come to a block. And then to get beyond that you have a ceremony done for you so that your creativity will keep on flowing. . . . You can come to a block, you know, in silversmithing. It is a gift. Being able to do that, to be a weaver, to be a fine silversmith. It's a gift and, uh, you treat it with respect from the Holy People. You know, uh, if the money that you get, you blow it on booze and things like that, you know, if you come to that, you know, you will stay that way.

MS You will get a block and then never be able to create again?

HW Yes, yes, and then, but when the money that you get, you use it to help your family, to buy food and things like that, the way it was meant to be. And that is the way that it should be. And then the block is telling you that you have been blessed with this gift and you have not acknowledged where it came from. You know that is what it is. (Harry Walters, Tsaile, Arizona, 8/10/93)

A lifelong connection exists between artifact and maker. In addition to being a conduit for an artist's creative powers, in several ways every artistic product is literally a part of its maker. Artifacts are imbued with life through the entrance of the maker's wind (Walters, 8/10/93), and the designs in artifacts are extensions of the individual artist because they are physical embodiments of the maker's thoughts (Bekis, 7/28/93). The lives of weavers and other artisans producing for the off-reservation market are further complicated by the fact that actual parts of their bodies are incorporated into their works of art in the process of manufacture. For example, as Mae Bekis explains in the following narrative, oil from a weaver's hands and her saliva and hair all inevitably become integrated into yarn as it is carded and spun, and into the textile as it is woven.

This man that is doing it [referring to a ceremony being performed in the local community] down here, he can do a sing, a Weaving Way singing too. Because you are thinking, a lot of your designs, you are thinking away. And that will affect you later on, too. Just the memory. . . . There are some ladies that can get affected by that. And they said it is just thinking away. And then you sell your mind away, your thinking. . . . By selling the rugs. And then you never know how they keep it and how they take care of it, and all that. . . . And, you know you may think, "My hand is clean," but you have the body oils on your loom, on your [rubs her fingers together as if rolling yarn between them], when you're, and even sometimes you get to [motions running yarn through her fingers and mouth], you know, fiddle with it, the yarn. . . . And you get your saliva on it, and it is sold with your saliva and it has all the

> body oil, and everything, and your thinking. Your hair, you know, gets in the way, gets caught in it. It is in it. And nobody knows where they take it and all that, so. That is why it affects them. (Mae Bekis, Tó'tsoh, Arizona, 7/28/93)

As a result of the lifelong connection between a weaver and the parts of her or his body—oils, saliva, hair—and her or his thoughts contained in the designs of the textile, weavers frequently need ceremonies to rectify problems that develop after their textiles have been sold. Because, as Mrs. Bekis cautioned, when textiles are sold to strangers, "you never know how they keep it and how they take care of it, and all that."

The situation resulting from incorporation of various parts of a weaver's body—hair, saliva, body oil, or thoughts—into handwoven products is not unique in the Navajo world. It is a single example among many of the fact that, in the Navajo world, the boundaries of the self—the awareness Navajo people have of themselves as perceptible subjects—and those of the person—the social construct based on culturally sanctioned rules, prerogatives, and agency—are extended beyond the confines of the skin by the principle of synecdoche. It dictates that every part is equivalent to the whole, so anything done to, or by means of, a part takes effect upon, or has the effect of, the whole. The principle of synecdoche, coupled with the other structural principles that govern construction of the human body, plays an important role in the attainment of full personhood in the Navajo world. As will be seen in the next chapter, children must be assisted by parents and other kin at critical points in the life cycle to foster and develop the fundamental elements of personhood—awareness, relations, agency, and obligations among human beings and other entities—which are structured on the principles of homology, complementarity, and synecdoche.

hierarchically on the basis of relative power or agency. Several previous researchers have attempted to construct such hierarchies of beings and entities in the Navajo world on the basis of relative power or agency. Kenneth Hale (1973) considered possible rankings of nouns as a means for understanding rules governing subject-object inversion in Navajo sentences. Mary Helen Creamer used Navajo rules governing subject-object inversion to delineate eight ranked groups or categories into one of which all Navajo nouns fit (1974:33–37). Gary Witherspoon went a step further and devised a scheme to represent his understanding of the way Navajo people categorize the entire world (1977:75–81). Witherspoon's scheme is based on a distinction between "animate" and "inanimate" beings derived from his fundamental categories of "static" versus "active." He uses the term "animate" to refer specifically to the capacity for self-animation, that is, the capacity for self-propelled locomotion (1977:76). The Navajo experts with whom I consulted distinguished between entities with and without the means for self-propelled locomotion, but they did not use this capacity as the means for determining degree of relative power or agency. They used numerous examples, such as jish and masks, of beings with tremendous personal power and agency who did not have the capacity for self-propelled locomotion. These examples indicate that the Navajo experts with whom I consulted define animation as the capacity to think and acquire knowledge, which equals power and results in agency, rather than simply self-propelled locomotion.

18. The size of the requisite fee depends on the exact nature and extent of the information exchanged. Fees vary in size from a few dollars for a hand trembling diagnosis (Sadie Billie, 7/12/91) to several horses and concho belts for the songs and prayers associated with silversmithing (Flora Ashley, 7/29/91). For personal convenience I chose to use cash and groceries as the fee I offered to every consultant. For further information on the necessity of such fees, see Aberle (1967).

19. Nakai Tso was a Navajo elder who lived to the age of 104. Hastiin Tso consistently and patiently assisted the development of my understanding of Navajo culture. The heritage of his knowledge of, and appreciation for, the Navajo way of life will continue for years to come through the lives of his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

Chapter 4. The Cultural Construction of the Nihookáá Dine'é

1. Gary Witherspoon has argued that the Navajo reference to the earth as *nihimá*, "our mother," is based on more than simple metaphorical extension of Navajo concepts of kinship, as most prior researchers assumed. Through the process of emergence from the underworlds, the earth literally and figuratively gave birth to all living creatures. As a mother, the earth sustains the life of her children by providing them with sustenance and protection (Witherspoon 1975:20).

2. The clans most frequently mentioned as one of the four original clans are Honághāahnii, "One-Walks-Around Clan" (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Yazzie 1971:74; Austin and Lynch 1983:3), Kinyaa'áanii, "Towering House Clan" (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Wyman 1970:458; Yazzie 1971:74; Austin and Lynch 1983:3; Aro-

nilth 1985:83), Tódích'íi'nii, "Bitter Water Clan" (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Wyman 1970:458, 634; Yazzie 1971:74; Austin and Lynch 1983:3; Aronilth 1985:83), Bit'ahnii, "Leaf Clan" (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Wyman 1970:634), Tó'áhaní, "Near The Water Clan" (Wyman 1970:458, 634; Aronilth 1985:83), and Hashtl'ishnii, "Mud Clan" (Matthews 1994 [1897]:148; Wyman 1970:458, 634; Yazzie 1971:74; Austin and Lynch 1983:3; Aronilth 1985:83).

3. This corroboration is not surprising, since Bailey participated in the influential Ramah project spearheaded by Kluckhohn, a collaborative project involving people from numerous disciplines. Fieldworkers on the project had their notes indexed and duplicated for use by other members of the research team, and they allowed each other to quote from their field notes.

4. Consider, for example, findings from the Bimin-Kuskusmin (Poole 1981) and Sabarl (Battaglia 1990). In the Bimin-Kuskusmin world, male and female substances contribute to complementary aspects of the child's anatomy. Semen builds strong, internal, and hard parts of the body such as teeth, nails, bones, liver, and lungs. Female fertile fluids build weak, external, and soft body parts such as feces, saliva, perspiration, flesh, stomach, and skin (Poole 1981:126). Poole's analysis reveals that the qualities associated with these parts of the body—soft, weak, and external versus hard, strong, and internal—correspond to base metaphors that permeate all aspects of Bimin-Kuskusmin society. Sabarl people believe that a child is conceived when "white blood" (father's blood) and "red blood" (mother's blood) mix in the mother's womb during sexual intercourse (Battaglia 1990:38). After conception, the white and red bloods separate and subsequently form the white parts of the child's body, such as the skeleton, and the red parts, such as the flesh and organs, respectively (Battaglia 1990:38–39). An elaborate system for classification of all foods and liquids derives from these colors in the Sabarl world. Red is associated with dry, lean, and cool; white is associated with greasy, sweet, and hot. A Sabarl body functions properly only when internal balance is maintained through controlled ingestion of these respective elements (Battaglia 1990:45–49).

5. This information does not account for the formation of a nádleehé. I have been given no understanding of how, or whether, a nádleehé is formed in the womb. The subject of nádleehé in the Navajo world was pursued by Carolyn Epple in her doctoral dissertation research (1994) and is currently under investigation from a Navajo point of view by Wesley Thomas.

6. Each of the consultants I asked about this indicated that attachment of the placenta to the right indicated female, and attachment to the left, male. Bailey noted, however, that although her consultants were unanimous that the location of the placenta was related to the sex of the child, she found them equally divided over which position, left or right, indicated male or female (1950:68).

7. These bodily fluids appear to have been the source of confusion on the part of prior researchers. These investigators failed to acknowledge that the Navajo model, unlike the Western biomedical model, holds that the act of conception is distinct from the development of the resulting fetus in the womb. Further, despite the fact that nearly all accounts in Navajo oral history refer specifically to the joining of male and female

"waters," previous researchers did not inquire into the nature of these "waters." Instead, they correlated them with the reproductive fluids with which they were most familiar—semen and menstrual blood. This clearly represents a case of superimposition of the Western biomedical theory of human conception onto the Navajo reality. Bailey explicitly stated that "accurate knowledge of the structure and function of the reproductive organs is not possessed by any of the Navahos interviewed for this study. Explanations given are vague and incomplete" (1950:18). Her choice of the terms "accurate," "vague," and "incomplete" suggests that she considered the Western biomedical model to be "accurate," "precise," and "complete"—in other words, universal. It appears that on the basis of this belief, she attempted to fit the information given by Navajo consultants into the biomedical model with which she was familiar, rather than attempting to elucidate the Navajo model of conception. Since the only fluids essential to conception in the biomedical model are semen and blood, she appears to have concluded that these were the fluids referred to by her Navajo consultants.

8. The wedding ceremony is well documented in the literature dating from the first decade of the twentieth century to the present. For accounts from the first half of the twentieth century, see Franciscan Fathers (1910:446–49), Fishler (1954:205–7), Reichard (1928:139–41), Stewart (1938:25), and Altman (1946:159–64). For information on a contemporary wedding ceremony, see Roessel (1993a:38–45).

9. In contrast to Denny (8/11/93, 10/8/93) and Aronilth (1990:32), who consider this guidance to come from the specific personages mentioned here, McNeley cited Holy Winds as the influencing forces (1981:32–35). He noted that wind from each cardinal point is believed to influence individual humans on the earth's surface. The White Wind in the east "directs our life," the Blue Wind in the south is "our power of movement," the Yellow Wind in the west is "our thinking," and the Black Wind in the north directs "our plans." Although these winds have individual dominions, all four are different aspects of "a single Wind that suffuses all living things" (McNeley 1981:32).

10. Further explication of the Navajo descent system can be found in Witherspoon (1975:37–48; 1983:524–35).

11. According to McNeley's consultants, these influences come through winds that combine with the male and female bodily fluids at conception. "From the man's bodily fluid is the Wind by which he lived and from the woman's is one Wind, too, by which she lived. So there are really two" ("CM," quoted in McNeley 1981:23). By this account, winds from each of the four directions must be placed within the fetus for proper growth and development to occur. Therefore, they come as pairs. One pair of winds is brought in the mother's fluids, and the other pair in the father's fluids (McNeley 1981:33).

12. McNeley attributes such guidance to Holy People rather than to clan "bloods." According to his account, a pair of teaching Holy People identified with each of the cardinal points is in charge of instructing Nihookáá Dine'é in the foundational principles of Navajo education and philosophy (McNeley 1993). McNeley, Walters, and Denny correlate identical principles with cardinal directions. The association is as follows: *nitsáhákees* (east), *nahat'á* (south), *'iiná* (west), and *sihasin* (north) (McNeley 1993; Walters, 8/12/93; Denny, 10/8/93).

13. The constitution of specific parts of the human body is exemplified in the types

of ntł'iz inserted into figurines during the Remaking ceremony (Haile 1947; Kelly, Lang, and Walters 1972) and in the deer costume worn by hunters using the Stalking Way method (Hill 1938:123–24).

14. In the Navajo language, body parts and bodily substances fall into the Dependent class of nouns (Young and Morgan 1987:9). As a result, the terms used to refer to them must consist of a possessive pronominal prefix (such as *'a-*) and a stem (such as *-tsiighá, -tsoo'*, or *-gáál*). *'A-*, which literally means "someone's" or "something's," is used when the person from whom the body part or bodily substance originated is unknown or unspecified. For ease of translation, this form of possessive pronominal prefix is glossed in English as "the."

15. Wesley Thomas of Mariano Lake, New Mexico, is, at the time of this writing, a graduate student in sociocultural anthropology at the University of Washington. His areas of interest are gender and sexuality, especially the special roles played by members of the alternative genders in traditional Navajo society.

16. Haile also notes that according to his consultant, *'agáál*, "the moving power," found at each of the joints is constructed of white shell (1947:9).

17. This information is taken from an unpublished transcription of an interview Curly Mustache gave to Jones Van Winkle at Navajo Community College in 1970. During his life, Hastiin Mustache practiced as a singer and served as a tribal councilman. An edited version of his account is available in Roessel (1981:43–50).

18. A stillborn child does not require the same type of funeral or mourning behavior on the part of relatives as a child who dies after having breathed and cried. This practice is well documented in the literature (see, for example, Franciscan Fathers 1910:451; Wyman, Hill, and Osanai 1942:17; Brugge 1978:309–28; Shepardson 1978:385–86; Ward 1980:17–21).

19. For further information on the effects different types of winds can have on individual characteristics and habits, see McNeley (1981:32–49).

20. Flora Ashley of Shonto, Arizona, is a wife, mother, and grandmother who teaches Navajo language and culture at the boarding school in Shonto.

21. Sunny Dooley is a former Miss Navajo from Vanderwagen, New Mexico, who has retained the role of ambassador for Navajo culture to the non-Navajo world through storytelling. She performs traditional Navajo stories on and off the reservation, but her primary commitment is teaching traditional stories to Navajo children who have been raised without this important educational resource in their homes.

22. Ruth Roessel is a mother, grandmother, and educator from Round Rock, Arizona, who has taught at all grade levels, including at Navajo Community College in Tsaile, Arizona. She is best known for her edited collection of narratives on the Long Walk (1973) and her book *Women in Navajo Society* (1981).

23. Jean Jones of Rock Point, Arizona, is a mother and grandmother who teaches sash weaving at the Rock Point Community School in Rock Point, Arizona.

24. This holds true for male and female but not for nádleehé. Nádleehé have a unique capacity for simultaneously filling male and female roles.

25. Annie Kahn of Lukachukai, Arizona, is a Navajo elder and herbalist. For more information on her life and work, see Perrone, Stockel, and Krueger (1989:28–44).

26. Each of these terms consists of a possessive pronominal prefix (*bi-*) and a stem (*-ká'* or *-a'áád*, respectively). Since Navajo pronouns are not gendered, this form of possessive pronominal prefix literally means "his, her, its, or theirs." The person to whom the possessive pronoun applies would be understood in context, but to avoid confusion, these terms are glossed in English as "its male or female sexual partner" rather than as "his, her, or their male or female sexual partner." Because of this choice of terminology, I initially wondered whether the Navajo people with whom I consulted were referring to a form of dual sexuality in the physical composition of the body. The characteristics and qualities associated with each side of the body make it clear, however, that this distinction does not refer to sexuality.

27. For example, Washington Matthews was the first anthropologist to note the Navajo distinction between that which is coarser, rougher, and more violent, called *bikǫ'*, or male, and that which is finer, weaker, and gentler, called *ba'áád*, or female (1902:60). Reichard observed that in ceremonial contexts these terms were employed to refer to the concepts of maleness, which included potency, mobility, bigness, energy, and dominance, and femaleness, which included generative capacity, passive power, endurance, smallness, and compliance (1950:176).

28. The complementary concepts są'ah naagháí and bik'eh hózhǫ́ permeate all levels of Navajo reality, structuring Navajo ideas of maleness and femaleness, the human body, reproduction, and personhood. The male and female components of the primordial complementary pair, Są'ah Naagháí and Bik'eh Hózhǫ́, respectively, constitute the fundamental life-giving forces in the Navajo universe. Mother Earth and Father Sky, as male and female counterparts, form a homologue to this pair. A man and a woman, as husband and wife, form a homologue as well. As parts of a whole—a couple—the husband is są'ah naagháí and the wife is bik'eh hózhǫ́. On another level, the human body, too, constitutes a homologue of this primordial pairing; the left side is są'ah naagháí and the right is bik'eh hózhǫ́. The primordial pair also plays a critical role in heterosexual reproduction, the means by which contemporary Nihookáá Dine'é reproduce. The reproductive fluids needed for human conception form another homologue of this pair; semen is są'ah naagháí and, in combination, *tó ał'tahnáschíín* and *tó biyáázh* are bik'eh hózhǫ́.

29. Photographs and clothing may be used in place of persons in a variety of other contexts as well. For example, when a family is holding a Blessing Way ceremony, photographs of family members who cannot attend are placed in the ceremonial basket with the jish (Thomas, 1/21/95). Photos are also frequently used for daily blessings. Mae Bekis told me that when her children are away from home, she and her husband use their photographs to include them in the benefits of the morning blessing (Bekis, 7/28/93). I was also told of an ill man's shoes being taken to a diagnostician by his mother when he was unable to visit the practitioner personally (Lynch, 7/31/92).

30. Lillie Tsosie is the eldest daughter of Irene Kee of Crystal, New Mexico. She is a mother and grandmother who works at the boarding school in Crystal, New Mexico.

Chapter 5. Becoming a Navajo

1. Elsewhere, the long-term influences that contact between detached parts of the body (hair, skin cells, nail clippings) or bodily substances (blood, urine, feces)