

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN AS
ETHNOGRAPHER AND STUDENT
OF NAVAHO CEREMONIALISM

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CLYDE KLUCKHOHN'S contact with the Navaho extended over a period of nearly four decades—from his first trip to the Southwest in 1922, when he was only seventeen years of age, until his last trip when he died in Santa Fe in 1960. His first article on the Navaho, published when he was only eighteen, appeared in *El Palacio* in 1923 and was entitled "The Dance of the Hasjelti." His last articles on the Navaho were published posthumously in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1961 and in the *Anthropological Papers* of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1966. A definitive count of the months of formal fieldwork he undertook among the Navaho during this time span has not been calculated, but it runs into several years. Perhaps even more significant was his nearly fluent control of the difficult Navaho language, which he mastered early and continued at a level which has been reached by only a few, if any, of his students and by only a handful of others working among the Navaho. This knowledge of the Navaho language, combined with a genuine passion for the Navaho and their colorful land, led to sensitive and intensive fieldwork of the highest quality.

Kluckhohn pursued a variety of intellectual interests among the Navaho, from material culture to values, but his first paper on "The Dance of the Hasjelti" proved to be a premonition of his con-

tinuing major interest: religion, ceremony, and beliefs (including witchcraft). He frankly admitted that kinship bored him. Although he did fundamental work in culture and personality, especially in studies of the socialization process, and in cultural patterning and value systems, we believe his technical work on Navaho religion will be remembered the longest. We have, therefore, chosen to focus upon Kluckhohn's work on Navaho religion, especially his ethnographic studies on how the Navahos classify their own ceremonials and how the ritual system can be described by anthropologists.

An overview of his contributions along these lines reveals the significant changes which have taken place in anthropology since the late 1930s and early 1940s, when some of Kluckhohn's most important material was published. Kluckhohn himself took part in some of the changes toward the end of his life and, indeed, his Navaho work as a whole can be said to anticipate many of the developments of the 1950s and 1960s.

In the first section of this paper, originally drafted by Vogt, Kluckhohn's orientation to both description and theory will be briefly recapitulated. The influence of linguistics on Kluckhohn's Navaho work will also be described. In the second section, originally drafted by Lamphere, a reanalysis of Kluckhohn's data on Navaho ceremonial terminology and ritual will be presented. The two discoveries we made in writing this paper are: (1) the incredible ethnographic richness of the data on Navaho religion that is displayed in Kluckhohn's published work, (2) the extent to which, at the time of his death, Kluckhohn had anticipated and was moving toward the more rigorous methodological developments in ethnoscience and toward the structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Edmund Leach, and others.

Ethnographic Description and Theory

Kluckhohn's ethnographic approach emphasized precise recording and detailed description. His studies of ceremonial participation (1938*b*, 1938*c*, 1939*d*), the classification of ceremonial terminology (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938; Kluckhohn 1960*e*), ritual behav-

ior (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940*b*), and witchcraft (Kluckhohn 1944*a*) are filled with careful reports of informant statements and accounts of observed behaviors. The importance of detail was crucial to Kluckhohn's conception of adequate ethnography as clearly indicated by the following footnote in Kluckhohn and Wyman's monograph:

We realize that . . . we have given masses of detail on variation which may seem needless and burdensome to some. But, in our opinion, only by so providing a corpus of material can both variation and interaction be studied scientifically. What may seem to the anthropologists of our generation only an odd or a meaningless variation may become deeply significant when more refined methods of analysis have been developed. But then, very probably, the original observations could no longer be made. We have, therefore, been scrupulous about even those details which today seem most trivial in the hope that our descriptions can thus always be reduced to their behavioral references and placed fairly adequately in their immediate context of situation by those who may, in the future, care to use them. [1940*b*:10-11, fn. 7]

Kluckhohn's ethnographic descriptions were an important advance over the writings of many previous investigators who had been content to present vague generalizations. On the other hand, Kluckhohn was not content to gather a mass of unconnected detail which constituted a list of culture traits. Rather, he was interested in specific topics such as Navaho witchcraft or ceremonial terminology. He often addressed himself to very particular questions, such as, "What ceremonials are known? How many ceremonial practitioners are there? What ceremonials have been held during a specific period of time? What ceremonials have sample individuals held during their lifetimes? What proportion of family income is devoted to ceremonial activity?"

Kluckhohn's ethnography was not only guided by specific interests but also characterized by particular data-gathering techniques. He was always careful to use a large number of informants, to note their position in the community, and to report discrepancies in their statements. Each statement of fact was cross-checked with several informants and variations were reported as well as the stable responses. Likewise, several instances of a particular behav-

ioral sequence were observed and variations were noted. For example, in studying performances of four chants (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940b) at least two performances were observed, detailed notes were taken, and similarities and differences were reported. In both detail and method, Kluckhohn's early publications on the Navaho are an excellent example of the approach used by many American anthropologists at the time.

In the past decade, however, the criteria for an adequate ethnography have changed. In addition to details, more recent writers have insisted that ethnographic description meet the criteria of (1) productivity (in terms of appropriate anticipation if not actual prediction), (2) replicability or testability, and (3) economy (Conklin 1965:26). As Frake writes:

This conception of a cultural description implies that an ethnography should be a theory of cultural behavior in a particular society, the adequacy of which is to be evaluated by the ability of a stranger to the culture (who may be the ethnographer) to use the ethnography's statements as instructions for appropriately anticipating the scenes of the society. I say "appropriately anticipate" rather than "predict" because a failure of an ethnographic statement to predict correctly does not necessarily imply descriptive inadequacy as long as the members of the described society are as surprised by the failure as is the ethnographer. [1964b:112]

To meet these more rigorous criteria, new data gathering techniques which are clearly influenced by linguistic analysis have been suggested. With these new eliciting procedures, a present-day ethnographer might treat some of Kluckhohn's topics in a much different manner; however, as shown in the second section of this paper, it is also possible to use the details so carefully collected by Kluckhohn to reveal new patterns in the same data.

Kluckhohn's publications on the Navaho reveal not only his fine sense for precise ethnographic recording, but also much of his most perceptive theoretical writing. In his classic monograph *Navaho Witchcraft* (1944a) and in many of his papers in the 1940s, especially "Myths and Rituals: A General Theory" (1942a), he was strongly influenced by the intellectual currents of the time, and his theory can best be described as a type of functionalism.

Even though he labels his interpretive section of *Navaho Witchcraft* as "An Essay in Structural Dynamics," he states that "A structural analysis (an investigation of 'functional dependencies') is a study in the interrelation of parts" (1944a:45) and goes on to make clear, in his interpretation of Navaho witchcraft as "providing culturally defined adaptive and adjustive responses," that his approach is functional rather than structural in Lévi-Strauss's (1963) more current sense. He differentiates between "adaptive" (responses for survival of the individual or the society) and "adjustive" (responses which remove the motivation stimulating the individual), and he introduces Merton's (1949) distinction between manifest and latent function. He also worries about the "cost" of witchcraft beliefs in increasing anxieties, etc. But in spite of these theoretical embellishments, it is clear that Kluckhohn is following the major tenets of functional theory.

Similarly, in his "Myths and Rituals," Kluckhohn concludes that

In the absence of a codified law and of an authoritarian "chief" or other father substitute, it is only through the myth-ritual system that Navahos can make a socially supported, unified response to all of these disintegrating threats. The all-pervasive configurations of word symbols (myths) and of act symbols (rituals) preserve the cohesion of the society and sustain the individual, protecting him from intolerable conflict.

For myth and ritual have a common psychological basis. Ritual is an obsessive repetitive activity—often a symbolic dramatization of the fundamental "needs" of the society, whether "economic," "biological," "social," or "sexual." Mythology is the rationalization of these same needs, whether they are all expressed in overt ceremonial or not. [1942a:77-78]

Significantly enough, Kluckhohn himself later recognized the limitations of functional theory, in part in his papers on values and more explicitly in his famous paper on "The Limitations of Adaptation and Adjustment as Concepts for Understanding Cultural Behavior." Here he states that:

My analysis [in *Navaho Witchcraft*] . . . was basically a functional one. I would suggest merely that the phrase "adaptive and adjustive responses" is a means for avoiding the ambiguities that have inhered in

"functional," since that word has diverse connotations from physiology, mathematics, and other disciplines. (1949b:105)

He then goes on to express his disenchantment with functional theory in these words:

Theories based on these [functional] premises have markedly increased our ability to understand human behavior and have even led to a limited capacity to predict in certain areas. But I must confess to an increasing dissatisfaction with them as they stand.

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Functionalism is adequate to strictly structural questions but not to those of process. . . . Even at the flat time level, the functionalist must strainfully invoke the idea of latent function and of indirect adjustive value to explain why days and even weeks are spent in polishing the nonbusiness faces of axes. Prestige symbols, yes. But why axes—in cultures where stone axes have had no manifest function for hundreds of years?

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One of the "laws" which the earlier functionalists advanced was that those animals and plants in a people's habitat which have economic value become invested with symbolic significance. This is probably a valid statistical generalization, but after it is advanced as the "explanation" of totemism, such totems as flies, sting rays, sparrow hawks, bile, and anal sores were discovered in Australia. . . . Radcliffe-Brown and others have had to do some awkward squirming. [1949b:107-10]

He concludes that:

We require a way of thinking which takes account of the pull of expectancies as well as the push of tensions, that recognizes that growth and creativity come as much or more from instability as from stability, which emphasizes culturally created values as well as the immediately observable external environment. [1949b:112-13]

Not only did Kluckhohn come to realize the limitations of functional theory, but he also began to develop, as early as 1941 in his article for the Sapir volume on "Patterning as Exemplified in Navaho Culture," an alternative type of theory which anticipated the currently fashionable structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss. This theoretical thread appeared again in his article on "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems" (1943b) and was developed

still further in his three most important articles on values (1951f, 1956e, and 1959e). We suggest that, while these articles on patterns and values were moving importantly in the direction of structural theory, they were inspired failures. They seem to have misfired for different reasons. In the two articles on patterns, Kluckhohn utilized solid and specific Navaho data but tried to interpret these data with vague concepts derived from the then fashionable linguistics of Bloomfield (1933) and the psychoanalytically derived notions of Sapir (1927). In his papers on values (especially 1956e and 1959e), Kluckhohn had hold of much more productive concepts derived from the structural linguistics of Jakobson and Halle (1956) but attempted to apply them to diffuse data on values which he combed from the field-note files of the Harvard Values Study Project in the Southwest. Had Kluckhohn restricted himself to the wealth of highly specific Navaho data that he knew so well, we feel the effort would have been more successful and more enduring as one chapter in the development of structural theory. For it is worth noting that the binary oppositions so much used by Lévi-Strauss in his analysis of myths (e.g., Lévi-Strauss 1964) are present in the Kluckhohn papers as he attempts to adapt the notion of "distinctive features" (Jakobson, Fant, and Halle 1952; Jakobson and Halle 1956) to the value emphases of the five Southwestern cultures. It is also noteworthy that while Kluckhohn never once refers to Lévi-Strauss in any of these papers, we know from personal communication that Kluckhohn was a great admirer of Lévi-Strauss as a theoretician. Shortly before his death, Kluckhohn spoke at length with one of us (Vogt) about the forthcoming Lévi-Strauss volumes on what he understood would be a grammar of American Indian mythology and expressed himself as believing that they would open a whole new era of path-breaking theoretical development in anthropology.

In brief, it is clear to us that Kluckhohn came to recognize clearly the limitations of functional theory and that he was a pioneer in his attempt to adapt and utilize linguistic concepts in the analysis of cultural data. Had he lived, we feel strongly that he would not only have felt much at home with the rapidly developing interest in Lévi-Strauss and others who are cultivating structural

theory, but would also have attempted to reinterpret his Navaho data along these lines.

Navaho Ceremonial Classification and Ritual Pattern

Kluckhohn's major contributions to the study of Navaho religion dealt with the topics of ceremonial classification and the description of ritual. He coauthored a monograph with Leland C. Wyman: *Navaho Classification of Their Song Ceremonials* (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938); this and an article on "Navaho Categories" (1960e) show Kluckhohn's concern for native terminology and folk classification, two topics which have been the focus of recent publications utilizing formal semantic analysis. The general topics are similar, but the approach to data shows a sharp contrast between Kluckhohn and more recent writers. Hence, it seems relevant to discuss in detail Kluckhohn's work on ceremonial terminology and suggest how the data might be reanalyzed.

The descriptive material on Navaho ritual published in *An Introduction to Navaho Chant Practice* (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940b) can also be used for reanalysis. By examining the various contexts in which symbolic elements and ritual action occur, it can be shown that ceremonies (1) replicate the main elements of Navaho cosmology and (2) provide for the patient's cure through transactions with the supernatural and through symbolic actions directed toward the patient.

It will be shown how these two analyses, based on two separate sets of data, converge on the same principles (the contrast between *hózhó* or "pleasant conditions" and *hóchó* or "ugly conditions"), thus revealing more clearly the relationship between terminology and ritual symbolism, two rather different aspects of Navaho religion. Before the specifics are presented, a brief outline of Navaho ceremonialism is necessary.

Navaho ritual consists primarily of curing ceremonies or chants conducted for a patient by a practitioner called a "chanter" or "singer." (Navaho terms for English words and phrases used in the text of this paper will be found in the Glossary at the end.) Each chant has a myth which relates how the ancestors of the

Navaho acquired the ritual procedures from the supernaturals (see Spencer 1957). The myth tells of a hero who experiences a series of misfortunes (e.g., illness, poverty, bodily destruction or transformation, abandonments in an inaccessible place, etc.). He is aided by various supernaturals and in the process learns the ceremony which is instrumental in curing his illness or restoring conditions to their normal state. On his return, he teaches the ceremony to the people. Likewise, a Navaho singer teaches his knowledge to an apprentice. A Navaho spends long hours of practice with a singer who knows the chant he wishes to learn. Through these sessions and attendance at chants given by his teacher, he learns (1) the requisite songs which accompany all ritual acts, (2) the skills for collecting ingredients, making and using various medicines and ritual paraphernalia, and (3) the myth which is the charter for the ritual and which includes a description of the ritual within the larger tale.

When illness disrupts the life of a Navaho, he will often go to a diagnostician for a diagnosis. Most diagnosticians practice hand trembling, though there are still a few who perform star gazing or listening. Very often there is consultation with one of the prospective patient's relatives or neighbors who does hand trembling; however, a patient (accompanied by several close relatives such as spouse, parents, or children) may travel 25 or 50 miles to a hand trembler he considers particularly good.

The Navaho believe that sickness is due to improper contact with those things which are dangerous including the following: (1) natural phenomena such as lightning, winds, thunder, and sometimes the earth, sun, or moon; (2) some species of animals including bear, deer, coyote, porcupine, snakes, eagle, and fish (32 kinds listed in Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938); (3) ceremonial paraphernalia or activities which are contacted at inappropriate times; (4) ghosts of either Navahos or aliens and witches (including werewolves). By performing the hand trembling, a diviner is able to discover which of the above is causing the illness, and he suggests the chant appropriate for dealing with that particular etiological factor. The relations between physical symptoms, etiology, and chant are not fully worked out, but etiology is of

prime importance in the selection. This can be seen from figure 1, which shows a list of several chants, the etiological factors, and the symptoms associated with each. Note for instance that Shooting Chants are given for sickness caused by lightning, arrows, or snakes, but snakes are also an etiological factor connected with Beauty Way and Navaho Wind Way. In turn, physical symptoms such as "itching all over" may be associated with eagles or with cactus, making Eagle Way appropriate in the former case and Navaho Wind Way appropriate in the latter case.

A hand trembler or other diagnostician need not be consulted, as the patient and his family in discussing the recent experiences of the patient may decide upon an obvious cause, such as contact with a lightning-struck tree a few days before onset of the illness. A close relative of the patient (parent, sibling, spouse, or child) is dispatched to a singer in the area who knows the appropriate chant. This intermediary negotiates with the singer concerning the length of the ceremony and various supplementary ceremonies. Within this framework, the singer may decide upon sandpaintings or medicines to accord with the disease. A time is set for the singer's arrival and the beginning of the ceremony.

Navaho chants are two, five, or nine nights (a "night" is counted from one sunset to the next) and composed of component ceremonies. Though the content of these component ceremonies, i.e., the specific songs, medicines, paraphernalia, and sandpaintings, differ from ceremony to ceremony, the structure is similar. Many chants include a bath, a sandpainting ritual, a sweat and emetic ceremony, and an all-night sing the last night. Each component ceremony is composed of ritual acts which are directed against the etiological factor causing the illness.

An early problem in describing Navaho ceremonies was "the need for an ordered presentation of Navaho systematizations of the relationships of their complex body of ceremonials" (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:3). *Navaho Classification of Their Song Ceremonials* was published to provide a more complete list of Navaho ceremonies and to show how the Navaho's own categories are organized. The authors originally collected forty-nine distinct names of ceremonies including several kinds of Blessing Way and three

1. RELATIONS BETWEEN PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS, ETIOLOGY,
AND CHANT

	<i>Chants or Ways</i>	<i>Etiological Factors</i>	<i>Symptoms</i>
IIA	1. Hail Way	injury by water	frozen feet, muscle soreness, tiredness, lameness, paralysis
	2. Water Way	injury by water	resuscitation from drowning, deafness
	3. Shooting Ways	lightning, arrows, snakes	colds, fevers, paralysis, abdominal pain
	4. Red Ant Way	ants or horned toads	
IIB	1. Mountain Top Way	porcupine sickness, bear sickness, weasels	constipation, anuria, internal pain, gall bladder, mental disease
	2. Excess Way		mania or promiscuity, all kinds of excesses
	3. Beauty Way	snakes, horned toads	snake bite, rheumatism, sore throat, stomach pain; kidney, bladder, abdominal pain
IIC	1. Night Way	supernaturals	head and eye ailments, arthritis
	2. Big God Way		blindness and stiffness
	3. Plume Way	deer infection	rheumatism
	4. Dog Way		
	5. Coyote Way		promiscuity, mania, rabies, sore throat, stomach trouble
IID	1. Navaho Wind Way	wind infection, snakes, cactus, sun, moon, earth	heart and lung trouble, stomach trouble, itching all over, eye trouble
	2. Apache Wind Way	winds	heart and head
IIE	1. Hand Trembling Way	hand trembling sickness	nervousness, mental distress
IIF	1. Eagle Way	eagle infection	head diseases, boils, sores, sore throat, legs swollen, "itching all over"

From Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940b.

War Ceremonies which are not considered chants. The data are based on names compiled from published accounts which were carefully amplified and cross-checked using informants (mostly singers) on several parts of the reservation. They attempted to collect all the native terminology relevant to ceremonies, a method which contrasts with the eliciting procedure suggested by Frake (1964a) and Metzger and Williams (1966). The difference is critical for the reanalysis presented later in this paper.

Wyman later pointed out that the original list could be greatly simplified if only the most frequently performed chants are considered. He said:

After subtracting duplications due to the occurrence of male and female branches and to performances according to various rituals [i.e., Evil Way, Life Way], we are left with twenty-six names for distinct ceremonial complexes. Nine of these are surely extinct or obsolescent and seven others are uncommon or very rarely performed. Only ten are well known and often seen. [1957:13]

In spite of this potential simplification, it is the structure of the classification which is of the greatest interest. Wyman and Kluckhohn (1938) presented the ceremonials within a taxonomy of four groups which are divided into subgroups. Thus, the domain of Navaho ceremonies can be seen as a taxonomy with the format illustrated in figure 2. They argue that these four groups are ac-

2. WYMAN AND KLUCKHOHN DATA VIEWED AS A TAXONOMY

	I	II	III	IV
Group	Blessing Way	Holy Way	Life Way	Evil Way
Subgroup	A	A B C D E F G	A	A B
Ceremonial	1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1	1 1
	2	2 2 2 2 2 2 2	2	2 2
	3	3 3 3	3	3 3
	4	4 4 4	4	4
		5 5 5	5	5
		6 6	6	6
		7		7
		8		
		9		
		10		
		11		

curate supercategories since there are Navaho terms for each group and Navaho informants were able to name ceremonies for each term. There are also significant differences in the rituals performed under each group. Only in Holy Way Chants, for example, does the singer use a gourd or hoof rattle, and only these ceremonies feature sandpaintings and prayerstick offerings.

Each of the groups includes subgroups. Rather than discuss all of these, a few examples will show how Wyman and Kluckhohn conceived this level of their taxonomy. The subgroups are based on connections between myths (which are the charters for each ceremony) and on similarities in etiological factors. Only one subgroup (IIC) is expressed by a Navaho term: The phrase "those which have supernatural impersonators" refers to the masked dancers appearing in the nine-night version of Night Way and in other chants in that subcategory. The lack of native terminology makes the level of subcategory somewhat suspect and suggests the possibility of an alternative analysis.

The Shooting Chant group, for example, includes the following:

- IIA 1. Hail Way
- IIA 2. Water Way
- IIA 3. Shooting Way, Male Branch
- IIA 4. Shooting Way, Female Branch
- IIA 5. Red Ant Way
- IIA 6. Big Star Way

These chants have been grouped together because of common incidents in the myths and their association with lightning or other sky phenomena as etiological factors. Hail Way and Water Way are both extinct and Red Ant Way and Big Star Way are rarely performed; Shooting Way, Male Branch, and Shooting Way, Female Branch, thus emerge as the most important members of the subgroup. These chants can be differentiated in terms of the first word of the label which we will designate as a "chant name." This minimal referent for the chant may refer to an episode in the accompanying myth or to an etiological factor against which the chant is effective. For example, Red Ant Way takes its name from

an incident in the myth involving the Red Ant People. Shooting Way refers to "the shooting of objects that move in zigzags" and suggests lightning, snakes, and arrows, any of which are the presumed cause of the patient's illness. Hail Way and Water Way refer to hail and water as etiological factors.

Some pairs of ceremonies are differentiated only by a term for "male" and one for "female," e.g., Shooting Way, Male, and Shooting Way, Female, in Subgroup IIA. This distinguishes what Wyman and Kluckhohn call "branches" and refers to the mythology. In these cases, one branch recounts events which happen to the hero(s), and the second branch emphasizes other adventures, misfortunes, and positive outcomes which involve the same hero(s). For example, Newcomb and Reichard (1937:47) state that Shooting Chant, Female, emphasizes the birth and rearing of the twin heroes, while the Male Branch recounts their dangerous exploits. Wyman and Kluckhohn report: "Although [male and female versions are] similar in underlying conception (and even in many details), the myth, sandpaintings, songs, certain medicines, and procedures differ to greater or lesser extent" (1938:24). They note that male and female branches of a ceremonial are often so similar that "as many singers have informed us, almost never does any one person try to learn both branches—'or they'd get mixed up'" (1938:23, fn. 68).

Wyman and Kluckhohn also present three additional sets of Navaho terms which they label "subritual," "phase," and "etiological factor" (1938:7-12). These further differentiate chants classed in Group II or Holy Way. Details of these terms will be discussed later, but the broad outlines are relevant here. First, their use of "subritual" refers to three Navaho terms which indicate whether or not anger (or weapon) of the supernatural is stressed as a causative factor. Second, terms listed as "phases" include those which describe various component ceremonies which can be combined to make up a Holy Way Chant (e.g., a sandpainting ceremony, a jewel-offering ceremony). Third, "etiological factors" refers to terms describing the disease-causing agent (such as thunder, snakes, lightning) which is to be emphasized. Presumably, in each of those chants which can be performed according to one of several etiologi-

cal factors, different sandpaintings, songs, and medicines are used.

In summary, Wyman and Kluckhohn's presentation is a taxonomy of specific ceremonies (some with male and female branches) divided into groups and subgroups. The taxonomy is highly differentiated within the Holy Way group. There are more of these chants than in any of the other three groups, and many can be further distinguished in terms of subritual, phase, and etiological factor. This overdifferentiation suggests that placing ceremonies into four major categories may not be appropriate. Moreover, chant names or minimal referents in the Holy Way group (especially those of the Shooting Way) appear in the Evil Way and Life Way groups with one of these terms appended to the chant name. For example, Shooting Way, Male Branch, (IIA 3), occurs as Evil Way, Male Shooting Branch, (IVA 4), and Life Way, Male Shooting Branch, (IIIA 3). These terms may indicate variations of one ceremony rather than different ceremonies within three separate groups. Perhaps the name of the ceremony should be considered first and the terms Evil Way and Life Way treated as modifiers. Finally, there are no Navaho terms for most of the subgroups. Here Wyman and Kluckhohn have relied on relations between chant myths and etiological factors as a basis for the subcategories rather than statements by informants that "X is a kind of Y."

Some of these difficulties are eliminated in the scheme presented by Kluckhohn in "Navaho Categories" (1960e), which represents his later thinking on the topic and contains substantial revision of the 1938 monograph. Kluckhohn apparently adopted much of the viewpoint expressed by Father Berard Haile in his "Navaho Chantways and Ceremonials" (1938), in which he saw Navaho chants as a kind of ceremony or, literally, a "here and there (in a place) one person goes" or "something is going on." Since Blessing Way is not a chant or curing ceremony, it is excluded, although it is part of the broader designation "ceremony." Kluckhohn adopts this perspective: "The most sweeping and clear-cut distinction is that between 'chants' and all else" (1960e:68). In the "all else" category, he includes Blessing Way, prayer ceremonials, war ceremonials, hunting ceremonials, and rites of divination.

Kluckhohn also follows Father Berard in stating that cere-

monies can be performed according to one of three rituals: Holy Way, Evil or Ugly Way, and Life Way:

Several chants provide for performance according to all three rituals; a much larger number for performance by Holy Way and Ugly Way only. The ritual is selected in accord with the assumed etiology of the disease of the patient being treated. If the illness is thought to be caused by angry supernaturals, Holy Way is appropriate. If the "cause" be the ghosts of fellow tribesmen or (sometimes) witches, Ugly Way is selected. The Life Way ceremonials are primarily for those suffering from injuries attributed to accidents, either recent or past. [1960e:69]

The four terms originally used to designate groups are now included in an all-encompassing class of ceremonies. Blessing Way ceremonies are grouped with other rituals which are not chants. Rather than being classed into three remaining groups, chants are seen as being performed in one of three manners which crosscut the list of chants (still listed in subgroups in the 1960 article). They correspond to different etiological factors (supernatural attack, ghosts, or injury) and are correlated with different arrangements of component ceremonies (see fig. 9 below).

Kluckhohn's second formulation seems to be a substantial improvement over the first. The puzzling overdifferentiation of the Holy Way group has been eliminated. Now there is only one list of chants, some of which can be performed in three ways. The new formulation also seems more consistent with Navaho word order. Shooting Way, Male Branch, indicates a ceremony performed according to Holy Way and the addition of either Evil Way or Life Way to this phrase indicates the ceremony is performed according to one of these two patterns or manners. Thus we would get, in literal translation: (1) Shooting Way (Holy Way group), Male Branch and Evil Way Manner, (2) Shooting Way (Holy Way group), Male Branch and Life Way Manner. This seems preferable to isolating each term under contrasting groups and stresses the importance of the chant name rather than the modifiers.

Although Kluckhohn had a standardized procedure for collecting data (the use of informants and careful cross-checking), it was not one which included a method for constructing the taxonomy

itself. The 1960 taxonomy seems to be a more consistent ordering of the data, but Kluckhohn presented no method for validating this taxonomy in terms of actual informant statements. Here is the crucial difference between ethnographic methods of the 1930s and 1940s and those recently proposed by Frake (1962) and Metzger and Williams (1962, 1963*a* and *b*, 1966). These authors have attempted to meet Conklin's criteria for an adequate ethnography (1965). The method is one of discovering stable response frames within a particular domain. The domain itself is also defined by the eliciting procedure which is conducted in the native language. As Frake states, "For every response, discover the set of inquiries which appropriately evokes it; and for every inquiry, discover a set of responses it appropriately evokes" (1964*a*:134).

Using response or substitution frames which are equivalent to "What kind of X is it?" "What kinds of X are there?" "What kind of Y is X?" and "What is X used for?" lexical items (segregates) can be grouped together on the basis of class inclusion. The resulting contrast sets can be linked together in a hierarchical relationship to form a taxonomy (Frake 1962). Criterial attributes of dimensions may also define a contrast set; the combination of such dimensions or components results in a paradigm (Conklin 1965:27). The influence of linguistics on the development of this method is apparent in the notions "substitution frame," "level of contrast," "contrast set," and "criterial attributes" or "components." As already noted, Kluckhohn saw the relevance of linguistics for ethnography, especially in Sapir's concept of pattern. However, a distributional analysis based on the notions "substitution" and "contrast" is lacking as a guideline to his early ethnographic research; and it is in the use of these concepts that some of the most recent advances have taken place.

Reanalysis of Chant Terminology

The following distributional analysis will utilize the notion of "contrast" to reexamine phrases referring to Navaho chants. It will follow Kluckhohn's "Navaho Categories" (1960*e*), which is based on a list of chants rather than groups of them. The attempt is to combine Kluckhohn's carefully collected data and his more recent

insights with the assets of formal semantic analysis. The following modifications will be followed:

<i>Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938</i>	<i>Reanalysis</i>
groups or ritual	manner
subgroups	(eliminated)
chant names	chant names
branches	male/female distinction
(Holy Way distinctions)	
subritual	theme
phases	subceremonies
etiological factor	etiological factor

Some of Wyman and Kluckhohn's English terminology is indeed unfortunate. Both the terms "ritual" and "subritual" connote bounded segments of activity rather than systematic differences in various aspects of the ritual. Hence, "manner" has been substituted for "group" or "ritual" and "theme" has been substituted for "subritual." Subgroups have been eliminated since they are not reflected in Navaho terms. "Subceremony" has been substituted as a more appropriate rendering of "phase."

Since it has not been possible to use Navaho informants in eliciting queries and answers, basic contrasts have been reconstructed from phrases which appear in Wyman and Kluckhohn (1938) and other published material (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940b; Haile 1938, 1947). English terms will be used throughout; phrases published in Navaho and those which have been reconstructed from English translations will be found in the Glossary at the end of this paper. Strings of terms will be analyzed in terms of Navaho word order. Thus, Shooting Way, Male Branch, Life Way Manner will be thought of as chant name + male + manner. In general, a chant (as indicated by a unique referent) can be discussed in terms of five distinctions: male/female + manner + theme + etiological factor + subceremony. However, there are limitations as to which elements of each distinction can co-occur, and there are relatively few chants which have all five possible distinctions. It is these patterns of co-occurrence which reveal the important contrasts at each level and also indicate important differences in ritual and causes of illness.

A brief discussion of the terms "theme" (subritual), "etiological factor," and "subceremony" (phase) will clarify their roles in signaling differences in ritual and causes of illness. Subritual (now called "theme") is used by Wyman and Kluckhohn to characterize three native terms: Fighting Side Theme, Angry Side Theme, Peaceful Side Theme (1938:7). They note that Father Berard says the first two terms are interchangeable, at least by certain practitioners (1938:8). Though the evidence is incomplete, this statement probably indicates that each term is associated with different chants, and hence they never contrast with each other. A Holy Way Chant which is performed according to Fighting Side Theme stresses either the weapon (such as an arrow or kind of wind) or the direct attack (by bear or snake); Angry Side Theme emphasizes the anger of the supernatural. Both terms concern driving out the evil, and both contrast with the Peaceful Side Theme since changes are made in the color symbolism so that reds, rather than blues, are placed on the outside of the sandpaintings.

Holy Way is performed Peaceful Side unless otherwise stated to be Angry Side or Fighting Side; it "is considered a restorative for the injuries and weaknesses resultant upon supernatural attack" (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:9). This use of the term (hereafter designated Peaceful Side II) is different from that of Peaceful Side I (the Blessing Way ceremony), and the two uses should not be confused.

Terminology dealt with by Wyman and Kluckhohn (1938:12) under the topic "etiological factors" includes the following:

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Etiological Factor</i>	<i>Chant</i>
Upper Regions Side or From Upper Regions Side	flash lightning	Shooting Ways
Thunderstruck Side	heavy lightning	Shooting Ways and Navaho Wind Way
From Under Plants Side	snakes	Mountain Top Way also others in Group IIB
Striped Side	striped wind	Navaho Wind Way

As figure 1 shows, Navaho recognize more than these four etiological factors; however, only these four are the object of special terminology. Clearly the above terms are euphemisms, oblique ways of indicating that a specific dangerous element is being counteracted in the chant. Not all Holy Way chants are designated by one or more of these terms. It may be that an etiological term is used to differentiate one from several other factors which are associated with that particular chant. For instance, Mountain Top Way, From Under Plants Side, may indicate a Mountain Top Way with special reference to snakes rather than bears or porcupines which are usually associated with the chant. Wyman and Kluckhohn's comments concerning the use of these terms are vague, and little is said about actual differences in the ritual which might be signaled by the use of one of them. In sum, these four terms occur with a restricted number of chants; although etiological factors are potentially specifiable for all illness and are always related to the selection of a particular chant, only this limited set of factors can be overtly specified in referring to a chant.

Terminology for subceremonies (phases) describing some of the component ceremonies of Holy Way is as follows (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:11):

A. Features

1. Chant with Sandpaintings
2. Chant with Offerings (i.e., prayersticks)
3. Chant with Jewel Offerings
4. Chant with Sun's House
5. Chant with House

B. Public Exhibitions

1. Dark Circle of Branches
2. God-Impersonators (i.e., masked dancers)
3. Interior Chant or Just Visiting Chant

The above two subceremonies are known for ceremonials of the God-Impersonators (Subgroup IIC).

Not all these subceremonies are known for each Holy Way, although some of them may include several in a very elaborate

performance. It is common for Holy Way to include a sandpainting subceremony. Other subceremonies are more specialized in occurrence, for example, the Corral Dance is usually only performed at a nine-night Mountain Top Way or Shooting Way, and the God-Impersonators at a nine-night Night Way. If only a five-night Night Way is performed, it is with Interior Chant, also called Just Visiting Chant.

The way in which several subceremonies can be combined into one chant is best illustrated by the five- and nine-night versions of Shooting Chant, Male. A performance of a five-night chant contains a Chant with (prayerstick) Offerings and a Chant with Sandpaintings. These may be conducted according to Angry Side or Peaceful Side themes. Both Angry Side and Peaceful Side may be combined into one to give a nine-night chant; prayersticks are cut on the first four mornings, sandpaintings are drawn on the last four mornings, and the Corral Dance may be added the last night (Haile 1947).

The subceremony terms do not include names for all the short rituals or component ceremonies which compose a chant. For example, the terms for the bath, final night, sweat and emetic, and unraveling are not included. The former two are expected parts of every chant, and the latter are performed in Ugly Way as well as in Holy Way. This suggests that subceremony terminology refers to those ritual sequences which are particularly part of a Holy Way form (e.g., sandpaintings, jewel or prayerstick offerings) and/or those which can be used for an elaborate performance (the Corral Dance, the Chant with Sun's House, and the Chant with House). These three are not necessary to a simplified two-night version but are part of the elaborations which the patient and his relatives may decide upon if planning a five- or nine-night chant.

With these additional three sets of terms, we can see that terminology referring to chants has the following structure:

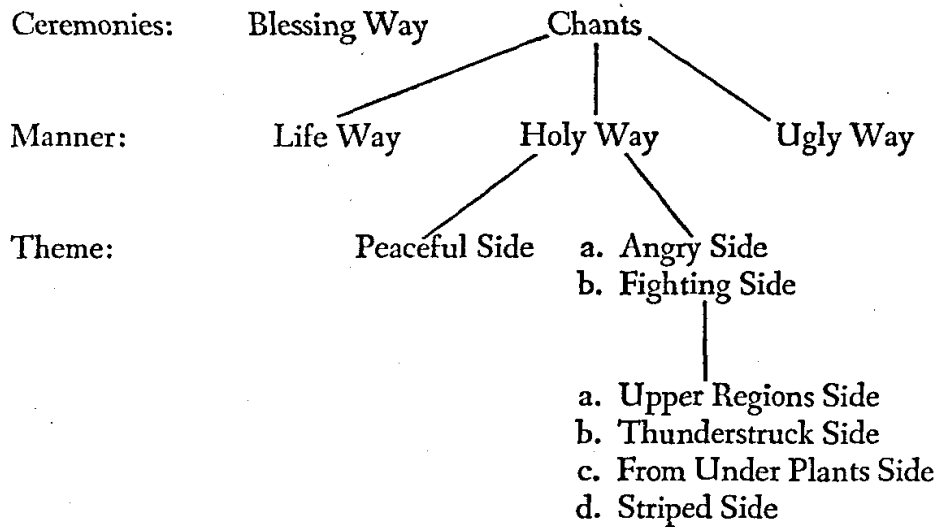
- (1) Each chant is labeled (often indirectly or by innuendo) by a chant name associated either with an incident in the corresponding myth or with a disease cause against which the chant is effective.

- (2) Some chants have male and female branches, i.e., similar forms of the same ceremony but with the myth or some ritual practices differing.
- (3) Most chants are considered Holy Way when directed against an etiological factor associated with the supernatural. If the chant is directed against ghosts or witches, it is considered Ugly Way; and if for an injury, it is considered Life Way; each of these versions has different component ceremonies, or the component ceremonies similar to those in the Holy Way version are arranged in a different order.
- (4) When performed as Holy Way, a chant may be Angry Side or Fighting Side Theme, depending on whether the anger or weapon of the supernatural is stressed. Otherwise it is performed Peaceful Side Theme.
- (5) If Angry Side or Fighting Side, a chant may be designated by one of four special terms referring to etiological factors.
- (6) All Holy Way performances have some component ceremonies which are designated by the subceremony terminology. Different combinations of these subceremonies are used in five- and nine-night versions of various chants.

These relationships are shown in figure 3, which shows actual levels of contrast which Navahos distinguish as demonstrated by an analysis of how phrases concerning chants are used in Navaho discourse. The contrasts depicted refer to relations of classes of terms, not to individual members. Some, but not all, terms for Holy Way co-occur with some, but not all, the terms listed as themes, etiological factors, and subceremonies. Subceremony terminology is utilized for all Holy Way themes (both Peaceful Side and Angry Side/Fighting Side).

Father Berard Haile lists the following "popular query": "Which kind of ceremonial is it?" (1938:641). The pattern of answers to this query can be seen by examining phrases pertaining to Shooting Chant, Male. Any particular answer has one of the four forms shown in figure 4. In response to the query "Which kind of ceremonial is it?" a native may get an answer of Response Type 1; he finds out if the chant will be Holy Way, Life Way, or

3. ACTUAL LEVELS OF CONTRAST DISTINGUISHED BY
NAVAHOS IN THEIR DISCOURSE CONCERNING CHANTS



-
- Subceremony:
- a. Chant with Prayersticks
 - b. Chant with Sandpaintings
 - c. Corral Dance
 - d. Chant with House
 - e. Chant with Sun's House

Ugly Way. The latter is indicated simply by the headword + male or female. If he wishes to know the theme, the etiological factor, or the particular subceremonies which are being performed, he will have to query further. There are, of course, constraints on the order of queries and responses, depending on which response is given to a particular query. If in response to "Which kind of ceremonial is it?" one hears Response Type 1, i.e., Shooting Chant, Male or Female, indicating Holy Way, then one may ask questions relevant to the information in Response Types 2, 3, and 4. Since only Holy Way has these three aspects, if one hears Shooting Chant, Male, Life Way or Shooting Chant, Male, Ugly Way, the questioning can go no further. Conversely, if one receives an answer to an initial inquiry which is of Response Types 2, 3, or 4, there is no need to make inquiry directed toward Response Type 1, since the chant is already known to be Holy Way. However, one can still ask for information in the other two categories.

Likewise, if one receives an initial answer of Shooting Chant,

4. RESPONSE PHRASES PERTAINING TO SHOOTING WAY,
MALE BRANCH

<i>Response Type</i>	<i>Examples</i>
(1) (Chant name + male) + manner	Shooting Chant, Male, Holy Way Shooting Chant, Male, Life Way Shooting Chant, Male, Ugly Way
(2) (Chant name + male) + theme	Shooting Chant, Male, Fighting Side Shooting Chant, Male, Angry Side Shooting Chant, Male, Peaceful Side
(3) (Chant name + male) + etioloical factor	Shooting Chant, Male, From Under Plants Side Shooting Chant, Male, Upper Regions Side Shooting Chant, Male, Thunderstruck Side
(4) (Chant name + male) + subceremony	Shooting Chant, Male, Chant with Prayer- sticks Shooting Chant, Male, Chant with Sand- paintings Shooting Chant, Male, Chant with Jewels Shooting Chant, Male, Chant with Sun's House Shooting Chant, Male, Chant with House Shooting Chant, Male, Chant with Corral Dance

Male, Thunderstruck Side, one knows immediately that it is Holy Way, performed Angry Side or Fighting Side Theme but not Peaceful Side Theme. These relationships have been indicated in figure 3, and appropriate questions or answers can be constructed by following any of the heavy black lines in the figure. Thus one can see that it would be inappropriate to ask about an etioloical factor (Response Type 3) if one had learned that Shooting Chant, Male, Peaceful Side Theme was being performed. Also if one hears that Shooting Chant, Female, From Under Plants Side is taking place, it would be unnecessary to ask if it was Holy Way and inappropriate to ask if it was Ugly Way.

The relationship of terminology for subceremonies follows a different pattern since the same subceremonies can be given Peaceful Side Theme or Angry Side/Fighting Side Themes; if the latter,

they may be related to one of the etiological factors. Thus, if an initial answer is one in Response Type 4, information contained in Type 3 or 2 may be requested. However, only Holy Way has subceremonies (i.e., component ceremonies noted in special terminology); so information in Response Type 1 is already assumed.

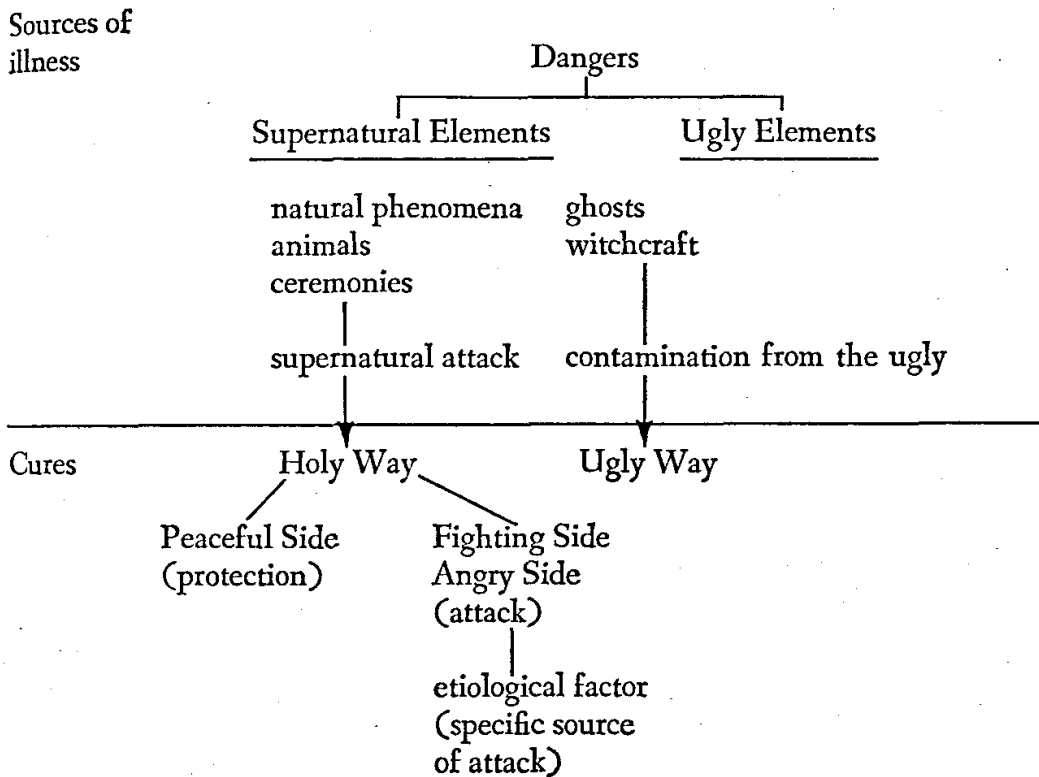
Thus far, ambiguous answers have not been considered. If in response to the query "Which kind of ceremonial is it?" one hears an answer without the chant name, such as just Ugly Way or Chant with Sandpaintings, the answer is ambiguous. The Navaho does not necessarily know which chant is being performed and further questioning to elicit the chant name and the branch word, "male" or "female," is necessary.

Figure 3 also reveals a structure which can be related to Navaho ideas about the causes of illness. At the top level, chants which are curative (i.e., to correct something which has gone wrong) are distinguished from Blessing Way, which is performed to prevent such disruption. Of the chants, those which are Holy Way and Life Way are distinguished from those which are Ugly Way. The former provide a cure for illness deriving from improper contacts with dangerous natural phenomena, animals, and ceremonies; the latter helps to cure illness due to the ugly things, namely witches and ghosts. Within Holy Way, those chants which are performed Peaceful Side emphasize immunity which is to be given to the patient, while those performed Angry Side or Fighting Side emphasize the weapons or anger of the supernatural elements attacking the patient. The source of the weapon or anger is further specified on the next level by reference to the etiological factor (snakes, lightning, winds).

Thus the classification of dangerous elements which cause illness is congruent with the terminology for the cures for illnesses. The relationship is shown in figure 5.

In addition to the close fit between etiology and appropriate chant, ceremonial terminology also reflects the importance of two key Navaho concepts: pleasant conditions and ugly conditions. At each level of contrast in figure 3, these two concepts account for important distinctions. Thus chants which are curative and correct ugly conditions are contrasted with Blessing Way which is per-

5. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NAVAHO CLASSIFICATION OF ELEMENTS CAUSING ILLNESS AND THE TERMINOLOGY OF CURES



formed to prevent such disruption and preserve pleasant conditions. Of the chants, those which are Holy Way or Life Way emphasize return to pleasant conditions through immunity against the cause of illness, while Ugly Way chants remove the specific ugly conditions caused by ghosts and witchcraft. Of the ways of performing Holy Way, Peaceful Side Theme emphasizes return to pleasant conditions, while Angry Side or Fighting Side emphasizes something which is ugly, i.e., the anger or weapons of the supernatural which cause the illness. The source of the weapon or anger is further specified by reference to the etiological factor terminology. These relationships are shown in figure 6.

In reexamining the terminology presented by Wyman and Kluckhohn in 1938, the same six clusters of terms are encountered: (1) chant names, (2) ritual or manner, (3) branch or male-female distinction, (4) subritual or theme, (5) etiological factor, and (6)

6. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NAVAHO CONCEPTS OF PLEASANT AND UGLY CONDITIONS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL TERMINOLOGY

Ceremony				
	Blessing Way and others	Chant name + branch		
Manner	Life Way	Holy Way		Ugly Way
Theme		Peaceful Side	Angry Side, Fighting Side	
Etiological Factor			From Under Plants Side, Thunderstruck Side, etc.	



phase or subceremony. These clusters of terms indicate changes in ritual procedure according to several levels of contrast as indicated in figure 3 and as substantiated by the reconstruction of queries and answers in the preceding pages. That these distinctions correspond to distinctions in disease causes is shown in figure 4. Figure 5 shows that, at each level, the important contrast is made in terms of the binary opposition between pleasant and ugly conditions. These might be thought of as criterial attributes or components which operate at each level of contrast.

Symbolism and Ritual Action

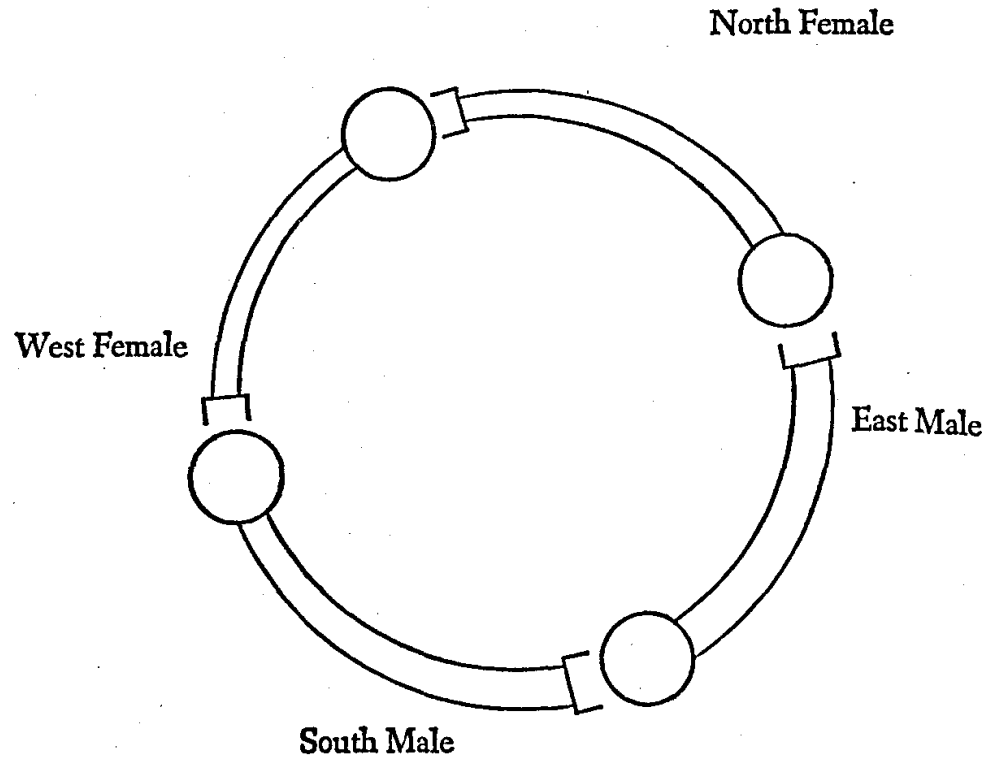
A distributional analysis using the notion of contrast is also relevant to the study of symbolism and ritual action. The material presented by Kluckhohn and Wyman in their 1940 monograph

includes details on paraphernalia, medicines, and particular ritual actions, in addition to an outline of ways in which these are combined into component ceremonies and into chants. Descriptions of four chants are also provided. These data constitute rich source material for examining contrasts (1) between ritual and nonritual contexts and (2) among various symbols and action sequences within ritual scenes. In contrast to nonritual contexts, the chant setting and the arrangement of objects and persons in that setting correspond to the Navaho model or map of the universe. Navaho cosmology is replicated in each chant, and oppositions in this framework set the pattern within which ritual sequences take place. These sequences include transactions (or prestations) between the patient and the supernatural, again distinguishing ritual from nonritual contexts. Within sequences, the basic contrast is between those actions involving the patient's body, which identify him with the supernatural, and those which remove the conditions of sickness.

The Navaho model of the universe has been depicted (Haile 1943:71) as a circle which represents the point where the sky-horizon-edge meets the earth-horizon-edge. Various versions of the Navaho origin legend refer to the four light phenomena which were associated with each of the four directions when the ancestors of the Navaho emerged from the lower worlds. In the east is the dawn; in the south is horizontal blue; in the west is horizontal yellow; and in the north is darkness. Each of these four light phenomena has an inner form or "that which stands within" as follows: (1) Dawn Man (east), (2) Horizontal Blue Man (south), (3) Horizontal Yellow Woman (west), (4) Darkness Woman (north). Thus, a circular horizon is divided into light phenomena associated with four directions, and each of these in turn is given the human attribute of maleness or femaleness.

One of Haile's informants has depicted the relationships in figure 7. Here Dawn Man lies east to south, Horizontal Blue Man lies south to west, Evening Twilight Woman lies west to north, and Darkness Woman lies north to east. This basic fourfold scheme is repeated in the association of direction and color with the four sacred mountains, jewels, birds, types of corn, and various supernaturals

7. NAVAHO MODEL OF THE UNIVERSE: THE BASIC FOURFOLD SCHEME



(Reichard 1945: table 2). Some of these are summarized as follows:

<i>Direction</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Mountain</i>	<i>Jewel</i>	<i>Bird</i>
East	White	Dawn Man	Mt. Blanca	White Shell	Pigeon
South	Blue	Horizontal Blue Man	Mt. Taylor	Turquoise	Bluebird
West	Yellow	Horizontal Yellow Woman	San Fran- cisco Peaks	Abalone	Yellow Warbler
North	Black	Darkness Woman	La Plata Peaks	Jet	Blackbird

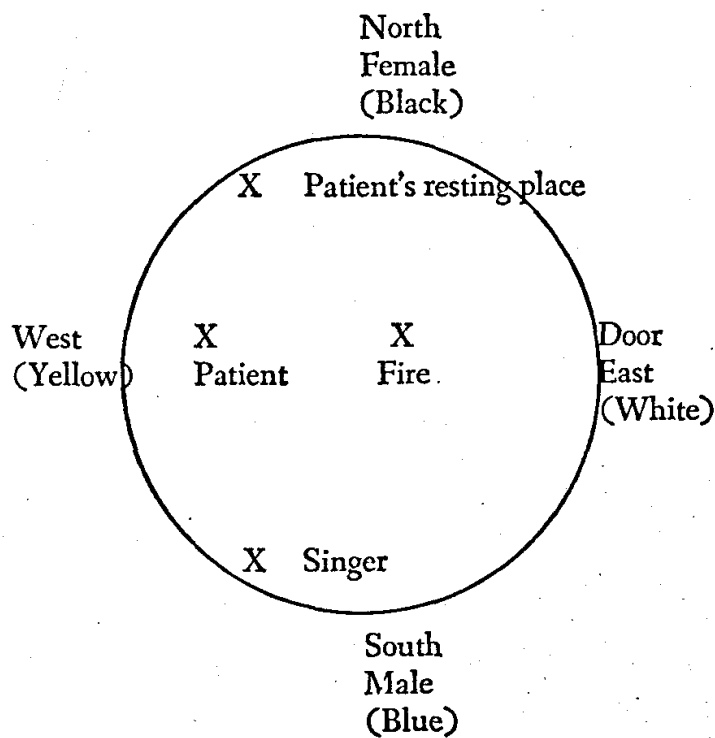
The Navaho dwelling or hogan is used for a chant. It is made sacred or supernatural through the ritual rubbing of corn meal and the placing of oak sticks on the posts or wall beams in each of

the four directions. This is done by the singer at the beginning of each chant (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940b:7). The hogan is usually a five- to eight-sided dwelling of cribbed logs, the rounded appearance of which approximates the circle of sky horizon meeting earth horizon. The structure of the hogan itself and the placement of participants in the hogan during the chant replicates the Navaho model of the cosmos as in figure 8.

Men sit on the south side of the hogan; women sit on the north side. The singer sits on the southwest side, and the patient, when resting, sits on the northwest side. When participating in a bath or sandpainting or being sung over by the singer, the patient is always seated on the west side, directly opposite the door. Sandpaintings are always made in the area in front of the patient's position, that is, on the west side between the fire and the rear of the hogan.

The pairing of colors with directions is often seen in the sand-

8. NAVAHO HOGAN DURING A CHANT: PLACEMENT OF PARTICIPANTS REPLICATING THE NAVAHO MODEL OF THE COSMOS



paintings and in the prayersticks. There are usually four of the latter, each painted one of the four directional colors. East is connected with whiteness, maleness (cf. Dawn Man), and sacred things. North, in contrast, is associated with black, darkness, femaleness (cf. Darkness Woman), and ugly things. Prayersticks and other offerings are deposited toward the east and the set-out of the chant fetishes faces in this direction. In contrast to these ritual objects presented to the supernaturals, objects which have been pressed against the patient in order to remove ugly things are deposited toward the north.

The hogan can be thought of as divided into two halves, the south and east versus the north and west. The singer or one who is able to cure through ritual knowledge is associated with maleness on the south and the supernaturals (and maleness) on the east. The patient, when resting, is associated with the female side of the hogan (the north) and hence with darkness, black, and the source of illness. When participating in the ritual, the patient sits to the west, halfway between the female north and male south (the contrast between sickness and health) and opposite the door on the east which is associated with the supernaturals.

Movement within the hogan during a chant is always clockwise and is expressed in Navaho by the term "sunward" or "in the direction of the sun." This contrasts with "against the sun" or counterclockwise. In northern latitudes, the sun has a southern orientation in the sky, i.e., it never advances north of the zenith. If the observer orients himself southward, as indicated by the Navaho term for south or "sunward," the sun is seen rising in the east and setting in the west. The direction of this motion is clockwise and provides the pattern for ritual movement during a chant. It is against this framework of four directions associated with four colors, male and female, and clockwise movement that events of the chant take place.

The pattern of ritual activities which brings the patient from sickness to health can be seen in terms of four important Navaho concepts. The contrast between pleasant conditions and ugly conditions has already been introduced. The term "ugly things" suggests anger, arrow, or other substances from a supernatural, witch,

or ghost; these have entered the patient's body and must be removed if the patient is to attain again the pleasant conditions. Two other concepts are found in the verb stems "to sanctify" and "to do." The former stem is the basis for the term "supernatural" used in the phrase "supernatural (or 'holy') people." Other terms derived from the stem "to sanctify" not only connote the possession of superhuman abilities, but also immunity from sickness or other ugly conditions. One of these signifies that sanctifying or the process of making an object or person sacred is being done. The stem "to do" is the basis of the most common term for witchcraft, meaning literally "something is done terminatively" or "someone acts against him" (Kluckhohn 1944a). Another frequently used term for witchcraft (which Kluckhohn translates as "sorcery") means "evil wishing." Thus witchcraft is either action against or thinking against an individual by another Navaho. Significantly, the stem connoting "action against" is used in contexts other than those referring to witchcraft (action by humans). Haile (1938:644) cites the terms "Bear-Does-It-Way," "Thunder-Does-It-Way," "Big-Snake-Does-It-Way," which refer to etiological factors bringing about the patient's illness. These terms refer to causes rather than a particular chant which may cure the sickness, since more than one chant may be appropriate for bear, snake, or thunder illness.

The contrast between "to sanctify" and "to act against" is between two polar types of action: that which makes an individual immune to ugly conditions and hence brings about pleasant conditions and that which is against an individual and brings the former conditions and the absence of the latter. The relations between all four terms is seen in the following diagram:

	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
<i>Condition</i>	pleasant	ugly
<i>Action</i>	sanctify	act against him

The purpose of ritual action in a chant is thus (1) to produce immunity and make the patient supernatural or holy (the process of sanctifying) and (2) to counteract action against him and remove the ugly conditions.

One way in which ritual brings immunity has been outlined by Aberle in a recent article (1967). His analysis of ritual transactions provides the key to changes in the patient's relation to the supernatural. Various supernaturals (depending on the etiological factors involved and the chant being performed) must be petitioned. The petition is often called by a Navaho word also translated as "sacrifice" or "offering" and is usually in the form of a prayerstick; it is significant that prayersticks are used only in Holy Way and not in Evil Way where the emphasis is on removing the evil more than on the patient regaining a pleasant condition. The petition is a presentation to the supernatural which, if correctly made, compels them to aid the patient. Instances of a hero's offerings to a particular supernatural are recounted in most Navaho chant myths. In discussing an offering to Gila Monster in the Flintway Myth, Aberle says:

The *quantity* of goods offered to Gila Monster is not important; even four bundles do not move him. Only the *right* goods induce him to act. But this decision does not arise out of pleasure. On the contrary, he blames Big Fly Man for telling what his "proper" offering is. Quite evidently, this right offering compels him to act. For whatever reason, like many of the Holy People, he is not eager to help, but he is constrained when the right offering is made. [1967:17]

During a chant, the singer makes the same kind of offering as prescribed by the myth and presents it to the supernatural on behalf of the patient. Previous to the ceremony the patient has made a prestation to the singer in order to persuade him to perform. In sum, the initial ceremony recounted in the myth is performed because of an offering or prestation; validation of the right to perform the ceremony is presumably through a prestation (paid by the singer to his teacher); the singer receives a prestation for performing a ceremony; offerings are supplied on behalf of the patient to the supernaturals during a ceremony; and the patient's prayers request cure because of this offering (Aberle 1967:19). As Aberle suggests:

An unbroken chain of reciprocity binds the supernatural figure, the hero, the singer, and the patient together. Indeed the chain is a circle: In the

course of the ceremony the patient becomes one of the Holy Ones, a figure possessing temporary mana—not through trance or seizure, but through ritual contact and identification. [1967:27]

In addition to obtaining aid from the supernaturals through presentation of offerings, much ritual symbolism associates the patient's body with the supernaturals who are compelled to aid by (1) applying objects externally and (2) by administering medicines internally. This symbolism of "applying to" or "taking in" is contrasted with the symbolism of "removing" or "taking out" ugly substances which are making the patient sick. These two themes of "taking in" and "taking out" are found at all levels of complexity in a chant. In terms of specific paraphernalia and medicines, the following equations can be made:

<i>Medicine</i>	Application of holiness		Removal of ugly (evil) conditions
	<i>External</i>	<i>Internal</i>	
	body or "foot" liniment	"mouth put"	emetic or "vomit"
<i>Objects</i>	a. figures painted on body b. token tied to patient c. figures depicted in sand and applied to patient d. fetishes pressed on patient	pollen ball	unravelers

These and other medicines and paraphernalia appear in component ceremonies of a chant in such combinations that the emphasis of the ceremony may be that of sanctification or removal of ugly conditions. For instance, during the sweat and emetic ceremony (Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940b:81), the participants sit in an intensely heated hogan which causes profuse sweating and take the liquid emetic which produces ritual vomiting. Participants also place

ashes on arrowheads and blow them northward, symbolizing the blowing away of evil (1940b:73).

As an example of emphasis on sanctification of the patient, figure 9 shows the main ritual actions which take place during a sandpainting subceremony during a five-night version of Shooting Chant, Male (Haile 1947:187-207). Here, the main symbols are the figures of the supernaturals (Holy Young Man, Holy Boy, Holy Young Woman, and Holy Girl), the sun, the moon, and darkness; these appear as figures on the wide boards, in the sandpainting, and in the body painting. Holy Young Man is the hero who in the central incident in the chant myth is taken by Thunder People into the sky to learn the ritual of Shooting Chant, Male (Spencer 1957:116; Haile 1947:66). All of these symbols are closely connected to the patient's body by painting them on the skin or by the action of "pressing" which Haile interprets as sanctification or making the patient holy (1947:53). Other objects and the medicines are first thrust toward the figures of the sandpainting and then administered to the patient. Thus a chant token, usually consisting of a feather or bit of turquoise or white shell, is tied to the patient's hair, the pollen ball is swallowed by the patient, and the "mouth put" medicine is drunk by the patient. The ritual thrusting signifies that the object or medicine is being transferred from the supernaturals to the patient; presumably this aid is in response to his offering (e.g., prayersticks) made at other times during the chant. Like the sandpainting subceremony, the prayerstick-cutting ceremony, the jewel-offering ceremony, and the ritual bath emphasize the sanctification of the patient. Other subceremonies such as the sweat and emetic (mentioned above), the hoop ceremony, and the unraveling ceremony emphasize the removal of evil.

The way in which such subceremonies are combined into an entire chant also shows a contrast between sanctification and removal of evil (the themes of "taking in" and "taking out"). This is the difference between Holy Way and Ugly Way. In comparison with the former, the latter lacks: (1) setting out of the contents of the medicine bundle (ritual presentation of contents to supernaturals), (2) offerings, (3) eating mush, (4) taking of mixed decoc-

9. SANDPAINTING CEREMONY

<i>Events</i>	<i>Symbols</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1. Making of sand-painting by singer	<i>sandpainting:</i> Holy Young Man Holy Boy Holy Young Woman Holy Girl encircled by rainbow Two Big Flies at opening	Two male myth heroes and female counterparts. Holy Young Man is carried to the skies by Thunder and learns Shooting Way from the Hailway People there. Big Fly is the helper in the myth.
2. Singer places set-up (including wide boards and arrows) in back and south of sandpainting	<i>Wide Boards:</i> 1. Holy Young Man and Thunder; Big Fly and Otter (back) 2. Sun (front) Sky Man (back) 3. Moon (front) Earth (back) 4. Darkness and Dawn (front); Horizontal Blue and Evening Twilight (back)	Symbols on wide boards identify myth hero and key symbols in myth which are also mentioned in singing. The boards are placed around sandpainting so that "various supernaturals may look upon the painting and patient" (Haile 1947:74). Arrows represent offerings to the supernaturals.
3. Patient puts cornmeal on sandpainting figures		Sanctifies the sandpainting. (May represent power or means of travel which allows supernaturals to come to sand figures. Term for sandpainting is "they come.")
4. Body painting. Singer paints figures on the back and front of patient; he motions toward the sandpainting and sun with the paint before beginning.	Sun figure on chest (Blue) Moon figure on back (White)	Body painting is seen as offering of patient to the supernaturals. It also personifies the patient in terms of the supernaturals.
5. Chant token tying	Tying token to hair of patient	Identifies the patient with the supernaturals.

9. SANDPAINTING CEREMONY *continued*

<i>Events</i>	<i>Symbols</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
6. Singer swings the bull roarer, outside hogan	Noise represents the voice of the Flint People; these are identified with Thunder People and hence the voice of Thunder Man himself.	Drives away the evil influences around the hogan.
7. Patient sits on sandpainting while singer chants; sand is pressed against parts of patient's body	Symbols same as those listed in no. 1	The supernatural is pressed into the patient's body; evil removed.
8. Sand removed from hogan		Deposited in the north associated with evil.

Last day of five-night Shooting Way, Male Branch; from Haile 1947

tion (ceremonial stew), (5) sandpaintings (less frequent and may be at night). All of these involve either prestations to the supernaturals or ritual actions of taking in medicines or other symbolic food. On the other hand, Ugly Way may include: (1) spruce dress, (2) overshooting, (3) hoop ceremony, (4) out-of-door bath, (5) ritual blackening (which replaces body painting). These rituals all involve methods of extracting evil: the cutting and releasing of spruce branches covering the patient, the use of a hoop or arrows which also hold and release evil, and the association of the patient with black.

Songs and prayers which accompany ritual action also contain the contrast between the association of the patient with holiness and the removal of evil. Both have the structure outlined by Reichard (1944). They include, usually at the beginning of each section, the identification of the relevant supernatural and a characterization of his features and his place of origin. Succeeding phrases may mention the offering being transferred to the supernaturals; the supernatural is said to come to the patient, making him holy and calling him "my child" or "my grandchild." For example when the chant token is tied to the patient, the singer chants:

Monster Slayer . . . at Sun's home
One day having passed, he returned to me
With a red head plume, he returned to me
My child, you are sacred.

[Adapted from Haile 1947:203]*

Songs and prayers for the purpose of removing evil mention both the identification of the supernatural with the patient and the removal of evil, as exemplified in the following lines from "Prayer of the First Night, Male Shooting Chant Evil" (Shooting Way, Male Branch, Ugly Way manner) analyzed by Reichard:

Just as you are the sacred one, by means of these things
So may I be sacred, by means of them
There is one way by which we become sacred
Ugly thing of evil-wishing, today far away, it has gone back. . . .

[1944:60-61, lines 34-37; adaptation LL]*

Often the end of a prayer or song indicates that the patient has become holy and pleasant conditions have returned:

before me, with pleasant conditions, I go about . . .
These I have become again
pleasant conditions have returned.

[1944:92-93, lines 383, 392, 396; adaptation LL]*

It is this process of petition to the supernaturals, presentation of an offering, identification of the patient with the supernatural and/or removal of the evil, and the return of pleasant conditions that characterizes Navaho ritual. The process is repeated over and over again during an entire chant: in each subceremony, in each prayer, in each song set. Different aspects of the process may be emphasized at different times. For example, during the prayerstick ceremony, the offering is important; during an unraveling ceremony, the removal of evil is crucial; and during a sandpainting ceremony, the identification of the patient with supernatural is the focus of effort. The Dawn Songs (the final songs sung during the all-night singing on the last night) emphasize the return of pleasant conditions. This process always takes place within the context of color, sex, and directional symbolism which recall the Navaho

* Navaho texts of these chants will be found at end of Glossary.

model of the cosmos. Presumably, if such associations are used, the ceremony is proper and the aid of the supernaturals can be assured.

The basic themes of "taking in" the holiness and "taking out" the evil, which are so crucial for the change from sickness to health, are also those communicated in the elaborate ceremonial classification already discussed. At each level of terminological distinction, there is a contrast between the emphasis on holy/pleasant and witchcraft/evil; this is seen in such oppositions as (1) Peaceful Side Theme versus chant, (2) Holy Way versus Ugly Way, and (3) Fighting Side Theme versus Peaceful Side Theme. The terminology reflects the emphasis of the ritual to be performed and suggests to the native speaker the particular methods which might be used to achieve a cure. Since the nature of the cure is so closely connected to the etiological factors causing the illness, these too are suggested by the terminology used.

Conclusions

The basic thesis of this paper is that Clyde Kluckhohn's approach to Navaho ethnography as illustrated in his early publications (especially Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940*b*) shows an interest in native terminology and in the structure of ritual which anticipates the work of Metzger and Williams, Frake, and other ethnoscientists. Kluckhohn's theoretical concerns first focused on functionalism and then gradually turned to structuralism anticipating the work of Lévi-Strauss and others. Correlated with this shift in theoretical preoccupation was a decreasing interest in the details of Navaho ethnography and an increasing focus on more broadly conceived themes or values. In the last decade, recent developments in anthropology have emphasized a return to ethnographic detail in combination with more rigorous methods, both in the analysis of the structure of ritual and in various terminological domains.

Lamphere has attempted to show that, if the details of Kluckhohn's ethnography are combined with the structural approach, new regularities in the Navaho data emerge. It is now possible to see how the elaborate terminological classification and the symbolism

of Navaho rituals are part of one system and reflect the opposition of pleasant (good) and ugly (evil). Kluckhohn himself observed some of these relationships but expressed them in terms of Navaho values, their desire for harmony and balance. The analysis suggested here has been able to validate Kluckhohn's tentative suggestions and hopefully to push further toward a more adequate understanding of Navaho culture.

GLOSSARY

- Abalone: diichiñii
 Act against (verb stem): -t'í
 Angry Side Theme: 'iidéelchjhjí
 Apache Wind Way: chíshí biñtch-
 'íjí
 Bad: hóch'ó
 Bath: táá'agis
 Bear-Does-It-Way: shash 'át'ííjí
 Beauty Way: hozhónee
 Big God Way: hasch'éétsohee
 Big-Snake-Does-It-Way: t'íistsoh
 'at'ííjí
 Big Star Way: sotsohjí
 Blessing Way: hózhóójí
 Ceremony: nahaghai
 Chant (curing ceremony): hataál
 Chanter: hataali
 Chant token: siit'óót
 Chant with House: kin bee hataál
 Chant with Jewel Offerings: nt'iz
 bee hataál
 Chant with Offerings (i.e., prayer-
 sticks): k'eetáán bee hataál
 Chant with Sandpaintings: 'iikááh
 bee hataál
 Chant with Sun's House: jóhon-
 aa'ái baghan bee hataál
 Chant with Supernatural Imper-
 sonators ("those which have
 yéé'i"): yéé'i ho'óonii
 Chiricahua Wind Way: chíshí
 biñtch'íjí
 Clockwise (sunward or in the di-
 rection of the sun): shábik'ehgo
 Corral Dance: it náshjin
 Counterclockwise (against the
 sun): shada'jí
 Coyote Way: ma'ííjí
 Curing ceremony (chant): hataál
 Dangerous: bahadzid
 Dark Circle of Branches: 'it
 náshjin
 Darkness: chahalheeł
 Darkness Woman (north): cha-
 halheeł 'asdzán
 Dawn: hayo'káát
 Dawn Man (east): hayo'káát
 hastiin
 Diagnostician: 'éé'deetihi
 Do (verb stem): -t'í

- Dog Way: *íéechąą'í*
 Eagle Way: *'atsájí*
 Earth horizon edge: *ni'káshbah*
 Earth-Surface People (Navaho):
 nahokáá din'é
 East (Dawn Man): *hayotkaak*
 hastiin
 East (round object comes up, a):
 ha'a'aah
 Emetic: *'iikóóh*
 Evil (ugly conditions): *hóch'ó*
 Evil Way: *hóchóójí*
 Evil Way, Male Shooting Branch:
 na'at'oe baká'jí hóchóójí
 Evil wishing (verb stem): *--zin*
 Excess Way: *ajitee*
 Fighting Side Theme: *deezláájí*
 Final night: *bit'éé*
 From Under Plants Side: *ch'ilya-*
 adéé
 From Upper Regions Side: *ghót'-*
 ááhdéé'
 Ghosts: *ch'iidi*
 God Impersonators (masked dancers):
 yée'i bichai
 Hail Way: *álóee*
 Hand trembling: *ndilníih*
 Hand Trembling Way: *ndilniihjí*
 Holiness: *diyin*
 Holy People: *diyin* or *diyin dine'é*
 Holy Way: *diyink'ehjí*
 Holy Young Man: *diyin diné*
 Horizontal blue: *nahodeet'iish*
 Horizontal Blue Man (south):
 nahodeet'iish hastiin
 Horizontal yellow: *nahotsoi*
- Horizontal Yellow Woman (west):
 nahotsoi 'asdzán
 Inner form: *bii'gistiin*
 Interior Chant: *wóne'é hatáál*
 Jet: *bashzhinii* or *yolizhin*
 Just Visiting Chant: *t'óó naajé-*
 hégo hatáál
 La Plata Peaks: *dibéntsah*
 Life Way: *'iináájí*
 Life Way, Male Shooting Branch:
 na'at'oe baká'jí'iináájí
 Liniment, body or foot: *két'oh*
 Make sacred: *'oolghíj*
 Medicine: *'azee'*
 Mountain Top Way: *dziik'íj*
 Mount Blanca: *sisnádjini*
 Mount Taylor: *tsodzit*
 "Mouth put": *zaaniit*
 Navaho (Earth-Surface People):
 nahokáá din'é
 Navaho Wind Way: *diné biintch'íj*
 Night Way: *t'ééjí*
 North (Darkness Woman): *cha-*
 haheeet'asdzán
 Offering (stem): *--gheel*
 Patient: *bik'i hataafi*
 Peaceful Side Theme: *hózhóójí*
 Petition (stem): *--gheel*
 Pleasant conditions: *hózhó*
 Plume Way: *'atsosee*
 Pollen ball: *'ayeel*
 Power (for travel): *'agáál*
 Prayerstick: *k'eeet'áán*
 Pressing: *'ida'iilcood*
 Prestation (stem): *--gheel*
 Red Ant Way: *wóláchíj*

Round object comes up, a (east): ha'a'aah	Ugly conditions (evil): hóch'ó
Round object goes down, a (west): e'e'aah	Ugly things: hóch'ó
Sacred things: diyin	Ugly Way: hóch'ójí
Sacrifice (stem): -gheel	Unravelers: gholtáád
Sanctify: 'oolghjí	Unraveling: gholtáád
Sanctify (verb stem): -ghjíít	Upper Regions Side: ghót'ááhjí
Sandpainting ("they come"): 'iikááh	Vomit: 'iikóóh
San Francisco Peaks: doko'ostiid	Water Way: tóee
Shooting Ways: na'at'oee	Werewolves: yeenaaldlooshi
Shooting Way, Female Branch: na'at'oee ba'áájí	West (Horizontal Yellow Woman): nahotsoi 'asdzán
Shooting Way, Male Branch: na'at'oee bakq'jí	West (round object goes down, a): e'e'aah
Singer: hataali	Which kind of ceremony is it?: ha'at'ééjí hatáál?
Sky horizon edge: yáskáshbah	White shell: yotigai
Sorcery (witchcraft): 'anazin or 'iinziíd	Wide boards: tsin íteel
Source of illness: hóch'ó	Witchcraft ("something is done terminatively," "someone acts against him"): 'ántí
South (Horizontal Blue Man): nahodeet'iish hastiin	Witchcraft (sorcery): 'anazin or 'iinziíd
South (sunward): shada'ááh	naagheé' neezghání . . . jónóna'ái bohoghandi
Spruce dress: chó 'éi	t'áátá'í biiskaago shaanájá
Star gazing: déez'jí	bee'etsos lichíigo shaanájá
Striped Side: noodóqzhjí	Shiyáázh diníighin
Sun, against the (counterclock- wise): shada'jí	t'áá bee dinighinii
Sunward or in the direction of the sun (clockwise): shábik'ehgo	t'áá 'ái bee dinisin dooleet.
Supernatural: diyin, diyin dine'é	t'áátá'í bee diniidzin dooleet
Sweat and emetic: 'iikóóh	yáada nch'ó'ogíí be'eyoiinziin díis jí nzaadgoo násdlíí'
Thunder-Does-It-Way: 'iini' 'át'ííjí	sitsidjí' hózh'óqgo naasháadoo . . .
Thunderstruck Side: 'ó'oosnii'jí	díí násisdlií'
Turquoise: doot'izhi	hózhó náhásdlíí'