

**CONTINUATION OF TRADITION IN
NAVAJO SOCIETY**

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**CONTINUATION OF TRADITION IN
NAVAJO SOCIETY**

CHIEN CHIAO, Ph. D.

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To
John M. Roberts

PREFACE

Basically, this book derives from my doctoral dissertation (Chiao 1969), a comparative study of how ceremonialism is continued in Navajo society and Confucianism in Chinese culture. For the portion dealing with the Navajo, I conducted seven-months fieldwork in 1965 (from April to November) in New Mexico and Arizona. In the belief that this fieldwork produced unique data, I decided to take out the Navajo part from my dissertation and rewrite as a separate monograph. (The Chinese part, on the other hand, was mainly based on library research. I hope in the near future I can do some fieldwork for it, and produce a separate monograph).

The continuation of tradition or culture is a central issue in cultural anthropology. However, most of the previous anthropological work on this subject is concerned with the unstructured activities a child engages in to acquire his culture, and has neglected the planned and systematic activities that an individual is engaged in during his lifetime to further his culture. It is in this second area—the concern with the total process of culture-continuation—that my own interest lies. My ambition is to construct models, based on fieldwork, of the processes by which a tradition or culture is continued in societies at different levels of social and economic development. This book, as dealing with a preliterate and simple society, is a first attempt at such a model.

The original fieldwork was supported by the PHS Research Grant MH 08161-03 which was granted to Professor John M. Roberts at Cornell University for his "Models in Culture" project, by the National Institute of Mental Health. Throughout the fieldwork, many people offered me assistance. I should particularly like to mention some of them here: Dr. Benjamin N. Colby, then at the Division of Research, Museum of New Mexico, and his staff, who facilitated my use of the material of the Museum and offered other kinds of assistance during my stay in Santa Fe, New Mexico; Mrs. Charlotte Johnson Frisbie, who provided me with valuable information concerning interpreters and informants, as did Mr. David M. Brugge: both generously offered me assistance and hospitality during my stay in the Southwest; the late Mr. Albert George Sandoval, known as "Chic," who interpreted for me during most of my fieldwork in the Navajo reservation: his abundant knowledge of Navajo ceremonialism was very helpful. I am especially grateful to the personnel of the Navajo Tribal Council, Navajo Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the schools of the Area Office for their aid and coöperation. To my regret, their names are too numerous to mention individually. In the preparation of this manuscript, Mrs. Frisbie, Mr. Brugge and Dr. David P. McAllester have all provided me with valuable data and suggestions. Mr. Eugene Eoyang read some parts of this manuscript and made some editorial improvements.

My special gratitude is to Professor John M. Roberts who was the chairman of my doctoral committee at Cornell University and sponsor of the fieldwork on which this book is based. I first knew him as a stimulating teacher at Cornell, and we have since

become very close friends. I am often astounded at the profound understanding, trust and friendship possible between two persons of completely different cultural backgrounds. I dedicate this book to him not only in recognition of his generous support, but also as a tribute to a rare friendship that I deeply cherish.

C. C.

Bloomington, Indiana, 1970

CONTENTS

Preface.....	vii
List of Tables	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter	
I. The Navajo Tribe and Its Tradition.....	10
The Navajo Tribe.....	10
The Ceremonial Tradition.....	13
II. Transmission.....	17
Decision to Learn.....	18
Age to Begin	24
Kinship Tie between the Teacher and the Student	26
Procedure of Learning	30
Becoming a Singer.....	33
Paying the Teacher.....	34
Teacher-Student Relationship	35
Learning More Ceremony.....	36
Individual Variation	37
III. Dispensation	44
The Dispensator	44
The Recipient.....	48
The Procedure of Dispensation	52
Observation of a Blessing Way Ceremony	55
IV. Conceptualization	62

Personal Possession of Tradition	62
Qualification for Various Rôles	69
Chinese Case.....	69
Navajo Case	74
V. Continuity and Discontinuity.....	80
Involvement in Ceremonialism.....	81
Attitude towards Ceremonialism.....	82
Pattern of Cognition concerning Ceremonialism ..	88
Prospect	91
References.....	95
Appendix	98
I. Questions for Interviewing Singers	98
II. Questions Asked in the Survey of Navajo Students...	101

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Actual and Ideal Age to Start Learning the Ceremony...	25
2. The Teacher's Relations to the Students.....	27
3. The Number of Years to Complete the Learning of a Ceremony.....	32
4. Personal Control of Ceremonies	38
5. Navajo Singers as Recipients of Ceremonialism	50
6. Involvement of Navajo Students in Ceremonialism (Summary)	82
7. Attitudes of Navajo Students towards Ceremonialism (Summary)	83
8. Belief of Navajo Students Concerning their Origin (Summary)	85
9. Cognitive Pattern of Navajo Students Concerning Ceremonialism	89

INTRODUCTION

In this book, I ask a basic question: "How is tradition—in the context of Navajo culture—continued from generation to generation?" The term "tradition" used in this book refers to the coherent, self-contained, and easily distinguishable part of a culture. Navajo ceremonialism, the particular tradition that I will be concerned with, is a typical instance of "tradition" in this sense.

A culture consists of many traditions: Lowie (1934: 3) defines culture as "the whole of social tradition." Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 5) thinks that "in complex modern societies there are a great number of separate cultural traditions. By one a person may learn to be a doctor or surgeon; by another he may learn to be an engineer or an architect." With certain qualifications, a study of the transmission of tradition is also a study of the transmission of culture. I prefer the term "tradition" to the more inclusive term culture for this research, because I find the former more definable, hence more workable.

Culture or tradition is preserved by both individuals and artifacts, and in literate societies, by written records as well. However, no culture or tradition can exist, or continue to function without individuals. Kroeber (1948: 254) has written:

A religion, say Roman Catholicism or Mohammedanism, is of course a piece of culture, and a typical piece or sample. Obviously Catholicism exists only insofar as there are Catholics; that is, when and where there are human individuals who have acquired the faith.

This book will be primarily an attempt to describe and analyze the activities of individuals engaged in furthering a tradition.

Three major processes by which individuals continue the tradition are recognized. The first and second process are *transmission* and *dispensation*. Each contains a polarity of two specific rôles. In the process of transmission, the polarity is between teaching and learning, between the rôle of teacher and the rôle of student. In the process of dispensation, the polarity is between dispensing and receiving, between the rôle of dispensator and the rôle of recipient. The process of transmission perpetuates a tradition within a society while the process of dispensation avails the society of the benefits of tradition. Both are necessary to the continuation of tradition. Implicit in the process of transmission and dispensation in every culture is a set of beliefs and concepts concerning both the personal possession of tradition and the individual's qualification for performing various rôles—teacher, student, dispensator, and recipient—in continuing the tradition. This set of beliefs and concepts constitutes the third process and will be referred to as *conceptualization*. This book is aimed at constructing a model of the operation of these three processes through a full description of how the ceremonial tradition is transmitted, dispensed and conceptualized in Navajo society. There will be a separate chapter for each of the three processes: Chapter II for transmission, Chapter III for dispensation and Chapter IV for conceptualization.

This book deals mainly with the *processes* by which tradition is continued; it does *not* concern the content and function of the tradition. However, to provide some background for the discus-

sion on the *processes*, a brief description of some general features of Navajo society as well as its ceremonial traditions will be furnished and will constitute the first chapter. Though the analysis and description of the process is my major concern, the rapid changes that Navajo culture is presently undergoing oblige me to make an assessment of the future of Navajo ceremonialism. This assessment constitutes the final chapter of this book.

Traditionally, anthropologists spell "Navajo" as "Navaho." However, on April 15, 1969, the Advisory Committee of the Navajo Tribal Council proposed a resolution which states: "The Treaty of 1868 recognized the Navajo People as a sovereign nation and spelled Navajo with a j. Therefore, the Advisory Committee directs and urges that all use the name Navajo and use the spelling j not h." This resolution was accepted by the American Anthropological Association.⁽¹⁾ This book therefore will use "Navajo" consistently except in citations carrying the h form.

* * * *

The data presented here on the continuation-process of ceremonialism among the Navajo were mainly collected in the fieldwork conducted in 1965 under the supervision of Professor John M. Roberts of Cornell University. To prepare for this fieldwork, Professor Roberts and I made a short trip to the Southwest in October, 1964. We visited an off-reservation Navajo settlement in Ramah, New Mexico. Here we found Professor

(1) See Newsletter of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 10, No. 8, 1969. p. 1.

Roberts's former informant, JC,⁽¹⁾ who had also worked for Clyde Kluckhohn and other anthropologists. He agreed to work for me when we came to the field the following spring.

On April 4, 1965, Professor Roberts and I left Ithaca, and after six days' drive, we arrived at Santa Fe, New Mexico, on April 9. From April 10 to May 25, I worked on the field notes of Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn, John M. Roberts, and other anthropologists at the Museum of New Mexico. On May 26, I moved to Ramah, New Mexico, while Professor Roberts stayed in Santa Fe to continue his research there. I stayed in Ramah for thirteen days and, as arranged previously, I interviewed JC about the Blessing Way ceremony, since he was himself a Blessing Way singer.

On June 9, I left Ramah and entered the Navajo reservation. I first stayed in Ganado, Arizona, trying to find an experienced interpreter who lived on the reservation. Fortunately, at last, Albert George Sandoval, known as "Chic," agreed to work for me. Chic was born in 1892 and had worked for Father Berard Haile, Edward Sapir, and many other anthropologists and was probably the most knowledgeable interpreter on the reservation. By the time I met him, he had already passed his seventy-third birthday; yet he was still healthy, intelligent, and had a good sense of humor. However, the Navajo Times of April 4, 1968, sadly reported that he had passed away on April 1, 1968.

To facilitate my work, I moved in with Chic in his Cabin in Lukachukai, Arizona. With Chic as my interpreter, I continued

(1) Since to provide non-Navajos with information concerning the ceremony is still not considered the most loyal thing to do by Navajos, I decided to withhold all my informants' names and identify them only with two capital letters.

to inquire about the Blessing Way, this time with a singer in Lukachukai, AL. Due to AL's unusually liberal attitude concerning releasing information to a stranger, I was able to learn a lot of the Blessing Way ceremony and recorded a good number of Blessing Way songs. In addition, I had a chance to participate in a Blessing Way ceremony (a description of this ceremony is included in Chapter III) held in Tsaile, Arizona (about sixteen miles east of Lukachukai). Besides Blessing way, I also learned some of the Enemy Way Ceremony from DB of Many Farms, Arizona. The study of these two ceremonies made me familiar with the content of Navajo ceremonialism and provided me with the needed background for the study of the continuation-process of ceremonialism in the Navajo.

Based on what I learned from JC, AL, and DB, I prepared three sets of questions (see Appendix I) concerning the three major process—transmission, dispensation, and conceptualization—in continuing ceremonialism among the Navajo. From August 10, with Chic as my guide and interpreter, I started to look for singers to interview with the questions I had prepared. From that time until October 14, Chic and I traveled all over the reservation while stationed in Lukachukai, an experience that was indeed frustrating. Sometimes we traveled all day and drove one or two hundred miles without finding a single singer to interview. Even when we found one, he might still refuse to be interviewed. Despite these obstacles, we still managed to interview two female singers and nineteen male singers (including AL and DB). These informants included almost all the singers that Chic knew on the reservation. The residence and age of these twenty-one singers, together with the ceremonies they specialized

in, are listed in Table 4. All singers are identified with two capital letters.

Depending on the individual singer, each interview took from two to four hours. Before I started the interview, I always explained to my informants the purpose of my interview and allowed enough time to let him ask questions about myself. Navajos, especially in the places far removed from the highway, are very suspicious of outsiders. Being an Oriental did not lessen their suspicion. Some Navajos thought of me as a spy from the "other side of the world." (This is actually not an uncommon response of Navajos toward strangers; many anthropologists, Caucasoid and non-Caucasoid, were designated as "spies" when they first entered the reservation.) It often took some time to dispel their suspicions toward me. Once they were convinced that I meant them no harm, they were generally fairly receptive to my questions.

To each of my informants, I explained every one of my questions in detail and waited patiently for his answer. Sometimes, I asked the same question in several different ways to make sure that he understood the question correctly and gave the appropriate answer. The answers given by my twenty-one informants to the questions (listed in Appendix I) constitute the major portion of the discussion on the transmission, dispensation, and conceptualization processes in continuing tradition included in Chapters II, III, and IV, respectively.

After I had interviewed virtually all the singers on the reservation that Chic knew, I turned my attention to Navajo youth. I wanted to have a general idea about their involvement in, their attitudes toward, and their awareness or cognition of

ceremonialism so that I could make an assessment of Navajo ceremonialism at present and in the foreseeable future. I decided to make a survey and selected as subjects Navajo students of elementary and high schools. Fortunately, Mr. Glenn R. Landbloom, then the General Superintendent of the Navajo Agency (now Navajo Area Office) of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, agreed to coöperate. He gave me permission to survey Navajo students of the schools under the management of his agency and let me carry a letter from him which instructed the personnel of the schools to assist me in my survey.

I prepared another set of questions for this survey (see Appendix II). I considered what approach I should adopt for this survey—whether I should give my questions to the whole class and ask them to indicate their choice of answers by raising their hands or whether I should interview each student privately. I tried both techniques.

I tried the first technique in four classes—three fifth-grade classes with enrollments of sixteen, nineteen, and twenty students respectively, and one seventh-grade class with an enrollment of nineteen students—at the BIA Boarding School in Lukachukai. The experiments proved this technique not workable. The Navajo children were afraid to be different,—especially in public. The answers most of the students gave tended to be duplicates of those given by a few unusually responsive classmates.

Then I tried the second technique. I interviewed ten fourth-grade students at the BIA Boarding School in Rock Point, Arizona. This was not a success, either. When the young Navajo student was brought in by his teacher and left alone with me,

he was often frightened and did not know how to answer my questions.

Finally, I devised a compromise technique which I tried out at the BIA Boarding School in Greaswood, Arizona. With the permission and coöperation of the school authorities, I went to an eighth-grade class, gave them a brief introduction about China, myself, and my project. Then I waited in a room assigned to me temporarily. The teacher of this class sent me students in small groups of three or four. I asked them one question at a time, explained it carefully, and allowed them enough time to think. Then I asked each of the individual to give me his answer. They were allowed to discuss my questions among themselves if they wished; they were also encouraged to ask me any questions about my project, myself, or China. The whole interview was like an informal small group discussion. I found this technique was fairly satisfactory, since in small groups and in an informal situation, students generally became very responsive to my interview. I used this technique throughout my survey.

Meanwhile, through the coöperation of the Fort Defiance (in Arizona) and the Crown Point (in New Mexico) Subagency (now an agency by itself), I arranged for interviews in six BIA schools (two in Arizona—Greaswood and Dilcon; four in New Mexico—Tohachi, Chuska, Crown Point, and Fort Wingate) and three BIA dormitories (two in Arizona—Winslow and Holbrook; one in New Mexico—Gallup). On October 15, 1965, I moved to St. Michaels, Arizona, to be closer to those schools and dormitories.

From October 26 to November 14 (the day I left the reservation for Ithaca), I interviewed 284 students in the six BIA schools and the three BIA dormitories mentioned above using small group discussions. The answers given by these 284 Navajo students to my questions, listed in Appendix II, are the basis of my assessment of continuity of ceremonialism in the Navajo society at present and in the foreseeable future.

I

THE NAVAJO TRIBE AND ITS TRADITION

To provide some background for our discussion of the continuation-processes, we are going to briefly describe both the Navajo tribe and its ceremonial tradition. The Navajo tribe is probably the best-documented ethnic group among North American Indians. Therefore, a short description of its history and society is all that is needed for introduction.

THE NAVAJO TRIBE

The Navajo Indians speak the Apachean language, which belongs to the Athapascan Family. Apacheans migrated from the northern part of North America to the Southwest. The date of their arrival in the Southwest is still debatable. Hoijer (1956: 232), on the basis of the linguistic data, suggests that date is between 1000 and 1400 A. D. An identifiable Navajo hogan-ruin dates from A. D. 1541 (Hall 1944: 100). Myth materials describe Navajos as a wandering band of people who lived on small animals and the seeds of wild plants (Matthews 1897: 141). The contact with the more advanced Pueblo peoples in the Southwest enriched Navajo culture. Navajos absorbed many Pueblo traits, including dry farming, elaborated ceremonies, and, possibly, the matrilineal clan system.

Spaniards arrived in the Southwest in 1539. Between then and 1848, Navajos acquired horses and livestock first from the

Spaniards and later from Mexicans. They also learned techniques of horse-riding, sheepherding, and weaving, which greatly changed their economy.

In 1846, the United States assumed political authority over New Mexico and Arizona. In 1863, after two decades of conflict between the United States and the Navajos, Colonel Kit Carson pushed a ruthless campaign against the Navajos. After two years of guerrilla war, some 8,500 Navajos (Shepardson 1963: 11) surrendered. They were driven to and confined at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. In 1868, they were released after twelve Navajo leaders signed a treaty with General W. T. Sherman. In the treaty, the United States agreed to establish a reservation, to erect an agency building, a warehouse, a carpenter-shop and a blacksmith-shop, a schoolhouse, and a chapel, and to purchase 15,000 sheep and goats as well as 500 beef cattle for the Navajos (*ibid.*). Navajos agreed to stop hostile actions against the whites and to send their children to school. Since the treaty was signed, both the Navajo population and the reservation have expanded steadily. The population was slightly under 10,000 in 1870, about 17,000 in 1890, over 25,000 in 1910, nearly 39,000 in 1930, nearly 68,000 in 1950, and over 90,000 in 1961 (Aberle 1966: 30). Today the Navajo Tribe is the largest in the U. S. and its reservation the biggest. The reservation encompasses about 24,000 square miles of rugged, semi-arid territory in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah (Landbloom 1961: v).

For the Navajos, livestock (sheep, goats, and horses) was formerly the main source of income and the basis of wealth and prestige. However, after the U. S. Government instituted the livestock-reduction program in 1933 (because of the serious

overgrazing problem), the livestock was reduced to one-half by 1940, and its importance in Navajo economy has declined steadily. Farming is concentrated in a number of places in the reservation: Shiprock, Fruitland, Dinnehotso, Many Farms, and Canyon de Chelley. Corn, beans, squash, and potatoes are the principal crops. Weaving and silversmithing are two crafts for which the Navajos are nationally known; however, they do not play an important part in the Navajo economy. Wage work, on the other hand, became dominant in Navajo economy since the livestock reduction became instituted. According to Shepardson (1963: 24), wages yielded 34 percent of the total Navajo earned income in 1936, 30 percent in 1940, and 63.2 percent in 1958. In 1958, 83.8 percent of the total income was earned income.

At present, the Navajos are ruled by a dual political authority. One is the Bureau of Indian Affairs (abbreviated as BIA), which is a branch of the U.S. Department of Interior. The Navajo Area Office of BIA is located at Window Rock, Arizona. The Area Office controls law-and-order enforcement, manages schools, forestry, and livestock, and also provides services to Navajos. Lack of communication and mutual distrust are characteristic of the relationship between the BIA and the Navajos. Clergymen, both Catholic and Protestant, often function as intermediaries between them. Another authority is the Tribal Council, which has seventy-four elected members and is also located in Window Rock. In recent years, both the authority and the activities of the Tribal Council have shown rapid expansion. Inevitably, conflicts have occurred with increasing frequency between the BIA and the Tribal Council. Under the dual authority, there are about ninety-six chapters which directly

handle the community affairs. Each chapter has an elected president, vice-president, and secretary.

According to Aberle (1966: 43-44), the largest kingroup among Navajos is the phratry, which consists of a number of matrilineal clans and is a unit of hospitality, exogamy, and aid. Under the phratry there is the clan, which is also a unit of exogamy, hospitality, and aid. The phratry does not have a name, but the clan does. The most active kin group is the local clan element, which Aberle (1966: 44) defines as the group of "local matrilineal clansmen who actually coöperated and assisted one another in a day-to-day and year-to-year basis."

Most Navajos on the reservation live either in a sixsided log house known as a *hogan* or in a wooden cabin. Matrilocal residence is favored but neolocal and patrilocal residence are also common. Polygyny is forbidden by tribal law but traditionally is acceptable. According to the estimate of Aberle (1961: 188), thirty-six percent of Navajo *individuals* reside in nuclear families, forty-four percent in matrilocal, extended families, seven percent is in patrilocal, extended families, and thirteen percent in mixed, extended families.

THE CEREMONIAL TRADITION

It is generally agreed among anthropologists that the highly elaborated ceremonial tradition of the Navajos resulted from their contacts with Pueblos. Before such contacts, the Navajos had probably only shamanistic and somewhat simpler rites, such as hand trembling, star gazing, and listening, the major function of which was divination. These simpler rites of divination did not die out after the more complex ceremonies were introduced and

developed in the Navajo culture. Rather, these two systems coexisted and complemented each other through ages, while retaining their respective characteristics. Almost all Navajo ceremonies, except for the Blessing Way, are for healing. To know how to heal, one has to know also the causes of disease. With their traditional skills of divination, hand tremblers, star gazers and listeners can diagnose patients for those who practice healing ceremonies. Among the Navajo, healers (singers) and diagnosticians (hand tremblers, star gazers and listeners) today work side-by-side. Though a person can be skilled in both, healing and diagnosis are, for the most part, maintained as two clearly separate professions. They have different ways of recruiting individuals for various professional rôles and of transmitting and dispensing knowledge (see Chapter II). In other words, the complex ceremonies of healing and the simpler rites of divination in Navajo culture, while they have tended to coalesce after many generations, are still distinct and separable entities in the continuation-processes. In this study of the continuation-processes, we will limit ourselves to the ceremonies of healing (including Blessing Way). The term ceremonialism, as it is used in this book, therefore refers only to beliefs and practices relating to such ceremonies.

Wyman and Kluckhohn counted fifty-eight distinct Navajo ceremonies in their book, *Navaho Classification of Their Song Ceremonial* (1938: 36). This figure is, as they admitted, misleading:

...if we subtract the sixteen duplications due to male, female, and other branches of the same ceremonial and the seven

duplications arising out of the fact that in some cases a ceremonial of one name is conducted according to more than one Ritual, we are left with but thirty-five absolutely distinct names for ceremonials. (*Ibid.*)

To date, the thirty-five ceremonies included in the classification of Wyman and Kluckhohn (1938: 5-7) constitute the most comprehensive list. The ceremonies my informants specialized in (see Table 4) include twenty-six identifiable kinds: Bead Way, Beauty Way, Big Star Way, Blessing Way, Chiricahua Wind Way, Coyote Way, Eagle Catching Way, Enemy Way, Evil Way, Game Way, Ghost Way, Flint Way, Hail Way, Life Way, Monster Way, Mountain Surface Way, Mountain Top Way, Navajo Wind Way, Night Chant, Plume Way, Red Ant Way, Shooting Way, War Ceremony, Water Chant, Water Way, and Wild Game Way. Some of these ceremonies may have several versions, and each version may be further subdivided. For example, Shooting Way has two versions: Shooting Way Holy Way and Shooting Way Ghost Way. Each version has two further variants: male and female branches.

The ceremonies vary in the length of performance. Since the main parts of the ceremony are usually conducted at night, Navajos count the length of a ceremony according to the number of nights it takes. The normal length of a ceremony varies from two nights (Blessing way, Chiricahua Wind Way, among others) to nine nights (e.g., Night Chant and Shooting Way). The same ceremony may be shortened or stretched according to the needs of the recipient. For example, Blessing Way can be performed in from two to five nights; Shooting Way can be performed in from one to nine nights.

Every major ceremony consists of a series of short ritualistic acts, such as bathing, prayersticks offering, and dry-painting. A comprehensive discussion of these acts can be found in Kluckhohn and Wyman's *An Introduction to Navaho Chant Practice* (1940: 57-107) and Reichard's *Navaho Religion* (1950: 301-353). There is no need to repeat them here.

In order to distinguish the ritualistic acts from the whole ceremony, we are going to adopt the terminology of Washington Matthews (1902: 3); we will use the noun *ceremony* and the adjective *ceremonial* when speaking of the whole major ceremony and the noun *rite* and the adjective *ritual* when speaking of the various ritualistic acts which form the major ceremony. The main practitioner of the ceremony is referred to as the "singer" or the "medicine man" by the Navajos. While both terms are commonly used by the residents of the Southwest, white and Indian, anthropological literature seems to use the term "singer" more often. In this book, I decided to use the term "singer"; the term "medicine man" will be used as its synonym. Washington Matthews introduced the words "chant" and "chanter," which have been adopted by some students of the Navajo but are infrequently used in ordinary language.

II

TRANSMISSION

As mentioned before, the polarity in the transmission process is between teaching and learning with the rôle of the teacher at one end and the rôle of the student at another. In this chapter, we will discuss some basic problems concerning teaching, learning, the teacher and the student of Navajo ceremonialism. These problems are conveniently grouped under the following subject:

(1) Decision to learn: How much freedom does an individual have in making the decision to learn ceremonies? What are the main motivations for learning ceremonies? How is the decision made?

(2) Age to begin: At what age do Navajos actually start to learn ceremonies? What age do they think is the best to begin such learning?

(3) Kinship tie between the teacher and the student: Whom does a prospective student ask to be his teacher of the ceremony? Relative or non-relative? If relative, what kind?

(4) Procedure of learning: What are the preparation and techniques for learning a ceremony? Where does the instruction take place? How long does it take to complete the learning of a major ceremony?

(5) Becoming a singer: How does a prospective singer obtain his ceremonial equipment necessary for practice? What ceremony does he have to have over himself before he starts

to practice? How can he get himself recognized as a singer by the society?

(6) Paying the teacher: How does a student pay his teacher? What does the payment consist of?

(7) Teacher-student relationship: What are the general characteristics of relationship between the teacher and the student? What obligations do they have towards each other?

(8) Learning more ceremonies: Does an established singer continue to learn more about the ceremony in which he specializes? Does he learn some other ceremonies? How many ceremonies can he master in his lifetime?

(9) Individual variation: Should the student follow exactly what his teacher taught him? Is there any room for individual variation?

DECISION TO LEARN

The Navajo generally enjoys a wide freedom in his choice of career, especially when he decides to learn the ceremonies and become a singer. Though he may be under some kind of pressure from his family and relatives, or pursued by some of his senior kinsmen who happen to be singers, the decision to become a singer is usually still made independently, rationally, and willingly, and he assumes the main responsibility of carrying out his decision. The following two cases quoted from my field notes are typical. LG is a popular singer in Round Rock, Arizona. In describing to me how he decided to learn ceremonialism, he said: "I had been doing manual labor work until I was past thirty. I had had a lot of hardships in earning a living. One day, my elder cousin advised me to learn ceremonies.

He said to me: 'If you learn the ceremony, it will be an everlasting means of living. Even when you get old, people will still feed you and take good care of you.' After I thought for awhile, I took his advice". LG learned Navajo Wind Way first from his elder cousin and then learned Big Star Ghost Way and Blessing Way from other singers. Another case was given by YM in Rock Point, Arizona. He told me that he made up his mind to learn the first ceremony, Blessing Way, in his thirties because some of his family members advised him to learn some ceremonies to make himself "useful." After some thought, he took their advice. Throughout my field work among Navajos none of the twenty-one informants reported that his becoming a singer was decided by anyone other than himself. However, at least three exceptions can be found in the literature.

Matthews (1902: 312) has said that Navajos made their youngest son a singer. In her thesis "Lucky, the Opportunist: A Psycho-Biological Personality Study of a Navaho Singer," Brough has reported that the chapter officers in Lucky's locality decided that Lucky should find a singer to teach him songs he did not already know so that he could "become qualified as a singer" (Brough 1953: 14). Newcomb (1964: 108) has said that many members of Hosteen Klah's family "held a conference to determine which of the major chants he should undertake to learn next."

The reasons for one's choosing to become a singer vary. A desire for a higher social status might be one of them. Hill (1939) has said that the leaders of the local groups were expected to know Blessing Way. Though my field work did not yield similar results, it does suggest that the singer in Navajo

society has a higher status than ordinary people. I asked twenty-one singers to self evaluate their status. Nine of them thought that they had higher status. Four said that this was true only in early days. Five said it depended on the singer's conduct. One thought that the singer's status was not particularly higher than others. Two had no idea about their status. All twenty-one singers thought that they were expected to have a wider common knowledge than laymen. This survey may suggest that singers might be considered as Kluckhohn (1939: 121) put it—the "elite." However, this "elite" group does not enjoy any special rights, nor does it constitute a specific social class. It is merely a matter of prestige, and it seems to me that there are other more important reasons than just the prestige for the Navajo to choose to become a singer.

As the stories of GL and YM suggest, to earn a better, more stable living is perhaps the most frequent reason for choosing the career of the singer. Many of my informants corroborate this.

One of them, FM, has a thorough explanation in his autobiography, recorded by Mrs. Charlotte J. Frisbie:

In your young days, when you are not handicapped in any way, of course, you're able to endure a lot of hard work, lot of hardship. But when you get old, get disabled someway, that's the end of your work...But if you happen to learn to conduct ceremonies, songs or any kind of a ceremony, that don't end right there. When you get blind, you still can sing; you still can give instructin as to how to conduct and carry on; and if you are crippled and can't walk any more, you still can continue your occupation. That's the only thing that there's no end to it...A singer, a medicine man will continue to live by that until the end of his days...That's the reason

that in my young days, I decided to become a singer of some sort and that how come I began to practice this Blessing Way ceremony.

Besides earning a better living, there are other reasons for the Navajo to become a singer. GA, a singer in Red Rock, said that the reason why he decided to become a singer was that when his grandfather, an older singer, cured him of a serious injury, he got interested in the ceremony and wanted to learn it to protect himself. SP, former vice chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council and an Enemy Way singer, witnessed a singer treating his sister, became interested in the ritual and decided to learn its skills. PB, a Blessing Way singer in Lukachukai, had a special reason for learning the Blessing Way ceremony. Before he learned it, he had three sons and they all died successively. Then his father, a Blessing Way singer told him that if he did not start to learn the Blessing Way, he would not be able to procreate and raise any children. So he made up his mind to learn it from his father. After he learned it, he had a son and a daughter and both grow up.

As we can see from the above description, Navajo singers made their initial decision in a very rational manner. In this respect, they differ greatly from hand tremblers, star gazers, and listeners in Navajo society. One of my informants, CC, a Chiricahua Wind Way singer and also a star gazer, told me that when he was eighteen years old, he was asked by his father, a star gazer, to assist him in the ceremonies. One night, while his father was singing over a patient inside the hogan, he was sent out to watch. Suddenly, he visualized a white beam coming down from the sky and went to the recumbent patient

through the door of the hogan. A beautiful basket arose from the body of the patient. Then another white beam went out to the west from the hogan of the patient and fell on another hogan where a Blessing Way singer lived. CC told his father what he had seen. On the basis of his vision, his father decided that the patient needed a Blessing Way ceremony, since it was symbolized by the basket, and the singer living in the hogan where the white beam fell on should be invited to conduct it. Four days later, a man who was out of his mind came to see CC's father and asked for star gazing. While his father was singing for this man, CC again had a vision. He visualized a turquoise in the patient's palm. On the basis of this vision, his father decided that the patient needed a Chiricahua Wind Way ceremony. Because of these two incidents, his father realized that he possessed the power of star gazing and encouraged him to learn its prayers.

Another of my informants, KB, a woman hand trembler, and a student of CC, told me that about thirteen years ago, she had CC perform the Chiricahua Wind Way ceremony over her son who was suffering from a sore throat. Suddenly, her hands began to tremble and it occurred to her that the sickness of her son might be caused by a poisonous frog. She told this to CC. CC thought that she had the talent of hand trembling and encouraged her to learn. She then learned the prayers of hand trembling from him.

Gregorio described in more detail the way he became a hand trembler:

You know some days you act like you are going to sleep, want to lie down. I felt that way. I was lying down on the

northwest side, facing west toward the doorway, and I went to sleep for a little while. When I woke up my legs and feet and whole body felt all large, just like when you sit down and your legs go to sleep. I felt like that all over my body. And I could feel something through my arms there, as if it was running through my hands and out the end of my fingers. After that my hands started shaking. This happened right in the middle of the afternoon. My hands trembled all afternoon till towards sundown, then I stopped for a little while and started again after dark. I didn't know how much I was shaking, on account of the way my body felt. I was sitting over on the northwest side of the hogan and that shaking started again. It was dark night, but I thought the sun was shining on me. I felt like the sunshine was coming in the door. The sun was shining bright like today in a little spot where I was sitting. That happened just a little while and then the sunshine moved off to the south side very quickly. Then that feeling I had in my body, I could feel it very well. It all started from the end of the toes and came up through the knees and on up to the top of my head.

I felt it in my arms, right through the arms and through the end of the fingers. After that it was all gone and I felt very good. I felt good after that, all that hand-trembling stopped then. The next day when I was out herding sheep it started again for a little while, and then it was all over again. I had it like that one day and after that it didn't do it any more. The people around here who were with me, they all knew. They told me I had Hand-trembling like the other people know how to do it. (Leighton 1949: 20)

The above cases show that the power of either the hand trembler or star gazer can only be acquired through some form of ecstasy. This is contrary to the way in which the power of the singer is obtained and resembles very much the way shamans in Central and Northeast Asia obtain their power. This fact leads some anthropologists to believe that in the Navajo culture, hand trembling and star gazing have a much longer history than

ceremonies. As Lessa and Vogt (1965: 451) have put it:

Many societies, of course, have both shamans and priests, as, for example, in Navaho society where the hand tremblers who diagnose illness are technically shamans in the sense that they derive their power directly from a supernatural source, while the singers who perform the curing ceremonies are technically priests, in the sense that they have learned standardized ritual by apprenticing themselves to an older singer. But our evidence suggests that the presence of these singers has been a relatively recent development in Navaho history, a pattern which the Navaho borrowed from contact with the Southwestern Pueblos. Earlier in their history all Navaho ceremonial practitioners were probably of the shamanistic type.

Since fits of ecstasy cannot be controlled or predicted and are visited only on a selected number of members of the society, not everybody can choose to be a hand trembler and/or star gazer. This constitutes a big difference between the recruitment of the hand trembler and the star gazer and that of the singer. Moreover, once this ecstasy comes to a person, he feels obliged to make use of it. Therefore, there is not the same freedom of choice in becoming a hand trembler and/or star gazer as there is when one decides to become a singer.

AGE TO BEGIN

The age to start learning a ceremony varies widely. This may result from there being no set age by which one must decide to become a singer. Among my twenty-one informants, fourteen of them could tell the specific age and/or the year when they started to learn the ceremony. The names of these singers, the first ceremony they learned, and the age when they started to learn it are listed in Table 1. The Table shows a wide range

of the age when one first starts learning the ceremony—from eight years to forty-five years.

TABLE 1
ACTUAL AND IDEAL AGE TO START
LEARNING THE CEREMONY

Singer	First Ceremony Learned	Actual Age on Starting to Learn the First Ceremony	Informant's View of the Ideal Age for Starting to Learn
PB	Blessing Way	around 30	
RB	Chiricahua Wind Way	19	
TB	Blessing Way	18	20-40
CC	Chiricahua Wind Way	18	
AG	Shooting Way Male Branch	around 40	after 10 years old
LG	Navajo Wind Way	32	
MJ	Eagle Catching Way	12	"more mature"
SJ	Flint Way	12	20
FM	Blessing Way	around 25	
YM	Blessing Way	32	20
SP	Big Star Ghost Way	24	10
DT	Shooting Way Male Branch	35	before 40
HT	Red Ant Way	8	after 10
KW	Chiricahua Wind Way	18	From 18 years old to 35
PW	Red Ant Way	13	
SW	Big Star Ghost Way	24	40

My informants varied not only in the actual ages when they started to learn the ceremony but also in their response to the question "What is the best age to learn the ceremony?" I have asked this question of some of my informants (part of their answers are also listed in Table 1). As we can see from Table

1 "the best age to learn the ceremony" could be as early as ten years old and as late as forty years old. Two principles were stressed by different informants. Some emphasized "youthfulness." They said that when a person was young he could memorize better and more. AL in Lukachukai thought that the younger one started to learn, the better the result. TD in Valley Store said that one should start to learn when one was young so that the memorizing process would come easier. Other informants stressed "maturity." MJ in Naschitti thought that it would be better to wait until one becomes mature to start learning so that one could fully understand the songs. YM in Rock Point said that after twenty years of age, when a person's mind was fully developed, would be the best age to learn the ceremony. Only two of my informants combined these two principles. KW in Steamboat set the best age to learn the ceremony as from eighteen years to thirty-five years. Another, TB in Sweet Water, set it between twenty and forty. Both of them thought that after the age of forty it would be difficult to remember songs.

KINSHIP TIE BETWEEN THE TEACHER AND THE STUDENT

NB, one of my informants, guided his blind great grand uncle when the latter was touring in the reservation to perform ceremonies. As he guided his great grand uncle around, he learned the ceremonies. MJ, another of my informants, also learned the ceremony from her father when she was following him around. For cases like these two and for those whose learning ceremony was inspired and pursued by a singer, the instruction was availa-

ble immediately. Others have to make an effort to find a singer to teach them.

I have made a survey on the relationship between teachers and students. I have recorded the name, the relationship, and the residence of every teacher that my twenty-one informants had and could still remember. In all, I have recorded fifty-five teachers. Most of my informants have had more than one teacher. One of them, PW, had seven teachers. The average number of teachers that my informants have had and still remember is 2.62. The result of the survey is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
THE TEACHER'S RELATIONS TO THE STUDENT

The Teacher's Relation to the Student	First Teacher	Second and Thereafter	Total
1. Father	6	3	9
2. Wife's Father	2	1	3
3. Close Relative on the Mother's Side	7	4	11
4. Close Relative on the Father's Side	1	3	4
5. Sibling	1	2	3
6. Members of the Same Clan	0	6	6
7. Members of the Related Clan	0	3	3
8. Distant Relative	3	5	8
9. No Kinship Relation	1	7	8
Total	21	34	55

The relationships between my informants and their teachers were described by them and translated for me by my interpreter in his own terms. Generally, five different types of relationship

were given: first, a specific designation, such as father, wife's father, grandfather (in this case, I would ask whether it was the father's father or mother's father), etc. I have grouped them into five groups, i.e., item 1 to item 5 of Table 2. Second, member of the same clan. Third, "clan relation"; this was my interpreter's favorite term for a member of one of the related clans. Fourth, "distant relation." This term also came up frequently whenever the informant only knew that his teacher bore certain kinship relation to him but could not specify it. Fifth, "no relation," i.e., no kinship relation. I tried unsuccessfully to specify the relationships given in the second, third, and fourth types. Table 2 has to follow these categories. They are certainly not scientific and there might be some overlap. The advantage is that it shows the distance between themselves and their teachers as conceived by the Navajos themselves. The following conclusion can be drawn from Table 2:

1. Forty-seven or eighty-five percent of the fifty-five teachers I have recorded bore a certain kinship relation to their students. This proportion is close to the result of Kluckhohn's survey on teacher-learner relationship among Ramah Navajos. Twenty-two or seventy-three percent of thirty teachers surveyed by Kluckhohn (1939: 106) bore a kinship relation to their students. Teachers, therefore, are largely recruited from kinsmen.

2. If we draw a line between item 5 and item 6 of Table 2, the relationship between teachers and students will fall into two categories. We can describe those relationships included in the first category (items 1-5) as "close" since they could be specified by informants and those included in the second category (items 6-9) as "remote." Table 2 can thus be summarized as follows:

	First teacher	Second and thereafter
Close Relationships	17	13
Remote Relationships	4	21

This shows clearly that the first teacher that a ceremony student has tends to have "close" relationship with him. His relationship with his second teacher and those thereafter is more likely to be in the category of the "remote" relationships. There is an explanation of this result. Once one has established himself as a singer one would have more chance to meet other singers by travelling around to perform the ceremony, by being asked to assist or dance in such major ceremonies as Mountain Top Way. Through the frequent contact with other singers, one may get interested in another ceremony and start to learn it from a singer who is not necessarily closely related, but whose acquaintance is developed in the course of professional activity. There may also be an exchange of knowledge. A loose and informal club of singers actually exists. Inside this club, singers pass their knowledge around more frequently than to outsiders. The close kinship relation, as shown by the figures of Table 2, has the function of bringing new members into this club.

In Navajo society two major processes of continuation of tradition, transmission and dispensation, can be practiced with full compatibility. In concrete terms, this means two things. First, singers, while actively conducting the dispensation of ceremonial knowledge, can be teachers of ceremonialism at the same time and transmit their knowledge of ceremonialism to others. In other words, the rôle of teacher does not conflict

with the rôle of dispensator. As a matter of fact, almost all teachers of ceremonies in Navajo society are singers still in practice. Second, teaching and dispensing ceremonies can be conducted at the same time, in the same place and by the same person. Hence, learning and receiving of ceremonialism can also happen at the same time, in the same place, and on the same person. In fact, in Navajo society, instruction is often conducted with the performance of ceremonies. This is an important characteristic of teaching and learning Navajo ceremonialism which will be discussed in more detail below.

PROCEDURE OF LEARNING

In learning a Navajo ceremony, the two primary techniques are imitation and memorization. The Navajo student follows his teacher, watches, and imitates what his teacher is doing. After he has learned to a certain degree, he may assist his teacher in preparing herbs, making images of various animals, or drawing sand-paintings for the ceremony and singing with his teacher in the ceremony. He may receive partial instructions from his teacher and ask him questions about the ceremony later. An intimate relationship after frequent intercourse will gradually be assumed as the teacher-student relationship is established. The student will come to visit his teacher from time to time and hang about in his place.

The Leightons (1944: 27-28) have reported a Navajo's idea as to how one should prepare for learning the ceremony:

A Navaho described the learning process as thus: "When a man wanted to be a singer he start in the summer and get a good crop of corn and harvest it and store it, and then about the time the first snow flies, build him up a good hogan, and

then haul plenty of wood there to do a long time, and have a woman there, his mother or somebody to cook for them, cook that corn and make bread. Then he gets a singer and has him there in the hogan and they work and keep at it. If they feel good and can go on with it again. They stay at it until the first thunder, and then quit. Next summer the learner does the same thing again, and the next winter goes on with the learning. Do that for maybe five years. By that time learn two or three ceremonials."

Brough (1953: 14) has reported an actual case in which the teachers were invited to the student's home and gave him instruction:

Although Lucky was considered a valuable help to many of the local singers, the chapter officers in his locality were becoming increasingly concerned over his utter disregard for the welfare of his family. They finally decided the best possible solution would be for Lucky to find other medicine men who would be willing to come to his home and teach him the stories and songs he didn't already know, so that he would thus become qualified as a singer himself. This plan, they felt, would enable Lucky to stay at home caring for his family while learning, instead of being away so much at sings that the neighbours were forced to take over his responsibilities with regard to them. Lucky readily agreed to the proposals of the officers, and soon completed his training under several different practitioners.

How long does it take a student to complete the learning of a major ceremony? The answer to this question again varies greatly. Thirteen of my twenty-one informants could give a rough estimate of the length of time they spent in learning certain ceremonies. They counted this length of time from the age when they began to learn a certain ceremony to the age when they started to practice. Their estimates are listed in Table 3. As it is shown in Table 3, the learning period of the

TABLE 3
THE NUMBERS OF YEARS TO COMPLETE THE
LEARNING OF A CEREMONY

Name of the Ceremony	Singer	Number of Years
Big Star Ghost Way	SW	2
	SP	9
Chiricahua Wind Way	SW	4
	CC	1
Blessing Way	YM	2
	TD	4
	TB	13
	AL	4
	FM	10-15
Shooting Way Male Branch	AG	
	TD	
	KW	8 (1921-1929)
	DT	
Night Chant	AG	2
Navajo Wind Way	LG	9
Wild Game Way	AL	4
Flint Way	YM	2
	SJ	4
Enemy Way	SP	7 (1933-1940)
Eagle Catching Way	MJ	6

same ceremony, Blessing Way, for example, can be as short as two years, and as long as thirteen years. A delay in practicing the ceremony after one has learned it may contribute something to the disparity in length of the learning period. Another factor is that some of them learned two or more ceremonies at one

time and prolonged the learning period of each ceremony learned. For example, LG learned Navajo Wind Way, Big Star Ghost Way, and Blessing Way; AL learned Blessing Way and Wild Game Way; and SJ learned Flint Way and Blessing Way all at the same time.

BECOMING A SINGER

The ceremonial equipment can be lent or borrowed. However, before one has established himself as an independent singer, he has to obtain his own ceremonial equipment, and both he and his equipment have to be sung over with the same ceremony that he is going to practice. Though the teacher has no obligation to make and collect the equipment for his students, the teacher is usually asked to do so for the sake of convenience. Among the twenty-one singers I interviewed, ten had their medicine pouches made by their teachers.

According to Kluckhohn (1939: 100) the teacher conducted the ceremony over the student four times, "twice in winter and twice in summer. This is called 'for the purpose of making him holy.'" One of his informants stated that "where there were male and female versions of a ceremonial the prospective singer ought to have both sung over him, even though he planned to sing but the one himself." (Kluckhohn 1939: 100)

It is true that Navajos tend to ask their teachers to sing over them before they start to practice. But this is by no means obligatory to both sides. It is not unusual to have a singer other than one's teacher to sing over him. For example, one of my informants, YM, had another of his teacher's students, his elder classmate, sing over him before he started to practice. Another

of my informants, NB, had a friend who had no kinship relation with him to conduct the ceremony over him.

As has been discussed, there is no standard time period for learning the ceremony and there is also no standard way to start the performance of the ceremony. Before a student becomes a socially recognized singer, he may conduct brief treatments on the patient. By so doing, his name will be gradually known in the society. For example, at the time when I interviewed him, RB had been learning Chiricahua Wind Way from CC for two years. He had not completed the study, yet had already conducted a number of times the "blacken the body treatment" which is a rite in the Chiricahua Wind Way ceremony.

When a student is about to master the ceremony he is learning, his teacher may pass the words around on his behalf and even recommend him to prospective patients. As one of Kluckhohn's informants said:

The singer knows which of these who are following him around know things. Sometimes he will ask them questions and take what they say. The people who come to the sing hear this. Sometimes the singer tells the people that a man who is helping him knows it all. So the people decide to ask him to sing for that. (Kluckhohn 1939: 100)

PAYING THE TEACHER

The student has to pay his teacher. There are different interpretations concerning such payment which will be discussed in Chapter Three. The payment is usually made after the student starts to practice. However, the teacher may receive gifts from his prospective student. One of my informants, FM, received a string of beads from a young man, JB, before he started to

teach JB the Blessing Way. The payment is mainly for the knowledge that the student has received. However, if his teacher has made and collected the ceremonial equipment for him as well, he has to pay for this equipment too.

The payment may consist of cash, sheep, cattle, horses, beads, turquoise, jewelry, blankets, or food. A frequent practice is to pay the teacher what the student has collected from the first several ceremonies he performs. Nine of twenty-one singers I interviewed paid their teachers in this manner. For example, AL gave all the compensation he received for the first four ceremonies he performed to his teacher; PB gave to one of his teachers, his father, the payment for the first two ceremonies he performed, and to another of his teachers, his great grand uncle, he gave the payment for three ceremonies he had performed; DB gave to his teacher of the Red Ant Way the gift collected from seven ceremonies.

TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

In general the student-teacher relationship in Navajo society is warm and informal. While I was visiting singers at their homes, on several occasions, their students were around. Those students walked in and out of their teachers' hogans freely just as if they were members of their teachers' families. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the teacher of the ceremony tends to be either his relative or his acquaintance. After they assume the teacher-student relationship, any of the tense formalities often associated with this kind of relationship in other cultures will come to an end. Moreover, there is great mutual dependence between the student and teacher during the period in which the

ceremony is taught. The student depends on his teacher for the ceremonial knowledge he wants to learn. The teacher depends on his students for the latter's assistance in the ceremony performance. As we said earlier, the teacher-student relationship is contracted voluntarily by both parties. So is the maintenance of this relationship. Theoretically, neither party is obligated to the other for the completion of the training process. The student can withdraw from the learning at any time. As a matter of fact, this has occurred frequently in recent years. Neither does the teacher have any responsibility to the student for successful completion of training. Nor is he obligated to help his student have any responsibility after the training period. Nevertheless, for the sake of expedience, prior to the completion of learning a ceremony, the teacher often helps his student to obtain ceremonial equipment, sings over him, and introduces him to the society.

LEARNING MORE CEREMONIES

After one is established as a socially-recognized popular singer for certain ceremonies, he may still continue to learn other ceremonies, learn the different versions of songs of the same ceremony, and exchange his skills with other singers. What Hosteen Klah has done, as reported by Newcomb, may be untypical or exaggerated, but it still serves as a good illustration of this point.

All together, Klah studied 26 years before holding his first Yeibeichai as its leading chanter. But this did not mean he had completed his education on the subject. If he heard of any chanter who did the rites differently, he immediately went to him to learn his way and his songs and prayers. When he held his first ceremony, he asked all critics to watch for errors. (Newcomb 1964: 112)

Whenever he heard of a Navaho medicine man who he thought knew a few prayers or rites unknown to him, he would go to the man's home and stay a week or ten days, even though he lived a hundred or more miles away. In the spring of 1917, when he was forty-nine years old, he told Arthur (Mrs. Newcomb's husband) that he had conferred with and compared ceremonies with every Yeibeichai (Night Chant) chanter in the Navaho tribe, there were none he had not contacted. (Newcomb 1964: 117)

How many major ceremonies can a singer master in his lifetime? Here again there is no standard answer. In Table 4, I list the names of all the complete ceremonies, partial ceremonies, short rites, and divinations that my informants claimed they knew, and the number of nights it took to perform each complete major ceremony (based on the informant's own count). Among the twenty-one singers listed in Table 4, seventeen had already stopped learning any new ceremony at the time they were interviewed. Among these seventeen singers, SW claimed the largest number of ceremonies as well as the longest performance nights. He claimed that he knew eleven complete ceremonies which can be performed for forty-three nights as he counted, and parts of five other ceremonies. The second largest number was given by PW. He claimed that he knew nine complete ceremonies which can be performed for forty-one nights, and parts of three other ceremonies.

INDIVIDUAL VARIATION

How accurately a student can reproduce what he has learned from his teacher is difficult to measure. Ideally one should follow his teacher precisely, as Dick Pino claimed "When you learn a chant from a man, you must always keep it exactly like you

TABLE 4
PERSONAL CONTROL OF CEREMONIES

Singers and Their Residences	Age (in 1965)	Complete Major Ceremonies One Can Perform	Number of Performance Nights	Partial Ceremony and/or Short Treatment One Can Perform	Continuity of Learning
DB, Many Farm, Arizona	65	Red Ant Way Ghost Way Red Ant Way Holy Way Shooting Way Holy Way Flint Way Life Way Chiricahua Wind Way Enemy Way Mountain Top Way (Per- taining to Eagle Catching)	5 9 5 2 2 4 1-5	Short Night Chant	Stopped learning
NB, Chinle, Arizona	78	Night Chant Shooting Way Female Branch Chiricahua Wind Way Mountain Surface Way	9 5 2 5	Water Way Hail Way Plume Way Shooting Way Male Branch Navajo Wind Way Beauty Way Coyote Way	Stopped learning
PB, Lukachukai, Arizona	80	Blessing Way War Ceremony (ancient version of Enemy Way)	2 4	Monster Way Blessing Way	Stopped learning
RB, Lukachukai, Arizona	21	None	0	Chirichua Wind Way Evil Way Red Ant Way Hand Trembling	Continues to learn
TB, Sweet Water, Arizona	50 (ap- prox.)	Blessing Way Chiricahua Wind Way Navajo Wind Way	2 2 2	Monster Way Blessing Way	Stopped learning

TABLE 4—Continued

Singers and Their Residences	Age (in 1965)	Complete Major Ceremonies One Can Perform	Number of Performance Nights	Partial Ceremony and/or Short Treatment One Can Perform	Continuity of Learning
CC, Lukachukai, Arizona		Chiricahua Wind Way	2	Star Gazing	Continues to learn
		Flint Way Male Branch	5	Hand Trembling	
TD, Valley Store, Arizona	78	Shooting Way		Monster Way	Stopped learning
		Ghost Way		Prayer	
		Male Branch	5		
		Shooting Way		Enemy Way	
		Holy Way		Navajo Wind	
		Male Branch	9	Way	
AG, Red Rock, Arizona	78	Blessing Way	2	Mountain Top	Stopped learning
		Chiricahua		Way	
		Wind Way	2		
		Night Chant	10		
		Shooting Way			
		Holy Way			
LG, Round Rock, Arizona	76	Male Branch	5		Stopped learning
		Shooting Way			
		Holy Way			
		Female Branch	5		
MG, Sweet Water, Arizona	85	Navajo Wind		None	Stopped learning
		Way	5		
		Big Star Ghost			
		Way	5		
MJ, Naschittii, N. M.	70	Blossing Way	2		Stopped learning
		Big Star Way		Navajo	
		Ghost Way		Wind Way	
		Shooting Way	5	Night Chant	
		Holy Way			
		Female Branch	5		
		Mountain			
		Surface Way			
		Female Branch	5		
		Blessing Way	2-5		
		Enemy Way	4		
		Eagle Catching			
		Way	2-5		
		Blessing Way	2		

TABLE 4—Continued

Singers and Their Residences	Age (in 1965)	Complete Major Ceremonies One Can Perform	Number of Performance Nights	Partial Ceremony and/or Short Treatment One Can Perform	Continuity of Learning
SJ, Tsale, Arizona	80	Flint Way Life Way Blessing Way	5 2	Shooting Way Male Branch Night Chant Hand Trembling	Stopped learning
AL, Lukachukai, Arizona	45 (approx.)	Blessing Way Wild Game Way Enemy Way	2 5 4	Night Chant	Continues to learn
FM, Chinle, Arizona		Blessing Way Monster Way	5 5	None	Stopped learning
YM, Rock Point, Arizona	87	Navajo Wind Way Big Star Ghost Way Flint Way Blessing Way	5 5 2 2-3	Water Chant	Stopped learning
SP, Gonado, Arizona	69	Big Star Ghost Way Enemy Way	5 3-5	Self-Protection Prayers	Stopped learning
DT, Lukachukai, Arizona	78	Shooting Way Ghost Way Male Branch Shooting Way Holy Way Male Branch Blessing Way Chiricahua Wind Way Mountain Top Way	5 5 5-9 2-5 2 5	Mountain Surface Way Night Chant Plume Way Bead Way	Stopped learning
HT, Pinon, Arizona	70	Red Ant Way Female Branch Blessing Way	5 2	Shooting Way Male Branch Eagle Catching Way Bead Way Monster Blessing Way Hand Trembling Star Gazing	Stopped learning

TABLE 4—Continued

Singers and Their Residences	Age (in 1965)	Complete Major Ceremonies One Can Perform	Number of Performance Nights	Partial Ceremony and/or Short Treatment One Can Perform	Continuity of Learning
KW, Steamboat, Arizona	65	Shooting Way Ghost Way Male Branch Shooting Way Holy Way Male Branch Blessing Way Enemy Way Mountain Top Way Navajo Wind Way Monster Way	1-5 1-9 2 4 5-9 5 2-4	Life Way Porcupine Way Male Branch Plume Way Water Way Coyote Way	Continues to learn
PW, Cow Springs, Arizona	80	Red Ant Way Female Branch Navajo Wind Way Mountain Surface Way Male Branch Water Way Mountain Surface Shooting Way Monster Blessing Way Game Way Enemy Way Blessing Way	5 5 4-5 5 5 1-5 1-5 4 2	Monster Way Eagle Catching Way Life Way	Stopped learning
SW, Many Farms, Arizona	65	Shooting Way Ghost Way Male Branch Shooting Way Holy Way Male Branch Chiricahua Wind Way Big Star Ghost Way Big Star Holy Way	5 5 5 2 5 5	Night Chant Ghost Way Monster Way Prayers Flint Way Shooting Way Life Way Male Branch	Stopped learning

TABLE 4—Continued

Singers and Their Residences	Age (in 1965)	Complete Major Ceremonies One Can Perform	Number of Performance Nights	Partial Ceremony and/or Short Treatment One Can Perform	Continuity of Learning
		Hail Way			
		Holy Way	5		
		Hail Way			
		Ghost Way	5		
		Navajo Wind Way	5		
		Ghost Way	2		
		Blessing Way	2		
		Monster Way			
		Blessing Way	2		

were taught. Each man must follow his own teacher exactly all his life. That's why you see different singers doing things a little bit different. Every man is sticking to what his teacher taught him." (Kluckhohn 1939: 100-101) It is a taboo to make changes in the ceremony. Violation of this taboo may lead to disaster, as is indicated in the following story quoted by Hill:

You must be careful about introducing things into ceremonies. One chanter thought that he could do this. He held a Night Chant. He wanted more old people so he had the dancers cough and dance as old people. He also wanted an abundance of potatoes so he painted potatoes on the dancers' bodies. He desired that there should be a great deal of food so he had the dancers breath wind and vomit through their masks to make believe that they had eaten a great deal. They surely got their reward. Through the coughing act a great many of the people got whooping cough and died. In the second change many of the people got spots on their bodies like potatoes only they were measles, sores, and smallpox. In the part, where they asked for all kinds of food, a lot died of diarrhea, vomiting and stomach aches. This chanter thought that he had the power to change things but everyone found

out that, he was wrong. It was the wrong thing to do and today no one will try to start any new ceremonies. Today we do not add anything. (Hill 1939: 260)

In practice, where the ceremony is transmitted orally, changes made by the individual learner, consciously or unconsciously, are inevitable, and individual variations occur. Kluckhohn and Wyman (1940: 10-11) made the following observation:

...There is no exceptionless uniformity for each singer tries to follow the legend as he has learned it, and in oral transmission, greater or lesser variations in the texts. As Hy phrased it "All the singers have stories which are a little bit different. I can't keep up with them all." It must also be remembered that there are always some minor variations. By design, no singer ever gives two performances of the same chant which are identical down to the last detail. Finally as Dr. Reichard has observed, anything can be changed and rationalized for cause.

Hosteen Klah even intentionally condensed the full Apache Wind Way which he learned from his uncles. As it is reported by Newcomb (1964: 97-98):

Klah memorized all of the prayers, the ritual, the body painting, and the sand paintings (of the Apache Wind Way). All of this now belonged to him, and he could use it to hold a ceremony for a sick person if he wished. But Klah never sang the five-day chant; he chose the parts he considered the most powerful and condensed them into a three day ceremony....

It is not unusual to hear some singers complaining that some other medicine men failed to use "old songs" and made arbitrary changes. However, the idea that one should follow his teacher exactly is universally held. All of my informants corroborate this point.

III

DISPENSATION

As discussed before, the process of dispensation involves a polarity of activities—of dispensing and of receiving—which are assigned to the respective rôles of dispensator and recipient. Our discussion of the dispensation of Navajo ceremonialism will thus be focused on three topics: (1) the characteristics of the dispensator, (2) the characteristics of the recipient, and (3) the procedure of dispensation. An account of a Blessing Way ceremony will be provided at the end of this chapter to illustrate how a ceremony is actually dispensed.

THE DISPENSATOR

The main dispensator of the Navajo ceremony is the singer. In theory, any Navajo who has completed the learning process of a particular ceremony would be qualified as a singer for this ceremony, for through the help of his teacher, his authority will be gradually recognized by the society. However, Kluckhohn argues that the Navajos "distinguish between true singers and what Morgan has called 'curers.'" (1938b: 361), and the term "singers" tends to be "reserved for those practitioners who know at least two ceremonials of three or more nights duration." (*ibid.*)

As shown in Table 4 "Personal Control of Ceremonies," one singer (SW) claimed that he could practice as many as eleven

ceremonies. Thus, a singer may be expected to be the dispensator of up to eleven ceremonies.

The frequency of the practice of a singer depends on his popularity and the kind and number of the ceremonies he controls. It varies from one to another. Kluckhohn (1938b: 363) has approximate data on the frequency of the ceremonial practice of the singers of Ramah area. He says:

The most popular singer stated that he sang about five days out of every two weeks. Actually my figures show that in the six months from March 15th to September 15th last year he sang 81 days in 29 ceremonies. Another singer sang eighty-two days in 23 ceremonies during this period. The third sang only twelve in seven, but he is in extreme old age. The data indicate that an estimate of five days out of every fourteen for the two singers is not far from correct.

Kluckhohn's data were collected in the thirties. Since the Navajo economy has been steadily improved since World War II and more people can afford the ceremony, the frequency should be higher than Kluckhohn's figures, particularly in the case of popular singers.

My inquiries as to how many ceremonies a Navajo singer performed in the three years before the summer of 1965 and where they were held produced no results; nor could I get a satisfactory answer when I narrowed the period in question from three to one. The usual reply was: "too numerous to keep track." Only six of my twenty-one informants were able to give me even a rough estimate of the ceremonies performed between the summer of 1964 and the summer of 1965:

TB

4 Navajo Wind Way
8 Chiricahua Wind Way
Numerous Blessing Way

AG	3 Night Chant 1 Shooting Way
LG	1 Navajo Wind Way 1 Blessing Way
SP	8 Ceremonies (unspecified)
PW	2 Red Ant Way A number of other ceremonies

Though a singer practices most often in his own community and in neighboring areas, he may also be invited to perform his ceremonies in remote parts of the Nation. As Kluckhohn (1939: 112-113) put it, "the determining factors in the choice of a practitioner appear to be close relationship by blood or marriage, geographical propinquity, and specialized knowledge on the part of practitioner....In the case of minor illness and somewhat perfunctory brief ceremonials, geographic propinquity would appear to be the dominant determinant...When illness is chronic or critical, the importance of both of these two factors is materially diminished."

When the sickness is so serious as to require a major ceremony, the family of the patient may have to go out to find a singer in remote places. A well-established singer generally travels far and often. When I asked of my informants where they performed their ceremonies, the frequent response was: "All over the Reservation."

Only six of my twenty-one informants have motor vehicles; one has a horse. The other fourteen have no means of transportation. But this does not prevent them from being widely traveled singers. They either ask the patient's family to pick them up or hitchhike to the place where the ceremony is to be performed.

Although Navajo singers do not object to performing their ceremonies over people other than Navajo (as we shall see in the next chapter), the performance of the complete ceremony is generally confined to the Navajo territory. Fourteen of my twenty-one informants have been in such large cities as Albuquerque, Denver, Kansas City, Phoenix, and Salt Lake City. SP has even been to Chicago and Washington. For the most part, however, none has performed any ceremony outside the Navajo territory. To be sure, SW has performed a ceremony in Grants, New Mexico, which is not in Navajo territory, but it is very close, and it is the place where many Navajos go regularly for jobs and visits. His performance thus does not constitute a true exception to our generalization.

In conducting a ceremony, the singer usually has an assistant and a number of helpers. Often the assistant is his student or a close relative and is either a singer himself or the one who knows most of the songs of the ceremony. The assistant sits at the singer's right in the ceremony and performs many duties under his direction. The number of helpers varies according to complexity and duration of the ceremony as well as with the total number of participants. It also depends on the discretion of the singer. Kluckhohn and Wyman (1940: 17) point out: "Most of the male relatives of the patient and many visitors act as helpers at one time or another. In many procedures almost any man can act as helper. For some procedures it is demanded that the helpers have been sung over and preferably have had the chant which is going on."

THE RECIPIENT

Navajos call the recipient of the ceremony "patient." The "patient"—in Navajo phraseology—is either the one suffering from disease who requires treatment, or the one who seeks protection through the ceremony. For example, the patient of the Blessing Way ceremony I participated in (to be described later) was a young man who was in the United States Army and was going to be sent to Vietnam. His family wanted him to invoke the protection of the ceremony before he went to war.

In every ceremony there is a major patient who undergoes the entire treatment. There are also what Kluckhohn and Wyman call "co-patients" (1940: 14). These "co-patients" "attend all or most of the ceremonies but receive only an abbreviated form of the treatment. Their number is not fixed and may vary from one to six or more. They are usually relatives of the patient, though this is not a requirement; children of the patient (or of other co-patients) are often included." (*ibid.*)

In addition to the patient and co-patients, every ceremony has a number of spectators. They are the people who come in and out throughout the ceremony and receive at random fragments of the ceremony. Sponsors of the ceremony, if they are not themselves patients or co-patients, are also considered spectators and participate in the ceremony whenever their duties as sponsors permit (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940: 18).

Though he is a dispensator of Navajo ceremonialism, a singer will find occasions to be himself a recipient, or "patient," either to himself or to other singers. The Navajo singer quite regularly dispenses parts of the ceremony to himself by singing a short

ceremonial chant or saying a few prayers for minor problems in his daily life. All of my twenty-one informants acknowledged that they often did this. Many Navajo laymen also conduct this kind of rite on themselves, if they know how. But because Navajo singers have a far better command of the chant and prayers, we can expect them to employ those chants and prayers with greater confidence and more often than the average Navajo.

In addition to being his own recipient, the Navajo singer will often be a recipient of another singer. As a matter of fact, a Navajo singer has more reasons to receive ceremonies than a Navajo layman. Besides the ordinary causes of sickness and trouble, he has special reasons for receiving ceremonies.

As mentioned previously, an apprentice singer has to have the ceremonies he will specialize in sung over him four times. Moreover, in order to keep his ceremonies potent and to protect him from the dangers involved in performing, he has to have another singer sing over him regularly. He is very likely to have more ceremonies sung over him than an average Navajo in the same period of time. However, many exceptions are discovered when we examine individual cases. In an example cited by Kluckhohn and Leighton (1962: 224), in the Ramah area, an old woman had spent nearly 500 days in curing ceremonies while a singer had had ceremonials sung over him for only thirty-seven days of his life. I tried in vain to determine the number of ceremonies that my informants have had for their lives. The only figure I was able to get was that of the different kinds of ceremonies that they had ever had. The result is listed in Table 5.

TABLE 5
NAVAJO SINGERS AS RECIPIENTS OF CEREMONIALISM

Singer	Different kinds of the Ceremony Experienced	Use of Prayers in Routine Problems	Number of Enemy Way Attended in Summar, 1965	Number of Night Chant Attended in Fall, 1964
DB*	8	Yes	Countless	2
NB†	Countless	Yes	Countless	1
PB	5	Yes	2	1
RB	3	Yes	3	1
TB	7	Yes	1	1
CC	6	Yes	1	0
TD	6	Yes	3	0
AG†	3	Yes	1	Almost every one held on the Reservation
LG	3	Yes	1	0
MG	5	Yes	2	1
SJ	Countless	Yes	Countless	0
MJ	4	Yes	3	1
AL*	3	Yes	5	Countless
FM	11	Yes	2	1
YM	Countless	Yes	0	0
SP*	7	Yes	8	1
DT	5	Yes	0	0
HT	11	Yes	4	1
KW*	5	Yes	Countless	Almost every one held on the Reservation
PW*	9	Yes	Countless	0
SW	7	Yes	3	1

* Singer of Enemy Way

† Singer of Night Chant

Navajo ceremonies have both medical and social functions. One of the social functions of a major ceremony is that it provides an occasion for a social gathering, when people can meet friends and relatives and exchange news and gossip. As Kluckhohn and Leighton (1962: 228) put it: "The rite offers a chance to see and be seen, to talk and to listen." Enemy Way, better known as "Squaw Dance," and Night Chant, better known as "Yeibeichai," more than any others, give the Navajos an occasion for socializing. (Mountain Top Way, better known as Fire Dance, also provides an occasion for large social gatherings, but it is infrequently performed.) In order to decide to what extent the Navajo singers become recipients of ceremonialism for its social functions, I tried to get a picture of my informants' participation in both Enemy Way and Night Chant. Two questions were asked of them: "How many Squaw Dances did you attend this summer (the summer of 1965)?" and "How many 'Yeibeichai' did you attend last fall (the fall of 1964)?" Their answers are listed in Table 5 also. The results of this survey were below my expectations. Except those who themselves were singers of Enemy Way or Night Chant, the frequency of attendance at these two ceremonies was surprisingly low, especially if only attendance at the Night Chant is considered. Of the twenty-one singers listed in Table 5, fourteen practice neither Enemy Way nor Night Chant. So if they attend either of these two ceremonies, they attend as recipients, not as dispensators. Of these fourteen singers, six didn't attend any Night Chant in the fall of 1964, none attended more than one in this period. Only two of these fourteen singers have attended more than three Enemy way ceremonies in the summer of 1965. I have no

data to make an objective comparison of the frequency of attendance of either the Enemy Way or Night Chant ceremony in the case of the Navajo singer as opposed to the average Navajo adult. However, my impression is that the frequency of attendance at the Enemy Way and Night Chant ceremonies among the fourteen singers was far below the average. My informants' attitude toward these two ceremonies lends support to this impression. I asked my informants to pick the ceremonies which in their judgement would become extinct the soonest. Night Chant and Enemy Way were mentioned most often: Night Chant was picked nine times and the Enemy Way seven times. Drinking and disorderly conduct during these two ceremonies were frequently cited as reasons for my informants' belief that the Night Chant and Enemy Way ceremonies would become extinct soon. My impression, based on my survey, is that a sizeable proportion of Navajo singers have an apathetic attitude toward big ceremonies, such as Night Chant and Enemy Way, and are disinclined toward the social functions provided by the ceremonies.

THE PROCEDURE OF DISPENSATION

Dispensation of the ceremony among the Navajo is always initiated by the recipients (the "patient") and his family who are mainly responsible for the expense of such dispensation. When the patient or his family believe they know the causes of sickness or when they want to take preventive measures against some potential misfortune, together they decide which ceremony should be held and which singer should be asked. Otherwise hand-tremblers or star-gazers must be consulted to uncover the

causes of illness and to decide which ceremony should be held for the patient. In some cases, as the case of CC cited in the last chapter, the diviners may even be able to suggest which singer should be asked.

When the singer has been selected, somebody has to go to him and make him an offer on behalf of the patient or the sponsor of the ceremony, if they are not the same person. Kluckhohn and Wyman (1940: 74) report two different theories in this connection: "Some informants say that the patient never makes such arrangements himself while one said that the patient might if he could travel and thought he could make a better bargain with the singer." Kluckhohn has in two instances personally observed the patient making his own arrangement with the singer.

One of my informants, RB, said that there was a specific technique for approaching the singer: "After you entered the medicine man's hogan or cabin, sit at his left, then he will know what you have come for." None of my other informants mentioned such a practice.

If the singer accepts the offer, he will set a date for the ceremony. The date is usually set four days in advance. In case the patient's situation is critical, the singer may go at once and give the patient a short and intensified rite of a particular ceremony, as in a case reported by Newcomb and Reichard (1937: 9-10). The singer then defers the complete ceremony to "some future time when the patient was well and the family had time to prepare for it" (Newcomb and Reichard 1937: 10).

Two or three days before the ceremony (in the Blessing Way ceremony in which I participated it was only one day), the

singer's pouch is brought to the patient's home, usually by the person who made the arrangements. The pouch is usually hidden in a safe place outside the hogan and placed in the ceremonial hogan on the day of the ceremony.

After the date of the ceremony is set, the word will spread and the relatives will be invited. Those who are invited are expected to give assistance in the preparation and also share the expenses of the ceremony. How many relatives should be invited depends on the duration of the ceremony and the number of participants. As indicated by Aberle (1961: 115), the first kinship unit outside the patient's family to be invited is the local clan element. If the ceremony is a very large one, the local clan unit of the patient's related clans will also be involved.

In their book, *An Introduction to Navaho Chant Practice* (1940), Kluckhohn and Wyman give an elaborate account of every discrete procedure in the dispensation of a ceremony. There is indeed no need for me to give the same detailed description. However, in my field work I did observe a performance of the Blessing Way ceremony, and I shall describe it as an example of how a singer actually dispenses a ceremony to his patients.

Before we proceed, one thing is worth special attention: in every ceremony, whenever something is applied to the patient's body, whether by the singer or the patient himself, the butt-top and right-left sequence must be observed. In other words, things such as corn meal, corn pollen, chant lotion, consecrated sand, and bundle-prayersticks must be applied to the patient's body from the bottom (foot) to the top (head) and from the right to the left. This sequence of application is never violated.

OBSERVATION OF A BLESSING WAY CEREMONY

The Blessing Way ceremony I observed was held from July 19 to July 21, 1965, in Tsaile, Arizona. The patient was a young man in his early twenties, unmarried. He was in the United States Army and was going to be sent first to Okinawa and then to South Vietnam. His family decided to give him a Blessing Way ceremony before his departure so that he would have more protection while abroad. The patient's father was the main sponsor of the ceremony, and his mother's uncle was the singer. There was no co-patient in this ceremony. The patient's sister was my interpreter's daughter-in-law whose husband also had worked for me. The patient and his parents extended their hospitality to me, allowed me to participate in the whole ceremony, and invited me to eat with them throughout the ceremony. They asked me not to use their names when I wrote my report, so I will call the patient P, his father PF, his mother PM, and the singer S.

On July 19, 1965, the first day of the ceremony, my interpreter and I went to P's place. We arrived here at about 10:00 A.M. The place was quiet. P was resting under a tree. PF was making a corn pollon bag with buckskin for P to carry abroad. PM was working in the kitchen, preparing the food for all the participants. Her daughter, my interpreter's daughter-in-law, arrived the day before and was working in the kitchen, too. The kitchen was a small shelter annexed to the cabin where the ceremony was going to be held. The cabin, like that of most Navajos, opened its door to the east. It had been cleaned, and sheepskin was spread on the floor inside the cabin. S's bundle

was already in the cabin. It was brought in the day before by PF. PF told us that the ceremony would not begin until after supper, so we left.

We went back there at 6:30 P.M. and had supper with the patient's family. We had fried bread, corn pancakes, and mutton stew. After the supper, we sat outside the cabin. At about 7:30 P.M., S, with a dark red blanket on his right shoulder, came down from the east. He went directly to the cabin. My interpreter followed him inside and asked him whether he would allow us to use the tape recorder and the camera, but he answered "no." Meanwhile, PM's father and mother arrived. My interpreter and I followed them inside the cabin. We sat at the south end of the cabin close to the east wall. P sat at the west and close to the north wall facing the door, with S at his left. At about 8:30 P.M., PM ground some white corn meal and put it in a bowl. PF took the bowl, asked all participants to close their eyes, and scattered the corn meal in all four corners of the cabin. By this time, there were eleven persons in the cabin. In addition to P, PF, PM, S, my interpreter, and myself, there were also PM's father and mother, P's sister and her husband, and P's brother.

PF handed a buckskin bag containing some corn pollen and a black prayerstick to one spectator sitting at the east end near the south side of the door. This spectator took out the prayerstick from the bag and drew all over his body with it from the foot (bottom) to the head (top) and from the right to the left. He then put the prayerstick into the bag and passed it to the one at his left. The latter repeated the same process. The bag was thus passed around the cabin once clockwise, and everybody

drew over his body with that prayerstick according to the butt-top, right-left order.

S then gave everybody except P a piece of a small stone arrowhead to hold in his left hand. Then he turned to face north while everybody else was facing south. (My interpreter later told me that the north represented the evil spirit, so the singer faced the north to block the evil for the participants—the arrowhead he let everybody hold was also for the protection against evil.) S himself held a buckskin bag containing corn pollen in his left hand, while P had a bundle-prayerstick in each of his hands. Then, S started to sing. After a set of songs, he began saying a few prayers, P following him sentence by sentence. After the prayer was finished, P lifted the bundle-prayerstick in his right hand over his head and made four circles with it clockwise. Then PF again handed the corn pollen bag to the one sitting at the east and near the south side of the door and let it be passed around clockwise. Everybody who got the bag took a pinch of corn pollen, put some in his mouth, and on his head, and sprinkled some in the air several times as an offering to the earth, the sky, the sun, and the Talking God; the names of these deities were softly chanted. When everybody had finished the offering, P went out, looked around, and came back to the cabin. Both the procession into and out of the cabin were clockwise. The rites for Blessing Way ceremony of the first night were completed after P came in. It was about 11:00 P. M.

Next day, July 20, 1965, I went back with my interpreter to the patient's place at about 8:00 A. M. When we arrived there, we found both S and P sitting at the west end inside the cabin.

S was resting. P was cutting a strip of buckskin with a knife; he was making laces for the three corn pollen bags made by PF the day before. About half an hour later, PF brought in some clay (clay has to be collected from a garden or field where things are growing), put it in front of P and S, left, and came back with four yucca leaves and some yucca roots.

S made a small platform with clay in front of P and put on it a basket (my interpreter told me that the basket was made by Utes) which was covered with a piece of plastic cloth. He took off the corn, poured hot water into the basket, put four yucca leaves in the water in four directions, rubbed the yucca leaves, and squeezed the juice out into the water. Then he asked P to take his belongings (which were wrapped in a blanket) with him and walk out. P walked out the cabin clockwise, circled in front of the cabin, and came back to his seat again clockwise. He put his belongings at his front left.

S made four marks with corn pollen around the basket: two at the west, one at the north, and one at the south. He made P step on the two marks at the west and started to sing. After a set of songs, he instructed P to get undressed down to his shorts. He then asked P to kneel down with P's two knees on the two marks at the west, his left hand on the north mark and his right hand on the south mark so that P's upper body was right above the basket. S washed P's hair with the water in the basket while he continued to sing. P then bathed himself with PM's help.

After P finished the bath, PM and her daughter squeezed some suds from the Yucca roots into the water. Every participant washed his hair in the basket. Meanwhile, S applied

white corn meal to P's body according to the right-left and foot-head sequence, then applied corn pollen in the same way. PM, while watching S, suddenly became hysterical and began to cry; she seemed to have lost control of herself completely. S had to leave P aside and attend to her. He put her down in front of P with her head towards the north, covered her with a large cloth, put two bundle-prayersticks and a corn pollen bag on her waist, and started to sing. While S was singing, PM's right hand started to tremble. S then took the bundle-prayerstick and the corn pollen bag away and gave her a massage. After the massage, S removed a quartz crystal from his medicine pouch, looked steadily at it, and murmured something to it. PM also murmured something, but my interpreter couldn't make out what they said. Gradually, PM calmed down and stopped crying and trembling. Then she sat up, paused a minute, stood up, and left. The Blessing Way was then resumed for P. My interpreter later told me that PM was too sensitive to the songs of the singer. "Lots of people are like that," he commented.

A large piece of cloth was spread on the floor in front of P, one piece of turquoise was put in the northwest corner, and another one in the southwest corner. S stepped on the cloth and drew two footprints of his own feet. He left P step on these two footprints and stand up. He stood at P's left and started praying. Meanwhile, the corn pollen bag was passed around clockwise among the participants. As on the previous night, each participant put some pollen in his mouth and over his head and made offerings to various deities by sprinkling some in the air. When S finished his prayer the daytime portion of the ceremony was finished. We left. It was 10:40 A.M. My

interpreter later told me that P should have stood on a buckskin instead of cloth. Since P did not have that large a buckskin, he bought a piece of cloth and put two pieces of turquoise on it as a substitute. This cloth and turquoise became his sacred personal property after the ceremony.

At 7:10 P.M., we went back to the patient's place. P was lying in the cabin; S was sleeping at his side. At about 8:00 P.M., I had supper with the patient's family. We ate potato cooked with lamb, barbecued lamb rib, fried bread, pancake made of blue corn meal, watermelon, and coffee. After supper, we rested for a while. The ceremony was resumed at about 10:30 P.M. First, PF spread a blanket in front of both P and S and put the payment to S (buckskin and cash) on it. On top of the payment he put the same basket used to bathe the patient. It now contained all S's equipment. Then PM and her daughter put various articles belonging to members of the family, such as blankets, saddles, and hats, to the left of the basket. They also brought pictures of their family members and put them on top of those articles. My interpreter explained to me that they wanted all these articles blessed.

PM took some corn pollen out from the bag and sprinkled it in the four corners of the cabin. Then he gave the bag to the one sitting at the east of the cabin near the south side of the door. Once more, the bag was passed around clockwise and everybody took a pinch of pollen, put some in his mouth and on his head, and sprinkled some in the air. After everybody had done so, S started to sing the Hogan Songs in which all the participants joined in. By about midnight, S had finished all twenty-one Hogan Songs and started to sing the Concluding

Songs. When that song ended, the pollen bag was passed around again. Then P stood up, went out clockwise, walked around, and came in the cabin clockwise. After P came in, all other participants went out clockwise for a break.

The ceremony resumed about half an hour later. The corn pollen was again passed around before S started to sing. When he sang, some participants joined in. After about an hour, there was another break. Some food was brought in, and all the participants started to eat.

The ceremony was resumed at about 2:10 A.M. The corn pollen bag was passed around once more. Then PF brought in a pipe containing some tobacco, gave it to P, and lighted it with a corn cob. After P had inhaled some smoke from the pipe, PF gave it to the one sitting at the east of the cabin near the south side of the door and let it be passed around, everybody inhaling some smoke from it. After everybody had smoked the pipe, S started to sing the Smoke Songs some participants joining in. At about 3 A.M., S sang the Dawn Song which signals the end of the ceremony. This was followed by a Concluding Song. When the Concluding Song was finished, P stood up, walked out clockwise, and came back to his seat clockwise. Then all the participants stood up and went out. The whole ceremony was then completed; it was 3:30 A.M. On the first day of the ceremony, I gave S five dollars. My interpreter told me PF gave S twenty dollars, plus two pieces of buckskin. PM's parents brought some flour and sugar but did not contribute any cash to the ceremony.

IV

CONCEPTUALIZATION

As has been remarked before, every culture has a set of beliefs and concepts concerning both the personal possession of tradition and the individual's qualification for performing various rôles—teacher, dispensator, student, and recipient—in transmitting or using traditional knowledge. Since this set of beliefs constitute part of the enculturation process and governs the actions of all individuals engaged in carrying on tradition, it will ultimately affect the way the tradition is continued. We refer to this set of beliefs and concepts as “conceptualization” and consider it fundamental to both transmission and dispensation. In this chapter, we will discuss some basic features of the process of conceptualization in Navajo culture. We will concern ourselves first with personal possession of tradition and then with qualification for various rôles.

PERSONAL POSSESSION OF TRADITION

In regard to conceptualization of the personal possession of tradition, we shall focus our discussion on three aspects: (1) the element of *proprietaryship* in the attitude of the individual toward his tradition: how much, in other words, a singer considers the ceremonial tradition his personal property; (2) the *value* of tradition, and how is such value assessed in transaction; (3) the extent to which the individual regards himself as the

embodiment of the tradition: how much a singer considers ceremonial tradition as an integral part of his biological and psychological make-up.

Proprietorship. From the viewpoint of a Navajo singer, the knowledge he has about a particular ceremony is a piece of his personal property. To him, the notion that knowledge belongs to the whole society, indeed to all mankind, is rather foreign. The only obligation incurred by a Navajo singer in acquiring a knowledge of ceremonies is to the one who taught it to him. Therefore, if he wants to teach it to a third person, he is obliged to inform his teacher and to get from him his permission. All of my informants with one exception agreed that this is a custom. The one exception was a man who told me that he actually informed his teacher *after* he accepted his student. An interesting case was noted when my interpreter and I were hunting for the singer to be interviewed. One afternoon, we found JW, a Blessing Way singer, in a cabin near Round Rock, sitting with his wife. My interpreter asked him whether he would be willing to tell us something about the Blessing Way. While he was pondering our request, his wife voiced her objection. He then firmly rejected us. Later on, my interpreter told me that JW learned the Blessing Way from his father-in-law, his wife, therefore, had the right to forbid him to reveal anything about the ceremony.

The concept of knowledge as a personal property is also found in their ancient legends. As Haile (1954: 38) said:

Songs, prayers, ceremonies are handled as properties. Thus in Flintway.... We read that the hero instructs his younger brother and sister and then tells them: "Acto nixiyí. lá all of

it I have put into you, those songs, those prayers...." The -lá derives from the -lé stem to define handling property in general. By "putting" songs, prayers into his brother and the sister the speaker makes these their property which they may dispense as they see fit.

Value. Knowledge of ceremonies is not only a piece of personal property but also very valuable. Often one hears Navajos explain how valuable the ceremonial knowledge is. For example, Walter Dyk in "A Navaho Autobiography" (1947:71):

Telling about such medicine is very valuable. It costs a lot of money. I know lots of medicine, but I'm unable to take you around and show you the weeds, I learned of these medicines from other people and paid a lots of sheep and strings of turquoise and money for the information. I used to go a long way to get the stuff for these medicines. No one has ever asked me to sell any information, but I have sold lots of medicine. Even my own relatives, brothers or nephews, would have to pay me for my knowledge. You pay for this medicine, and if you want the information too, you have to pay extra.

When I asked the chapter president in Chinle to recommend some good singers to me, he refused. Later on, he told me why:

The reason that I did not want to refer you to some medicine men is that, you know, they think their songs worth a lot, if I send you to them, they will think that their leader is making money out of them.

Ceremonial knowledge is a piece of personal and valuable property. With this property, the singer benefits materially and thereby makes a living. As mentioned before, he may receive substantial amounts of goods and money from his patients or students through dispensating or teaching ceremonies. However, neither his dispensation nor teaching is assessed in the same

way that the service of a western doctor is assessed. When the western doctor gets paid for providing treatment or instruction the payment is for his professional effort and for his time, even though it is his knowledge that qualifies him to practice and teach. A Navajo singer views the matter in reverse. It is his knowledge itself that is valuable, not the efforts he makes or the time he spends. His patient pays him according to the amount of knowledge he has applied, and his students pay him according to the amount of knowledge he has released regardless of the time spent. The common rule is that the more knowledge is received, the more payment is made, and if the knowledge is rare, the payment becomes correspondingly higher. When I conducted my interview with Navajo singers I often had difficulty in paying my informants. My rate was two dollars for an hour's interview. Before I started the interview, I always asked my interpreter to explain my rates to my informant. However, if the interview took only several hours and if I paid my informant according to the number of hours he had been interviewed, he often expressed dissatisfaction. The most frequent argument was "it is not the time that is valuable but what I have told you."

Since ceremonial knowledge is a piece of personal and valuable property, teaching and dispensing such knowledge is governed by the basic rule of transaction in Navajo society—the rule of reciprocity. Aberle (1967: 15-32) argues that the goods a singer receives for either his performance or instruction of a ceremony should not be interpreted as a "pay" or "fee", but rather as a prestation, gift or offering made by his patient or student. Aberle further explains that according to Navajo reci-

procity, a prestation, gift or offering of the right kind would compel the singer to perform or teach, while the recipient of such performance or instruction is obliged to make a prestation to the singer. To break this chain of reciprocity would be "morally offensive and therefore ritually ineffective" (Aberle 1967: 27). This doctrine applies to both the patient and student. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946: 160) report: "A fee is always paid to the singer, even if he is the patient's own father; otherwise the rite might not be effective." Reichard (1928: 90) also states: "If the learner did not voluntarily pay a generous sum to his teacher he would lessen his chances of gaining power."

Embodiment. Another characteristic of the Navajo conception of knowledge is that they conceive of the knowledge, especially of songs and prayers, as part of the owner's body. It is relevant to remember here that the Navajo word for "body" has more of a sense of the immaterial than the corresponding English term. It denotes an integrated whole of both the physical and the mental traits. When a Navajo says that songs and prayers are a part of his body, it is roughly equivalent to saying that these songs and prayers are a part of himself. As Haile (1943: 66) put it, they are "part of his very breath and life."

Since the songs and prayers are a part of the singer's body, any misuse of those songs and prayers could physically hurt the singer himself. This belief was held by all of the twenty-one singers I interviewed. I asked them two questions: first, how do you view those songs you sing? second, what would happen if you misconduct your ceremony? In answer to the first question after some explanation of its meaning, my informants told me that they considered their songs and prayers as part of their

bodies. One added that was the reason why singers did not divulge their songs and prayers easily. For the second question, they all answered that to misconduct the ceremony would result in injury to the singer. Some added that the patient would be hurt too.

When I went to ask PN, a Navajo Wind Way singer, to be my informant, his wife refused. She cited the recent case of James Smith, a singer who died after returning from the Arizona State Fair where he had demonstrated a Navajo ceremony. People attributed his death to his misuse of his ceremony.

Another incident suggests that a singer may be hurt not only when he misuses his songs and prayers, but also when someone who has recorded his songs and prayers plays them carelessly. When I finished the recording of the songs of the Enemy Way of DB, he seriously told me: "Now you have all my songs recorded there. My health will depend on you. If you take good care of them, and do not play them to others for fun, I will have a good health. Otherwise, I will be hurt." DB's remark reminds us of James G. Frazer's "Law of Contagion" in magic.

The exhaustion of the songs a man knows can mean the end of his life. When I asked my informant why his teacher had to retain a part of the ceremony untaught, my interpreter often gave me back the same answer: "How can you live on earth, if you have exhausted all you know?" Accompanied with his translation was his familiar puzzled expression, which seemed to say: This is such a clear and simple truth; why do you have to ask?"

It is a widespread custom to withhold a portion of the

ceremony from the student, which is, after all a logical development of the concept that the songs are a part of the body of the singer who sings them. I asked the question: "Did your teacher hold back some part of the ceremony and refuse to teach it to you? If he did, what do you think his reasons were?" Of twenty-one singers interviewed, seventeen answered that the teacher did withhold a part of his knowledge. Three said they did not know whether their teachers had done so; one said that he knew others' teachers did this, but not his. Although a singer is adamant about withholding some part of his knowledge from each student, he has no objection to, and indeed encourages, students' getting from each other or other singers the portion of his knowledge which has been withheld from them.

To withhold a part from the student is an ancient custom, since it is also mentioned in Navajo legends. As Haile (1954: 38) reported:

This general concept of retaining part of one's knowledge for one's self is suggested in several legends of ceremonial so far studied. No sooner is a hero on his return, after gathering all knowledge he can about a ceremonial, than he is stopped by some stranger who tells him: "Grandson, this and that particular thing, prayerstick or song, was not told you. They fear it, here it is, this will make your ceremonial effective and strong. If you use it they [your instructors] can do nothing about it."

According to Reichard (1928: 90), it is believed that "a man may teach it [a ceremony] to another and receive payment for the instruction without in any way lessening his own wisdom or power." This has been confirmed by Haile (1954: 29). However, it is a well-known fact that a singer has to have other singers sing over him regularly in order to keep his power fresh. This

might suggest that singers are afraid of losing their power if they are too free with it. This kind of fear, I suspect, may also be related to the concept that songs and prayers are a part of a singer's body or life, and that the continuous dissemination of those songs and prayers may lead to a diminution of the vital strength and finally to exhaustion. Consequently, a singer needs other singers to perform the ceremony to replenish his strength.

QUALIFICATION FOR VARIOUS RÔLES

Tradition is received, stored, and transmitted by and through individuals. Therefore, any judgement on an individual's qualification for the rôles of the teacher, student, dispensator, and/or recipient is likely to be related to the bio-psychological features of the individual. Just which of the bio-psychological features should be used as criteria for making a judgement varies from one culture to another. In order to present a meaningful picture of Navajo culture concerning this aspect, we have to bring some comparison. Here, I'll take the advantage of my own background and compare Navajo culture with Chinese culture. In making such a comparison, we shall take some basic bio-psychological features of man and examine each of them carefully as to whether and how it is used as a criterion for judging an individual's qualification for various rôles in both cultures. These basic bio-psychological features are: (1) sex, (2) age, (3) conduct, and (4) race. We shall present the Chinese case first and then compare the Navajo case with it.

Chinese Case

In China (our discussion will be generally limited to tradi-

tional China), Confucianism has been continued as her essential and dominant tradition for more than two millenia. In this long process of continuation, the four basic bio-psychological features mentioned above have shown different degrees of significance as the criteria in judging individual's qualifications for the rôles of the teacher, the student, and the dispensator (administrator in the Chinese case) of the Confucian tradition. We shall examine each of these four features in the following.

Sex. Sex is a very significant criterion. Women in traditional Chinese society were precluded from learning, teaching, and dispensating Confucianism. This discrimination against women was based on two sets of traditional Chinese beliefs in regard to the female. First, in the fundamental ancient Chinese dualistic world outlook, women were classified in the *yin* category. They are symbols of weakness, subordination, and uncleanness. This belief was strengthened by the introduction of Buddhism, in which woman is regarded as "the personification of all evil" (Lang 1946: 43). Second, in the traditional division of labor, the rôles women perform require little or no literacy. Women, therefore, were not encouraged to acquire literacy. As Lin Yutang (1935: 154) put it, "the Chinese held that too much learning was a dangerous thing for women's virtue"; as an old and popular Chinese proverb has it: "*Nü tzü wu tsai pien shih tê* (To be without talent is a virtue for women)."

In well-to-do families, girls did have a chance to receive some literary education. However, this education was limited to the books which teach women to be obedient wives and kind mothers. Even if a woman somehow managed to learn of the Confucian doctrine to a sufficient degree to compete with men,

she would still not be accepted as a qualified teacher of such doctrines. Moreover, women were excluded from the government examinations, so it was almost impossible for them to get an official appointment or social recognition as a dispensator of Confucianism.

Age. Old age did add prestige to both the teacher and the dispensator of Confucianism, but was not a necessary condition for a person to be qualified for these two roles. Traditional Chinese expressed great respect for the old, not only because they associated maturity and experience with old age, but also because they considered old age itself a virtue and honor. As Mencius said: "In the empire there are three things universally acknowledged to be honourable. Nobility is one of them; age is one of them; virtue is one of them."⁽¹⁾ It has been a tradition that every ancient dynasty, without exception, esteemed old age, as stated in the Li Chi (Book of Rites):

Anciently, the sovereigns of the line of Yü honored virtue, and highly esteemed age; the sovereigns of Hsia honoured rank, and highly esteemed age; under Yin they honoured riches, and highly esteemed age; under Chou, they honoured kinship, and highly esteemed age. Yü, Hsia, Yin and Chou produced the greatest kings that have appeared under Heaven, and there was not one of them who neglected age. The honour of old age has long been recognized in the world.⁽²⁾

With such persistent and universal respect for the old, older scholars would naturally be more highly regarded as teachers or dispensators than younger ones. In traditional Chinese society,

(1) See Meng Tzu (Works of Mencius), Bk. 2, Pt. 2, Ch. 2. Tr: Legge 1861: 89-90.

(2) See Li Chi (Book of Rites), Bk. 24, Pt. 2. Tr: Legge 1967: 229-30.

old age was often cited as an attribute of prominent scholars. For example, a scholar is often flattered as *nien kao tē shao* (a man of old age and excellent virtue) or *lao shih shu ju* (old master and elderly scholar). While old age added more prestige to a scholar, it was not a prerequisite for a scholar, a teacher, or dispensator of Confucianism. Han Yü (768-824 A.D.), a Confucianist master in the T'ang dynasty, argued that in selecting a teacher, age should not be a factor:

As for those who were born earlier than us and have learned the Tao (Confucian principles) before us, we should follow them and ask them to be our teachers. As for those who were born later than us but have learned the Tao before us, we should also follow them and ask them to be our teachers. The only reason that we ask them to be our teachers is to learn the Tao from them. Why do we want to bother to know their age—whether they were born earlier or later than us?(1)

Conduct. In the traditional Chinese culture an individual's conduct was another very significant criterion in establishing his authority when performing various rôles in the continuation of Confucian tradition. Like the Navajo, traditional Chinese too considered that one's learning became incorporated into the body and heart. They further believed that this incorporation would naturally be expressed in a person's conduct, which thus became the major indicator of successful learning and the ultimate gauge for the validity of one's knowledge. In traditional China, nobody of questionable conduct was considered to have true understanding of Confucianism, or to be entitled to teach or dispense the doctrine.

Race. Generally speaking, race is not a significant criterion.

(1) See Han Yü: Shih Shuo (On the Teacher).

Traditional Chinese culture identifies all non-Chinese peoples as barbarians and classifies them into four categories: those living to the east of China were called *i*; to the south of China, *man*; to the west, *jung*; and to the north, *ti*. All four words—*i*, *man*, *jung*, and *ti*—actually meant the same thing: the barbarian or uncivilized. They were contrasted with *hua hsia* which was the term traditional Chinese used to refer to themselves. However, the difference between *hua hsia* and *i*, *man*, *jung*, and *ti* is cultural rather than biological. Ch'ien Mu writes: "If their cultures are advanced, they would be considered as *hua* and *hsia*. If their cultures are primitive, they would be called *man*, *i*, *jung*, and *ti*."⁽¹⁾ This principle of the importance of cultural superiority is applicable to both groups and individuals. However, whether an ethnic group or an individual was considered culturally advanced or primitive depends mainly on how well the ethnic group or individual accords with the precepts of Confucianism. Since traditional Chinese considered Confucianism as something belonging to all mankind, there were no obstacles for a non-Chinese male who wished to learn Confucianism. Furthermore, once he had mastered it, he would be considered culturally a Chinese and would not be prevented from teaching and dispensing Confucianism.

The above description provides us with a rough picture of Chinese conceptualization concerning the relationship between basic bio-psychological features of an individual and his qualification for various rôles. As we can see in traditional Chinese culture, sex and conduct were two highly significant criteria:

(1) See Ch'ien Mu: *Min-tsu yü Wen-hua* (Nation and Culture), 1960. p. 2.

there was discrimination against women in learning, teaching and dispensating, and no one of questionable conduct was qualified to be a good teacher or dispensator of Confucianism. Old age would add prestige to the teacher and the dispensator but was not a necessary condition for these two rôles. Race in general is not a significant criterion. As we compare the Navajo case with the Chinese one, we shall see a quite different picture.

Navajo Case

Aside from race, the other basic bio-psychological features of an individual—sex, age, conduct—are not taken as significant criteria by the Navajos when they judge whether a person is capable of various rôles concerning the continuation of tradition.

Sex. Sex is definitely not a significant criterion, since women in Navajo society are not prevented from either learning or practicing the ceremony. Of each of nineteen singers, I asked: "Do you think women should be allowed to learn the ceremony?" Each answered yes without reservation. Indeed, Navajo women in general are highly knowledgeable in the ceremonies as revealed by Kluckhohn's study of "Navaho Women's Knowledge of Their Song Ceremonials" (1938: 92-96). In this study forty women were interviewed by Kluckhohn. He reports: "The average number of ceremonials mentioned by the women is seventeen (out of fifty-eight possibilities), the modal number is fifteen (five cases), and the range is between seven and thirty-one." (p. 94) He further concludes: "There is a much sharper break between ceremonial knowledge of men and women in respect to affiliations of ceremonials than in respect to awareness of existence of ceremonials" (p. 95).

When I asked my nineteen male informants whether they would trust a female singer, the answer was again unanimously in the affirmative. But when I asked: "Why are there so few female singers in the reservation?" few were able to give a reason. One said: "Because women are shy (to learn and practice)." Another explained that most of the ceremonies were conducted at night, and women were afraid of walking around in the dark. No one cited as a reason a difference in intelligence and ability between men and women. Two of the twenty-one singers I interviewed were female. One, practicing Blessing Way and Flint Way Life Way, lives in Tsaile, Arizona, and the other, practicing Eagle Catching Way, lives in Naschitti, New Mexico. Both were well-respected by the people in their areas. I asked them whether being a woman did not present certain disadvantages in practicing ceremonies. Both firmly said "No."

Age. It has been said that the age at which one starts learning the ceremony in Navajo society varies greatly. The age at which one starts practicing the ceremony also shows a large disparity. In Navajo society, a person is never prevented from learning, teaching, dispensing, and/or receiving the ceremony on the basis of his age so long as he is capable.

It is true that the older singers tend to have more respect in the society than younger ones, and the former tend to look down on the latter. I asked: "Do you trust a singer under 30 years old?" of all my informants except Robert Brown (who is under thirty years old). Thirteen or sixty-five percent of these informants said that they did not trust a singer who was under thirty.

The reasons given by the different informants as to why

they did not trust their young colleagues were similar. KW did not trust young singers because "they do not conduct themselves properly." HT's reason for not trusting young singers was "they are careless." NB also said: "Older men are more reliable. Younger ones are careless." However, these remarks about the younger generation can actually be found among the older people in any society, especially those traditional ones which have experienced dramatic social changes. Navajos are by no means more critical about their younger generation than other peoples. What Navajo do really care about, I think is the maturity and experience of a singer, but not his biological age. My own superficial observation indicates that most popular singers are between forty-five and sixty-five years of age. Aged singers who are no longer energetic as they used to be are not among the most popular ones. This is different from traditional Chinese society which correlates a person's age closely with the validity of his knowledge—the older a person is the more trustworthy his knowledge.

Conduct. All my informants agreed that good conduct is important to the singer. However, they are more concerned with the singer's behavior during the performance of the ceremony than with his general conduct. Some of my informants outlined their ideas about a good singer in response to my question: "What should a good singer be like?" LG said, "A good singer should keep his mind always fresh, check his equipment from time to time, and have himself blessed frequently. Some singers brought bottles to the ceremony. That is no good. They fool with their ceremonies." TD said: "A singer should behave himself. He should not drink when he performs the ceremony." TB said:

"A good singer is the one who does not drink." HT considered three singers—Yellow Man, Horse Man, and Black Man—were the best on the reservation because they are "very careful" and "stay inside the hogan during the performance," while "some singers run out during the ceremony and get drunk. That is no good."

As we can see from these comments, ideal conduct for singers as conceived by themselves is all directly and closely tied with the performance of the ceremony. In other words, the informants were concerned with a singer's circumstantial behavior, that is, his behavior related to the performance of the ceremony, but not his general conduct. In traditional Chinese society immoral conduct might cause a person to lose his status as a teacher and/or dispensator of important traditions permanently. However, if a Navajo singer is guilty of immoral conduct, the consequences are much less serious, and may even be negligible, as long as he performs the ceremony properly. In contrast to the situation in traditional Chinese culture, the social conduct of an individual Navajo cannot be considered as a significant criterion for passing judgement on this person's qualification as the custodian of tradition and as the performer of ritual. KW even argued that the important thing to a singer is not his conduct but the songs he sings and the stories he knows.

While in Navajo culture, the sex, age, and conduct of an individual are not significant criteria in establishing a person's authority in performing various specific rôles, and thereby continuing the tradition, the racial background of an individual is, to a degree, significant.

Race. Generally speaking, racial considerations do not play

a part in determining eligible recipients of ceremonies in Navajo society, since most Navajo singers believe that their ceremonies are just as effective for non-Navajo as for Navajo recipients, and they have no objections to performing ceremonies over people other than Navajos. I asked all twenty-one informants the question, "Do you think that the ceremony you perform will have the same effect on people other than Navajo, such as Pueblo, Ute, Mexican, Anglo-Americans, or Chinese?" Eighteen of them (eighty-six percent) gave the positive answers without reservation. Three said that the ceremony might have the same effect, but they were not sure. Cases of non-Navajos who are treated by Navajo singers are not difficult to find. For example, among my informants, SW treated a Ute; AL treated a Mexican woman and also a white trader who has been continuously under his treatment for a long time; and DT treated a white nurse with Blessing Way ceremony. MG performed three ceremonies on Utes. HT cured a Hopi girl with five-nights' Red Ant Way. PB treated the daughter of a white trader after she was stung by a spider. Mrs. Newcomb reported that both she and her family had been often treated by singer Hosteen Klah (Newcomb 1964). In his article "Navaho Shamanistic Practice among the Jicarilla Apache," Opler (1943: 12-18) points out the increasing cultural interchanges in the realm of ceremonialism between various Indians in the Southwest; he has also recorded four cases in which Navajo singers treated Jicarilla Apaches with ceremonies.

While race is not a qualification for recipients, it does play an important part in determining the eligibility of the student of Navajo ceremonies. Navajo singers object to teaching their ceremonies to outsiders, so it is almost impossible for a non-

Navajo to become a singer. I asked all my informants the question, "Would you accept a member of other tribes such as Pueblo, Ute, Mexican, Anglo-American, or Chinese as your student, if he is willing and capable to learn the ceremony?" Twelve (fifty-seven percent) gave a straightforward negative answer. Eight (thirty-eight percent) approved it conditionally. Some of the conditions were: "If he is sincere," "It depends on how much he would pay," and "It depends on his ability."

Roughly speaking, all Navajo ceremonial equipment which has either a symbolic or medical function can be identified with the Indian cultures of the Southwestern United States. Most articles are either made by Navajos themselves or collected in Navajo territory. A small part belong to other Indian cultures. Eight of my twenty-one informants had ceremonial items made by other Southwest Indians. For example, IG had two Hopi prayersticks; KW had one Pueblo prayerstick; SP had some eagle feathers and buckskin from the Pueblo; DT had a horse image made by Zuni and a whistle made by Ute; NB also had a whistle made by Ute and a Hopi prayerstick. TB had a Pueblo and a Pima prayerstick and a whistle made by Ute. I have been told several times both by my informants and my Navajo friends that some singers belonged to the Peyote church and used Peyote in their ceremonies. However, only one of the singers I interviewed acknowledged this.

V

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

As explained earlier, the objective of this book is to provide a *description* of the process by which a tradition is continued; this has been the major aim of my research. However, I have also pointed out that Navajo culture is presently undergoing rapid change on a large-scale; we are obliged to make an assessment of the present state and continuity of Navajo ceremonialism. This assessment will occupy the remainder of this chapter.

Our assessment of the present situation of ceremonialism among the Navajo, and of its continuity over time, is based mainly on a survey of 284 Navajo students of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). (The way this survey was conducted was described in the beginning of this book and will not be repeated here. The questions asked in this survey are listed in Appendix II.)

In its early years, the school of the Bureau of Indian Affairs had the policy of assimilating Indians into Anglo-American culture as completely as possible. Since World War II, this policy has gradually given way to a more tolerant attitude toward Indian cultures. In recent years, Indian students have even been encouraged to learn more about their own cultures. Nevertheless, the content of education of the BIA schools is still almost 100 percent American, and the majority of the teaching staff is either white or black American. The students at the BIA schools,

therefore, are at the very border between a Navajo and an American culture. Consequently, they constitute ideal instances in which the continuity of Navajo ceremonialism can be ascertained.

The questions asked in my survey (see Appendix II) are relatively simple. I was mainly interested in finding out three things: (1) their involvement in ceremonialism, (2) their attitude towards ceremonialism, and (3) their pattern of cognition concerning the ceremonialism.

INVOLVEMENT IN CEREMONIALISM

Concerning their involvement in ceremonialism, I asked the Navajo students four questions: (1) whether they possess their own corn pollen bag, (2) whether they have had experience in a ceremony themselves, (3) whether they have ever attended a Night Chant, and (4) whether they have attended any Enemy Way Ceremony. Their answers are tabulated in Table 6, from which we learn that less than one-fourth (twenty-three percent) of the students interviewed have their own corn pollen; less than half (forty percent) of the students interviewed had ever experienced ceremonies themselves; but about two-thirds (sixty-eight percent) had attended Night Chant; and almost everybody (ninety-five percent) had attended Enemy Way. Two points are worth mentioning here. First, the percentage of the ones who had ceremonies among the girls of tenth to twelfth grades is especially high (sixty-one percent). This is because, in Navajo culture, the female adolescent is expected to undergo the puberty ceremony and almost all the girls of tenth to twelfth grades have passed the puberty age. Second, though the Enemy Way and Night

Chant ceremonies are two popular large-size ceremonies, Table 6 shows that the number of the students who have attended Enemy Way is much higher than that of those who have attended Night Chant. This is because Night Chant is usually held in the fall after school starts and therefore conflicts with the school schedule. In sum, we may observe that, though the majority of the Navajo students lacks intensive involvement in its ceremonialism, they have not been cut off from it completely.

TABLE 6
THE INVOLVEMENT OF NAVAJO STUDENTS IN
CEREMONIALISM (SUMMARY)

Variables	5th, 7th, and 8th Grades			10th-12th Grades			Total
	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	
	N: 73	92	165	50	69	119	
1. Possess own corn pollen bag	41% (30)*	15% (14)	27% (44)	12% (6)	25% (17)	19% (23)	24% (67)
2. Have ever had a ceremony sung over them	31% (24)	37% (34)	35% (58)	30% (15)	61% (42)	48% (57)	40% (115)
3. Have ever attended Night Chant	71% (52)	63% (58)	67% (110)	70% (35)	68% (47)	69% (82)	68% (192)
4. Have ever attended Enemy Way	95% (69)	95% (92)	95% (156)	100% (50)	93% (64)	96% (114)	95% (270)

* Figures in parentheses indicate frequency.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS CEREMONIALISM

The over-all picture of involvement of Navajo students is

consistent with that of their attitude toward ceremonialism. To determine their attitude toward ceremonialism, I asked the Navajo students three questions (see Appendix II): (1) whether they knew any short ceremonial songs, (2) whether they planned to become singers, and (3) whether they were willing to learn any ceremonies. The result of this survey is tabulated in Table 7, from which we can see that less than ten percent (27) of the 284 Navajo students interviewed knew any short ceremonial songs; less than two percent (5) planned to become singers; but more than two-thirds (seventy percent or 198) of the students interviewed were willing to learn some ceremonial songs. This result seems to suggest that the majority of Navajo youth does not know any ceremonial songs, does not intend to become singers,

TABLE 7
ATTITUDE OF NAVAJO TOWARDS
CEREMONIALISM (SUMMARY)

Variables	5th, 7th, and 8th Grades			10th-12th Grades			Total
	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	
	N: 73	92	165	50	69	119	
1. Know some short ceremonial songs	10% (7)*	12% (11)	11% (18)	6% (3)	9% (6)	8% (9)	10% (27)
2. Intend to become a singer	0 (0)	2% (2)	1% (2)	6% (3)	0 (0)	3% (3)	2% (5)
3. Like to learn something about ceremonialism	63% (48)	55% (51)	59% (97)	90% (45)	81% (58)	85% (101)	70% (198)

* Figures in parentheses indicate frequency.

but does want to learn something about ceremonies. Moreover, Table 7 indicates that there are more Navajo youth in the upper grades (eighty-five percent) than in the lower grades (fifty-nine percent) who are willing to learn something about ceremonies. Thus, interest in ceremonies seems to increase with age.

In addition to finding out the response of my youthful informants to the general questions just mentioned, I also wanted to test their attitude toward ceremonialism when an alternative Anglo-American culture is available. Logically I should ask them whether they prefer Navajo medicine or "white man's" medicine. However, my experience with my adult informants taught me that a question of this sort would get nowhere. When I asked this kind of question of adult informants, only one of them (FM) could give a definite answer: "White man's medicine is good for internal illness; Navajo medicine is good for external injuries." All the other answers were vague. "It all depends on the illness," "They are both good," and "If one does not work, try the other" were some of the most frequent answers. So when I began to interview the Navajo students, I decided to ask them another question. Navajo creation-myth comprise a major part of ceremonial songs. So I chose the story of the origin of the Navajo to further test my youthful informants' attitudes towards ceremonialism. According to the Navajo creation-myth, the ancestors of the Navajo people emerged from the lower world. The standard anthropological explanation is that they, like the ancestors of other Indian tribes in North America, migrated from northeastern Asia. In my interview, I usually mentioned briefly these two different stories concerning the origin of the Navajo and asked whether they had ever heard either or

both of these stories. After they answered, I retold them these two stories in greater detail. Then I asked them: "Now that you've heard two different stories about the origin of the Navajo

TABLE 8
BELIEF OF NAVAJO STUDENTS CONCERNING
THEIR ORIGIN (SUMMARY)

Variables	5th, 7th, and 8th Grades			10th-12th Grades			Total
	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	
	N: 73	92	165	50	69	119	284
1. Heard the story which says Navajo ancestors emerged from the lower world	0% (0)*	4% (4)	2% (4)	12% (6)	3% (2)	7% (8)	4% (12)
2. Incline to believe this story	16% (12)	41% (38)	30% (50)	22% (11)	17% (12)	19% (23)	26% (73)
3. Heard the story which says Navajo ancestors came from Asia	3% (2)	1% (1)	2% (3)	0% (0)	4% (3)	3% (3)	2% (6)
4. Incline to believe this story	75% (55)	47% (43)	60% (98)	42% (21)	67% (46)	56% (67)	58% (165)
5. Incline to believe both stories	3% (2)	3% (3)	3% (5)	14% (7)	0% (0)	6% (7)	4% (12)
6. Reject both stories	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	6% (3)	4% (3)	5% (6)	2% (6)
7. Undecided	5% (4)	9% (8)	7% (12)	16% (8)	12% (8)	13% (16)	10% (28)

* Figures in parentheses indicate frequency.

people, which one do you believe is true?" The results of this interview (see Table 8) are rather illuminating.

Only four percent (12) of the 284 students interviewed claimed that they had heard the story that their ancestors emerged from the lower world; however, after I retold them the story, twenty-six percent (73) of them believed it. Only two percent (6) of the students had heard the story that their ancestors came from Asia; however, fifty-eight percent (165) of them believed it. There were four percent (12) of them who were able to reconcile the difference between those two stories by saying that when Navajo said that their ancestors came from the lower world, they meant that their ancestors came from the other side of the world, i. e., Asia. So this four percent of the students thought that both stories were actually saying the same thing and that both were valid. Two percent (6) did not believe either story. They claimed that they belonged to Christian churches and that those churches did not tell them such stories. Ten percent (28) gave no response. If we compare the answers given by students of the fifth to the eighth grades to those given by students of the tenth to twelfth grades, we shall find that the percentage of girls who believed that Navajo ancestors emerged from the lower world drops from forty-one percent to seventeen percent, while the percentage of girls who believed that Navajo ancestors came from Asia rises from forty-seven percent to sixty-seven percent. Boys show the opposite trend. As we compare boys of the fifth, seventh, and eighth grades with boys of the tenth to twelfth grades, we find that the percentage of boys who believed that Navajo ancestors emerged from the lower world rises from sixteen percent to twenty-two

percent, while the percentage of boys who believed that Navajo ancestors came from Asia drops from seventy-five percent to forty-two percent. In other words, the tendency to accept the anthropological version of the Navajo origin increases with age among Navajo girls, while decreasing with age among Navajo boys. The tendency to accept the Navajo version of their origin is just the opposite—this increases with age among boys, while decreasing with age among girls.

It has been suggested in a series of studies of American Indians—such as Mead's (1932) study of Plains Indians, Hallowell (1942) with *Saulteaux*, Caudill (1949) with *Ojibwa*, and Spindlers (1958) with *Menomini*—that women usually have an easier adaptation to changes in the process of acculturation. The findings of these studies provided an explanation of the sexual differences shown in our survey described above. Navajo girls, with less difficulty in their adaptation to changes, tend to have more favorable response to Anglo-American education than do the boys. Girls become even more amenable to the teachings of the Anglo-Americans as they progress in their education. Consequently, older girls (tenth to twelfth grades) tend to more readily accept the anthropological version of the Navajo origin than younger ones. Navajo boys have more difficulty in adapting to changes and tend to have more resentment toward Anglo-American culture and more resistance to Anglo-American education. These attitudes are strengthened as the boys grow up. Acceptance of the Navajo story concerning their origin is a means of expressing their resentment and resistance. This is probably why older boys (tenth to twelfth grades) are more willing to accept the Navajo story concerning their origin than

younger ones (fifth, seventh, and eighth grades) are.

PATTERN OF COGNITION CONCERNING CEREMONIALISM

There are three things in the Navajo cognitive system which bear a direct relationship to the functioning of Navajo ceremonialism: (1) a special way of interpreting the causes of disease and misfortune—two major concerns of the ceremonialism, (2) a strong fear of these causes, and (3) a special way of perceiving these causes. My survey on Navajo students' pattern of cognition was intended mainly to find out how much of these three characteristics were maintained among the students.

Navajos hold that supernatural beings—the Holy People, ghosts, and witches—are responsible for most illnesses and misfortunes. Fear of the supernatural, especially of witches, prevails in Navajo society.⁽¹⁾ As we are going to see, this special way of interpreting the causes of sickness and misfortunes is still common among Navajo students, and the fear of the supernatural is strong and widespread.

I asked 284 Navajo students, "Which do you think make you sick, germs, witches, or both?" I chose witches as representative of all supernatural elements since the fear of witches is the strongest and the most common. Their answers are tabulated in Table 9.

Table 9 shows thirty percent of the students surveyed thought that witchcraft was the major cause of sickness. If

⁽¹⁾ A detailed account of the Navajos' belief in witchcraft can be found in Kluckhohn, 1944. One conclusion of this work is "fear of witches persists among people who have ceased to believe in the efficacy of the chants" (p. 58).

TABLE 9
COGNITIVE PATTERN OF NAVAJO STUDENTS
CONCERNING CEREMONIALISM

Variables	5th, 7th, and 8th Grades			10th-12th Grades			Total
	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	Boys	Girls	Toge- ther	
	N: 73	92	165	50	69	119	
I. Causes of sickness							
1. Witchcraft is the major cause	19% (14)*	47% (43)	35% (57)	18% (9)	26% (18)	23% (27)	30% (84)
2. Germs are major cause	68% (50)	37% (34)	51% (84)	34% (17)	29% (20)	31% (37)	43% (121)
3. Both witchcraft and germs are major causes	12% (9)	12% (11)	12% (20)	46% (23)	45% (31)	45% (54)	26% (74)
4. Don't know	0% (0)	4% (4)	2% (4)	2% (1)	0% (0)	1% (1)	2% (5)
Total	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	101%
II. Fear of witches							
1. Afraid of	62% (45)	73% (67)	68% (112)	74% (37)	84% (58)	80% (95)	73% (207)
2. Not afraid of	38% (28)	24% (22)	30% (50)	26% (13)	16% (11)	20% (24)	26% (74)
3. Don't know	0% (0)	3% (3)	2% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1% (3)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
III. Claimed having "seen" witches or tracks of witches							
	27% (20)	24% (22)	25% (42)	42% (21)	29% (20)	34% (41)	29% (83)

* Figures in parentheses indicate frequency.

we combine this percentage with that of the students who thought both witchcraft *and* germs were the causes of sickness, the figure exceeds half of the students surveyed (fifty-six percent). This means more than half of the Navajo students of the BIA schools still think of witchcraft as either the sole cause or one of the causes of sickness.

If we compare the answers of fifth, seventh, and eighth grade students with those of tenth to twelfth grade students, we will notice that the number of students who consider witchcraft as the major cause of disease drops by twelve percent (from thirty-five percent to twenty-three percent). However, the number of students who consider germs as the major cause of disease drops even more—twenty percent (from fifty-one percent to thirty-one percent). On the other hand, the number of those who consider both witchcraft and germs as the major cause of disease rises sharply from twelve percent to forty-five percent with a twenty-three percent increase. If we add the percentages of students who consider witchcraft as the major cause of disease and those who consider both witchcraft and germs as the major cause of disease, the total percentage of students who completely or partially believe that witchcraft is the major cause of disease rises from forty-seven percent to sixty-eight percent. This suggests that the BIA education did not prevent the Navajo youth from preserving their traditional notion of the causes of sickness.

Anglo-American education has not freed Navajo youth from the fear of the supernatural either. I asked the 284 Navajo students of the BIA schools: "Are you afraid of witches?" Their answers, which are tabulated in Table 9, give a rather startling result. Close to three-fourths (seventy-three percent) of the

Navajo students I surveyed were afraid of witches, and more upper-grade students (eighty percent) than lower-grade ones (sixty-eight percent) were afraid. This shows the majority of Navajo youth fears witches, and the older they are, the greater their fear. Anglo-American education has done very little to dispel this fear.

The anxiety about witches leads some Navajo students to believe that they have seen witches or tracks of witches. The latter sighting confirms the former, and vice versa. Of the 284 Navajo students I interviewed, twenty-nine percent of them (see Table 9) answered "yes" to the question, "Have you ever seen any witches or tracks of witches?"

PROSPECT

In summary, my survey of Navajo students in BIA schools shows that the majority of today's young people has not been completely cut off from ceremonialism, though few participate actively in it; the majority is also eager to learn something about ceremonies, and this eagerness increases with their age, though few know any ceremonial songs, and even fewer intend to become singers. My survey further indicates that, in general, Navajo youth today still maintain the traditional belief that sickness and misfortune are caused by something supernatural, and a fear of the supernatural, especially of witches, is widespread. Under the conditions outlined here, we can reasonably predict that ceremonialism will be maintained, at least in part, in Navajo society, and that it will be in demand for some time to come.

However, there are two outstanding problems in dispensing

and transmitting the Navajo ceremonialism. First, as more and more Navajos go into wage work (either in industry or in public service), fewer and fewer people can find time for the ceremonies. There is already a trend toward scheduling the ceremonies on weekends. However, as described before, many ceremonies normally take up more than two nights. Even such ceremonies as Blessing Way, which usually lasts for two nights, still takes a week's work if the preliminary processes are counted. No wage worker can find such a long free period. One remedy for this problem is to shorten the ceremony, so that it can be performed in fewer hours. As mentioned in Chapter II, Hosteen Klah condensed the five-day ceremony of the Chircahua Apache Wind Way into a three-day ceremony. A more interesting and recent innovation has been introduced by one of my informants. Originally a Blessing Way singer, he reorganized the Blessing Way ceremony into a number of short rites which can be performed in a few hours. Then he turned his hogan into a "clinic" and had his patients come to it. By the time I interviewed him, he was already very popular. I was told that people from "all over the reservation" came to seek his treatment. But some of my informants did not approve of him. They thought that he was a fake.

The second problem in dispensing and transmitting Navajo ceremonialism is the lagging recruitment of singers. As my survey shows, few Navajo youth today are inclined to become singers. Besides, learning a major ceremony is full-time work and takes years to complete (as mentioned in Chapter II), and most Navajo youth do not have either the time or the patience to do it. As the old ones are dying out rapidly, before

long there will be a shortage of singers. One solution to this problem is again to shorten and simplify the ceremonies so that they will be easier to learn and can be learned in one's spare time. Another remedy is to use some learning aids so that the student can bring "lessons" home and study them alone without the constant presence of his teacher. One such aid is to take "notes" of ceremonial songs to help in remembering them. Though still not a popular practice, this method has been used by some singers in recent times. Dr. David P. McAllester of Wesleyan University kindly provided me with some such examples when he wrote to me on November 22, 1966:

In 1950-51 (academic year) I was studying Enemy Way music in New Mexico and as a side project went down near Phoenix to where a singer I know was working in the carrot fields. I wanted to get him to sing some chants from the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Arts collection of old wax cylinders and make a modern recording that could be published by the Museum. He listened to the old recordings and made a record by means of pictographs.

In the academic year 1957-58 I was recording Navaho ceremonial material in Arizona and learned from the Navaho singers, Ray Winnie of Lukachukai and Dinét Tsosie, also of Lukachukai, that they kept notebooks of pictographs as memory aids in remembering the verses of the ceremonial chants they practiced.

The tape recorder is certainly an ideal aid in memorization. Some young Navajo do attempt to make use of this modern electronic apparatus in their learning of ceremonies. Dr. McAllester reported one such attempt in the same letter quoted above:

In 1957-58 I talked with a young man near Chinle who was trying to learn Blessing Way. He was having great trouble learning the long series of songs and said that he would like

to have a tape recorder, so that he could record the songs and learn them by playing the tape.

However, since Navajo singers, especially the old ones, are still very reluctant to have their songs recorded, the use of the tape recorder as an aid in learning ceremonies, though ideally promising, is rare in practice. Very few actual cases can be found; I have, myself, encountered none of them.

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APPENDIX

I. Questions for Interviewing Singers.

A. Transmission

1. How many ceremonies can you perform? (The informant is asked to give the name and the number of nights of performance of each ceremony.)
2. Which of these ceremonies is your primary one? Is it the one you practiced most frequently? If not, which one is?
3. Who were your teachers for these ceremonies? (The informant is asked to specify the name, residence, clan, and the relationship of his teacher of each ceremony.)
4. Which ceremony did you learn first? How old were you when you started to learn it? How long did it take you to complete the learning of this ceremony? When did you start to practice this ceremony?
5. Which ceremony did you learn next? (Then I repeat the rest of the questions listed in [4]).
6. In your opinion, what is the best age at which to learn the ceremony?
7. Why did you want to learn the ceremony?
8. How many medicine pouches do you own? Where did you get them? Did somebody give them to you? If yes, who? Did you make and collect them by yourself or did somebody else do it for you?
9. How did you pay your teachers?
10. Do you have any students? (If "yes", the informant was

asked to give the name, residence, clan, and relationship of each of his students.)

11. Did you have to get your teacher's (if he is still living) permission before you teach his ceremony to another person?
12. You are a singer. Do you think you enjoy a higher and more respectable position in your society?

B. Dispensation

1. How many ceremonies did you perform last year (from the summer of 1964 to the summer of 1965)? (The informant is asked to give names of the ceremonies and the places where ceremonies were held.)
2. How much did you get paid for each of the ceremonies you performed last year?
3. What kind of transportation (car, pick-up, horse, etc.) do you have? If you do not have any, how do you get to the place where the ceremony is going to be held?
4. Have you ever been to any large cities (such as Chicago, Denver, Albuquerque, etc.)? If you have, have you ever performed any ceremony there?
5. Have you ever practiced the ceremony outside the reservation?
6. How many kinds of ceremonies have you had sung on yourself in your life? (The informant is asked to specify.)
7. Do you use prayer or song to solve problems in your daily life?
8. How many Enemy Way Ceremony (Squaw Dance) have you attended this summer (summer of 1965)?

9. How many Night Chant Ceremony (Yeibeichai) did you attend last fall (fall of 1964)?
10. Which ceremony do you think will survive the longest? Why?
11. Which ceremony do you think will become extinct the soonest? Why?

C. Conceptualization

1. How do you view the ceremonial songs you sing? Do they bear any relationship with your body and mind (heart)?
2. What would happen if you misconduct the ceremony?
3. (To male singer) Do you think women are just as qualified as men to learn and practice ceremonies? If so, why are there so few female singers on the reservation?
4. (To female singer) Being a woman, is there any disadvantage in practicing ceremonies?
5. Do you trust a singer under thirty years old? If not, why?
6. What should a good singer be like?
7. Who do you think is the best singer on the reservation? Why?
8. Do you think that the ceremony you practice will have the same effect on the people other than Navajo such as Pueblos, Utes, Mexicans, Anglo-Americans, or Chinese?
9. Would you accept the people other than Navajos such as, Pueblos, Utes, Mexicans, Anglo-Americans, or Chinese as your student of the ceremony, if he is willing and capable of learning it?
10. Do you have articles in your medicine pouches which

were acquired from peoples other than Navajo, such as Pueblo, Ute. or Mexican?

II. Questions Asked in the Survey of Navajo Students

- A. Do you have your own corn pollen pouch? If so, who made it for you?
- B. Have you ever had any ceremonies sung over you? If you have, how many times and what were the names of each ceremony you have had?
- C. Have you attended any Night Chant Ceremony (Yeibeichai)?
- D. Have you attended any Enemy Way ceremony (Squaw Dance)?
- E. Are you able to sing some short ceremonial songs?
- F. Would you like to be a singer?
- G. Would you be interested in learning something about ceremonies?
- H. Have you heard the story saying that Navajo ancestors emerged from the lower world?
- I. Have you heard the story saying that Navajo ancestors came from Asia originally?
- J. Now, let me tell you these two stories....Now you have heard both stories, which one would you like to believe, the one saying that Navajo ancestors emerged from the lower world or the one saying that Navajo ancestors came from Asia?
- K. When you get sick, which do you think made you sick, germs or witches (or ghosts), or both?
- L. Are you afraid of witches (or ghosts)?
- M. Have you ever seen things which you believed to be witches (or ghosts) or their tracks?

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