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THE NAVAJO THEORY OF
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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ABSTRACT

The central thesis of this study is that the Navajo concept of nilch'i, "wind," is the primary intellectual instrument by means of which life, behavior and other events in the Navajo universe are explained and integrated into a consistent system of thought. The Navajo data are presented as a case study of conceptual organizations of the world embodied in the belief systems of tribal peoples, and are discussed in relation to ethnological issues concerning the cognitive and theoretical functions of religion and mythology, the units and structuring of theoretical systems in traditional societies, the soul concept and alternative conceptualizations of the determinants of life and behavior, and the relationship of such explanatory schemes to reality. The data are also examined in the context of unresolved issues in Navajo ethnology, issues pertaining to Navajo religion, ethnopsychology, eschatology, morality, and world view.

The data were derived from interviews with Navajo bearers of the oral traditions and from review of recorded versions of Navajo myths. Informants' statements were recorded in written Navajo as a data base for the semantic analysis of terms. The meaning of a term is considered to exist in the kinds of relations into which it enters with other terms in culturally appropriate sentences. Through the term concordance method, terms reflecting
key concepts in the Navajo theory were collated and examined in their natural linguistic contexts in the utterances of informants and in mythological accounts.

The origin of "wind" in the underworlds, its role in giving life, thought, and language to the holy people, and its emergence into the present world is described. Here, "wind" is conceived to have been placed within all beings and natural phenomena that are endowed with life. By this means, the elements and inhabitants of the present world are conceived to have been given the means of providing guidance to human beings. Every person is said to be born with a beneficent "wind" within him. This inner "wind" is assisted by "little winds" which are sent by the holy people and which are breathed in and added on the inner "wind." Together, they repel the attacks of harmful "winds" which may otherwise influence thought and behavior in adverse ways. A person under the influence of "faultless" "winds" is himself lacking in "faults," whereas one who is under the influence of "winds" that have "faults" also has "faults" in his own thoughts and behavior. Semantic analysis suggests that a "gentle-mean" cognitive dimension may underlie the Navajo classification of behavior.

Among the implications of the Navajo data for ethnological theory is the recognition that Navajo myth provides concepts for explaining events in the present-day world as well as in the traditional history of the people. "Wind" is conceived of as a unitary phenomenon, although sometimes differentiated in terms of perceptible
properties so as to account for the variance in life and behavior. While a degree of affectivity is apparent, the logic of causality pervades the theoretical system. The character of the individual's life is so conceived to be contingent upon the "winds" influencing him, externally and internally, that personal and moral characteristics are considered to be manifestations of similar characteristics existing in the powers of the universe. The early death of an individual is thought to be brought about by the intervention of deities in depriving one of the support of "wind" because of misconduct. It is suggested that the Navajo theory may be viewed as a "code" for expressing some of the same aspects of reality as are given expression in the scientific language of social behavior theory.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ................................................................. iii

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION: THEORY AND METHOD ............. 1

THEORETICAL SYSTEMS IN TRADITIONAL CULTURES ... 4

Theory and Myth ................................................. 4
The Units and Structuring of Traditional Theories .......... 9
Foundations in Reality .................................. 22

THEORY IN NAVAJO CULTURE ................................. 26

Nîlch'î, "Winds" .................................................. 27
"Wind" deities ................................................... 27
Related symbolism ............................................. 29
"Inner forms" and "wind souls" ............................. 32
"Wind" mentors ................................................... 33
Navajo ethnopsychology .................................... 34
Navajo Morality .................................................. 38
Navajo Eschatology ............................................ 40
Diversity, Unity and Superordinance ..................... 41
Navajo World View ............................................ 44
Issues Addressed in This Study ......................... 47

METHODOLOGY ....................................................... 48

The Selection of Informants ................................. 48
Interviewing Procedures .................................. 51
Navajo Mythology .............................................. 52
Criteria for the Selection of Myth Versions .......... 56
The Origin myth ............................................... 57
The Blessingway myth ...................................... 58
Chantway myths ................................................. 59
Presentation of Data ........................................... 60
The Concordance Method .................................. 62
Other Methodological Issues ............................... 65

NAVAJO ORTHOGRAPHY ............................................. 69
## CHAPTER II. NÍLCH’I DIYINII, "HOLY WIND" BEFORE THE EMERGENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE ORIGINS OF &quot;WIND&quot; AND THE BEGINNINGS OF LIFE</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Veins of Earth and Water</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mists of Light</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Breath of Life</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE SOURCE OF THOUGHT AND LEADERSHIP</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Means of Knowledge</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Is Established</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER III. THE CREATION OF THE PRESENT WORLD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE EMERGENCE OF NÍLCH’I, &quot;WIND&quot;</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PLACEMENT OF CARDINAL LIGHT PHENOMENA</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PROCESS OF CREATION</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CREATION OF OTHER LIFE</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth and Sky</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun and the Moon</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetation</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Life</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CREATION AND BIRTH OF HOLY PEOPLE</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CREATION OF EARTH SURFACE PEOPLE</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER IV. GUIDANCE FROM THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REGULATION OF THOUGHT</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NÍLCH’I, &quot;WIND,&quot; AS MESSENGER</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THEORY AND METHOD

This study of Navajo thought is concerned with explicating the means by which the Navajo traditionally answer many of the problems of existence, which have also occupied philosophers and scientists of the Western world, and how in doing so they have ordered and unified their knowledge of diverse aspects of the world. It is, in the first place, a study of the Navajo theory of the nature of man, of the source of his life, strength, power of motion, thought, speech, and behavior, and of his relationships to his social and natural environments. But, since the Navajo traditionally see these matters as being interrelated with the nature of things more generally, it is necessarily about other aspects of the Navajo universe as well. To a lesser extent, this study relates to all of ethnology, to the existing state of knowledge about cultures, as a case study of conceptual organizations of the world embodied in the belief systems of tribal peoples.

The focus of this study is the Navajo concept of nílch'í diyinii, "holy wind," and its central thesis is that this "wind" is the primary intellectual instrument by means of which events in the Navajo universe are explained, related to one another, and organized into a consistent whole. The extent to which the "wind" concept pervades virtually all aspects of Navajo ideology has already
been intimated in published discussions of Navajo theology, cosmology, mythology, ethnopsychology, eschatology, and worldview (Haile 1938:647-648; Haile 1943b; Reichard 1970[1950]:50-79; Witherspoon n.d.b:1-28; Wyman 1962:36-41; Wyman 1965:79; Wyman et al. 1942:11-49). Indeed, if Navajo ethnology be regarded as the current state of theory about Navajo culture, it can be said that interpretations of the Navajo conception of "winds" constitute some of the basic propositions in this theory, relating as they do to such basic ethnological concerns as the nature of Navajo deities, of personhood, of the afterlife, of the relationships between deities and men, and of the sources of morality.

Equally basic in the current state of theory relating to Navajo "winds," however, is a tacit allowance that the Navajo theory of their world is perhaps lacking in what might be called "elegance." It seems disunited, fragmented, lacking in the conceptual unity we prize in the theoretical systems of western science. The Navajo universe, as portrayed, is occupied by a diversity of "winds" among which are numbered the "winds" of the cardinal directions and others which both harm and restore man; "wind mentors" or "monitors" which gave advice to mythic heroes; and the "wind souls" of deities and men which give life and determine modes of behavior. We find no clear relationships between the "winds" of the cardinal directions and "wind mentors," between "wind mentors" and "wind souls," between "wind souls" and morality, between the deities and morality, and so forth. It is easy in reviewing these aspects of Navajo ethnology
to begin to wonder if a people can hold apart such basic aspects of their thought about the world, and to ask oneself, "Is this the way the Navajo think?"--a question that quickly becomes, "Is this the way any people thinks?" Therefore, an examination of the existing state of theory about Navajo thought relates readily and naturally to an examination of existing theories of traditional systems of thought in general. The theoretical issues to be addressed range from, "In what terms do the Navajo think?" and, "By what means, if any, do their beliefs fit together?" to, "In what terms do peoples at the band or tribal levels think?" and, "By what means are their beliefs integrated?" That is, there is an easily negotiated passage from a theory of Navajo culture to a theory of cultures.

This study will begin with a consideration of the latter, of theories of culture as they pertain to the ways peoples conceptually organize their worlds. More specifically, ethnological views of the relationships of speculative or theoretical thought to religious beliefs and mythologies will be examined, followed by a consideration of the kinds of theoretical entities usually employed in traditional cultures and the ways in which these are generally organized into systems. Finally, the views of ethnologists as to the relationships between such traditional theoretical systems and objective reality, as it is understood by Western science, will be considered. The following section will then review existing interpretations of Navajo thought about the universe and the place of man in it. These two sections, the one reviewing ethnological views on the nature
of traditional theoretical systems in general and the other reviewing existing interpretations of Navajo theoretical systems in particular, taken together, will point up more precisely the issues in Navajo ethnology to be addressed in the present study.

THEORETICAL SYSTEMS IN TRADITIONAL CULTURES

Theory and Myth

In ethnological theories about the belief systems of traditional cultures, particularly of the cultures of societies having a simple or "primitive" technology and organized at the band or tribal level of complexity, is the recurrent concept that the mythologies and religions of such cultures embody classifications of experience or systems of thought which serve as foundations for, or express, the attempts of such peoples to introduce order into their conceptual universe. While there have been some differences of opinion among ethnologists about the kinds of units which are generally employed in such systems of thought, the relative degree of their affective and intellectual composition, the manner by which they are conceptually related to one another, and other issues to be reviewed shortly; it is widely acknowledged, with some notable exceptions, that theoretical or even a kind of scientific thought is embodied in the myths and religious beliefs of simple societies.

Many definitions of myth explicitly or implicitly recognize their philosophical or theoretical aspect. The Herskovits provide several definitions each of which, in one way or another, gives
expression to the conception that myths, in part, constitute means for understanding the universe. Thus, a myth "... gives symbolic expression to a system of relationships between man and the universe ..."; myths "... embody a system of symbolized values which, in each separate society, phrase the philosophy underlying its concepts, ideals, and ends ..."; and, myths make for the "... adjustment of the individual in a world that is brought within his comprehension" (Herskovits 1958:81-84).

Tylor recognized that some myths were evidently "... produced from that craving to know causes and reasons which ever besets mankind," and he classified these as explanatory or philosophical myths: "When the attention of a man in the myth-making stage of intellect is drawn to any phenomenon or custom which has to him no obvious reason, he invents and tells a story to account for it ..." (1889[1871]:392). Some legends comprise fanciful histories of the origin or cause of things: "Half mythology is occupied ... in shaping the familiar facts of daily life into imaginary histories of their own cause and origin, childlike answers to those world-old questions of whence and why, which the savage asks as readily as the sage" (1889[1871]:405).

Such "etiologic" functions of myth were later given emphasis by Andrew Lang who virtually equated "savage myth" with "savage science" as being "... nothing more than explanations of intellectual difficulties, answers to the question, How came this or that phenomenon to be what it is?" (1911:132). Philosophical attempts to explain
phenomena were constructed out of the "scanty stock of acquired ideas" and were embodied in the shape of myths (1911:132).

One of the strongest voices of opposition to the view that explaining the phenomena of the world is an important aspect of myth and religion came from Malinowski who objected particularly to viewing myths solely as an "intellectual effort" divorced from the rest of life (1954[1926]:110-111; 1962[1928]:290). Malinowski stressed the social, ritual, and ethical effects of myth, in establishing a charter for the social order and for moral conduct, a precedent for ritual and a foundation for belief (1962[n.d.]:246-249).

While acknowledging that in establishing precedents myth contains an element of explanation, he argued that such explanations only provide prototypes for subsequent events and make no attempts to establish cause and effect or motive and consequence relations (1962[1936]:309). The science of "primitive" man, for Malinowski, consists in his accurate knowledge of the environment rooted in experience, logic, common sense and his need to master the natural forces about him; and, recourse is made to magic not to religion when this fails (1962[1936]:309; 1962[1930]:259-261).

The functional relationship of myth and ritual to the social and psychological life of a people, stressed by Malinowski, was also given emphasis by Kluckhohn, with particular reference to the Navajo (1958[1942]:93-105). Kluckhohn stressed that Navajo myth and ritual provides a cultural storehouse of adjustive responses for individuals in the form of institutionalized "mechanisms of
defense" against basic anxieties. That the Navajo "type anxiety" is for health and interpersonal harmony is related to traditional conditions of life in which illness or discord were particularly threatening to members of the group (1958[1942]:93-105). While Kluckhohn made mention of mythic functions in providing a form of entertainment and "intellectual edification" and in providing fixed points of reference in areas of insecurity and change, he saw myth and ritual as primarily meeting the affective rather than the cognitive needs of individuals (1958[1942]:101-102).

Most ethnologists who have directly concerned themselves with the question of the nature and bases of speculative thought in traditional cultures, however, have found its roots in myth and religion. Boas saw that the nature of science and explanation in any culture draws upon the traditional material for thought which is available in the culture, and that in "primitive" societies this consists for the most part of the materials of folklore: Just as the development of modern science cannot be understood without an understanding of modern philosophy, ". . . so it is vain to try to understand primitive science without an intelligent knowledge of primitive mythology" (1913:204). Similarly, according to Durkheim religion is not merely a system of ritualistic practices but is also ". . . a system of ideas whose object is to explain the world" (1915:476). Indeed, the basic categories of understanding that are at the root of and are the framework of all our thought, ideas of space, time, class, cause and so forth, are born of religion
Religious speculation is applied to the same realities that serve as subjects for philosophical reflection. As with modern science, such speculation attempts "... to connect things with each other, to establish internal relations between them, to classify them and to systematize them" (Durkheim 1915:477). In the terms of Durkheim and Mauss, the "primitive" systems of classification preserved in myth and religion have the object of advancing understanding through unifying knowledge, and as such are scientific and constitute a first philosophy of nature (1963[1903]:81).

A distinction between "the man of action" and "the thinker" in traditional societies was made by Radin who suggested that it is "the thinker" who demands explanations and takes pleasure in speculative thinking: His thought is coordinated, unified, at times abstract, and creation myths embody his attempt to conceptually stabilize the world so that it can be dealt with systematically (1957[1927]:230-233, 240-248).

A "thirst for objective knowledge" of the world based upon an intellectual demand for order is seen by Lévi-Strauss in the thought of traditional peoples (1966:2-22). This need for conceptual order is met through the classification or ordering of phenomena on the basis of their perceived or sensible properties in a "science of the concrete" whose remains are preserved in myths and rites. The units of mythological thought, embodying such classifications of things in terms of their perceptible properties, are in effect summaries of past experiences and are the available materials to meet new intellectual tasks as they arise (1966:2-22).
Finally, in the context of an analysis of the nature of theoretical thought, Horton has noted the theoretical characteristics of African religious thought (1967a; 1967b). Just as the elegant theoretical schemes of the sciences strive to discover order underlying disorder and simplicity underlying complexity, the "intellectual function of gods" in African thought is to "form a scheme which interprets the vast diversity of everyday experience in terms of the action of a relatively few kinds of forces" (1967a:51-52). As with the theoretical entities of modern science such postulated entities as "gods" and "spirits" comprise a theoretical system operating behind the world of common sense observations. A "jump to the level of theory" is made in situations in which common sense thinking is unable to account for events (1967a:58-60).

In review, while Malinowski saw myths and religious beliefs as primarily providing charters or precedents to guide social and religious practices and Kluckhohn stressed the functions of myth and ritual in meeting the affective needs of individuals, others have seen in myth and in religion attempts to explain the phenomena and events of the world and to unify and systematize thought. Such attempts are formally comparable to those made by Western philosophy and science, expressing an intellectual demand for conceptual order to be found among peoples in all societies.

The Units and Structuring of Traditional Theories

In addition to discovering an intellectual function of myths and religious beliefs in the categorizing and ordering of
experience, ethnologists have given attention to the kinds of units which are customarily employed for these purposes in traditional cultures and the ways in which these units are organized into systems. Two alternative ways of interpreting some of the basic categories of traditional thought can be traced to the influences of Tylor on the one hand and Marett and Lévy-Bruhl on the other. These two modes of interpretation will be seen to have direct relevance to present interpretations of basic categories of Navajo thought concerning the nature of man and his relationship to the universe.

Tylor found the belief in spiritual beings to exist in all sufficiently well-known "low races," constituting an ancient and world-wide philosophy and the groundwork for all religious philosophy (1889[1871]:425-427). Tylor postulated that this "doctrine of souls," which he called "animism," as a theoretical conception of "primitive" philosophy was designed to account for such phenomena as life and death, sleep and dreams, trance, visions, and thought (1889[1871]:417-436). The term "animism" derives from the Latin anima, signifying the breath, and while many terms used by other peoples for expressing their conceptions also have reference to such as the shadow, image, heart, or life, the act of breathing "... has been repeatedly and naturally identified with the life or soul itself" by many peoples (1889[1871]:430-433).

According to Tylor, the soul is generally conceived of, with some divergence among any particular people, in the form of an unsubstantial human image, possessing the personal consciousness
and volition of the individual it animates, capable of temporarily departing from the body, and able to enter into and act in the bodies of others (1889[1871]:429). Tylor also noted that in order to account for different manifestations of life and thought men of all "races" have sometimes theorized that man has a combination of several kinds of spirit, soul, or image to which different functions belong but that underlying these several forms is to be found the conception of a substantial unity (1889[1871]:434-436). Tylor also saw in the "doctrines of souls" of "primitive" peoples a fairly rational and consistent philosophy:

Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance (1889[1871]:22-23).

That traditional peoples generally conceive of human souls and attribute souls or human qualities to the objects and phenomena of nature has been supported by many more recent observers. Lang referred to the tendency to extend the theory of personality to the elements and forces of nature as providing the principles upon which the "savage" constructs his myths and thereby his explanations of the universe (1911:132-134). Boas also saw that anthropomorphism is one of the important categories underlying traditional thought and that "primitive" explanations of phenomena are influenced by this fact (1913:201-205). The views of Boas apparently departed radically from those of Tylor, however, as regards the structuring
of traditional systems of thought; for, while Tylor detected in them a consistent and rational philosophy, Boas held the view that "primitives" generally fail to develop their classifications of sense experience into consciously reasoned systems of knowledge. Rather, their opinions are based upon emotional associations between groups of apparently unrelated ideas (1938:198-216).

Durkheim and Mauss posited a social rather than an individual model for the basic categories of traditional thought but they held an opinion similar to that of Boas, that heterogeneous groupings of experience underlain by affective considerations is characteristic of traditional systems of thought (1963[1903]:5-8, 85-87). Thus, they detected in "primitive" thought a "fundamental confusion of all images and ideas" such as the spiritualization of material objects and the materialization of spirits, and that the relations underlying such groupings are of a sentimental or emotional rather than an intellectual nature (1963[1903]:5-6, 82-86). In their view, just as society served as a model for the classification of other things and provided the divisions into which objects were integrated by classification, so the relations uniting classes were also of social origin: Things, in the same way as families, are merged by common sentiment. The development of scientific classifications is the history of the stages by which this social affectivity underlying groupings has weakened, "... leaving more and more room for the reflective thought of individuals" (1963[1903]:82-88).
Horton has recently suggested that theoretical explanations tend to be couched in a personal idiom in societies such as the traditional societies of Africa where the human scene is the locus of order and regularity, since theoretical concepts are generally rooted in the familiar and known (1967a:64-65). He has also observed that because the theoretical entities in traditional systems happen to be people, they give rise to elaborations involving the working of emotional and aesthetic motives having little to do with explanation (1967b:162-165). Nevertheless, the intellectual motive persists giving the character of theoretical thought to such systems, a search for order underlying apparent disorder and for the discovery of a system of causality sufficient to account for events in the common sense world. Such systems are based upon the same intellectual processes of abstraction, analysis, analogy, and so forth, as are found in Western thought (1967a:50-69).

An alternative interpretation of the basic categories of traditional systems of thought finds that they may be of an impersonal nature. Marett found that something akin to a "doctrine of universal vitality" has even a wider application in the thought of "primitive" people than the belief in souls or spirits (1912:230). This conception of a general animation of nature, which he called "animatism" to distinguish from Tylor's "animism," may be expressed in terms of spirit, vitality, or power; but, the essential point for the "savage" is that whereas some things in the world are ordinary other things are wonder-working (1912:230-232). Lévy-Bruhl similarly saw in
the "collective representations" of primitive peoples a common belief in nonpersonal forces and influences which he termed "mystic" (1966 [1926]:25). He insisted that the Western concept of the human soul is an entirely misleading translation of many "primitive" concepts although too readily resorted to by Western observers for lack of any notion comparable to that held by "primitive" man. The latter lacks any clear notions of his individuality but rather has feelings of identity, of "participating" in the same unseen reality, with certain aspects of the world with which he is familiar.

... originally (to the extent that such a term is permissible) the idea of a soul is not found among primitives. That which takes its place is the representation, usually a very emotional one, of one or more coexistent and intertwined participations, as yet not merged into the distinct consciousness of an individuality which is really one (1966[1926]:25).

Here it may be noted that Lévy-Bruhl not only took direct issue with Tylor's attributing the concept of "souls" to all known "primitive" peoples, but he also took issue with Tylor's view that the belief systems of such peoples are rational, logical, and consistent. He rather argued that "primitive" man essentially feels that there are relationships between himself and other aspects of the world regardless of the testimony of the senses or rational considerations, and that these felt connections are what are significant. To this degree, primitive mentality is "prelogical," meaning that it is largely indifferent to logical contradiction, attaching more significance to "participations" between the unseen or "mystic" powers in men and other things (1966[1926]:61-63, 80).
An individual's feelings of identity or participation may extend not only to such "appurtenances" as his personal clothing, bodily wastes, food and reflections, but also to his social group or, of interest here, to unseen powers which while greater than the individual are conceived to form essential parts of his personality (Lévy-Bruhl 1971[1927]:115-121, 192). Such unseen powers may be felt to be protective, living in the individual as a part of him and terminating its connection with the individual's death; or harmful, causing the individual to perform unwonted acts (1971[1927]:194-197). It is when confronted with such representations, Lévy-Bruhl asserts, that Tylor and his followers have made recourse to what he sees as such misleading interpretations and translations as "multiple souls." Lévy-Bruhl's remarks about this subject merit repeating here as they will later be seen to have direct implications for interpretations of Navajo conceptions of the relation of "winds" to the individual which is the subject of this study. Referring to ideas found in "primitive" cultures of a "participation" in powers surpassing the individual, he wrote:

Since they did not suggest any meaning which investigators could accept (judging them as they did by the rules of logical thought) these writers frequently tried to guard against absurdity by supposing that primitives admitted of several souls (1966[1926]:69).

Is it not permissible to imagine that this multiplicity is pre-eminently expressive of the impossibility which the investigators found in reconciling what the "savages" had told them, with their own preconceived ideas upon the soul? Gross misunderstanding and misconstruction were inevitable. The missionaries and explorers were making use of terms (soul, spirit, ghost, etc.) defined for them by prolonged evolution in religion, philosophy, and literature, and they found themselves dealing
with collective representations which were essentially mystic and prelogical . . . . Consequently nearly all they report needs to be revised and corrected. As a general rule, an observer's report is the more suspect, the more readily it agrees with the current conception of the soul (1966[1926]:70-71).

The final sentence in the above quotation is entirely consistent with Lévy-Bruhl's position that the Western conception of the "soul," far from being common among traditional people as Tylor would have it, is peculiar to the more "advanced" societies. The "primitives'" feelings of identity with aspects of his world, when the stage is reached at which they become aware of contradictions in such representations and begin to form a consciousness of their own personalities, may indeed be reformulated into conceptions of "multiple souls"; and these, in turn, may later by crystallized into the concept of a single soul similar to that arrived at by the Greeks (1966[1926]:73-74, 84-85). But, for Lévy-Bruhl such an evolution of soul concepts is not characteristic of most traditional groups, and it is for this reason that "... an observer's report is the more suspect, the more readily it agrees with the current conception of the soul."

The theoretical issues between the interpretation represented by Tylor and that represented by Lévy-Bruhl, issues which are of critical theoretical importance to the present study, may be illustrated by comparative interpretations of the Dakota Indian theory of person. Such a comparison is of special relevance here because Dakota concepts will be seen to bear many resemblances in content to Navajo concepts. Those features of the Dakota theory which
particularly invite comparison with the Navajo theory to be presented in this study may be summarized in terms which are generally consistent with Tylor's view, as in the following abstraction from a study by Walker (1917). In the religious beliefs of the Oglala Dakota, according to Walker, a supernatural being may be conceived of as being one, yet many. Thus, Wakan Tanka, "the Great Mystery," is one, yet it is composed of many gods, one of these being called Skan, "the Great Spirit," which itself is composed of four individuals, "Sky," "Wind," "Bear," and "Ghost" (1917:79-80). The messengers of Skan are the "Four Winds" whose father is Tate, "Wind." It is to be noted that Skan is conceived to give movement and power to all that moves, and he imparts a nagi, "spirit," a niya, "ghost," and a sicun, "potency," to each of mankind at birth. The nagi, "spirit," is thought to control the dispositions and actions of the individual, departing at death for the "spirit world" if it is worthy and remaining on earth as a sicun if unworthy. Sicun, "the emitted potency of the gods" which becomes the "potency of mankind," gives courage and fortitude to the individual during his lifetime but when disassociated from a body may whisper malicious things to mankind thereby causing mischief. Niya, the "ghost," abides with the person like a shadow, giving vitality, forewarning of good and evil, and the power to influence others. When it leaves death results, and it testifies to Skan regarding the conduct of the "spirit" (1917:81-87).

Lévy-Bruhl also considered the nature of Dakota religious beliefs and he saw in the concept of Wakan or Wakanda the typical
"primitive" view of identity, by participation, of the person with the unseen power pervading all aspects of nature (1966[1926]:113-117). Wakanda signifies this unseen reality which is manifested in the life, power, and action of an individual as well as in any element of nature that is perceived to have special virtue or to induce wonder. While the Dakota, as other "primitives," may secondarily differentiate a number of spiritual agents from Wakanda, the conception of a continuum of power, an identity of the one and the many through which all things are related to man and to each other by means of participation, must not thereby be obscured (1966[1926]:80-87, 113-117). From this view, emphasis would be given to what is implicit in Walker's data, that such components of the human personality as nagi, sicun, and niya, have an identity with, through their participation in, Wakan Tanka. This issue will be addressed again in the concluding chapter where its bearing upon conflicting interpretations of Navajo conceptions of the determinants of personal attributes will become apparent.

Whether concepts about the nature of man in traditional belief systems are translated in terms of such concepts as "soul" and "spirit" or in terms of such impersonal concepts as "vital force" or "unseen powers," it has been observed that in culturally diverse societies there is what Radin has called a "dynamic conception" of the ego, the ego not being conceived of as a single, constant, unchanging entity (Radin 1957[1927]:273; Horton 1967a:57-58). Radin also found in several cultures that psychical influences are not
conceived to be bound by the limits of the body and that there are ties postulated between the ego and the phenomenal world which are foreign to what we assume (1957[1927]:273).

Another dimension in the theoretical discussion of traditional categories of thought which is relevant to the present study has to do with the extent to which such categories are based upon sensations, emotions, and intellectual abstractions. A relatively common view is that traditional belief systems are based more upon sensations, emotions, and perceptions, and less upon purely intellectual abstractions, than are the scientific and philosophical systems of Western civilization. For example, Malinowski was of the opinion that abstract ideas are virtually non-existent in "savage" communities, their science being based in experience (1954[1926]:109-110). According to Radin, sensations, emotions, and intuitions underly the native selection of data, and "... it is this non-intellectual analysis that is typical of much of primitive thought" (1957[1972]:28-29). Similarly, the German ethnologist Jensen held that perception and observation, not "non-perceptual cognition," must be the first step in the history of intellectual development, and that Western culture has progressed farther than any other in the development of abstract concepts having little direct relation to what is perceived (1951:32-33). Boas thought that the mode of life of most people in simple societies does not require the discussion of abstract ideas, hence abstractions are relatively lacking among such as the American Indian (1938:195-198).
The idea that the thought of "primitive" man consists in large part of perceptible images of the world has been the most highly developed by Lévi-Strauss (1966). The primary characteristic of the "untamed mind" is that its mental operations, which are much the same as in scientific thought, are applied to nature as it is presented by the senses while scientific thought is "more remote from sensible intuition" (1966:15): "The physical world is approached from opposite ends in the two cases: One is supremely concrete, the other supremely abstract; one proceeds from the angle of sensible qualities and the other from that of formal properties" (1966:269). It is this attempt to organize the sensible world in sensible terms that constitutes the "science of the concrete." The elements of this thought while resembling images are like concepts in their powers of signification or reference: They are "signs" consisting of images coexisting with ideas, and as such they lie half-way between percepts and concepts (1966:16-20). While any system of natural features may be utilized in constructing systematic knowledge of the world, Lévi-Strauss sees that only a few are commonly employed in any given culture, these varying between cultures (1966:53-54). The characteristics differentiating biological species are often used since the species "operator," or the species "grid," allows very different domains to be integrated into one classificatory scheme: Postulated homologies between species differences and social group differences, for example, allow the natural and social universe to be grasped as an organized whole (1966:75-164).
While Lévi-Strauss recognizes that the theoretical systems of the "untamed mind" have an affective aspect, he does not see this as being inconsistent with theoretical knowledge, and his analysis is largely in terms of the "logic" of such systems of thought (1966:37-38). This logic is considered to be based most commonly on relations of contiguity and resemblance between features of the sensible world, with "correspondences" conceptualized between different aspects of the world:

The savage mind deepens its knowledge with the help of imagines mundi. It builds mental structures which facilitate an understanding of the world in as much as they resemble it. In this sense savage thought can be defined as analogic thought (1966:263).

There have been others who have found logical coordination and philosophical synthesis in traditional belief systems. Tempels argued that a logical system of thought, a complete philosophy of man and of his relationship to the universe such as he found in Bantu culture, is a necessary requirement for the perpetuation of the life styles of "primitive" peoples (1959:19). Radin cites ethnographic evidence from several societies that systematized theories based upon a capacity for logical and symbolical thought are to be found in traditional cultures (1957[1937]:292-373).

The mutual implications of ethnological theores such as those cited above, on the one hand, and the Navajo theory of life and behavior on the other, will need to be analyzed in terms of such factors as the place in Navajo thought of "soul" concepts versus Navajo conceptions of "participations" in powers surpassing the
individual; the extent to which Navajo thought is based upon sensible properties of the world rather than upon abstractions having no perceptible referents; and the evidence for affective associations between elements of Navajo theory or, on the other hand, for the logical organization of elements into an ordered scheme of causal forces sufficient to account for the diversity of experience. These questions will be addressed following the presentation of the Navajo theory in Chapters II through V.

Foundations in Reality

Another question to be addressed in this study of the Navajo theory of life and behavior is that of its "truth value." By this must be meant the extent to which its formulations are in accord with scientific explanations of the same phenomena since this is the most commonly accepted standard available to us.

Cultural and social theorists have considered the question of the relationship of traditional belief systems to reality and generally give more credence to these systems than did Lang who viewed the ideas and concepts embodied in myths as being "almost imbecile" in their nature (1911:131-132). For instance, Tylor held that animism, the theory of souls, accounts so well for sensible evidence of the facts of nature that it has held its place even into the thought of the "civilized world" (1889[1871]:429). Theoretical refinements of the basic doctrine are found in the "lower races" in such form as to be comparable in scientific value "... with
much that has gained esteem within the precincts of higher culture" (1889[1871]:434-435).

One view is that myths express at least a poetic truth about man and his world. In taking this position, Jensen argued that mythic statements about phenomena must be in some sense rooted in reality as experienced or myths could not become the sacred convictions of a people (1951:66). In his terms, "... the great and serious creations of the human mind never have been sponsored by absurdity" (1951:75). However, since other cultures do not as highly value logical relations and cause-effect relationships as we do, descriptions offered by traditional cultures may give expression to other aspects of reality. There are qualitative aspects of human experience such as the experience of full participation in nature and life which find expression in myth, and these are, in a sense, statements of "knowledge" (1951:26-36). The verity of mythic expression of such perceptions of reality is not open to challenge by knowledge of causal-logical relations (1951:36-37).

Durkheim similarly stressed that there are "no false religions": All are true to the conditions of human existence, all "... hold to reality and express it" (1915:14-15). For Durkheim, however, the ultimate reality expressed by religious beliefs is society. The categories of class, time, and space, for instance, are based upon the realities of social groupings, the rhythm of social life, and social territoriality, respectively (1915:464-465; 488-493). But beyond this, such socially-based categories are
extended to become applied to the same realities as are later addressed by philosophers and scientists (1915:477). The concepts of religious thought carry a guarantee of their objectivity in the fact that they are based upon collective experience: If such a "collective representation" were out of accord with the nature of things, "... it would never have been able to acquire an extended and prolonged empire over intellects" (1915:464-486).

Another perspective, provided by Radin, is that members of "primitive" societies are generally characterized by a "tough-mindedness" and have an "overpowering sense of reality" in which the thinker as well as the man-of-action are firmly rooted, although the thinker may envelop this workaday-world conception of reality in a supermundane formula (1957[1927]:19-21).

It has also been held that the philosophical speculations and theories embedded in "primitive" cultures may have truth value even in the causal-logical provenance, approximating the theories of science. In Lévi-Strauss' view, the "untamed mind" out of its familiarity with the sensible properties of the world and its demand for order creates groupings or "arrangements" of things on the basis of their sensible properties, and such "arrangements" are not only a step towards rational ordering but may even correspond with those arrived at by Western science (1966:2-15). There are factors playing against this, however: The elements of "untamed" thought, having imaginal components carrying meanings, interpose more human culture into interpretations of reality than do the relatively culture-free
concepts of science, and this restricts the freedom of their possible combinations. Any given interpretation of reality then becomes something of a compromise between the project, the intellectual demand of the moment, and the previously built-up structure of the available units of thought based upon past experiences. The characteristic effect is that the resultant product, the interpretation finally arrived at, is somewhat removed from the initial aim (1966:16-22).

Similarly, Horton's view is that the theories of traditional peoples are not only often addressed to the problem of natural causation but that they may even postulate some causal connections which are, by the standards of modern science, real ones (1967a:55-58). An example cited is the resemblance between West African ideas about the body as a meeting place of "multiple souls" and psychoanalytic ideas about the mind as consisting of warring entities. To some extent, then, traditional religious thought "successfully grasps reality" (1967a:57-58). Such success at grasping causal connections may come about much in the same manner as had been suggested earlier by Durkheim. In Horton's terms:

Given the basic process of theory-making, and an environmental stability which gives theory plenty of time to adjust to experience, a people's belief systems may come, even in the absence of scientific method, to grasp at least some significant causal connexions which lie beyond the range of common sense (1967a:57-58).

As was the case with Lévi-Strauss, however, Horton sees other factors as working against such successful results of the theoretical enterprise in traditional cultures: The adjustment of theories to changing experience in such societies is usually slow
and reluctant; there is generally no overt challenge to basic theoretical models; and, failure of the traditional system to explain important matters is usually not admitted (1967b:172-174). Traditional thought is not only not scientific thought but is also lacking in logical rules for distinguishing good arguments from bad ones, nor does it address the philosophical question, "'On what grounds can we ever claim to know anything about the world?'" (1967b:58, 162).

The Navajo theory of life and behavior, then, must be examined in terms of its apparent success in grasping reality, whether in giving expression to the Navajo experience of qualitative aspects of human existence or in expressing knowledge of causality as understood also by Western science.

THEORY IN NAVAJO CULTURE

The foregoing section reviewed general ethnological theories of the characteristics of systems of speculative or theoretical thought in traditional societies, particularly as these pertain to the nature of man and his relationships with his environment. The present section considers existing interpretations of Navajo theoretical thought about these matters, focusing on current understandings of the place of the "wind" concept in Navajo thought. This review will encompass discussions of the nature of Navajo deities and of "winds" that are thought to relate to them; Navajo conceptions of human life and of factors influencing or governing thought and behavior; Navajo morality and the source of the moral
sense; Navajo conceptions of death and the afterlife; and the central concepts of Navajo world view. The existing interpretations of each of these aspects of Navajo ideology will later be seen to relate to the Navajo theory of life and behavior to be presented in this study, whether by way of providing a broader context for this particular part of Navajo thought, by providing data or interpretations supportive of the theory to be presented, or by making explicit interpretations with which the present theory will take direct issue.

Nilch'i, "Winds"

"Winds" are given mention in discussions of Navajo religious ideology as deities themselves, as "mentors" or helpers of deities, and as what have been called the "wind souls" of other deities.

"Wind" deities. "Winds," along with other natural phenomena including earth, sky, sun, moon, the stars, thunder, clouds, lightning, dawn, darkness, mountains, water, and certain minerals, are sometimes personified and endowed with supernatural power by the Navajo. Such natural phenomena are so conceived that one may speak, for example, of Earth Woman, Sky Man, Star People, Mountain Woman, Wind People, and so forth (Aberle 1966:47, 195; Haile 1943b:67; Reichard 1970 [1950]:50-79). These personified phenomena and other Navajo deities have been classified by Reichard in terms of the degree to which they are considered to be helpful or harmful to man, with "winds"
placed in the category of "undependable" deities which are unpredictable in nature (1970[1950]:53-72).

The personification of "winds" and their "unpredictable" nature are exemplified in recorded versions of "windway" myths which account for the origins or ceremonials in which "winds" play prominent roles in both the etiology and cure of various illnesses and indispositions. In these myths the terms nílch'i dine'é, "wind people," and nílch'i, "winds," generally appear to function as alternative names for the same phenomena. In the Navajo "windway" myth, the four "winds" of the cardinal directions, east, south, west, and north, are spoken of as though they are persons, each having his "home" and sacrifice and man-like behavioral characteristics (Haile 1932c:85). This personification of "winds" is also found in the Chiricahua "windway" myth in which, for example, "left-handed wind" and "spotted wind" as "old men" are petitioned with offerings to restore good health to one to whom they have sent an indisposition. They agree to come, but it is as "black wind," "blue wind," "white wind," and "yellow wind" that the "old men" appear (Haile 1932b:11). In another version of this myth, nílch'i hastiin, "wind man," and nílch'i asdzáán, "wind woman," released a nílch'i bìjíh, "wind deer," causing the protagonist's destruction. When a petition to restore him was made with an offering to "an old man," it was said that the "people" would follow them home. It was "dark wind," "blue wind," "white wind," and "yellow wind" who subsequently came to restore the man (Haile 1933a:63). Haile, at
this point, noted the sex differentiation in referring to the "wind man" and "wind woman" and that in contrast his informant designated all of the four colored "winds" as being male. He concluded from this that the names of the colored "winds" "... cannot therefore be applied alternatively to the wind man and wind woman, as we should ordinarily expect by comparison with other chants. Their relation to the two elders seems to be that of assistants, distinct and distinguished enough to replace them entirely" (1933a:49-50). Evidence will be presented, however, that other informants do make sex distinctions for the four colored "winds," regarding some as male and some as female (Chapter III).

The nature of "winds" as being "undependable" deities is also readily evident in the "windway" myths where they are presented as both causing indispositions and being agents of restoration: They both harm the protagonist who has offended them and, when the appropriate sacrifices and offerings have been made on their behalf, restore him again (e.g., Haile 1933a:7; 1932b:6-11; 1932c:121).

Related symbolism. Because the attributes and roles of "wind" deities are sometimes expressed symbolically, particularly in ceremonial contexts, analysis of such symbols is useful as a means of furthering understanding of the Navajo view of "winds." By Haile's analysis, the potentially harmful as well as the restorative effects of "winds" and the role attributed to them in the Chiricahua "Windway" ceremonial are symbolized in several ways. The tree or awl cactus which is applied to the patient's body during the ritual represents nîlch'i
ba’álíil, "the supernatural power of the wind." Here, the cactus spines are said to represent defense against attacks by "winds" or instruments for driving away ailments. The supernatural power of "wind" is also represented by a figure of "winds" drawn on the patient's chest and by a token which is tied on the patient as an outward indication that "wind" has restored him and "stands in his interior" to protect him in the future against any action by "winds" (Haile 1933a:14-17, 82; 1932b:19, 99).

There are indications that Big Snakes, which figure prominently in the "windway" myths, also symbolize "winds." In some "windway" motifs the evil caused by snakes as well as by "winds" is removed by the restorative action of "winds" (Haile 1933a:107-121; 1932c:43-46; Wyman and Bailey 1946:215-216). In the myth of Striped "Windway" this restoration is led by "dark wind" who is said to live at Coiled Mountain while reference is made to a sandpainting of a coiled snake with a red tongue representing Coiled Mountain. It is suggested that the red color symbolizes danger as well as protection from danger (Wyman and Bailey 1946:215-216, 236). A myth fragment to be presented in the present study identified Big Snakes as being the offspring of "winds."

The Navajo conception of the role of "winds" in rituals may also be symbolized by the colors associated with the "winds" of the cardinal directions in particular ceremonials. The most generally accepted shábik’ehgo, "sunwise," color sequence corresponding with the conceived motion of the sun is ligai, "white," associated
with hayoolkáál, "dawn," in the east; dootl'izh, "blue," associated with nahodeetl'iiizh, "skyblue" or "horizontal blue," in the south; litso, "yellow," associated with nahotsoi, "evening twilight," in the west; and dilhil, "dark" or "black," associated with chahalheel, "darkness" in the north (Haile 1943b:70; Reichard 1970[1950]:188-194).

Reichard has noted that this sequence of colors does not run consistently throughout Navajo ceremonials and that reversal of the sequence may be a way of stressing opposition and emphasizing the exorcistic functions of ritual (1970[1950]:181-187). Haile, on the other hand, relates the disturbance of this sequence to contexts in which malevolence and witchcraft are suspected (1943b:75). While the symbolic significance is thus not entirely clear, it should be mentioned that the east, south, west, north sequence in the Chiricahua "Windway" ceremonial is "dark," "blue," "white," and "yellow," respectively, while that in the Navajo "Windway" ceremonial is "dark," "blue," "yellow," and "white" (Haile 1933a:18; 1932c:2).

The latter sequence receives emphasis from informants in the present study, with "dark wind" being most commonly identified with the east, "blue wind" with the south, "yellow wind" with the west, and "white wind" with the north.

The means of travel of the "winds" is symbolized in ritual by hoops by which, it is said, "winds" are able to move across the countryside. The association of the power of motion with "winds" is indicated by a reference to "wind people" as being gáál dine'é, "travelling power people" (Haile 1933c:85-88; 1933a:51).
"Inner forms" and "wind souls." It is believed that the Navajo conceive personified natural phenomena to have other personifications within them as their "inner forms" and that such "inner forms" themselves have "wind souls" within them as their means of life.

In Haile's view, the conception of "inner forms" within natural phenomena is expressed by the Navajo term "bii'gistiín," which he analyzed as follows:

The term is composed by bii’ in its interior gi there, and sití it lies, which becomes -stiín "an animate object lies." We render this term with "inner form of it," which expresses the native concept that this inner form is a being independent of the object which it happens to occupy (Haile 1943b:68).

Thus, one may speak both of Mountain Woman, personifying all mountains, and of bii'gistiín, "her inner forms"; or, in other terms, of dził asdzáán biyi’ diyiin dine'é, "the holy people within Mountain Woman" (Haile 1932a:43, 498). In the same way, Earth Woman is conceived of having a personified "inner form" as are Sky Man and others (Haile 1930:3-5, 10). Somewhat similarly, the "outer forms" of animals and plants are said to be conceived of as being covers or attires for the t’áá dinégo, "in man form," in which the "... real supernatural appears on the surface of this earth" (Haile 1943b:67). Certain natural phenomena as well as plants and animals, then, are considered to have personified beings within them.

Haile also made the interpretation that the "inner forms" of deities are conceived to have "wind souls" within them as bee ndíziihii, "their breathing means," and that the nature of these "wind souls" determines behavior traits of the deities in which
they exist (1943b:72-76). For instance, nílchí łigai, "white wind," which is said to be be'át'e’ ádin, "without meanness," is the "soul" of Changing Woman, a beneficial being who brings forth growth on earth's surface. Other deities betray the "meanness" of their "wind souls" through their malevolent actions (1943b:72-76).

"Wind" mentors. "Wind mentors" or "monitors" appear, in the form of "little wind" or "wind's child," in almost all Navajo chantway myths as being among the helpers of deity and man (Wyman 1962:36, 40-41; Reichard 1970[1950]:53-72). These "mentors" are commonly said to "sit on the ear" of a mythic hero, sometimes representing themselves as guardians of the homes of powerful supernaturals whose secrets they know. Unlike the deities, they offer their knowledge and aid without requiring an offering (Reichard 1970[1950]:64-65). Little is known about the Navajo conception of "wind mentors" since their role, particularly in relationship to the present-day Navajo, has not previously been subjected to systematic study. Even in mythological contexts where their activity has been recognized in relation to mythic heros, there is no evidence that inquiries have been made as to who is thought to send these "messenger winds," where they get the information or instructions they impart, what the full content of these instructions are, and what the relationships between these "winds" and the other "winds" of the Navajo universe are. The summary information by Reichard about "mentors" while reflecting a careful collation of information about them presented in the mythologies does not appear to be based
upon ethnographic efforts to go beyond these texts to the meanings and interpretations assigned to them by informants (1970[1950]:65-65).

Navajo ethnopsychology. Navajo conceptions of the determinants of human behavior are generally recognized as being closely related to their views of the nature of the supernatural order and man's relationship to it. According to one perspective, the Navajo view is that behavior is given direction and personality meaning through the establishment of proper relationships with the supernatural environment (Witherspoon n.d.a:24, 30; Reichard 1943:353-360). An alternative perspective is that human behavior is under the complete direction and control of the particular "wind soul" that enters each individual at birth and remains there unaltered until death, in the same way that the behavior traits of a supernatural being are governed by the "wind soul" within it (Haile 1943b:72-78). Despite the differences in these interpretations, it is recognized in either case that "wind" is involved in the Navajo conception of human nature.

For Reichard, "wind" is the deity which furnishes the essence of life that is "breath" (1943:356). The Navajo term ájí is said to mean the life, breath, and power of a being, including power secured through ritual means as in the rite of the inhaling of "breath power" which indicates identification with desirable supernatural powers. The term ajíih, according to Reichard, refers to the opposite of "breath power"; that is, the "breath poison" of a being, the evil element in breath which is injurious if it impinges upon one (1943:355-356; 1970[1950]:33). Closely associated with breath is
"breath sound" which in the case of injurious breath may be angry or abnormal sounds. A combination of breath and sound is voice, speech, or language. Saad, the "word," is indicative of the control of language and knowledge that is essential to well-being (Reichard 1970[1950]:33-34). Another essential component of man is identified as agáál, "the power of motion." Man, in this view, is a composite of bodily parts in which there are channels through which blood, other moistures, air, "ghosts," and other evils may run; of sound and breath; of the power of motion; and, of "mind." Áni', "mind," is said to coordinate all of these parts by providing the ability to think with awareness and volition so that man moves at will (Reichard 1943:357; 1970[1950]:35). A person is adziil, "strong," from the normal adjustment of his component parts combined with power derived from supernatural experience. Ritual helps to extend the personality beyond bodily limits to a harmonious relationship with the ultimate good, which is defined as a "universal harmony" of beneficient supernatural powers (Reichard 1943:357; 1970[1950]:35).

In the alternative interpretation of Navajo ethnopsychology which has been set forth most completely and forcefully by Haile the behavior and character of an individual is determined solely by nilch'i bii' sizini, "the wind standing within him" or "wind soul," which is dispatched by one or another of the deities into the infant when it is being born (Haile 1943b:76-83). While life, breath, and speech are associated with this "wind soul" as with ájí, "breath," discussed by Reichard, so too are the powers of
motion, thought, and behavior. This "wind soul," according to Haile, cannot be augmented by ritual or changed by any other means. It is completely independent of environmental influences of any kind and it so completely determines the behavior of the individual that there is no room in this psychology for individual volition which Reichard had attributed to the "mind." And, since it remains unaltered and unalterable within the individual from birth until death, the individual cannot be held accountable for his behavior:

The in-standing wind . . . controls the individual's life-stuff, is held responsible for physical and other defects like deafness, to limp, be cross-eyed, to be mean, deceitful, dishonest, and the like. This psychology therefore dispenses with a lawgiver, the decalogue, conscience, morality, merit, reward, accountability and punishment . . . (Haile 1951:169).

This interpretation is repeated in part by Ladd: The "wind soul" controls every action and movement of a person, and since a person cannot change this nor be persuaded otherwise the individual appears to be absolved of personal responsibility (1957:272). In the same vein, Bailey quotes an informant to the effect that the "wind" in an individual directs one's movements "'like a lawyer or boss sitting inside you telling you how to do'" (1950:21). This apparent fatalism is also detected in Navajo statements which indicate that the "wind soul" is thought to predestine the individual's life span, the "wind" saying before it enters that it will stay so many years after which it will leave and the person will die (Bailey 1950:21; Haile 1943b:87).

Witherspoon's interpretation of Navajo ethnopsychology has some of the features of each of the alternative interpretations
discussed in the above (n.d.b). He has developed Haile's notion that a "small wind" controls the vegetative functions of the developing fetus and that an "in-standing wind soul," dispatched into the individual at birth, is the source of the individual's life, breath, thought, and action (n.d.b:5-6). Unlike Haile, however, Witherspoon interprets that in the Navajo view the "wind soul" gives the individual the capacity for thought and action but does not control these functions. With Reichard, he holds that the Navajo view is that it is man who thinks, by means of saad, "words, language, symbols," which were given primordially and are the basis of knowledge, thought, and speech (n.d.b:5-12, 25-28). An individual's thought has an impact on the world through its externalization in the form of speech through the medium of nílch'i, "air" (n.d.b:23-24). Unlike Reichard, however, Witherspoon sees this interaction with the environment by means of "air" as being a one-way process: He makes no suggestion, as did Reichard, that the "breath power" of deities can be incorporated into the individual. Rather, identification with sources of supernatural power is achieved symbolically, through ritual speech and practice (n.d.b:15-16).

While there is therefore general agreement that "wind" is conceived by the Navajo to give the individual the breath of life, it is a matter of disagreement whether or not this "breath" or "in-standing wind" is believed to be altered by external influences or ritualistic means, to what extent it is involved in determining thought and behavior, and to what extent its actions leave room for individual volition and responsibility for behavior.
Navajo Morality

It has been held by ethnologists that the relationships between man and deity, as conceived by the Navajo, do not involve a moral component. The deities are said not to be moral authorities or legislators, the moral code is not derived from them, they do not enforce morality, nor does the state of being diyin, "holy," imply moral sanctity or goodness (Kluckhohn 1959:368; Ladd 1957:217, 262; Aberle 1966:50). While there are numerous supernaturally sanctioned tabus, these have been said to have no necessary relationship to the system of injunctions comprising the moral order (Haile 1943b:84-85; Aberle 1966:196).

Many ethical prescriptions are considered by students of the Navajo to be traditionally derived rules and customs such as those based in obligations and privileges associated with kinship relationships. The sanctions for such prescriptions are said to be of an external nature, in public opinion, loss of esteem of one's fellow man, withdrawal of social and economic reciprocity, and in other pressures from the community (Aberle 1966:49; Reichard 1970 [1950]:123-132; Haile 1943b:86-87; Kluckhohn 1949:366). Moral injunctions not rooted in tradition are said to be based in pragmatic considerations rather than in terms of abstract moral principles. One is advised not to steal or to lie because one might get caught and get in trouble, not because it is abstractly wrong or sinful (Reichard 1970[1950]:131-132; Ladd 1957:226-258). In Ladd's analysis, the consequences of one's actions, that is whether they are harmful
to the actor or whether they will accrue to his welfare, are alone considered to be morally relevant (1957:281-295).

Werner with Begishe, on the other hand, have criticized the view that Navajo morality is rooted in pragmatics:

A huge vocabulary clearly separating abstractly the good from bad is not thought up by pragmatists but by a moralizing people . . . . Not telling the truth is considered bad in a purely abstract sense. The morality appears pragmatic only to us because we confuse the reward system, that is that if you don't tell the truth you will be ridiculed, with some punishment from a supernatural or other source which in our ethnocentric view is non-pragmatic (Werner with Begishe 1968:125).

Furthermore, a singular statement by the informant who Haile considered as being his best authority on the "wind soul" raises the issue of possible supernatural punishment for bad conduct involving the "wind soul" as a mediator in the matter. The informant indicated that dawn woman determines which "wind soul" shall enter the child to be born and that these "wind souls" report back to her on the lives of the persons controlled by them: "If the in-standing wind reports untoward actions, like adultery, theft, and the like, these may be punished in the lifetime of the person" (Haile 1943b:82, 87). Despite this statement, Haile concluded that the thought of punishment, supernatural or otherwise, does not enter Navajo ideology at all (1943b:87).

While the ethnological view generally is that Navajo morality is based largely in pragmatic considerations with no involvement of the deities, there are thus some indications not only that there is an abstract system of the good and the bad but also that the "wind soul" and the deity who dispatches it into the individual may indeed
be agents of that system of morality and in some as yet undefined way involved in supplying sanctions for it.

Navajo Eschatology

As with Navajo ethnopsychology, Navajo conceptions of death and the afterlife are recognized as being closely related to their views of man's relationship to the supernaturals. Thus, while Reichard relates death in the Navajo conception to the effects of evil influences originating outside of the individual, Haile relates it to the departure of the "wind soul" from the body. And, while both Reichard and Haile consider ch’iiddii, the "ghost" of an individual, as being something ethereal or intangible, a "potentiality for evil," Wyman and others identify it with the departed "wind soul."

In Reichard's interpretation, the Navajo believe that death is caused by evil that has entered the body and which the individual is unable to throw off. This evil, "... the residue that man has been unable to bring into the universal harmony ...," then remains in association with the body or place of death as ch’iiddii, a "potentiality for evil," which may bring harm to others still living (1943:354-360; 1970[1950]:48-49, 120). Haile, on the other hand, does not indicate that death is believed by the Navajo to be brought about by the action of external evil influences. Rather, the departure of the "wind soul" causes the death of the individual and this is said to be controlled and foreseen by dawn woman who dispatched the "wind" into the individual in the first place (1943b:82). After death, the individual's "wind soul" is dispatched into another
human body or returns to the "realm of the winds" while his ch'ii'dii, something entirely distinct from the departed "wind," goes to ch'ii'diiitah, "ghostland," from where it may return to cause injury to those of the living who violate tabus associated with the dead (Haile 1943b:87-92; 1951:136). However, there is no ch'ii'dii in the case of one who has died of old age in which event the body and its environs are not to be feared and the "person" lives on sá hólóŋgi, "where old age exists" (Haile 1943b:89-91).

Wyman and others, on the other hand, have identified as a "major idea pattern" in Navajo eschatology that the term ch'ii'dii refers to the breath or "wind" that departs from the body at the time of death. If this represents the evil in a person's life it goes to ch'ii'diiitah, one of the under worlds, where it becomes a "ghost" and from which it may subsequently return to earth's surface in various forms to cause "ghost sickness." A "minor idea pattern" is that if the departed "wind" represents the good in a person's life it may go elsewhere (Wyman et al. 1942:11-49).

Diversity, Unity and Superordinance

Although the Navajo universe has been portrayed as being occupied by a diversity of "winds," including "wind" deities, "wind mentors," "wind souls," and departed "wind souls" or "ghosts," the possibility that the Navajo conceive of these as being different manifestations of a single being must be considered. The Navajo tendency to conceive of a particular deity or mythic hero in terms of multiple names or representations has been pointed out, although not
specifically in connection with the "wind" deity (Reichard 1970 [1950]:54-55). For example, Changing Woman may be called "White Shell Woman," "Turquoise Woman," Abalone Woman," and "Jet Woman," "... because she changes her appearance in summer and winter" (Haile 1943c:25). The earth may be identified with Changing Woman, with the other names for Changing Woman given above, and with są'gh naaghái bik'eh hózhóón (translated by Haile as "long life-happiness") (1943c:25-26). Several names can be applied to one thunder divinity and four names can be applied to naaghii' neezghání, "Monster Slayer," or at least to "Monster Slayer" and his brother, tóbájíshchíní, "Born for Water" (Haile 1943a:34). Wyman has also described this process in his discussion of the Male Shootingway ceremonial, and his comments bear repeating here:

The heroes of the myth of the Male Shooting Chant are twin boys, appearing in some versions ... as the War Gods, Monster Slayer (Firstborn, older brother) and Child-of-the-Water (Second-born, younger brother) and in others ... as the Holy People, Holy Man and Holy Boy. In their adventures the former pair are often accompanied by their cognates, Reared-in-the-Earth and Changing Grandchild, and the latter by their female counterparts, Holy Woman and Holy Girl ... Navajo mythology may be confusing unless the principle of multiple selves is understood. The Navajo think of all these beings as equivalent, thus Monster Slayer and Holy Man may be the same. He may act alone or by multiplication he may appear simultaneously in myth or sandpaintings as two, three, or four persons (1960:39).

In addition to this awareness that a single being can appear under different names and guises and at numerous places at the same time, there are a few more direct indications that "wind" may be considered to be a unitary deity of which particular "winds" are its manifestations. For instance, Haile observed that in one portion of the Chiricahua "windway" myth "the four winds are treated as
one . . ." in terms of the songs that are sung (Haile 1933a:243).

In this same myth, a petition to "dark wind" in which the latter is addressed as '

You, who stand under one cover with others . . .'

was interpreted by Haile's informant, Slim Curly, in this way:

To "stand under one cover" is here equivalent to the appearance of the winds. Although there are many in number, they are all one, nothing differentiates them (in power). S.C. Therefore the black wind and his associates are involved (1933a:246).

Related to this question of the unitary nature of "winds" as perhaps constituting a single "wind" deity is that of the status of "winds" relative to the other deities. While ethnologists have not generally recognized a primary or superordinate role for nilch'i, "wind," it should be observed that there exist occasional references in the literature of Navajo religion which intimate that "wind" has, at least in some respects, something of a superordinate position among the deities. For example, Hostiin Klah told that after the present world was created although there were many holy or supernatural ones in existence ". . . only a few had god-like powers, particularly First Man, First Woman, Yołgi Asdzáán, and the Winds" (Klah 1942:95).

There is also Frank Goldtooth's "unique reference" (in Wyman's terms) in his account of the Navajo origin myth to a "Supreme Sacred Wind" as being the supreme creator (Fishler 1953:9-11; Wyman 1965:76-78). Haile has also noted a "tradition" which assigns to "wind" together with "wind deer" a primary role in the creation of the universe (1943b:81).
These questions, of the unity or diversity of "winds" and of its relative status in the Navajo pantheon of supernatural powers, are unresolved in present constructions of Navajo theory.

Navajo World View

Discussions of Navajo world view generally center around the Navajo concern for the maintenance of health and well-being, which is expressed in ritual as well as in myth, and there is the implication in these discussions that "winds" provide a medium through which these ends may be attained although its role in the process has been variously interpreted.

An accepted view is that health and well-being are conceived by the Navajo to be derived from the maintenance of harmonious relationships with supernatural powers, such as are represented by the various deities, and more especially with a "universal harmony" of these beneficent powers (Kluckhohn 1949:361-368; Reichard 1943:353-360; Witherspoon n.d.a:24-30). According to Reichard, the concept of a "universal harmony or destiny" is expressed by the Navajo phrase sā'āh naagháí bik'eh hózhóón, an "ultimately inexplicable term" conceptualizing something impersonal which supersedes all of the deities as the goal of the universe and all that it contains (1943:358; 1970[1950]:45-57, 75-76). Other interpretations of the meaning of this sacred phrase see in it an expression of such cultural values as rejuvenation or continuance in time and conditions of ideal beauty and harmony (Haile 1943c:17; Haile 1930:Introduction; Witherspoon n.d.a:30). Thus, in Witherspoon's derivation, sā'āh
naaghái "... refers to the continued re-occurrence of the completion
of the life cycle" and hózhó refers to the positive or ideal
environment:

The goal of Navajo life in this world is to live to maturity
in the conditions described as "hózhó," and to die at old age,
at which time one becomes incorporated in the universal beauty,
harmony, and happiness described as "Są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhó"

Thus, the central task for the individual is considered to be
that of identifying or integrating with są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhó,
the source of all well-being, and to resist or cast off evil influ-
elences which threaten to disrupt an identification with this "universal
harmony" so as to preserve one's own health and well-being; and,
ritual and prayer are the means by which these objectives are pursued.
Through ritual, rejuvenating supernatural power is attracted and
concentrated in the individual and evil is warded off or exorcised

As previously mentioned, Reichard saw in the rite of the inhaling
of the "breath power" of a being one means of identification with
desirable supernatural powers, with another element of ritual being
the exorcism of the "breath poison" or evil element in breath (1943:
355-356; 1970[1950]:33). For Witherspoon, however, identification
with the source of all rejuvenating power must be less direct, more
symbolic, because of the nature of this power: Witherspoon accepts
Haile's identification of są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhó, when personified
as two beings, with the "inner form" and "outer form" of the earth
(although elsewhere Haile suggested that the two beings, są'ąh naaghái
and bik'eh hózhó, are both "inner forms" of the earth) (Witherspoon
Są'ąh naagháí, the "inner form" of earth, is furthermore identified with the thought of the Holy People and bik'eh hózhó, earth's "outer form," with their speech (Witherspoon n.d.b:1-5). The former, which is the primary source of beauty, harmony, and well-being, being of the nature of an "inner form" and of thought, cannot be directly apprehended by earth surface people or directly incorporated into their thoughts. Rather, są'ąh naagháí, being the thought of the Holy People, is known only through its "outer form," its expression in speech. Therefore, through the symbolic processes of ritual speech and ritual practice which can be seen and heard by the Holy People there is, first, an identification of the outward properties of man and deity symbolizing, and followed by, an identification of such inner qualities as thought (Witherspoon n.d.b:15-16). Thus, in Witherspoon's view, although there is an interaction between the thought-giving "wind souls" of the Holy People and the "wind souls" of earth surface people, it is an indirect interaction arrived at through the symbolic processes of overt speech and ritualistic practice (n.d.b:15-16).

By current understanding of Navajo world view, then, it would appear that "wind," as deity, is at least one of the elements in the equilibrium of supernatural powers called "universal harmony" and that together with the other deities it provides for the Navajo a means of identifying or integrating with this harmony." Further, "wind" apparently has a role in this process beyond that of other phenomena, but whether it is conceived to be directly involved in enabling such an identification, as in the rite of inhalation.
of the "breath power" of the deities, or perhaps less directly involved through the effects of symbolic interactions between man and deity on the "wind souls" governing their thoughts, is an unresolved matter that is of concern to the present study.

**Issues Addressed in This Study**

The issues in Navajo ethnology to be addressed in this study are primarily those raised in preceding discussions relating to the nilch'i, "wind," concept. The over-riding interest is the meaning of the nilch'i construct in the broadest sense and its place in Navajo ideology. Implied in this is an interest in the conceptual relationships existing between the variously named "winds" of the Navajo universe, including what have been translated as "wind mentors" and "wind souls," and the question of whether these are conceived of as being aspects or components of a unitary "wind" or single "wind" deity. The role attributed to such a deity in the Navajo world should be a central concern in any explication of the nature of "wind," particularly its connection with notions of a "universal harmony" and a "residue of evil."

Issues in Navajo ethnopsychology were also raised. Is the "wind" or "breath" of an individual conceived to be modifiable in response to external influences or is it autonomous within the individual having no correspondence with supernatural power during the life course of the person? Does it, in the Navajo view, determine thought and behavior; if so, is allowance made for individual volition and personal accountability? Is there other support for the view
of Haile's informant that this "wind soul" reports wrong conduct to deity, functioning in the manner of a moral agent? Are Navajo deities, then concerned after all with morality or is morality based solely in pragmatic considerations?

Finally, does Navajo ideology hold that the "wind" departed from the deceased may, as ch'įidii, a "potentiality for evil," serve as a medium for bringing the living under the influence of "evil" in the universe?

As a Navajo "theory of winds" is formulated at the conclusion of the present study to address the above issues, its implications for ethnological knowledge and understanding of the nature of theoretical thought in traditional cultures in general can then be considered.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based upon a combination of field interviews with Navajo informants and library research, both conducted primarily during the period beginning June 1970 and ending February 1972 from a base at Many Farms, Arizona, in the central part of the Navajo Nation. Data analysis with the involvement of Navajo research assistants was conducted at the same site.

The Selection of Informants

Since the focus of this study is the traditionally-derived Navajo "wind" theory, informants were sought who were believed to be especially knowledgeable about traditional Navajo culture in
general. Among the Navajo, hataalii, "singers," practitioners of the various ceremonials and healing chants, are known to be primary bearers of traditional lore. Each ceremonial has an associated myth which explains the origins of that ceremonial and its proper conduct, and "singers" are generally well-versed as well in the general origin myth from which the ceremonial myths "branch-off" at various points (Spencer 1974:12; Wyman 1962:31-32).

Of the ten informants utilized in the present study, eight are or had been in the past practicing "singers" (all but CL and JD). No effort was made to control for "singers'" specialties excepting that when the importance of the "wind" concept became apparent informants were specifically sought who were practitioners of the Diné Binílch'iijí, "Navajo Windway," ceremonial (these being informants FDT and BY). Of the remaining two informants, CL claimed a knowledge and practice of divination procedures and JD asserted knowledge of the Chíshí Binílch'iijí, "Chiricahua Windway" ceremonial, although he has not been a practicing "singer."

Informants were also sought who would be expected to be least influenced in their views by acculturation processes. Eight of the ten informants were over 60 years of age at the time of the study and six of these fell between the ages of 75 and 94 years (informants CM, CAB, GES, FDT, HB, and HK). All but one (JD) are monolingual Navajo speakers and lacking in significant formal education in anglo schools. JD has a limited knowledge of conversational English.
All informants, excepting JD who was visiting from Shiprock, New Mexico, reside in the general area of the Chinle Valley of the Navajo Nation within an area accessible from Many Farms, Arizona. The informants are from such diverse communities within this area as Pinon, about 50 miles by road southwest from Many Farms; Wheatfields, 55 miles to the northeast; Chinle, about 16 miles to the south; Valley Store, 8 miles to the south; as well as from the Many Farms community itself. Not all potential informants contacted within this area were interviewed, a few due to a disinclination to be interviewed or because they valued their knowledge beyond the investigator's willingness or ability to pay. Two or three who were contacted disclaimed much knowledge about the subject at hand and referred the investigator to other "singers" who, it was thought, would be better informed. One informant claimed knowledge of the subject but was not extensively interviewed since other informants appeared to be actually more knowledgeable.

Informants interviewed by this investigator are referred to throughout this paper by initials, as follows:

Informant CM: Dághas Ch’ilí ("Curly Mustache") of the Wheatfields-Del Muerto region
Informant CAB: Ch’áh Adin Binálí ("No Hat's Paternal Grandson") of the Valley Store region
Informant JT: Jack Tó’aheedlíinii of the Valley Store region
Informant GES: Greyeyes Stewart of Chinle
Informant FDT: Francis Diné Tsosie of the Pinon region
Informant BY: Bahe Yazzie (also known as Áshįį Tso, "Big Salt") of the Many Farms-Valley Store region

Informant HB#I: Hostiin Begay #1 of Chinle

Informant HK: Hostiin Kiiyi'áanii of Many Farms

Informant CL: Charlie Lee of the Pinon region

Informant JD: John Dodge of Shiprock

By way of contrast, statements that are attributed in this paper to the informants of other investigators are generally indicated by giving the name rather than the initials of that investigator's informant followed by the usual citations made to published works.

**Interviewing Procedures**

All interviews were conducted in the informants' homes or outside of them in the investigator's car with the aid of an interpreter. The interviews usually began with very general, open-ended questions such as, "What makes people behave the way they do?" Informants were given the opportunity, and were encouraged, to respond freely and expansively. They would not uncommonly refer to the oral traditions and recite long passages of mythology appropriate to the particular question. Because of this and because the origin legends and related beliefs have a sacred quality, many matters of interest to the present investigation could be discussed with informants only during the winter months which is the traditional time for recounting sacred lore. Following the recitation of such texts informants were asked more specific questions to clarify their responses or to elicit interpretive statements, "folk definitions"
of terms, and other data that are not generally embedded within the oral literature itself. It was discovered that a large variety of questions contingent upon the particular topic immediately at hand needed to be asked of informants, requiring more flexibility in question and answer exchange than was allowed by use of a limited corpus of question frames. For this reason, initial efforts to develop a restricted set of question frames in the native language were abandoned.

Navajo Mythology

As interview data accumulated it became clear that previously recorded versions of Navajo myths would illuminate and place in context myth fragments related by informants. The emerging prominence of the "wind" concept in the Navajo theory of behavior suggested the need to examine its role in Navajo mythology in general. Thus, a review of recorded versions of Navajo mythology was made to supplement data elicited from informants.

With regard to Navajo oral literature, a distinction may be made between the more secular stories that are told for entertainment or moral instruction, somewhat akin to our folktakes, and the more sacred stories recounting the origins of the Navajo universe and of the ceremonials conceived to be derived from the Holy People for the benefit of the Navajo people (Wyman 1962:30-31; Spencer 1947:12-13). Since it is to the latter, more sacred category of the oral traditions to which informants frequently alluded in relating
conceptions of human behavior, accounts of this aspect of the oral
tradition were selected for analysis.

Informants most frequently made reference to the general
origin myth which is the primary source and expression of the tradi-
tional Navajo world view, relating the emergence of the Holy People
from the underworlds and the creation of the present world:

In content the general origin myth includes events in the
lower worlds, the emergence to the present world, the creation
of people and objects in the present world, the birth and
childhood of the war gods, their journey to the sun, their
exploits in ridding the world of monsters, and an account of
clan origins. This myth deals with the beginnings of things:
The preparation of the physical world, the creation of its
inhabitants, and the place of the Navaho in this world. It
seems to be treated as the most central and most sacred of
the stories in Navaho folklore (Spencer 1947:12).

The general origin myth may be told as a preface to one
of the origin or "chantway" myths of the Navajo healing ceremonials
which "branch-off" from it at various points (Spencer 1947:12;
Wyman 1962:31-32). Each such "chantway" myth is distinctive in
relating the origins of a particular ceremonial, but there is a
common theme underlying most of them, as described by Spencer:

Navaho ceremonialism centers around curing. The chant
origin myth for the individual ceremonials follow a generalized
pattern. They recount the adventures of a Navaho who has become
separated from his people, how he has a curing ceremony performed
over him by the gods, and finally how this person who was the
patient in the divine performance returns and teaches the ceremony
to his people. These myths are full of ceremonial details that
may serve as a guide to the present-day conduct of the ceremony
(1947:12).

The ceremonials whose origins are recounted in the various
"chantway" myths have been classified into several categories based
upon the kind of ritual followed: Ceremonials conducted according
to the diyink'ehjí, "holy way," ritual are generally utilized for treating conditions caused by the supernaturals or Holy People; those conducted according to the höchqojí, "evil way," ritual are directed against molestation by ch’iidi, "ghosts," of dead people; while ceremonials conducted according to iináájí, "life way," are primarily to treat injuries resulting from accidents (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938; Haile 1938:648-652). While this study is not generally concerned with these ceremonials or their origin myths, there are several instances in which "chantway" origin myths have been utilized. Thus, because of the importance of níłch’i, "wind," in the Navajo theory of life and behavior, versions of the origin myths of the Navajo "Windway" and Chiricahua "Windway" ceremonials are referred to for the insights which they provide into the Navajo "wind" concept. Secondly, some of the "chantway" myths recount portions of the general origin myth thereby providing additional versions of the events involved in Navajo ethnohistory. For instance, it has been noted that the myth of the Red Antway ceremonial departs from the standard "chantway" pattern of the hero-quest and utilizes events and personnel of the general origin myth (Wyman 1965:65). Wyman compares this myth favorably with the most complete versions of the origin myth in its treatment of some of the events leading up to the emergence from the lower worlds and the emergence itself (1965:92). Similarly, the myth of Upward-Reaching-Way or Moving-up-Way is largely concerned with events of the general origin myth, beginning with the lower worlds (Franciscan Fathers 1910:362; Spencer 1957:12-15).
Although Wyman indicated that the myths of Shootingway, Coyoteway, and Enemyway also draw heavily on the origin myth, versions of these latter myths were not reviewed during the course of the present study (Wyman 1962:58).

Standing apart from the "chantway" ceremonials and their associated myths is the rite and myth of hózhóóji, "Blessingway," which has also been extensively drawn upon for the purposes of the present study, being a rich source of data about Navajo world view. Blessingway differs in important respects from the other Navajo ceremonials. In contrast to the "chantways" mentioned above, it is primarily used to invoke positive blessings and to protect from misfortune rather than to cure illness, remove injury, or to restore good health or favorable conditions (Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938:18; Wyman 1970:4-9). The Blessingway myth is not concerned with the underworlds as are, for instance, Red Antway and Upward-Moving-Way, for the underworlds were marked by evil and witchcraft while Blessingway is concerned only with the good. The Blessingway myth consists essentially of the post-emergence events of the origin myth with special emphasis on the creation of the present world, the birth and blessings of Changing Woman, the creation of the Navajo, the origin of clans, and the origin of the Blessingway rite (Wyman 1970:41). Although distinctive in many ways, Blessingway is well-integrated into the Navajo religious system to the extent that investigators often consider it to hold a "central" or "controlling" position, giving unity to the whole (Haile 1938:652;
Brugge 1963:25; Wyman 1970:5). It provides the prototypes, sanctions, and themes for many of the acts and procedures in the "chantway" ceremonies (Wyman 1970:5).

The Navajo origin myth, then, including segments of those "chantway" and rite origin myths which relate events of the origin myth--Red Antway, Upward-Moving-Way, and Blessingway--together with the "Windway" myths which provide insight into the role of "wind" in Navajo religious ideology, are the basic sources of data supplementary to that provided by first-hand interviews with informants.

Criteria for the Selection of Myth Versions

Due to the large number of descriptions of Navajo myths and to their variable quality, not all published versions were reviewed. The criteria for selection of myth versions for review and analysis fall into several categories. Priority of selection was given to:

(1) Those versions which were judged by earlier investigators to be the most complete and of the highest quality in providing accurate descriptions and transcriptions of the myths.

(2) Those versions which were transcribed in Navajo with interlinear translations into English.

(3) Those versions which related various acts of creation (this criterion relates to research interest in the conceived role of "winds" in creation).

(4) Myths which were expected to help explicate the role of "winds" in Navajo ideology.
In accordance with these criteria, the following versions of Navajo myths were reviewed. The author, date of publication, title, selection criteria, and authority for these criteria where appropriate are given here. Complete references are to be found in the bibliography:

The Origin myth.

Matthews, 1897, Navajo Legends: Considered to be the best in quality of the earlier versions with careful attention to detail (Spencer 1947:17).

Curtis, 1907, The North American Indian: One of the earlier recorded versions, containing an account of the creation of people from corn (Wyman 1965:88-89).

Franciscan Fathers, 1910, An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navaho Language: Contains a summary account of the origin legends, based on an intimate and extensive knowledge of Navajo culture (Spencer 1947:17).

Stephen, 1930, Navajo Origin Legend: The most detailed treatment of events in the first world; of high quality; originally recorded in 1895 (Spencer 1947:16).

Goddard, 1933, The Emergence; Origin of Some Navajo Customs; Wanderings of the Navajo, in Navajo Texts: The first version published with Navajo text and both literal and free translation (Spencer 1947:18).
Klah, 1942, Navajo Creation Myth. The Story of the Emergence: One of the longer versions and one of the fullest accounts (Spencer 1947:20).

Fishler, 1953, In the Beginning: A Navaho Creation Myth: An extensive version uniquely assigning prominence to "Supreme Sacred Wind" (Wyman 1965:76-78).


Haile, n.d.b, Where People Moved Opposite: High quality in its wealth of detail covering events preceding and surrounding the emergence; Navajo test with English translation (Spencer 1947:19).

The Blessingway myth.

Haile, 1932a, Blessingway, Version I, Told by Slim Curly, Crystal, New Mexico; 1930, Blessingway, Version II, Told by Frank Mitchell, Chinle, Arizona; n.d.a, Blessingway, Version III, Told by River Junction Curly: Each of these versions is recorded in both Navajo and English with extensive notes by Haile. Versions I and II are the most extensive, with detailed treatment of the creation of the present world and the placement of "inner forms" in natural phenomena.
Wyman, 1970, Blessingway. With Three Versions of the Myths Recorded and Translated from the Navajo by Father Berard Haile, O.F.M.: English translations of the above versions of Blessingway, compiled in a single volume.

Chantway myths.

Haile, 1932c, Navaho Windway Ceremony, Told by dagha nashjin (Black Mustache) of Chinle, Arizona, 1932: The longest version of the Navajo Windway myth and the only one recorded in Navajo with English translations (Wyman 1962:59); research interest in the "wind" concept.

Haile, 1932b, Chiricahua Windway of the Navaho. Chíshí (Biňích'ijí), Told by Tódók'ójí Salt Water Man of Lukachukai, Arizona; 1933a, Chiricahua Windway, Told by Slim Curly: These two versions of the Chiricahua Windway legend are the only substantial texts in Navajo with English translations (Wyman 1962:218); research interest in the "wind" concept.


Haile, 1933b, The Holy Way of the Red Ant Chant, Told by Hastiin Dijoolí (White Cone): Although the version of the Red Antway myth told to Haile by Son of the Late Tall Deshchini is more extensive than this version, the
former gives no account of the origin of the underworlds and their inhabitants unlike the one chosen here (Wyman 1965:65-67, 107).

Wheelwright, 1949, Emergence Myth According to the Hanelthnayhe or Upward-Reaching Rite: An extensive account of the emergence from the underworlds.

It should be mentioned that it is not within the limits of the present study to make a comprehensive presentation, review, or analysis of the entire origin myth or of other Navajo myths. Statements and fragments are selected to the degree that they contribute towards an understanding of the Navajo "wind" concept and related conceptions of the determinants of thought and behavior.

Presentation of Data

There remains to be discussed the methodological problem of what precautions should be taken so as to best assure that the Navajo point of view will be discerned and faithfully presented. Evans-Pritchard, in his foreward to the 1971 edition of Lévy-Bruhl's The "Soul" of the Primitive, accurately characterized the difficulty of arriving at an understanding of "primitive" conceptions related to personality:

We are dealing with conceptions such as those which we translate as "soul" and "spirit." That is as near as we can get to their meaning in our own language, but what the words in their own languages mean to those who speak them may not correspond exactly, or even at all, with what the words by which we translate them mean to us. In the process of translation, or mistranslation, we may easily put into the thought of primitive people ideas quite foreign to them . . . (Lévy-Bruhl 1971[1927]:6).
Lévy-Bruhl found that many of the descriptions at his disposal for analyzing primitive conceptions of personality were vague, confused, and useless for this purpose; and, he expressed the need for improved methods of gathering data, including the recording of native views in their own language:

It is to be desired that in future observers may turn their attention to the necessary precautions to be kept in mind when they are dealing with such subjects. It is essential to address one's questions only to the informed natives who are thoroughly conversant with the traditions and ceremonies of their group, to secure their whole-hearted sincerity by winning their confidence and liking, and lastly, to take down their testimony in their own language, before risking a translation which may not be exact, since the native words and phrases very often have no satisfactory equivalents in our European language (1971[1927]:201).

It may be mentioned in this connection that Radin saw that philosophical formulations in traditional societies also need to be demonstrated by actual native texts rather than by formulations made by the investigator (1957[1927]:xxx).

The importance of the native text for the analysis of meaning of elements in that text is also recognized in some modern theories of linguistics and ethnoscience. A term's meaning may be conceived to exist in its system of relationships with other terms in the language rather than being contained within the term as an isolated unit. Only by examining the use made of a term in utterances is it possible to gain knowledge of a concept held by others (Lyons 1968:411). For Werner and others, the meaning of a lexical item is to be discovered in its sense relationships with other words or predicates with which it may combine in culturally true sentences (Werner et al. 1969:13, 95-96).
Consistent with the above precepts, the recording and analysis of Navajo texts relevant to human life and behavior became an essential part of the methodology of this study and therefore of the presentation of its results. In attempting to grasp traditional Navajo conceptions of the determinants of life and behavior the direct objects of study are Navajo terms and utterances commonly employed by native speakers in talking about life and behavior. More precisely, following Werner and others, the objects of study are the sense relations holding between relevant lexical items in Navajo utterances (Werner et al. 1969:95-96). Inclusion of Navajo text in this presentation reflects its methodological importance, provides the materials for analysis, and documents translations and interpretations. Hopefully these data will prove useful to other students of the Navajo, much as the texts of earlier ethnographers proved useful in the present study. It is also to be hoped that these materials will be of interest and use to that growing body of Navajo students who have a reading command of their language and an interest in their traditional culture.

The Concordance Method

The interviewing and literature review procedures outlined above provided large quantities of linguistic behavior from diverse sources pertaining to Navajo concepts and beliefs of research interest. Procedures were required for collating related statements from diverse sources, eliminating redundant statements, and discovering
relationships between different parts of the whole regardless of original source or context; that is, procedures for reducing the corpus of sentences "... to a smaller body of propositions that the sentences can be said to represent or embody (Kay 1966:108-109).

The term concordance method was used for these purposes. With the assistance of Navajo helpers non-redundant and relevant statements were extracted from taped recordings of interviews with informants. These statements were then recorded in quadruple in written Navajo together with interlinear as well as free translations. In a similar manner, the investigator extracted relevant sections of previously recorded mythological texts, including the Navajo text as well as English translations when available, and recorded these in quadruple. These multiple transcriptions provided the means by which usages of commonly appearing terms from diverse sources could be brought together or concorded so that naturally occurring linguistic contexts for a number of terms could be isolated from the general corpus of data.1 These data groupings then provided linguistic contexts for the semantic analysis and interpretation of lexical items.

The terms concorded fall into several categories. The foremost in terms of the number of entries are those terms directly referring to "winds" such as nílch'i biyázhí, "wind's child," nílch'i álts'íísí, "little wind," nílch'i binaadéé, "surrounding winds," nílch'i hwii'sizínii, "the wind standing within one," nílch'i dine'é, "wind people," nílch'i diyin, "holy wind," nílch'i noodòqóz,
"striped wind," nílch'i dilhil, "dark wind," and so forth. Some of the terms in this category are represented by several hundred entries in the concordance and the majority of these data have been incorporated into the body of this paper in the form of recorded utterances of informants with accompanying English translations.

Another category of concorded terms consists of those terms which were found to be commonly used by informants and in mythological texts in describing human behavior, such as ájit'éegi, "the way one is," ha'át'e' hólónii, "one who has faults," ha'át'é' ádinii, "one who lacks faults," doits'íida, "quick-tempered," and the like. While a list of several hundred such Navajo trait-names has been compiled, the several score terms of this nature appearing in the concordance are represented by from a few to perhaps fifty or more entries per term. Only a small part of these data have been presented in this paper where they form the basis for the discussion entitled "The Classification of Behaviors and Traits" in Chapter V.

A third category of concorded terms includes various terms commonly used by informants in expressing beliefs related to the "wind" theory. Many of these are terms expressing theological and cosmological concepts such as diyinii, "the Holy Ones," ni'bitl'áahdi, "the underworlds," hayoolkááł, "dawn," chahalheel, "darkness," and są'gh naaghái bik'eh hózhóón and ailee naaghái whose meanings are discussed in Chapter VI. The terms in this category are represented by a composite of several thousand entries in the concordance, much of which has been incorporated into this presentation.
The data given in Chapters II-V consisting of the transcribed and translated statements of informants and extracts from published versions of Navajo myths are drawn directly from the aforementioned concordance of terms.

Other Methodological Issues

Throughout the course of this study variations between the statements of informants and between one published myth account and another as well as differences in interpretation and translation by Navajo research assistants posed various methodological problems in defining Navajo beliefs. Some of these variations can be attributed to the ways in which the aspect of cultural knowledge dealt with in this study is learned and transmitted to others. Navajo sacred lore and associated beliefs are customarily learned from an older relative or, particularly when it is learned in conjunction with the learning of a ritual, from a "singer" to whom one may be apprenticed. Such knowledge is considered to be valuable property that is not freely shared with others in ordinary discourse. Each informant, then, was the recipient of a particular oral tradition, his knowledge being a function of such factors as the identity of his particular teacher or teachers and his specialty as a "singer." For these reasons variations between informants in the statement and interpretation of beliefs are to be expected as among any other people whose histories and belief systems rest upon privately relayed oral traditions.
There are also socio-linguistic factors that importantly influence Navajo retelling of myths. It is as though each myth narrator has many versions of a given myth, its content and form at any given time being contingent upon the conditions of its telling. Among these conditions are the suitability of the audience as recipients of sacred knowledge (Navajo narrators of myths will frequently acknowledge that they are omitting portions because of this consideration); the lack of time or inclination to tell the histories in their complete complexity and detail; the purpose of the telling and the expressed interests of the listener; the quality of the relationship between the historian and his listener; and, the amount and kind of remuneration offered. For example, one informant told the investigator an account of the events prior to the emergence from the underworlds in which there was scarcely a mention of the role of "wind"; however, when this informant (who is referred to as JT in this work) was asked specifically to tell about "wind," he retold parts of that story giving "wind" prominence as the one who gave thought, leadership, and guidance to the inhabitants of the lower worlds. Subsequent data from other informants, lending support to the latter version, indicates that in his retelling of the myth this informant was not simply telling the investigator "what he wants to hear" in the pejorative sense of that phrase.

Another factor which contributed to the problem of discerning congruity between beliefs as stated by different informants is the Navajo "naming process" by which a single phenomenon or being may
be referred to by several different names (see above, pp. 41-42). Nílch'i, "wind," in its role of advising and warning the Holy People, for example, may be referred to by one informant as "wind's child" and by another as "little wind," while in its role of giving life by entering into beings some informants speak of "the wind standing within one." Only careful examination of the linguistic contexts in which these various terms are employed reveals that informants are speaking of the same thing and expressing similar beliefs concerning it.

The above-mentioned problems of variability in cultural knowledge and in the forms in which knowledge was expressed by informants were augmented by disparities in knowledge of traditional culture on the part of the Navajo research assistants who assisted in the interviews and in transcribing and translating the tapes. Most of these younger, bilingual Navajos, none of whom had been trained as specialists in Navajo religion, indicated that significant parts of what was told by informants had not previously been known to them. Certain words and phrases used by informants were unfamiliar to them so that recourse was not infrequently made to Navajo-English dictionaries as a means of establishing the sense of such items. These factors contributed to variations in the translation of Navajo terms and in the interpretation of informants' beliefs while at the same time indicating that the beliefs described in this study are not a matter of common knowledge among the Navajo but are, in part, restricted to the more knowledgeable of the bearers of traditional lore.
Despite the aforementioned problems, the search for areas of consensus or agreement between informants was enhanced by the use of the concordances. In bringing together the utterances of different informants in relationship to key terms, their statements could be compared in such a way as to reveal similarities in meaning and belief. Examples of this may be found throughout the data included in the following chapters, as for instance in Chapter IV where an identity is established between nilch'i, "wind," nilch'i biyázhii, "wind's child," nilch'i álts'iísii, "little wind," and nilch'i hwii'sizínii, "the wind standing within one," in terms of such factors as their loci, sources, functions, and other attributes. In these ways the concordance method was instrumental in facilitating the discovery of the meanings of Navajo terms and of regularities in belief underlying surface variations in terms employed and in versions of the myth.

Another problem involves the translation of some commonly occurring Navajo nouns that may be construed at times to refer to natural phenomena and at other times to refer to deities. The foremost example in this study is the term nilch'i, "wind." Since there is no unambiguous data establishing that this term always denotes a deity or personified force, it would be misleading to capitalize it in only those instances where the context does clearly indicate that a deity or personified force is being referred to, for such a practice would imply a distinction between the term as used in such contexts and the term as used in all other contexts when, in
fact, no distinction may be implied by informants. The same may be said of Navajo terms referring to earth, sun, sky, water, mountains, lightning and so forth, and the same solution will be offered throughout this work: Terms referring to natural phenomena will not be capitalized even in those contexts in which it is clear that the phenomena are conceived of in personified forms or as deities excepting, of course, when directly quoting other authors who have adopted a different convention in this regard.

Finally, what might at first appear to be a problem in translation from the Navajo in actuality stems from the Navajo conception that nilch'i, "wind," in its totality is comprised of many different nilch'i, "winds." Sometimes the focus is on the fact of unity and nilch'i is then spoken of and translated in singular form while at other times the plural form is used. Unless the Navajo conception is considered, that there is one "wind" comprised of its many aspects, the frequent shift throughout this study from the singular to the plural form will seem to be an inconsistency. This should become clearer as the Navajo point of view increasingly comes to be appreciated in the following chapters.

NAVAJO ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthographic system that is used herein for representing spoken Navajo is based upon the grammar and dictionary by Young and Morgan, the Navajo language textbook by Goossen, and the guide to Navajo transcription by Begishe, Frank, and Werner (Young and Morgan
There are four basic vowels in this alphabet whose approximate sounds are exemplified by the following:

- \( a \) - like \( a \) of \( \text{father} \)
- \( e \) - like \( e \) of \( \text{met} \)
- \( i \) - like \( i \) of \( \text{it} \)
- \( o \) - like \( o \) in \( \text{go} \)

These vowels, when long in duration, are indicated by a doubling of the letter. In the case of \( i \), this doubling affects the quality of the vowel:

- \( i \) - like \( i \) in \( \text{it} \)
- \( ii \) - like \( i \) in \( \text{machine} \)

When nasalized, the vowels are written with subscript hook, for example:

- \( a \) - similar to \( an \) of \( \text{French} \, \text{dans} \)

Vowels of high pitch are written with a tone mark over that letter. Long vowels may have a falling tone, indicated by a tone mark over the first letter only, or a rising tone which is indicated by a tone mark over only the second letter:

- \( \acute{e} \) - as in \( \text{dibé} \) (sheep)
- \( \acute{\text{a}} \) - as in \( \text{bilagáana} \) (white man)

The most common of the diphthongs are the following:

- \( \text{ai} \) - similar to \( y \) in \( \text{my} \)
- \( \text{ei} \) - similar to \( ey \) of \( \text{they} \)
oi - similar to ewy of dewy
ao - similar to the English ow

These may be lengthened by lengthening the last, and sometimes the first, element.

The most common consonantal sound in Navajo, the glottal stop, is indicated by the ' mark. It sounds like the break between oh oh in English. Other consonants have roughly the same sound values as English consonants that are indicated by the same letters, with the following exceptions and addition:

- b - unaspirated and unvoiced, like p in spot
- d - unaspirated and unvoiced, like t in stop
- t - more strongly aspirated than the English t
- g - an unaspirated k, like k in sky
- k - more strongly aspirated than the English k
- h - similar to English h although more strongly aspirated
- x - somewhat like ch in German ich
- gh - voiced equivalent of x
- l - produced by placing the tongue in English l position and blowing air out laterally; unvoiced
- tl - represents t and l pronounced almost simultaneously, starting from the t position
- ts - similar to ts of hats but more aspirated

The glottal stop may be combined with certain other consonantal sounds, as follows:
ch' - produced by releasing breath almost simultaneously from the glottal closure and the closure formed by the tongue and the roof of the mouth in the English ch position

t' - produced by releasing breath almost simultaneously from the glottal closure and the closure formed by the tongue in the t position

k' - produced by simultaneously releasing the glottal closure and the k positioning of the tongue

tl' - produced by releasing breath simultaneously from the glottal closure and the tl positioning of the tongue against the hard palate

ts' - produced by releasing breath simultaneously from the ts position and the glottal closure

1The writer is indebted to Prof. Oswald Werner for introducing him to the concordance method as well as to its theoretical base in semantic theory (e.g., Werner 1967; Werner et al. 1969:53-54).
CHAPTER II

NÍLCH'I DIYINII, "HOLY WIND,"
BEFORE THE EMERGENCE

The primary influence upon human thought and behavior is attributed by the Navajo to the effects of nílch'i diyinii, "holy wind." In setting forth conceptions of the nature of this "wind" and sanctions for their beliefs, Navajo bearers of the oral traditions characteristically recite appropriate passages of the creation story. This myth accounts for the beginnings of existence, the birth or creation of various "peoples" in worlds that are conceived to have existed beneath earth's surface, the emergence of these "peoples" through those worlds to the surface of the earth, and the subsequent creation of the present world on earth's surface and of its specific inhabitants. In mythological accounts of the underworlds are to be found expressions of beliefs concerning the attributes of "wind" and the nature of its relationships with other living beings. Sources are to be found there for conceptions that "wind" has existed as a holy being from near the beginnings of the Navajo universe, being endowed with the power to give life and movement to other beings and possessed of knowledge which it conveyed to the Holy People by way of instruction. Review of different versions of parts of these myths will help to clarify the significance and place of "wind" in Navajo religious ideology and to identify some of its attributes.
that are conceived to later be involved in Navajo life, thought, and behavior.

THE ORIGINS OF "WIND" AND THE BEGINNINGS OF LIFE

The Veins of Earth and Water

One account of the creation, as told by informant CAB, traces the origin of "winds" to the veins of earth and water and relates the beginnings of existence, planning, and life to these holy "winds."

It should be noted that the conception expressed in this version of "winds" coursing through the veins of earth, water, and sky anticipates the conception that "winds" course through the veins of human beings as our means of life and thought (Chapter V). Part of this version of creation follows, and since its meaning is often difficult to decipher some comments and interpretations have been interspersed with the text:

Back then, this present earth was covered with water, it was floating within it. Everything around here was water. The earth was very small, being placed within it. Some "wind" existed in the water and some existed in the little earth floating in it.

Jó ńléí nahosdzáán dií k'ad tógo dahnaa'eeł, áko t'áá at'έ Back then earth this here water on it was so all of it floating,
tógo biyi'di dahnaa'eeł. Díígií kót'έego t'áá át'έ tógo, jό dií water inside it was This one in this all of it water so this being of it floating. way being,
t'áá át'έ tó át'έę' dií kőő. Áko biyi'di si'á nahalingo all of it water it this around So within it like that was here. it lies
"Where shall planning begin?" was thought. The earth had roots branching out through the water. "Where do they go?" it was thought. The water was nicely rounded like a ball. And it was earth who thought this: "Where do my roots go?" So probably her thoughts went down along there. "Winds" exist within them (the roots).

"Háá dóó há hodoot'áal lá?" jó kódzaa jini, ákohgoshii ští'ée'.
"Where planning shall so like t.s., being thus then. start?"

Dídí bikét'l'ool hólló jájini, dídí nihii dahsi'ánígíi nléé. This its roots exist t.s., this with us placed the toward one (earth) yonder.

táyí'góne anootse'ee' jájini kótt'égé. "Hááji là íít'í' lá?" t'óó into water extend t.s. like that. "Where they go?" merely.

štii kótt'é. Ako ští'ée' nléé tóhígíi kótt'égé nízhónígo kótt'égé like this. So it was there the water this way nicely in this way.

nímażgo si'áá jájini kótt'égé eíidí jool náhalígo. Ádóóshii ští' being it was t.s. in this that ball being like. And spherical way.

štii'ée' eíi dií t'áá bí náhsodzánígiíi, "Háá ji shikét'l'óól íít'í' then this herself the earth, "Where my roots do they go?"

la?" níižii jájini. Ákohgoshii akwíyaa yik'ítsídeeskéez shii. she thought t.s. So probably toward about it she probably. down there thought.

Ako nílch'i t'áá biyí hóló. So "wind" within it exists.

Here, as throughout this text, a thought, a question, has preceded an activity designed to fulfill that thought. Thus, "Where
shall planning begin?" asked by earth, leads to her thinking about her roots and to the fact of the existence of "wind" there. Earth then continues to trace her roots through the water to their very end:

They extended to the water. "Where do they go from there?" They connected with the water then reached down again to the bottom of the water and there, at the very end, they moved something like this (the informant indicated movement by gesturing). Now, it (earth) has veins, the sky (too), this side (water?) too. It is that way also.

Nléiyéęgü tó kót'é'yéejį' áajį' bidiniits'ee' lá jíní, tôhéę. Over there water where to extended so it t.s., that it was there was water.

Áá dóoshįį "Háajį lá anáánoots'ee'?” Tóhéę bidiiit'i’ ánt'éé’ After "Where do they go again?" That with it then water connected that

ńlėį yaago tó nineel'áajį' áajį' hanáánát'i' lá jíní, aadóó índa to- down- water to the to again they t.s., and then ward ward bottom there reached out

ńlėįį' ts'idá nineel'áajį' t'óó kót'éego ha'át'íhíí da nahalingo there just at the very merely this way something like end

t'óó kódaat'įį lá jíní. Áko t'áá bits'ooos hólőł lá jíní,ńlėį merely moves j.s. So its veins exist t.s., that in this way

yádihiił, kojí dó’. T'áá ákót'éé lá jíní. sky, also. It is like that j.s. also

Thinking is now resumed with the thought, "A certain One is really 'Holy,'" and in continuing along this line of thinking it is then said that "wind" already exists there in earth. After that, earth traces her veins, which are placed as they are in our own bodies:
Here thinking commenced: "A certain One is really Holy," was thought. But then, "Who (would this Holy One be)?" someone thought. "Wind," the one that you will breathe by, already existed then within the earth. A vein runs on it (the earth), running along both sides of her. From where our hips are and from the tip of our nose and from here (gesturing) it spreads out. They extend downward along our legs and, again, also from our heart and to our head. There are two "winds" on earth's side; over there, within water, there are also two:

Jó kodóó tsóhodeeskéez, "T'áága' íiyisíí diiyin át'éé lá," So from thought "A cer- really Holy it is," here started, tain One kódzaa jiní. Ákolá "Hái lá?" jiniizíí' jiní. T'áá íídáá' kodéé' it was But "Who?" someone t.s. Already from thought to be. then thought here bee nízhdídzih dooleelii t'áá íídáá' hwiihóóle' lá jiní, nílch'i, by you breathe the one already inside it t.s., "wind," it it will be exists

níléí nahosdzáníigíí. Aadóó íindída t'ólóó bąąh níckt' i' lá jiní, there the earth. And then "rope" on it runs t.s., kót'éego alts'ágáhji bąąh ánt' i' lá jiní kót'éego. Kodóó díí in this on both along it t.s. like this. From this way sides here runs here

nihik'ai' dóó kodóó níhíchįįzhííni dóó kodóó tanocooshzee' lá our hips from here the tip of our from here it spreads nose out jiní. Yaago nihijáád bąąh naazt' i' lá jiní, náná nóó díí nihijéí t.s. Down- our legs along they t.s., again from our wards them extend here heart
dó' t'áá ákónánánát'ée lá jiní, bíółlí nínhitsííts'ííjįį'. Ákohgoshįį too just like that t.s., there to our head. So then again

nílch'i naaki, kojí naaki lá jiní k'ad dií nahasdzánjįį; únláhhįį "wind" two, over two t.s. so this earth's side; over here there
dó' tó biyii'jįį áájį dó' naaki lá jiní. also water in there too there are t.s. two
Having become aware of the existence of "holy wind" in earth's veins and in water's veins, thought is resumed with the observation that "perhaps these ('winds') will exist from now on."

Again, the thought is followed by the carrying out of plans to implement the thought; in this case, to plan for the continued existence of "winds":

"Perhaps these ('winds') will exist from now on into the future," was thought. From where water's roots ended, this happened (informant, here indicated by gesture what happened) and the same thing happened here (on earth's side). Then these two met together (earth's roots and water's roots met together).

Ákohgo díí aadóó índa tsíhodeeskééž, "Díidiígíí yidiiskágóó
So this from then thought "These in the future here started, (nilch'i)
hodooleel daats'í--t'óó daats'í" kódzaa jiní. Áko ñt'égé' ñléí will exist perhaps-- just per- happened t.s. Then being there haps" so

tó biketl'óol ninít'i'yeédéé' áádéé' bikétł'óólýe kódzaa jiní, water its ended from from its roots this t.s., roots there happened

tó, kojí dó' t'áá ákódzaa jiní. Ñt'égé' ñléidi ahidíidee' jiní. wa- this too the same t.s. Then yonder together t.s. ter, side happened they met

Then thinking started (resumed): "Of these two 'winds' below (in earth) and the two above (in water), by which pair will there be life?" Then from the ones below "dark wind" appeared with "blue wind." The same thing happened above. Also "dark mist," also "blue mist" (came into being).

Kodóó índa tsíhodeeskééž jiní: "Díí nilch'iyígíí hóyahjí From then thought t.s.: "These 'winds' below here started naaki dóó hó dahjí dó' naakiyígíí, díí háí lá yee naha'náa doo lá?" two and above also those two, these which by movement will it ones them be?"
Although the process is not altogether clear, what is significant here is that "dark wind," "blue wind," "dark mist," and "blue mist" have now appeared following the meeting together of earth's and water's roots. It seems as though these were to exist within both earth and water but when there is an objection to this plan, as told in the following passage, it is instead decided that earth will have "yellow wind" and "white wind" within her. These two will be in the lead, they will be holy, they will go about supernaturally. Following them (of lesser rank) within the water will be "dark wind" with "blue wind." From there, these four "winds" will be around here (where we are living):

"Wait!" it was said. One heard this from somewhere. "I heard that from the water," thought the earth. "'Yellow wind' with 'white wind' will be on the earth's side. These same 'winds' will be holy, they will go about supernaturally," it was said. "Where then will they be?" it was thought. "Behind them they will exist within the water," it was said again, "this 'dark wind' with the 'blue wind.' Now on the earth's side, 'yellow wind' (and) 'white wind' will exist in it. In this way they will exist from within the earth. They will live around here," the way we are living. It was spoken in this way for them (the "winds").
"T'aháloo!" hodoo'niid jiní. Kodéé' ha'át'éédéé'shíí jidiiz-
"Wait!" it was said t.s. From from somewhere one
here

ts'áá' jiní. "Dííga' t'áá tó bits'áádóó adíséts'áá'" jiniizií
heard t.s. "So merely from water I heard she
that something" thought

jiní, éíshíí dií nahosdzáán íizenizií'. "Áko lá nahosdzáánjí
t.s., that this earth, who thought "So earth's side
was this.

nílch'i litso dooleel, nílch'i ligai bił dooleel. Díí ts'idá
'wind yellow' will 'wind white' with will These very
be, it be. much so

aláá'íí nanideeh, éí nílch'i jiyíí t'áá éí diiyín át'éé dooleel,
before will be these 'winds' same holy are will be,
others regarded, ones ones

alíílee nagháa doo," hodoo'niid jiní. " Háadi lá hólóó doo lá?"
go about super- it was t.s. "Where will they be?"
naturally," agreed upon

kódzaa jiní. T'áá áko "bikée' dóó tójí t'áá bił hólóó doo,"
it was t.s. Then "behind water's in they will
thought immediately them side it exist be,"

nááho'doo' niid jiní, éí dií nílch'i diíhilíígiíí, nílch'i
again it was t.s., these 'wind dar' the 'wind
said one,

doote'izh bil. K'ad nahosdzáánjí nílch'i litso, nílch'i ligai
blue' with it. Now earth's side 'wind yellow,' 'wind white'

áájí bił' hólóó doo. Kót'éego nahosdzáán biyi'dóó hólóó doo.
that in they will In this earth from they will
side it exist be. way within exist be.

T'áá akóó kéédahat'íí doo"--díí kéédahwit'iníí át'ééego.
Around they live will this same way we live it being.
here be"--

Kót'éego bá ha'ooodzií' jiní.
In this for it was t.s.
way them spoken
Having established that the four principal "winds," which are now conceived to be around us (and are usually spoken of as coming from the cardinal directions, east, south, west, and north) exist within earth and water and originate from there, the question is then raised how these will grow (reproduce). Such regeneration is accomplished, as described in the next passage, by means of "dark wind" and "blue wind," on the water's side, having sexual relations and, on the earth's side, "yellow wind" and "white wind" doing the same. "Blue wind" becomes pregnant and gives birth to "dark big snake" and "blue big snake," and "white wind" gives birth to "yellow big snake" and "white big snake." These, as informant commented later, are also of the nature of "wind" and together with the four parent "winds" are nihidiyin, "our Holy (Ones)"

Then from there. "In this way they ('winds') will be raised (regenerate). How will this happen?" This (question) came about--water said this. Earth and water keep each other informed (what they will do). That water, the ocean, said, "A home will be made for the earth," he said. "I agree," she (earth) said. "Here, birth will take place," happened. So then they sucked each other, they bothered each other sexually (had intercourse) it was learned. The "dark wind" and "blue wind" sucked each other, then they had relations. So then that is how it happened. Water and Earth were not sure what was going on. Here again it happened, "yellow wind" from the earth and "white wind" sucked each other and also bothered each other (had intercourse). There, "blue wind's" home was built; already it was pregnant. "Dark big snake" was born and after it another one was born, "blue big snake" was born. So two on this side (water's side). On the earth's side, "yellow wind" and "white wind" bothered each other. There, again, white gave birth, "yellow big snake" was born, white one was born. Two (here), so four of them (four big snakes altogether). So then there were eight (four parent "winds" and four "big snakes"). "From now on, in the
Navajo way, these will be our Holy (Ones). They will be for protection. By means of them one shall speak for protection," it was agreed.

Jó akohgo áadóó índa, "Díidi k'ad kó’t'éego dínúoséél lá. So then from there "This now in that way they will be on, raised.

Ha'át'éego lá ánáá dóoli lá?" kódzaa jiní--níláahdi tóheę. How will it happen?" came t.s.—over the about there water.

Jó kojí nahosdzáán yił ahínáá'ílníí' jiní. Nléí tóhihi tóni—So over earth with each other t.s. That water the here inform

teelíghi ani jiní, "Díí nahosdzáán bá hoopóó ánáá dóoliłí" ní ocean spoke t.s., "This earth for a home will be he it made" said

jiní, tóheę ani jiní. "T'áá ako lá," ní jiní. "Kwe'é adoochíł" t.s., the said t.s. "I agree," she t.s. "Here birth will water said take place"

kódzaa jiní. Ákohgo índa ahízt'od jiní, ákó adhiníst'ííd lá jiní. happened So then each other t.s., so they had re- it t.s. t.s. they sucked lations was learned

Éí dií kwe'é eídí níích'í dííhíliyeę níích'í dooł'ízhíyeę éí yił These here this "wind dark" "wind blue" these with each other

ahízt'od lá jiní, ákohgoshéé ahainíst'ííd lá jiní. Ákohgo índa they sucked t.s., then they had t.s. So then probably relations

ákódzaa jiní, tó nahosdzáán t'áá bii kódzaa jiní .... Ákóhánánádzaa, so it t.s., water earth were not sure t.s. .... Here again happened what was going on it happened,

ákohgo índa níích'í lítsoyęę kodółó dií nahasdzáán dóo yée níích'í and then "wind yellow" from there earth from "wind here which

lígaiyęę yił náá'ahízt'od lá jiní, aldó' ahaánáníst'ííd lá white' with again each t.s., they with each other each other other too they had relations sucked
There "wind blue" home was then built.

Already it was t.s. Big snake dark was born pregnant

Again after it being born, that one big snake another was

blue which t.s. So two t.s. this side. The earth's side

"wind yellow" "wind white" they had That white relations. side one

again gave big snake yellow gave t.s., being white it birth, was born

naa'ashchi tl'iishtso litsogo yishchí jini, ligaigo yishchí

again gave big snake yellow gave t.s., being white it birth, was born

,jini. Náábikéé' dóó la' bináá'niichi, éí éiyá tl'iishtso t.s. Again after it being born, that one big snake another was

blue which t.s. So two t.s. this side. The earth's side

"wind yellow" "wind white" they had That white relations. side one

náá'ashchi tl'iishtso litsogo yishchí jini, ligaigo yishchí

again gave big snake yellow gave t.s., being white it birth, was born

These eight, then, the four parent "winds and the four "big snakes," will be for the Navajo their means "for protection." This is perhaps to say that they will be the means by which life became possible, for it is only after these eight have been brought into
existence that a meeting was held, with sky now attending, at which were born the first of the Holy People:

Then they started talking about us. Then, from yonder, sky will be with them—he came; immediately they had a meeting. There, earth spoke what she was thinking about: "Now people will come to exist and it (time?) will commence," it was said. "All kinds of human beings will exist to a certain time" happened. At that point, earth gave birth. The one called First Man was born. Again she gave birth to the one called First Woman. Again she gave birth, and Coyote was born. Again she gave birth (and) she gave birth to the one called Talking God and also Calling God. So there were five.

Kodóó índa nihaa yádeezti'. Áadi índa kodéé' yádiíhil yil
From on about talk Then from sky with
here us started. yonder them
dooleelii, níya. T'áá áko ahą́ąh ninídes'. Áadi índa nahosdzán
he (it) he Immediately they came There then earth
will be, came. ly together.
ádeehazdoozíí' jiní, áaji índa: "K'ad éiyá diné hoodooleel dóó
spoke what she t.s., there then: "Now people will come and
thought (Navajo) to exist
hodoogáal" hodooniiid jiní. "Bíla'ashdla'ii ninánee'ąąjį'
it (time) was said t.s. "Human beings all kinds
will commence"
hodooleel áaji' jodoogáal" kódzaa jiní. Jó kodóó áadi índa
will exist to (time) will hap- t.s. So from there then
there move" pened here
nahosdzán ashchí jiní. Ātsé hastiin wolyéii yizhchí jiní.
earth gave t.s. First Man the one was born t.s.
birth called
Náá'ashchí jiní, Ātsé asdzáán wolyéii náánéschí jiní. Ako
Again she t.s., First Woman the one again she t.s. Then
gave birth called gave birth to
nená'ashchíįį t'ęę' ma'ii yishchí jiní. Náá'ashchíįį t'ęę'
again she but Coyote she gave t.s. Again she then
gave birth birth to gave birth
Talking God the one she gave t.s., Calling God also called birth to

Áko ashda' yilt'e' jiní.
So five of them t.s.

Then earth and sky addressed those who had been born as being their children:

There earth spoke what she thought: "You will walk on me my children. I will have children, my children will exist forever," she said. And then, again, sky spoke: "You will exist under me forever, my children" again was said. Earth spoke again: "No matter how you may abuse me, I will not worry about it" she said. "You will urinate on me and you will defecate on me and do whatever with me, but I will not think differently from now on. You will enjoy everything from my body . . . . I am your means of livelihood" earth said. Sky was told that he will merely be keeping watch . . . . Here one spoke, the one called "male rain-lightning": "My beam--me, too--life will be by it from now on" he said. "Whatever gives off light will come from me, by it will be the means of life" he said. Then earth spoke again: "From there, there are three of us: Myself, water, sky. We will live by these."

Ádí índa nahosdzáán ádeehadoodzií' jiní: "Díí k'ad éí

There earth spoke what she t.s.: "This now here

thought

shik'ih naałdeeh dooleeł, sh'álchíni. Sha'álchíni hodooleel, on me you walk it will my children. My children there will be,

sha'álchíni hólòq doo hool'áágóó" ní jiní. Ádóó índa yádįįhįįl my children exist will forever" she t.s. And then sky be said

hanáánáádzií' jiní: "Shiyaagi honchłqo doo sha'álchíni hool'áágóó" again spoke t.s.: "Under me you will my children forever" exist be

náádoo'niiid jiní. Nahosdzánę́e hanáánáádzií' jiní: "Haa'álá doo he said t.s. The earth again spoke t.s.: "Whatever again,
ádashool’iil da dooleel ndi doo shíni' yidoo'aal da" ní jiní. to me you do it will still not I will worry she t.s. be about it" said

"Shik’ih nidaažizh dooleel índa shik’ih nidaach’ doo, háílá
"On me you urinate it and on me you defecate it what- will be will be ever
doo bee shi.fnahkai doo, ndi doo tahgo át’égo tsídeeskos'da by with go crazy it but not differ- it I will think it me will ent being be

yidiiskgégóó. T’áá shitát’ah dóó t’áá altsoní bee nída’dooldíil from now on. Within my body from everything by it you will enjoy
.... Bee iináanii ts’idá t’áá éí t’éí ánísht’éí" ní jiní, nahosdzáán.
.... Liveli- very the same that I am" she t.s., the earth. hood much said

Nlááhdéé' éí t’óó ha'jísídgo, áho’doo'níid jiní, yádíhilí ... From over he merely watches, was said to t.s., the sky .... there him

Kwe’ é éiyá lá' haadzíí' jiní, níntsé bik'ágóo ii’ni' wolyééii: Here only one spoke t.s., rain being light- the one made ning called:

"Shitl’ólígií--shídó’--t’áá bee iináa doo yoolkáál'góó" ní jiní.
"My beam-- me, too--by it live- will from now on" he t.s. lihood be said

"Háishíí adníñídínnshíí shits’ágódó, bee iináa doo" ní jiní.
"What-- it gives off from me by life will he t.s. ever light comes it be" said

Áadi índa nahosdzánéé hanáánáadzíí’, "Áídéé’ tániilt’éego: There then the earth again spoke, "From three of us there being:

Díí shí lá, tó lá, yádíhilí lá, éí bee dahinii’náa doo." These my- water, sky, these by we live it self, them will be."

In the remainder of this myth version, which will be presented later, it is told that the "winds" that originated in the veins of earth and water, together with their Big Snake offspring, were
subsequently placed in the four cardinal directions for the Navajo of the present world.

**Mists of Light**

Many Navajo versions of creation commence with narrations of the appearance of varicolored phenomena of light that daňđadiildoh, "misted up," from the horizons of the underworlds. These phenomena are referred to in translations from the Navajo by such terms as "mists," "clouds of light," and "columns of light."

Within these mists according to most Navajo accounts are to be found "winds," and in their meeting overhead is to be found the beginnings of life. While only brief mention was made in the preceding account of dark mist and blue mist, the generation of both "winds" and mists within earth and water as told in that account would seem to indicate that the events told of there are conceived to have preceded the appearance of mists and "winds" above the horizon in the cardinal directions of the underworlds. The following versions of creation, therefore, may be interpreted as commencing with events that took place subsequent to the generation of dark, blue, yellow, and white "winds" and mists within the veins of earth and water, as was told in the previous account.

Some versions of the early underworlds, while indicating that life was formed at the conjunction of mists or clouds of light, do not specify the process by which this occurred nor the means by which life was given to those created. For instance, Sandoval's narrative of the origin legend relates that the First World,
ni'hodilhil, "the black world," began with four clouds which were black, white, blue, and yellow in color and that these clouds contained the elements of the First World. The white cloud represented the male being or substance and was the dawn of the First World while the black cloud represented the female being or substance. In the east, where the black and the white cloud met, First Man and perfect white corn were formed. First Woman, perfect yellow corn, white shell, turquoise, and yucca were formed in the west where the blue cloud and yellow cloud came together (O'Bryan 1956:1-3). A very similar version of the beginning of life was recorded by Goddard (1933:127).

In other versions, the mists of clouds of light are attributed with having living beings in human form within them and are said to be closely associated with mountains of the cardinal directions. In one such version it is said that a white column rising in the east was the dawn and "inside of it one just like a real breathing human lay ..." in a sunwise position (Haile n.d.b:2). In each of the other columns also lay a human person in a sunwise position, inside of evening twilight, darkness, and sky blue. The four columns of light with human forms within them, dawn, skyblue, evening twilight, and darkness, are in turn said to be the bii'gístíin, "inner forms," of the principal mountains of the cardinal directions and the means by which these mountains breathe. Thus, "This (thing) that rose as a white column in east time and again, is the inner form of
sisnaajini by which it breathes and this, we know, is the dawn" (Haile n.d.b:2). Similarly, in the west the rising column is the biigistiín, "inner form," of San Francisco Peak and is the means by which it breathes, this being evening twilight; the "inner form" of Mount Taylor in the south by which it breathes is sky blue; and the "inner form" of Perrin's Peak in the north by which it breathes is the darkness (Haile n.d.b:2).

These beings in human form shák'ehgō alkéé' shiijéé' lá, "lying sunwise one behind the other," in the cardinal directions of the underworlds are also referred to by Frank Mitchell in his version of the Blessingway myth recorded by Haile (Haile 1930:50). Mitchell, furthermore, names these four beings and relates them to the mountains in a different way: On the east lay yánákéél, "Sky Revolves," white in color with sisnaajini (Blanca Peak) at the point corresponding to his mouth; in the south was ni'nąćákéél, "Earth Revolves," with tsōdzili (Mount Taylor) at the place where his mouth would be expected; in the west, dził nāákéél, "Mountain Revolves," lay there with dōok'o'osliid (San Francisco Peak) at his mouth; in the north, tó nāákéél, "Water Revolves," lay with dibéntsaa (Hesperus Peak) at his mouth. Haile noted that, "Visualized by informants the head of each being would lie at the respective cardinal point with their bodies, legs and feet surrounding the earth and sky. At this circle we may look for yák'ashbáh sky border, ni'k'áshbáh earth border, tók'áshbáh water border, dził k'áshbáh
mountain borders, in other words where these phenomena terminate" (1930:50).

The beings "lying sunwise one behind the other" within the dawn, skyblue, evening twilight, and darkness of the underworlds are apparently conceived to have been involved in the formation of First Man, First Woman, and other forms of life when these phenomena of light met overhead. At least by Black Mustache's account the mother of First Woman is ni’k’áshbá náádáádí, "one-who-encircles-the-edges-of-the-earth" while First Man's mother is yák’áshbá náádáádí, "She-who-encircles-the-edges-of-the-sky" (Wyman 1962:86; Haile 1932c:1).

The version by Black Mustache also introduces the conception that "winds" of the cardinal directions are associated with dawn, skyblue, evening twilight, and darkness and that these were instrumental in giving life to the inhabitants of the underworlds. This association of "winds" with dawn, skyblue, twilight, and darkness was implied in the account cited above which identified these latter as being the means by which the principal mountains of the cardinal directions breathe (above, pp. 88-89). The Black Mustache version relates that as First Man and First Woman wondered how more people would come into existence nílich’i nõl̓ə’i, "left-handed wind," came down from the skies and told them that there would eventually be many people and that it would be known at daylight how this would occur. At daylight, they saw that in the east "... a house of dark color stood there in a horizontal position and that towards the south a house of blue color similarly
stood, with a yellow house in the west and a white one in the north. They learned that the one in the east was nilch'i dilhil baghan, "the home of dark wind," the one in the south nilch'i dootl'izh baghan, "the home of blue wind," the one in the west nilch'i litso baghan, "the home of yellow wind," and the one in the north nilch'i ligai baghan, "the home of white wind." The Woman-who-encircles-the-edges-of-the-earth then gave birth, first to a boy and then to a girl, then to another boy and again to another girl. These in time visited the houses of the "winds" and others (winds) would come upon them from the skies (Wyman 1962:86-88; Haile 1932c:1-2). Although the meaning of this passage is not entirely clear, there is a definite sequence of ideas: First Man and First Woman wondered how more people could come about; they were told that this would become known at daylight; at daylight, homes of the four "winds" appeared; the woman-who-encircles-the-edges-of-the-earth, who was First Woman's mother, then gave birth to two boys and two girls; these children visited the houses of the "winds" and other "winds" apparently visited them. Implied in this seems to be the role of these "winds" in making the new births possible.

The Breath of Life

In a version of the Red Antway myth, as told by Rounded Man, the association of "winds" with phenomena of light is also made and the life-giving attributes of these "winds" is clearly
indicated. While First Man, First Woman, and others are here said
to have been produced by earth, they were lacking in life and strength
because the "air" and "wind" had not been created:

While they were waiting for strength they saw a Cloud of
Light in the east which kept rising and falling . . . . While
they watched, it turned black, and from that blackness they
saw the Black Wind coming. Then the Cloud of Light turned
blue and they saw the Blue Wind coming to them, then it turned
yellow and the Yellow Wind appeared, and then it turned white
and the White Wind came. Finally the light showed all colors
and the Many Colored Wind came . . . . This Cloud of Light also
created the Rainbow of the Earth and as the light changes it
creates hayolkááł, the White Early Dawn, nahodeetl'izh, the
Blue Sky of noon and also the blue that comes after the dawn;
nahootsoi, the Yellow of Sunset, and chahalheel, the Dark of
Night. These were also made for the people of the Earth, and
each of these is a holy time of the day from which comes certain
powers (Haile 1933b:97-98).

The life-giving qualities of the "winds" is indicated in
the subsequent passage:

When the Winds appeared and entered life they passed through
the bodies of men and creatures and made the lines on the fingers,
toes and heads of human beings, and on the bodies of the different
animals. The Wind has given men and creatures strength ever
since, for at the beginning they were shrunken and flabby until
it inflated them, and the Wind was creation's first food, and
put motion and change into nature giving life to everything,
even to the mountains and water (1933b:97-98).

A Navajo origin story recorded by Matthews, in relating how
First Man and First Woman were created and how "wind" from the
cardinal directions gave them life, details procedures in their
creation that are followed in carrying out some forms of present-day
ritual (Matthews 1897:68-69). The creation of First Man and First
Woman was initiated by four "mysterious beings" in the Fourth World,
White Body, Blue Body, Yellow Body, and Black Body who laid a sacred
buckskin on the ground and placed on this a yellow and a white ear
of corn, each completely covered with kernels, with their tips to the east. Another buckskin was spread over them and a white eagle's feather was placed under the white corn while a yellow eagle's feather was placed under the yellow corn. Then the "white wind" blew from the east and the "yellow wind" from the west, entering between the skins, while eight Mirage People came and walked ten times around the objects. The eagle feathers moved, and when the buckskin was lifted it was seen that the white ear of corn had changed into a man (First Man) and the yellow ear into a woman (First Woman):

It was the wind that gave them life. It is the wind that comes out of our mouths now that gives us life. When this ceases to blow we die. In the skin at the tips of our fingers we see the trail of the wind; it shows us where the wind blew when our ancestors were created (1897:68-69).

The life-giving function of "wind" for the early inhabitants of the underworlds was told of by informant HB in his relating of a discussion which took place between First Man, First Woman, and their two children:

"What are we going to live by?" The one called First Man, the one called First Woman and their two children talked about it among themselves, then "wind" was placed inside them. After that it was placed inside everything, us, birds, everything that walks, animals. It was put inside absolutely everything!

"Ha'at'íilá bee hinií'ñadooleel la?" Átsé hastiin wolyéí "What by it we live it will be?" First Man the one called

átsé asdzáán wolyéí jó év ba'álchíní naaki, jó év biłgo First Woman the one their children two, so among themselves called

yaańdaast'įį́do, áko nílch'i biihdaahya'. Jó áádëeg biihdaahya' about it they then "wind" inside them After that inside them talked, was placed.
The creative power of "wind" as well as its life-giving powers is given the greatest emphasis in the version of the origin myth recorded by Fishler in which "wind," a "sacred" being, is assigned prominence as the Supreme Creator of the Navajo universe (Fishler 1953). In this account, as with most others, the beginning is with mists of four colors:

In the beginning there was only the mists. There was no world then, only the white, yellow, blue, black, silver, and red mists floating in the air. The mists came together and laid on top of each other, like intercourse, and Supreme Sacred Wind was created. . . . Supreme Sacred Wind lived in light and black clouds or mists in space. During the day there was the light mist, which gave Him light, and during the night the dark mist (1953:9).

This Supreme Sacred Wind is conceived to be like a person. He "... has a form like the Earth People and knows all that happens" (1953:9-10). From the mists he created First Man and First Woman, with hayoolkáal, "Dawn," being their mother and nahotsoi, "Yellow Twilight," being their father. First Man and First Woman then had intercourse and gave birth to First Boy and First Girl. Supreme Sacred Wind also created 'átsé haské, "First Mad" (Coyote), Talking God, Calling God, various dawn people and twilight people, and Black or Fire God. Also, "the Wind People were created and sent to the four directions to take charge of the minor Wind People, all of whom look like us" (1953:11). Shábítl'óól, "Ray of Sunlight," was made and shándiín, "Daylight," who
became the mother and father, respectively, of Bego Black, Bego Yellow, Bego Blue, and Bego White. Supreme Sacred Wind then made the earth by molding the five mists together and he placed everything in it. Bego Yellow, "... the blue eyed, yellow haired god . . .," was named Begochiddy and later created all of the mountains and the insects. The creation of plants, seeds, animals, and other things by various Holy People followed (1953:13-17). Supreme Sacred Wind then made the "gods of the Indians" from his fingernail, breathing into it to give it life. He told the dawn people to make the sun from fire and the twilight people to make the moon. Although various gods and animal peoples are attributed with creative powers in this account, such powers were derived from Supreme Sacred Wind: "After the Supreme Sacred Wind delegated His powers over to the gods, down below, He did not have power over their powers, only in part" (1953:28).

In the Klah account of creation, while there is no explicit mention of mists or clouds of light in the underworlds, the birth of First Man from "night" ("darkness") and "skyblue" and of First Woman from "daybreak" ("dawn") and "twilight" is generally consistent with versions cited earlier (Klah 1942:39-41). Another being appearing at the beginning of this version is Begochiddy, "... the blue eyed, yellow haired god . . .," who is given prominence as the "great god" who made the mountains, insects, animals and other beings, who planted vegetation, and who gave Saad Łá’i, "First Law" (Tsa Tlai), to his creations in the First World and three other "laws" in the other underworlds, one in each world (1942:39-41).
Also figuring prominently in the Klah account are pairs of male and female twins called alkée’naa’ashii (Etkay-nah-ashi). These were killed by Black God, and Begochiddy cut up the bodies putting all of the pieces into the heads. These were subsequently used in various acts of creation by means of Begochiddy breathing his "spirit" into the bodies of the dead twins. In this way clouds of white, blue, yellow, and black were made from cotton that had been planted in the four directions, grass and plants of various kinds were made to grow under these clouds, and rain began and the plants flowered (1942:42-44). Since elsewhere in this account such powers of growth are attributed to nahosdzáán bii’gistiín, "earth's inner form" (the "Spirit-of-the-Earth") and rain is said to be controlled by yádíhil bii’gistiín, "sky's inner form" (the "Spirit-of-the-Sky"), the concept of alkée’naa’ashii may possibly refer to these "inner forms" (or "Spirits") of earth and sky. Klah identified these as being sā'ąh naaghái and bik’eh hózhóón (my orthographic representation of his terms) (1942:63). Evidence will be presented in later portions of this study for the identification in Navajo thought between sā'ąh naaghái bik’eh hózhóón, the "inner forms" (or "Spirits") of earth and sky, and nílch’i ałk’i dah siláago, "winds lying one on another," and for their central role as sources of life and guidance in Navajo thought in general (Chapter VI). By reasoning upon such evidence, Klah's account may be seen to be, in this respect, in accord with those other mythological versions that grant to "wind," in its various guises, the power to give life and movement.
From the foregoing accounts of the beginnings of life it appears that the Navajo generally view First Man and First Woman as having been formed from the phenomena of light of the cardinal directions and given life by means of "winds" entering into them from those directions. By way of contrast are versions of the origin myth in which First Man antedates, and creates, the cardinally-oriented light phenomena and plays the predominant role in creation from the first. In one such account of the origin story the first three chambers of the First World were without light but in the fourth chamber First Man placed white shell at the east and breathed upon it and out of it arose a white cloud column (Wheelwright 1949:3). By the same means he produced a blue column, yellow column, and black column in the other cardinal directions out of turquoise, abalone, and jet, respectively. As the white and yellow columns grew and met overhead it corresponded to our present midday, and night began when the black and blue columns came together overhead. First Man also placed red-white stone in the center and breathed on it, and it grew into a column of many colors (1949:3-4). As the peoples moved upwards into other chambers and worlds, light and darkness continued to be provided by the columns of light. In the Fourth World, First Man created the "winds":

First Man then decided to create the winds, and he placed sticks of White Shell, Turquoise, Abalone and Jet out beyond the mountains and farms in the four directions; these became the winds . . . . First Man then folded them up and put them under his garment and a slight breeze arose. Then he placed four more youths in the four directions and these were the Striped Winds in the east; he blew south and made Twisted Wind there; he made Striped Wind at the west, and Twisted Wind at the north. These last two are dangerous" (1949:32).
In the creation of the present world, to be reviewed later, this same version consistently indicates that First Man breathed with the various "winds" upon objects being created (sun, moon, etc.) and thereby gave them life and movement (1949:42-44). This is more consistent with those accounts cited earlier which assign directly to the "winds" the power to give life.

Similarly, in the origin myth recorded by Stephen life began with First Man and First Woman (Stephen 1930). They are said to have made other beings from skin rubbed from their bodies and from feathers, corn, and jewels of various kinds (1930:88-96). Here, there is no mention of the role of "winds" in giving life to the created beings.

THE SOURCE OF THOUGHT AND LEADERSHIP

The Means of Knowledge

In the Navajo view, nílch'i, "wind," made life possible for the inhabitants of the underworlds not only in the sense of providing a means by which breathing could occur but also by way of giving guidance to those who were created and born there and a means of protection from potential harm. The Navajo conception that "wind" has the capacity to guide and to protect has already been suggested in informant CAB's account in which the beginning of "planning" and the "means of protection" are associated with "winds"; and, to a lesser degree, in the characterization of Supreme Sacred Wind as existing in human form and as knowing "all that happens" (see above, p. 94). This conception is elaborated upon in an account
by informant JT in which "wind" is attributed with guiding the thoughts and activities of the inhabitants of the underworlds by speaking into their ears and thereby helping them to plan for their existence. What is presented below as a single narrative by this informant is a compilation of myth fragments, elicited during several different interviews and collated and arranged so as to best preserve the sequence of events told about in those interviews. Again, this history recounts the beginnings of the earth and of existence:

"Wind existed first, as a person, and when the earth began its existence "wind" took care of it.

Díí nahosdzián áléí hodideezlíídéé' ha'át'éego shíí ts'ídí
This earth when it started to somehow very much exist

kót'éego níích'i átsé holóó lá jiní. Áádóó díné nilíígo yaa
this way "wind" first it t.s. From per- it of
exists there son being it

áhályáá lá jiní.
it takes t.s.
care

We started existing where darkness, "lying on one another," occurred. Here, the one (darkness) that had lain on top became dawn, whitening across. "Some of these (living beings) will exist in darkness" it was said. Again: "These will exist in the day. They will be different in this way." "How will it be decided?" (i.e., how will it be determined which will live by night and which by day?), it was said. Then, probably, they started existing according to First Man and First Woman (it was according to their decision). In this way, they started living according to the two "lying on one another."

Chahalheel kót'éego ałk'idahsiláágo kwe'é hosiidlíí', kwe'é
Darkness like this each other on here we started here
top lying existing,

hazlíí' jiní. Kwe'é díí bikáá' dahsiláhág átí'é'é' hayoolkáál
it hap- t.s. Here this on top up it had lain dawn
pened
silii' jini ńléi gónaa hoogáhígií. Áko, "Éí diígíí dií ńła' it t.s. that across whitening. So, These this became

eýiá chahalheel yii'naaldeeh doo" hodoo'niid. Náánnáá "Díidí some darkness in it go about will" it was said. Again "These

jįįgo naaldeeh dooleel. Áko t'áá al'qą át'éego kót'éego dooleel." day- they go will. So different it being this will be." time about way

"Ha'átííla éí bee'ééhózin dooleel lá?" hodoo'niid jini. "How that by be will be?" it was said t.s. it known

Ákoshii ńléí ts'ídá alágái' átsé hastiin ho'di'nįgo, átsé So then that very leading First Man the one First probably called,

asdzán joolyésego, áadishįį hak'ehgo hodideezlii'. Kót'éego Woman she is there by them they started In this named, probably existing. way

 ál̲k'idaahsilá̲o, áko dií bik'ehgo dah adiildee' jini. each on lying, so these in their they t.s. other way started going

What used to be lying on one another back then, this is "wind." It ("wind") was darkness. That is why when darkness settles over you at night it breezes beautifully. It is this, it is a person, they say. From there when it dawns, when it dawns beautifully becoming white-streaked through the dawn, it usually breezes. "Wind" exists beautifully, they say. Back there in the underworlds this was a person it seems.

Ákohgo áadi dií ál̲k'idaahsilá̲há̲gé ńt'ę́ę', nílich'i át'éélá So there these on one another it "wind" it is lying was,

jini. Chahleelyęęę ńt'ę́ę'. Éí bąa ńléi chahalheel ńléi t.s. Darkness it was. That is that darkness that why

hakiilddoh jió t'ę́ę'go da, nizhóniigo kót'éego dich'i. Dií át'éélá settles like at when, beauti- in this it This it is over you night fully way breezes.
In this way they lived on the earth back then and from there they moved to the place called "Navajo Land." From there it is called "One Word," it probably being spoken according to one word (i.e., speech was in accordance to one way of thinking or one plan). There they went around like sheep. Like sheep, they did not talk. Their eyes governed their actions—if they are going to go this way, that way they run! Then this way! (a lack of thinking, of planning is implied: The people went here and there, willy-nilly). That is the way it was. There was no language, so they merely looked at one another, this way. What would be used (the words that would be used in the future) to talk to each other, there were none. To go over there (to direct one another) they said, "who, whoo," and they understood very well. In that way it was called "Word One" back then. From then they were Holy People, all four-legged animals being people. First Man and First Woman led them.

Kót'éego bik'iidéél jini áadi áadóóshíįį́ inda dinétah hoolyéejįį'
In this onto it t.s. back from there Navajo to the
way they passed there Land place called
dahadiiidéél. Éí áádoó "Saad Lá'í" wolyéego, t'áá lá'í saad
they moved. From there "Word One" it is just one word called,

ha'át'éegoshíįį bee yááti'go. Áádoó áádezdéél éí dibé
somehow by being From they like
probably it spoken. there moved sheep

ádaat'éhígííjį at'éego. Jó dibé doo yááti' da. Áko biná'íjíí
the way they it being. Sheep not they So their eyes are
talk.
shįį t’éiyá yee naakai—kojigo dah diikáahgo, áajigo dah diijah.  
it only by they walk this if going to that they run.  
seems them about——way they walk, way

Náánáá kojigo dō'. Ákót’éé ŋt’éé' jiní. Doo saad t’éiyá ádin  
Again this too. That way it t.s. No words none way  
was

jiní, āko t’óó da’hizhníl’í xótéego. Áhiłdahojilne’ dooleelígií  
t.s., so merely look at one this To each other to be  
another way. one talks

adin. Akoo'dooleł ha’nígo "wuuh, wuuh" ándzhii’niih jiní,  
one. To when they wish "who, whoo" they would t.s.,  
there to say say

āko nizhónígo dazhdiits’a’ jiní. Saad t’áá lá’í bee yááti’  
so very well they under—t.s. Word One by he  
stand it talks

yoolyédéé’ jiní. Áádóó áléí diyin dine’é danilíğiño áléí,  
it is called t.s. From then Holy People they being there,  
from there there

naaldloosh dine’é ts’ída altso diné nilíí lá jiní. Áádéé’shįį  
four-legged peo—abso— all people they t.s. From it  
animals ple lutely are there seems

átsé hastiin shįį yáyiizí’, átsé asdzáán dō’ yáyiizí’.
First Man it stood for First Woman too for them  
seems them, she stood.

"I will see for you," he ("wind") said. So, in this way,  
"wind" was obtained. He existed there first, they say. First  
Man, First Woman, Talking God, Calling God, these Holy People  
lived in this way. "Wind" existed first and they encountered  
it as a person. Then, it seems, he continued: "Things will be  
known by me. With you it is not known where you will go. You  
do not know!" he said. "I know!" he said. "I know all about  
everything. I know everything about what is in this earth and  
what is on it" he said. "I am 'wind'!" In this way back then  
he told about himself. There he became that which gives life.  
"Thank you, you accepted us" they said.

"Shí nihá eesh’įį doci" díiniid jiní. Āko ákót’éego nídiilyá  
"I for you I see will" he said t.s. So in this way it was  
obtained
jini, nilch'i. Aadi hólólá' jini, bi átsé hólólá jini. Díí t.s., "wind." There it t.s., it first exists t.s. This exists

átsé hastiin, átsé asdzáán dajoolyéé, nléí haashch'éélt'í,
First Man, First Woman the ones that Talking God,
called

haashch'éóghaan, diné dajíįįgo, diyin dine'é dajíįįgo, kót'éego
Calling God, people they Holy People they in this were, being, way

jookah. Nilch'i átsé hólólá jini, ákot'éego bik'įįįdél jini they "Wind" first it t.s., in that they came upon t.s.
walked. exists way

diné nilįį lá jini ákohgoship ádįįę, "Shee ééhózin dooleel,
per- it was t.s. So it then from "By me it is will be,
son seems there, known

shí! Níhil éí doo nihil éédahózinda díí k'ad dahdidoodilgoó,
me! You that not with is known this now where you will go,
you
do doo nihil bëehózinda" ní jini. "Shił bëehózin láą" ní jini.
not with is known" he t.s. "I know" defin- he t.s.
you said itely" said

"Díí ts'ídá t'áá át'é shił bëehózín. Díí nahosdzáán ts'ídá bii'  
"This just every- with it is This earth very in it thing me known.  
much

nahazt'i dóó bikiáá' nahaazt'í', ts'ídá altso shił bëehózín"  
pathways and on it pathways, just all with known"  
into it me

dííniid. "Shił éiyá nilch'i nishįį.' Kót'éego áadi yee shił  
he said. "I only 'wind' I am." In this there himself  
way about

dahoolni'go. Ááddó bee iina silįį' jini. "Ahéhee', nídanihidoolá"  
he told. From by life it t.s. "Thank you, you accepted  
there him became us

jini.
t.s.
In this way, according to the way of the two "lying on one another," they started off. That which was darkness and also that which was dawn became "winds." "The one that was called in that way (darkness?) will be called 'dark wind.' When blueness appears at dawn, that will be called 'blue wind.' That is what it is called," it was said to them, so back there he spoke. "How else can they be called?" "We are called just that," he said.

Kót'éego ałk'i dah siláago áko díí bik'ehgo dah adiildee’
In this they lying on so these accord-ingly going

jiní. Chahalheelyęę dódó hayoołkáályęę dó', ákohgo díí nílch'i t.s. That which was and that which too, so these "winds" darkness was dawn

silíf'. "Bee yéeji'ígíí 'nílch'i díihil' wolyée dooleel. Nléí they "By was called 'wind dark' it is will be. There became it called

gónaa nahodeetl'iizh nahalingo kót'éego hayoołkááł bil silá across skyblue it is like in this dawn with it way it lies

'nílch'i dootl'ish' wolyée dooleel. T'áá ákóolyé" hodoo'niid 'wind blue' it is will be. Just that it it was said called is called"

jiní, áko ádaži haadzíí' jiní. "Haayit'éego lá yídóojiil?" t.s., so there he spoke t.s. "How else can they be called?"

"T'áá ákwííniilyęę" ní jiní. "Just that we are he t.s. called" said

What was thinking, what was "wind" became words (language). "I will inform you" he said. "How is he going to tell us? He is 'wind' so how will it be?" "That will be known among ourselves--now I will just tell you!" he said again. Four times this happened, but he did not tell them. He did not say "I will tell you" ("wind" is here refusing to inform the people the means by which he will inform them of things).

Díí nitsáñákeesyęę ŋt'éé' éí nílch'iyyęę ŋt'éé' jó éí éí This the thinking it was that "wind" it was so that of the past
**Leadership Is Established**

The narration continues with an account of how leadership among the people came into existence:
So they went forth from there. Yonder is what will be called "The Place of Separation." Through here a river is flowing. There, very awesome, red mountains are located. The land is the same--spreading out beneath the mountains there it is red, too. The river, also, is reddish as it flows. "It is very beautiful here. We will live here from now on," it was said. Already then it ("wind") was in use: "You will move to here!" it was said to them through here--here, it seems, through the earfold where it cannot be seen. When we poke our fingers or stick something in here we touch it and are aware of it. It ("wind") is in here. From there it speaks to them. 3 "Settle right here," it was said to them. "Right here."

Ákoshįį áá dóó dah adiildee', áléí ałnaashii dzideezđéél wolyée dooleeł. Kóne' kóddįį kót'éego tó níliį'i go, áko áléí dził will be. Through from like water flow- so there mountains here here this ing, líchįį'go naaznil jini, t'óó báhádzidígįį át'é. K'éyah díí haz'á being red are t.s., very awesome they Land this open located are.

áléí honaanji dó', ákóhoot'ė jini, éi dził kót'éego ni'ah jini there across too, that's the t.s., moun- this extend- t.s. way it is the tains way ed biyaa góne' dó' áléí halchįį' jini. Tóhígįį dó' dinilchįį'go níli under- to- too it is red t.s. The water too being red-neath ward there dish flows jini. "K'óayó óhonooolnin lá. K'óó k'éhwit'įį doo yoolkáálgóó" t.s. "here beautiful. Here we live will from now very much be on"

hodoo'niid. T'áá íídąįį tsocz'įį jini: "Kwe'é nidoohdíil!" it was said. Already it was in t.s.: "To this you will use point move!"

kóne' ho'doo'niid--ákoshįį díí bijaa' díí kóne' beenástł'ah through to them so it this his through earfold here it was said-- seems ear here ts'ídą doo hoot'įįda jini. Kóne' nidiilnih dóó na'iitsihgo very not it is seen t.s. In here we poke and poke it with our fingers something
da éí béehózin jiní. Díí kóne' hóló jiní. Áádéé hach'į'
when is known t.s. This in it t.s. From towards
that here exists there them

it t.s. "Right here you to them it "Right here."
speaks settle" was said.

"It's really true what he said!" (they thought). From that
time, whatever "wind" spoke it began happening in that way. Here
they settled and having settled there suddenly it was spoken again
from here (inside the ear): "You will make a leader" it was said
to them. "The leader will be foremost among you. You will live
under him, he standing for you. He will be your continuous leader
and in that way you will live orderly," it was said to them.

"T'áá la'aaníí áníí lá, díí áníí!" Áádéó áléí ts'ídá t'áá
"It's really what he this he From then just as
ture said, said!" there

hanídziigíí bikéé' kót'éego hodiéeshzhiižh jiní, níîch'iígií.
what he spoke its that way it began hap- t.s., the "wind."
being pening

Kóó nídajíizdéél díí, ákohgo áádishíí índa nída'iízdelgo t'ah
Here they settled these, so there it and having settled sud-
then seems there

ínt'éé' kodéé' hanáá'oodzií' jiní: "Naat'áaníí éiyá lá'
denly from again it was t.s.: "A leader that one
here spoken

áadooohlííl" hodooniid jiní. "Ts’ídá aláájįį kót'éego dahsidáá
you will to them it t.s. "Just first in this he sit
make" was said way
dooleél, naat’áaníí. Éí biiyaa kééhoot’įį dooleél nihásíįįgo,
will be, the leader. He under you live will be for you he
him standing,

ákó éí níhinanit’a’á dooleél. Kót’éego éiyá haasht’e’ nídoohkah,"
so he your continu- will be. In this way orderly you will
ous leader

hodooniid.
to them it
was said.
Some women are very feared. These women are strong leaders, they act strongly, they speak out. There was this kind, called "Woman Leader." "What will she say about what was said to us from here (in the ear):" (they said). "Come here, listen!" they said to her, and they told her about it: "I was told that back there at the place called 'Darkness Crosses' we came upon 'wind person' and there he planned for us saying, 'Only according to my way will things be.' This is the situation now," it was said to her. So then: "That's right, it is true my children, they say that it's true. It was spoken to us like that, and within us it ("wind") is placed and to us it speaks. It (he) is our thinking."

Asdzání nilįįgo t'óó báhádzidgo, jó la' ákódaat'é. Díí Women being very feared, some are that These way.

kóní asdzání ayóó naat'áanii, ádadil'į háágoóshįį yáádaalti' around women strong leaders, they act strongly they speak here out

ákót''éhígií hóló jini, "asdzáá naat'ááh" wolyéego. "Díí this kind there t.s., "woman leader" was called. "This was

kodęę' kót'éego ha'oodzií', haa'í shę' bił hodoonih édíi asdzáán? from in this it was let's with it will that woman? here way spoken, her be told

Ha'at'íila ni dooleel láʔ? Áadi ñléidi asdzáányęę, "Hágo!" What she will be? Back there that woman, "Come!" say

bi'doo'niid, bił hóone'e: "Díí kodęę' kóshi'doo'niid ñléidi to her it to it was "This from I was told thus back was said, her told: here there
eí bee nihá nihoote'á chahałheel ałnaozt'i' hoolyéedi kodi it for us was planned darkness crosses at the place called

nílch'i dine'é bik'i'iideél áko áadi yee nihá nihoní'ę, 'T'aá 'wind' peo- upon them so there by for he 'Only ple we happened it us planned,

shí, shik'ehgo dooleel' ni. Díí k'ad éí kót'é" bi'doo'niid. me, according it he This now is this to her it to me will be' said. way" was said.
Ákohgo, "Lá'ąą, t'áá aaní sha'álchini, t'áá aaní jini.
So then, "That's it my children, it's true t.s. right, is true

Ákonihí'doo'niid áádóó nihił siláh áádóó nihił halne'.
This to us it then within is then to us it was spoken us placed informs.

Nihinisékees niilı.'
Our thinking it is."

So for that reason, things will happen according to his ("wind's") will. From that time what is called "leadership was formed" came into being: "What is called 'leadership' will be placed, what is called 'speaking' will be placed. Now it exists. Perhaps you know how to provide leadership? Perhaps you know words which you will use to make speeches?" again it was said. "Yes, we know!" "Alright, now it will be!" Way back there is when leadership was formed.

Áko éí biniinaa k'ad éiyá bik'ehgo dooleéž, kódzaa jini.
So it for that now it according to will it hap- t.s. reason (him) be, pened so

Áko aadóó "naat'ááh niilyá" wolyéí hazliį' jinií: "Naat'ááh
So from "leadership was what is came t.s.: "Leadership there formed" called to being

wolyéí nidoolyéél, yáti' wolyé nidoolyéél. Hóló, kodi hóló.
what is will be speak- called will be It now it called placed, ing placed exists, exists.

Bee naat'ááh nidoolyéelii daats'í nihił béédahózín? Bee
By it leader- will be perhaps with are known? By ship placed you which

yádootihii daats'í nihił béédahózin?" náhodoo'niid jinií.
words to be maybe by are known?" again it was t.s. spoken you said

"Kodi nihił béédahózin lá!' "Hágoshii, k'ad dooleéž." Áadi
"This with is known!" "Alright, now it will Then us be."

naat'ááh niilyá jinií, ñléidi.
leader- was t.s., back ship formed then.
Here, leadership was again placed. The words by means of which speeches will be made and the words by means of which threats will be spoken were placed. From here (in his ear) he ("wind") was saying that by his will "You will proceed in this way," he said, "so as not to make mistakes—not to proceed just according to your own mind, just as you want to do." They followed in this way. In this way leadership was formed there, "wind" telling the one who is Talking God about it through here (his earfold).

Kóó naat'ááh nináádaahya'. Díí bee yádaati’ dooleelii
Here leadership again was placed. These by them will be
azaanaast'áán wolyéí bee yádootihii, díí kóó nidaahya'. Kokéé' they
threatening the ones by will be here were From
words called them spoken, placed. here
áníigo éí bik'ehgo "Kót'éego ádadoołííl," níígo, "áko doo
one that by his "This way you will he "so no
saying will do," saying,
adziih da--díí t'áá háni' bik'eh, t'áá ízníníngíí éí doo da."
mistakes--this your own by it, just the way you that not."
want
Kót'éego íldeé' jini. Áadi shii kót'éego bee naat'ááh niilyá,
This way they t.s. There it that way by leadership was
followed seems it formed,
kóó' nílch'i yee hol halni'go Haashch'éélti'í jiliinii.
from "wind" about to tell- Talking God the one
here it him ing who is.

To again review and interpret this account, the various
peoples went around aimlessly like sheep, lacking thinking, without
plans, until they came upon "wind" who knows all and who told them
that, henceforth, he would speak to them (through the corners of
their ears). "Wind" then gave leadership to them and the words by
which they would exercise this. These apparently did not exist among
the peoples before. Now, however, from the point where "leadership
is placed," "wind" is giving them the knowledge, the means, to lead
themselves; and, they recognize their new capacity—"Yes, we know!"

Even now, though, "wind" is giving them only a restricted governance over their lives, so that a leader will not be able to do just anything that he wants to t'áá háni' bik'eh, "just according to one's mind." Rather, "wind" made available the means of speaking particular "words" or "plans," including the "threatening words" needed by a leader.

Informant JT continued his narrative by explaining that when leadership was being established, the people had a meeting at which they smoked dzil nát'oh, "mountain tobacco." When this is smoked and it is said "This will be!" then it is holy and no mistakes are made. In later reference to what was apparently that same meeting, the informant told that saad naaks'táadah, "twelve words," were thereby made:

So in that way he said, "This will be!" For that purpose they gathered and in that way two words came into being--three, four, finally up to twelve. Twelve words he made, they say, "These words will be rules, from word one on up to twelve" it was said.

Jó éí kót'éego "Jó kót'éego dooleel!" jídíniid. Biniiyé So in that way "This way will be!" he said. For that purpose áläh ná'ádleehgo áköht'éego saad naaki silii --táá', díí', together coming so then in that words two came in three, way being-- four, wónáasii' naaks'táadahjį', saad naaks'táadah áyiil finally to twelve, words twelve he made t.s.

"Díí bee haz'áá dooleel saad kojį' nínít'i' dooleel, kodó "These rules will be words to end will be, from here saad lá'i dóó ťlééí naaks'táadahjį" hodoo'niid, jini. word one on up to twelve" it was said, t.s.
The above account in which "wind" is conceived to have given saad naakits'áadah, "twelve words," and the means of leadership to the people is therefore in contrast with that of Klah in which, as has been seen, saad, "Words" or "Laws," were said to be given by Begochiddy (see above, p. 95). Begochiddy's saad táá, "Third Law," according to Klah, implies that leadership is derived from him, the "Law" being that "... 'The male shall rule and whatever your chiefs say, that must be done!'" (Klah 1942:48). Other versions suggest that First Man established leadership, as in the Stephen account in which "Old Man" made Wolf, Mountain Lion, Beaver, and Otter the rulers of the four regions of the second world (Stephen 1930:96).

The actual exercise of leadership in the mythologies, as distinguished from its establishment by "wind," Begochiddy, or First Man, is by diverse chiefs who were appointed in one way or another to perform such functions as teaching the people how to farm and calling them together each day in order to tell them what to do (for the roles of chiefs see the review of mythological accounts of chiefs and their roles in Spencer 1947:70-81). Even so, the conception by native historians of a continuing influence by "wind" over these chiefs is evident in several sources. Informant JT related that "wind" told the son-in-law of asdzáá naat'ááh, "Woman Leader," to get up and go out on a platform each day and tell the others what to do. Informant CAB also said that leaders
perform their functions in accordance with the directives or guidance of "winds":

"'Dark wind,' 'blue wind,' 'yellow wind,' 'white wind,' 'glossy wind,' we will speak in accordance with their will"—it happened (was said) like this. So, accordingly, one who speaks in our behalf has been present alongside us from back then. These same "winds" speak for us and spoke for our late ancestors. Our leaders who speak for us held on to the ones that guide us. So back there they ("winds") told us that we live in accordance with their wishes.

"Nílch'i díihíl, nílch'i dootł'ízh, nílch'i ñitoso, nílch'i 'Wind dark,' 'wind blue,' 'wind yellow,' 'wind ligai, nílch'i disco k'ad díí bik'ehgo ádík'eh yéilti' dooleel" white,' 'wind glit- now these by by their we will be" tering' them will speak k'ad kódzaa jini. T'áá éí bik'ehgo naníhik'í yálíti'íi t'áá now like this So, accordingly, in our one who from happened t.s. behalf speaks

únlíídég' nihooshk'íizh dádeskai. Éí t'áá éí nílch'i, t'áá éí back then alongside us has been These same "winds," same ones present.

naníhik'í yádeíítéeh dóó áádéé' danihiichei ni' naníhik'í for us they speak and from our ances- late in our there tors behalf

yádeííit'éehgo éí ánáádayiídláa. T'áá áádéé' níhinanit'á'í' speaking it they made. From there our leader

naníhik'í yálíti'íi t'áá áádéé' níháa ádaahalyáanii bik'ehgo for us who speaks from that for us ones who by them time guide us

áádéé' deílélígití, éí díí jíidi k'ad ákót'é. Jó áadi from they kept that this day now is like At that there for us, that. time

ákódanihílní éí bik'ehgo naniideeh.
they told us according we live.
so to them
This informant added that while "winds" take care of us, by their precedent we also take care of each other: "Now 'winds' will take care of us from the beginning of our lives. In accordance with that we will take care of each other from now on."

Kodi nílich'i nihaa ádahalyá dooleel hidee'naadóó nihaa
Now "winds" of us they take will from begin­ ning of us care of be ning of life

áhályá dooleel, éi kodi t'óó nihaa ádahalyá. Éí shíi bik'ehgo it takes will that now of us they take That by it care be, merely care.

ahaa ádahwiilyá yoolkáálgóó. each we take from now on.
other care

Similarly informant JD, while recognizing that First Man and First Woman were leaders of many activities in the underworlds, said that "wind" advised them what they should do:

The way we are telling things to each other, back then it ("wind") in the same way told them, "You should do this, you (two) should do this," being told thusly. So it is true: Back then it ("wind") told them. They used to live by it.

fíidé'é t'áá díí ahil ndahwiilne'ígíí át'éego t'óó hol Back like this each we are that way just to then other telling them

halne'go, "Kónaádíí'nííl, kónaáدوohnííl," ho'di'níigo. Jó t'áá being told, "You should two should being told So it is do this, do this," thusly.

aani hoł halne' ŋt'éé'. Bik'eh joo'ash ŋt'éé'.
true to he it By it they it was.
them told was. lived

Published versions of Navajo mythologies likewise contain references to "wind's" role as advisor to the Holy People of the underworlds. For instance, Curly Tó aheedlíínií told Haile that
the four chiefs who directly governed the peoples' lives did so in accordance with the will of First Man, First Woman, and "holy wind":

Ákoo díidí 'áłtsé hastiin wolyéii 'atsé 'esdzáán wolyéii
Now these First Man the one First Woman the one called called

'índa nílch'i diighini wolyéii díí 'ííyisíí bik'ee'go diné
and wind holy the one these really according people called to them
kéhaat'į jiní (Haile n.d.b:3).
lived t.s.

Stephen's version mentions that "wind" warned First Man of dangers (1930:91-92). Finally, as will be seen especially in the discussion which follows of the present world and its creation, "wind" in the form of nílch'i biyázhi, "wind's child," and nílch'i álts'íísí, "little wind," plays a role throughout much of Navajo mythology as a "mentor" or advisor to the Holy People.

SUMMARY

Attention has been directed in this chapter to Navajo conceptions of the origins, attributes, and roles of "winds" in the underworlds as revealed in recorded versions of origin and chantway myths and in myth fragments and interpretations elicited from informants. "Winds" and "mists" are traced in one account to their beginnings in the veins of earth, water, and sky. Many other accounts commence with the misting upwards of light of various colors in the cardinal directions of the underworlds, these light
mists commonly being said to be the loci of the "winds." "Winds" are said to have given the means of breath and life to the peoples of the underworlds and to have provided them with guidance and leadership by speaking into their ears. Although there is considerable variation between the accounts, by collating them a concept may be constructed of a personified, holy phenomenon, "wind," that existed from near the beginnings of the Navajo universe, endowed with the power to give life and movement, and the possessor and conveyer of knowledge to the inhabitants of the underworlds.

Subsequent chapters will reflect Navajo beliefs about the emergence of these "winds" along with other holy beings onto earth's surface and their roles in the lives of the peoples and beings of the present world.

1"... jini" ("they say"), a convention employed extensively by Navajo oral historians for indicating that their stories are traditionally derived, will be abbreviated as "t.s." throughout this paper.

2Parentheses in this paragraph enclose the original Navajo orthography used by Wheelwright or her translations of Navajo terms. Haile derives alkee'naa'aashii in the following terms: "'alkee-naa'ashii one usually follows the other because the supernaturals usually appear in this fashion" (Haile 1950:34). This concept is also discussed in Wyman's introduction to Blessingway where it is indicated that the term may be applied to a variety of beings in different mythic contexts (Wyman 1970:26-28).

3Here the informant relates how "wind" told things to the people: That is, through a corner of the ear which could not be seen. This, as was seen above, is what "wind" had refused to tell the people themselves—how he would speak to them.
CHAPTER III

THE CREATION OF THE PRESENT WORLD

In accounts based on Navajo oral traditions of the creation of the present world on earth's surface are to be found expressions of the traditional Navajo conceptual organization of this world, the powers thought to be inherent within it and the dynamics of its functioning. In reviewing such accounts, particular attention will be given to conceptions of the emergence of "winds" from the underworlds, of their loci in the present world, and of the ways in which they relate to all living things. Such a focus will make explicit Navajo beliefs that the "winds" that had given life and guidance to the inhabitants of the underworlds were reinstituted on earth's surface to fulfill similar roles here with respect to the Navajo. These beliefs will provide the basis for discussions in subsequent chapters of the place of "winds" in Navajo conceptions of the causes of human behavior, the sources of the moral sense, and other concerns of this study.

THE EMERGENCE OF NÍLCH'Í, "WIND"

When the Holy People emerged from the underworlds onto the surface of the earth, those who had come up held a meeting in the first hooghan, "home," built by First Man, to plan the creation of the present world and of the beings who would inhabit
and animate it (Goddard 1933:132; O'Bryan 1956:14; Klah 1942:59; Haile 1932a:43). While many phenomena and beings of this world were to be created by First Man and the other planners, nílch'i, "wind," was already in existence having emerged with the others from below. This conception is expressed by informant BY in stating that the Holy People bił ha'azná, "emerged with it ('wind')":

At the place of emergence are four layers (worlds). They emerged with it ("wind") from there--the Holy People came out through twelve big reeds connected together. They came up from there with ceremonials. "Wind" exists from there, from way back then. It did not form recently. Then, we who are called earth surface people, the men were placed on one side at the place of separation and the women were placed on the other side. There, these "winds" were placed within us: "By these you will live and you will breathe by them and you will speak by them and you will see by them from now on." In this way it ("wind") was given to us for an indefinite period (until we die).

Ñléí hajiínáidi áadi dij' dahsikaad dajiní. Jó t'áá âádéé' There at the there four are they So from there emergence layers say.

bil ha'azná jini, éi shị́į diyiin dine'ę áádéé' éí lók'aatsoh with they t.s., it seems Holy People from these reeds big it emerged there

naakits'áadahgo alhadit'qò, jó éi biyi'đéé' ha'azná jini. twelve being connected, so that through they t.s. it emerged

Ako t'áá shị́į âádéé' hatáálígíí dijí éí bił ha'azna. T'áá shị́į So it seems from ceremonials these with came It seems there them up.

âádéé' hóló nílch'iigíí t'áá níléíđéé' doo ániid dóo hazlíí́’ da. from it this from back then not re- it formed. there exists "wind" cently

Dóó shị́į níhí dijí nihookáa' dine'ę níhí'di'níinii shị́į ñíndá áadi Then it we these earth surface people who are it then there seems surface called seems
alnaashii adeezéeldi índa lahjí diné nii'níl, lahjí asdzání
at the place of then one men were one women
separation side placed, side

nii'níl. Aadi shįį índa niihih dhaasya' dií nílch'iígií t'áá
were Then it then in us they were these "winds" all
placed. seems placed

át'é: "Díí bee hinohná dooleel dóó bee nídohdzih dooleel áádóó
of These by you will be and by you will be and
them: live them breathe

bee yálti' dooleel, bee naahal dooleel háágóóshįį." Éí kót'éego
by you will be, by look will be everywhere." In this way
them speak them about

ńléí háajį' shįį nihaahidít'ąah.
there to to us it was given
somewhere

The "place of separation" referred to in the above passage,
where the men went to live on one side of a river leaving the women
on the other, occurs in most mythic accounts in the last of the
underworlds and involves the Holy People existing there, although
BY here clearly refers it to "earth surface people," the human
beings of the present world. In any case, "wind" by this account
emerged with the Holy People and was given to earth surface people
to live by. This informant also said that nílch'i biyázhįį, "wind's
child," emerged from below:

The one mentioned as "wind's child" was picked up from
somewhere called the crevice of the earth and from there it
emerged with them (the Holy People). In the same way as the
radios around here today, it knows of everything on earth's
surface. It is the one that gathers all of the talking--
everything!
Ako díí níłch'i biyázhí ha'nínígíí k'ad ńléí háadi shįį ńléí
So this "wind's child" as often now there somewhere there mentioned

ni'kát'ah hoolyéédéé' jó áadi nídiilyáágo áádéé' bil ha'azdéél.
earth's from place so there it being from with it
crevise called picked up there them emerged.

Jó éí kodi éí shįį díí k'ad akqóq nílch'i halne'é dahalni'íígi
So that it seems now around radios that broad-
here

áť'éeng akót'éego shįį díí nahosdzáán t'áá dah sa'ágą áť'ée'
like in that it this earth on the entire
that way seems surface

ts'ídá t'áá áť'é, bikáá' bil bééhózin. Díí nílch'i biyázhí
absolutely all on it knows. This "wind's child"

k'ad ts'ídá t'áá áť'é, ńléí ýádaati'go t'áá aítso ts'ídá shįį
now just everything, when there is all of it abso-
talking

ńléí náyiizlą'ii shįį áť'é.
every bit that it it is.
of it gathers seems

The role of "wind's child" in advising and informing the
beings of the present world will later become apparent.

The conception of the emergence of "winds" from the earth
was also expressed by informant CAB: "The 'winds' that came up
from there stand within us, 'two lying on one another,' that being
how we talk":

Áádéé' níłch'i haayáii éí nihii'sizį jiní. Díí naaki
From "wind" the one it within us t.s. These two
there alked up stands

ák'i dah sinilgo, ákót'éego yéílti'.
on each lying, in that we talk.
other way
It may be recalled in this connection that, by JT's account as recounted in the previous chapter, two nílch'i alk'i dah siláago, "winds lying on one another," guided and provided leadership to the Holy People in the underworlds. Now, it seems, these are believed to have emerged from below and to "stand within us."

Other statements by informants, while indicating the origin of "wind" within earth, relate that "wind" is also from the sky. CM, for instance, told of how earth's "wind" and sky's "wind" were given man to live by:

The one that is earth's "wind," the one that is sky's "wind," were given to us when we started to exist. The earth said to us, "This they will live by, these are my children." The sky said the same. The earth here gave birth to us (and) in that way she spoke for us. Earth is our mother, sky is our father. The moon, also, is our father.

Díí nahosdzáán binílch'i nlínígíí, yádílhil binílch'i
This earth its "wind" the one sky its "wind" that is,

nlínígíí kojí nhí hosiidlíjí'dóó jó álááhdéé' nihaa yidíini'á. the one here to us when we began from to us gave.
that is to exist there

Nahosdzáánígíí "T'áá éí yeechináadoo, díí sha'áldchíí névé'" The earth "This by they will these my are"
it live, children

nihidííniid. Yádílhil t'áá áko nidííniid. Áko kojí to us it The sky the same to us So here was said. said.

nahosdzáándéé' ájíí ninihíishchí, kót'éego yee niha haadzíí' from earth that us she bore, in that for us she spoke side way
Similarly, informant GES stated that earth is "our mother" with some of her "wind" existing within earth surface people while indicating elsewhere that the latter also live by water's, sky's, moon's, and sun's "wind" (although these might, in his conception, have initially been derived from the earth): "Some of earth's 'wind' exists within us. Earth is our mother."

Nahosdzáán binílch'í, jó t'áá éí nihiyi'dí hóló lá'.
Earth's "wind," the same within us exists some.

Jó éí nihimá át'é, nahosdzáán.
That our it is, earth.

What is called water has one "wind"; the one called earth has two "winds"; sky has only one "wind"; the moon, too, has one "wind"; the sun also has "wind." These "winds" have names. We live by them, they hold us up, we breathe by them.

Tó wolyéii la' binílch'í; nahosdzáán wolyéii éí naaki
Water the one its "wind"; earth the one it two
one called called

binílch'í; yádihilí t'él t'áá lá'i binílch'í; tl'éhonaa'áí dó' its "winds"; sky only one its "wind"; moon too
t'áá lá'i binílch'í; jónhonaa'áí dó' binílch'í. Bizhi' dahólóogo
one its "wind"; sun too its "wind." Their existing
names
dabinílch'í, yee dahiná, dahdábílé, yee nídaddižih.
their by we they hold by we breathe.
"winds," them live, us up, them

Informant CAB had told earlier, as was recorded in the previous chapter, of the origins of four "winds" in earth's veins
and water's veins. In subsequent portions of his account there is an extensive version of how these "winds" were "put up here for us" by the process of earth speaking four words, one in each of the cardinal directions. This account merits attention for the specificity with which it relates the "winds" of the four directions to the "winds" thought by the Navajo to be within man for regulating life, movement, thought, and action, as well as for its explanation of the existence of other, harmful "winds":

Within the one called earth mother two "winds" formed, one lying on top of the other. These were put up here for us. The earth faces toward the east, her feet being placed over there where the sun goes down. From there she spoke her foremost word. When she spoke they were embarrassed: "From now on you will urinate on me and defecate on me and do whatever (you want to) to me and throw bad things on me. And when you die you will go back in the earth. You will not go elsewhere" she said.

Díí nahosdzáán wolyéi biih hóole’ índída naaki t’áá ałk’i
This earth the one in it and two one called her formed another

dah sinil biih hóole’, áko kodi yee nihá dah yists’id. Jó on lying in formed, so here by for were put up. So her it us
áko lá ha’a’aahjí’ áájígo nées’á, dií k’ad nahosdzáánígií, jó áko then towards in that she this here earth, so east way faces,

ñlááhjí aná’át’áhjí áájí dées’eez. Áko nlááh bizaad látah over where the sun her feet So there her fore­there goes down are placed. word most

áádóó yee haadzií’. "Yidiiskáágóó shik’ih ndaahłízh ñída from by she "From now on on me you will and there it spoke. urinate

shik’ih ndaanáhjí’ índá biíghahági ádashol’íí doo índá yáadi on me you will and whatever you do will and things defecate to me
nchó'ígíí shik'ijj' kódaal'ii dooleel. Índa dií ádineeznááddóó bad ones on me you throw will. And when you die
t'áá kojí' ni' t'áájí' náádleel dooleel. Doo háájí ndahohleeh just to earth to back you go will. Not wherever you go here there
da dooleel.
will be.

"This placed within me by which I spoke will not die--
the one lived by, these lying on one another" she said. "This first one placed within me, that will be holy, that will move us, we will live according to it from now on," she said. "And the one we will rest by will also be put on you." In this way it happened: She put her hand towards the east on top of her head, reached out and from there put her hand on where our eyebrows are. The nap of our eyebrows formed here. "By means of this, sleep and rest will be," so it happened. Then to the same place she put her hand out again. From where her fingers met, where our eyebrows are, she ran her finger to here, to where the tip of our nose is. "This will be your thinking, this you will think by," it was said to us.1

"Díí shiiah yilyáago bee haasdzii'ígíí k'ad éí doo ninée da
"This placed inside by I spoke now that not die
me which
dooleel--éí bee iiinánii dií k'ad ałk'i dah sinilígíí" ní jiní.
will-- that by they this now lying on one another" she t.s.
it live
said

"Díí áltsé shiiah yilyáhígíí éí diyin át'ée dooleel, éí na'iinláá
"This first inside of me that holy is will be, that move us
placed
dooleel, éí bik'ehgo kééhwit'i'í dooleel yidiiskágóó" ní jiní.
will, that by it we live will from here on" she t.s.
said

"Áddó kodi índa bee hááhólyííh dooleelii k'ad nihágh
"And here by it we rest the one now on you
that will be

anáádooníííl" kódzáa jiní. Aadi índa ñlááhjí' háá'át'áahjí'
also will put" hap- t.s. There next towards to the east
pened there
bitsiit'áád aláángóó ádaalne' dah didiiłnii' dáá éí nihináats'iiín
on top of farthest sent out her hand this our eyebrows her head

kodóó yídeesnii' jini. Kojí náná kodóó át'éé' dáá disho sílií'
from she t.s. Over again from it this nap formed
here touched here here was

jini. "Bil dáá bee hááholyííh dooleel bilígíí bí k'ad" ákódzaa
t.s. "Sleep it by rest will be that now" happened
means of sleep

jini. Áadi índa t'áá ha'a'ahjí' dah náádidiiłnii'. Nihichiíh
t.s. There then to the east again she reached Our nose
out.

kodéé' dáá nihináats'iiín ałch'í' ndeelnii' yéédeé' ááádéé' nihichiíh
from this our eyebrows to- from where her from our nose
here . gather fingers met there

yaah dideesnii' kojí' nihichiíh bílátaahjí'. "Díí éí ntsáhákees
she ran her to our nose to the tip. "This thinking
finger here

át'éé dooleel, díí éí bee nitsónkees dooleel" nihidiiniid jini.
it will be, this by it you think will" to us it t.s.
was said

"What was put inside earth will exist over there in the
east. It will be called 'word one.' On this side, to the
south, what was bik'eh hózhóón will be 'word two,'" she said.
"After that, two will be added to you placed in between: In
the west will be 'word three'; in the north (will be 'word
four'). So four leading words will be placed" it was said.

"Ndáah ha'a'ahjí áájí ńléí nahosdzáán biih yilyáñee áájí
"There in the east that earth inside was there her put

hólóó dooleel, éí saad ła'ai wolyée dooleel. Kojí yéé bik'eh
it will, that 'word one' called will be. This bik'eh exist
side

hózhóón niññee áájí sháádá'ááhjí kodi áájí éiyá saad naaki
hózhóón it was there south side there 'word two'
dooleel" ní jini. "Kodóó índa naaki t'óó nihóoltø' dooleel,
will be" she t.s. "From next two merely with you will be,
said here
This "word one" is very holy, it is female. Following is a male one, again a female one, again a male one, making four altogether. A woman is (like) a plant, giving birth to people (i.e., just as plants reproduce their kind), so her home was formed first ("word one" was placed first). The word that was spoken afterward is a man, his home being male.

Díí k'ad saad la'ígíí jó diyin ayói át'é, éí bi'áadii át'é. This word one holy very it it female is. is,

Áko biké' gone'é biką'ii, náá bi'áadii, náá biką'ii, áko díí'
Then afterward male one, again female again male so four one, one,

naandeeh. Jó asdzáán nanise' át'é, bíla'ashdla'ii yolchiil, áko grouped. A woman plant is, people gives so birth,

ádíjí aláají ńlái hooghan deests'idé' bí átsé baghan niilts'id that first there home started from her first her was formed side home

asdzáán. Biką'ii akéédé' bee hanáá'oodizihiíghií éí diné, baghan the Male following by the one that was that man, his woman. it spoken again home

éí biką'.
is male.

By this account, then, the two nílch'i alk'i dah sinilgo, "winds lying on one another," from within the earth by which she spoke to the people were placed on earth's surface for earth surface people. The first one, placed in the east, is diyin ayói, "very
holy," it is female and it gives direction to life. Although the informant did not here name this "wind," he indicated elsewhere that the níích'í alk'i dah sinilgo which are placed within one are called "álílee naagháii" and "bik'eh hózhoon." It appears then that the "wind" called "álílee naagháii" is in the east.

"Word two" in the south is "bik'eh hózhoon" and it is male, this being the other of the two níích'í alk'i dah sinilgo by which earth spoke. Another female word was added in the west and another male one in the north. These saad düü', "four words," which were put up in the four directions are thought to be the "winds" by which man is given direction of his life, movement, thinking, and action to carry out plans. These are the same as níích'í níhiyi' sizíinii, "the wind standing within us," which enters in the process of reproduction.

It is the same. As we keep reproducing, in that way it is put inside of us. The words that were spoken are holy and it is holy on this side (within us), but it is the same. This male word (in the south) is our gait (or "power of movement")—this same "wind" is our gait by which we walk. The next one, word three, is our thinking (by means of which) we will think for ourselves, plan for ourselves, talk for ourselves. Word four is when we go by our plans. It is that way.

T'áá éí át'é. Díí k'ad t'áá yiidlággoó ts'ídá t'áá ákót'éego
The same it This now when we keep exactly in that way is. increasing

nihii'heelye: Áko diyingo bee ha'oodzi', áko éí diyin kojí ndi within it is It is holy what was that holy on but us put. spoken, this side

t'áá ákót'é. Díí saad bik'ii nihigáal--t'áá níích'i t'áá éí it is the This word the male our "wind" the same one gait-- one
nihigaal, éí bee needáh. Díí kón'é saad táá' góne'ígií
our gait, that by we  This next word three the next
it walk. one

nihinitsékees, ák'itsíndíílkosii ádíniidit'áálíí na'ák'iyéiltí'
our thinking, for ourselves we for ourselves for ourselves
think we plan we talk

dooleelíí éí át'é. Ádích'óhosíít'áádzi bik'ehgo deedzáádi
will be that it For ourselves we according when we
the one is. plan to that go

éí éiyá áadi saad díí'. Jó áko kót'éego ít'é.
that there word four. So in that way it is.

While these "winds" placed in the cardinal directions
enter within people as nihiyi' sizínii, "the one standing within
us," the same "winds" also became cloud's power of movement, existing
beneath it. The "winds" from the clouds mixed with that from the
earth, forming twelve "winds" altogether:

So "wind" became our power of movement and the same one
stood within us, moving supernaturally. Next, another just
like it, that "bik'eh hózhóón," was placed on it, the two
"lying on one another," these becoming our words. Then, "From
there the one that will move us will exist" happened (was said).

Níľch'i nihigaal daazlíí' índa nihiyi' haslíí' jó éí nihigaal
"Wind" our gait became and within us it so it our gait formed
daazlíí'. Dóó níľch'i t'áá éí nihiyi' náñeizi' lá, álílee naa-
became. Then "wind" same within again it supernatur-
one us stood, ally

gháago. Kóne'é yikáá' góne' t'óó biniit'aahjí' ánáánát'é. Jó
moving. Next on it just next to it again it is.
t'áá aheelt'ée lá jiní. Eídí bik'eh hózhóón, áko ałk'i dah
They are alike t.s. That "bik'eh hózhoon," on each other

sinílgo jó kót'éego nihizaad . . . . Ákohgo índa jó k'ad
ly ing so in that our words . . . . So then this
way
"These will also be cloud's power of movement" again it was said back then. This cloud moves by that same "wind." It was arranged in this way back then. From here it was placed on the earth; "wind" also existed beneath the cloud and here, too, beneath it (the ground). And then, "Now they will be known" it was said: "These called 'dark wind,' 'blue wind,' 'yellow wind,' 'white wind,' 'little wind'; next, the one called 'high wind'; next, 'coiled wind,' the one that runs around' next again, 'striped wind'; next, 'left-handed wind'; next, 'harmful wind'; next, 'good wind.' So in that way twelve are arranged."

"K'os, eii dô' bigáál dooleel" nááhodoo'niid jini áadi. "Cloud, that too its will be" again it was t.s. back gait said then.

"Kad kót'égéego ninídee' jini áadi. Kacchi iná ni' it In this way they fell t.s. back From then earth moves. then. here

niilyá jini; álé k'os dô' biyaadi t'áá ákwe'é nahale' út'éé' placed t.s.; that cloud beneath there it then (on) too it existed

jini-nilch'i; kodi dô' jini wóhyahdi. Ákohgo shií iná "K'ad t.s. "wind"; here too t.s. under- So then next "Now neath it.

bënéezíinógo ch'idookah" hodoo'niid jini: "Éí dií nilch'i dihił, being known they will it was t.s.: "These 'wind dark,' walk out" said

nilch'i dootë'izh, dií nilch'i nitso, nilch'i ligai, nilch'i 'wind blue,' this 'wind yellow,' 'wind white,' 'wind

als't'is'é náán'óolyéé lá; kône'é ayóo nilch'i wólyée lá; ákône'é little' again it is next 'high wind' called; next called;

éí nilch'i náayis; kône' nilch'i hanooot'see', náalwoligíí nááná that 'wind it next 'wind spiraling,' the one that again runs around
Explaining this in another way, CAB said that two "winds" emerged from the earth, two came from the water, and two came from the clouds. When these met, six were formed above and six below for twelve altogether (which he named above). We live between these, according to this view, all of which affect us and some of which cause difficulties and sickness:

"Winds" formed under it (the earth) and then emerged from there. Two "winds" came from within the clouds. From the underworlds where its roots penetrate, from where water's roots penetrate (came) two (from each source). These came together and then mixed with each other. Six formed above and six below, so twelve (altogether). In this way it was formed on earth's surface. In this way they are arranged and we live between them—all human beings. Over there (above) are six "winds"; below there are also six, here on earth's side, too; so we live between them. All of them affect us. This "revolving wind" is not very good, and the one called "coiled wind" is not good. This "striped wind," and again four (i.e., another four are not good). These cause different kinds of things to happen. On that side earth revolves (and) up above sky revolves, like this (here, the informant indicated the manner of their movement by gestures, earth and sky revolving circularly but in opposite directions to one another). We live between them. From this, problems increase. In this way we were placed, all human beings. On both sides (earth's and sky's) bad things happen.

Nilch'i ñléi wóyahdi áadi niilts'íid ááđéę́ áđeezná jó daaní. "Winds" there under it formed from they this they it there emerged say.
Nílch'í kodóó dií k'os nineel'ágę dóó hiiyî'dóó naaki jini. Nléí "Winds" from this cloud the ends from in from two t.s. There here them

ni' bitl'ááhdı́ę' nléí ni' bikétl'óól nikidit'i'déę', tó bi-earth its from there earth its from where it water its bottom roots penetrates,  
kétł'óól nikidit'i'déę' naaki jini. Áko shįį ahidiniide'e' roots from where it two t.s. Then it they came penetrates seems together

áádóó índa nílch'i ádééyi'níl jini. Ts'ídá hastą́ągh siįį' and then "winds" mixed up t.s. Exactly six it came to

wó dahjí, wóyahjí dó' hastą́ągh jini, áko naakits'áadah. Ákót'éego above, below too six t.s., so twelve. In that way

ni' bikáá' hazliį'. Ákót'éeko alkee' ninide'e', bita'góone' earth on it In this they fell in between it formed. way order, them

honiidlį́ dií nleí bíla'ashála' nináneel'ąąjį'. Díí nílch'iíiğíí we these human beings all of them. These "winds" live

kojí hastą́ągh; hóyahjí dó' hastą́ągh, kojí ni'jí dó' hastą́ągh; over six; below too six, over earth's Six; here here side also

áko bita'góone' honiidlį́jgo. T'áá altso nihinaalnish. Díí so between them we live. All of them work on us. This

nílch'i náayisiį́ éi t'éiyá t'áá doo hózhó yá'át'éeh da jini, "wind" revolving" not very good t.s., that

índa nílch'i noots'ee' wolyéi eei doo yá'át'éeh da. Dimdi and "wind coiled" called it not good. This

nílch'i noodzi . . . áko nááná, dííį'. Éí éí kwe'é altah "wind striped" . . . and again, four. These here among

nahoo'nííł jini éi dií. Nlááhjí ni' náayis, nlááhjí wó dahjí different t.s. these. Over earth re- over above things happen there volves, there
Informants generally agree, then, that "winds" emerged from the earth being placed here for man to live by as means of breathing, moving, and thinking just as they were for the Holy People in the underworlds. Particular note should be made of the two nílch'i alk'í dah sinilgo, "winds lying on one another," which were earlier said to have provided guidance to the Holy People in the underworlds. It is indicated that these now were placed with two other "winds" in the cardinal directions from where they enter earth surface people during reproductive processes. Subsequent chapters will disclose that these "winds" are crucial concepts in Navajo ethnopsychology.

**THE PLACEMENT OF CARDINAL LIGHT PHENOMENA**

In the underworlds, as was seen, a close association is thought to have existed between "winds," the phenomena of light of the cardinal directions together with their "inner forms," and the principal mountains of these directions. The light phenomena of the present world, dawn of the east, horizontal skyblue associated
with the south, evening twilight of the west, and darkness associated with the north, together with their "inner forms," similarly exist in close association with the "winds" of these directions.

By some accounts, what had been the "columns of light" in the underworlds were changed by First Man and the other planners of this world into the light phenomena as they are now conceived by the Navajo. For instance, Sandoval related that after the sun was placed in the sky the dark cloud that had appeared in the lower worlds became the night, the white cloud became the dawn, and where the blue and yellow clouds had been there now appeared the twilight and false dawn (O'Bryan 1956:15-22). Similarly, Curly Tó aheediinii in telling of the creation of the sun and the moon said that First Man held out the dawn toward the east and blew four times in that direction, repeating this process on the west side with twilight, on the south with sky blue, and on the north with darkness. "That now was for the purpose of having them seen along there' he said" (Haile n.d.b:63-64). Haile interpreted this as meaning that, "... they will not rise and meet as formerly but will only appear above the horizon in their respective directions" (Haile n.d.b:95).

Frank Mitchell's account of the Blessingway myth also tells of the placement of dawn, skyblue, evening twilight, and darkness, adding details of the placement within them of "inner forms." Talking God made the phenomena so that "they were breathing, they say, and looking at things" (Wyman 1970:369). Prior to placing
dawn so that it would appear suspended horizontally in the east,

he said to it, "'I myself will be existing in your interior' . . .":

"Díí t'áá shí nighi' honshlóqdoó" . . .
"This myself you exist I shall" . . . (Haile 1930:99).

Calling God then placed the one in the west (evening twilight)
saying that, "'I will exist in your interior'" (Haile 1930:99).
The ones in the south (skyblue) and north (darkness) were similarly
placed, and it was said that the ones to exist in their interiors
will eventually become known (Wyman 1970:371-372).

Diverse names appear in published Navajo mythologies for
the "inner forms" of the cardinal light phenomena, reflecting various
sex and generation distinctions. Haile's informant, Black Mustache,
named dawn woman, horizontal blue girl, horizontal yellow boy,
and darkness man (Haile 1943b:72-73). As seen above, Frank Mitchell
said that Talking God would exist within dawn and Calling God within
evening twilight, with the ones in skyblue and darkness to eventually
become known. The Franciscan Fathers, in saying that sex was
assigned to the cardinal light phenomena, listed dawn man and dawn
woman, azure man and azure woman, twilight man and twilight woman,
and darkness man and darkness woman (Franciscan Fathers 1910:354-355).

Slim Curly spoke of there being two "inner forms" of the cardinal
directions, the east-south-west semicircle being male and the
west-north-east semicircle being female (Haile 1932a:49-51). Haile
therefore concluded that although there may be differences of
opinion concerning the sex of these persons it is generally recognized that the cardinal points have "inner forms" (Haile 1943b:71).

Black Mustache, in relating the origin of the "inner forms" of the present cardinal light phenomena, presented at the same time his view of their relationship to "winds" and accounted for their emergence from the underworlds. As summarized by Haile, this informant said that dawn woman and darkness man, the "inner forms" of dawn and darkness, respectively, emerged with the Holy People. "White wind" was the bii'siziinii, "in-standing one" (or "soul," in Haile's interpretation), of dawn woman, and "dark wind" was the "in-standing one" (or "soul") of darkness man (Haile 1943b:72). The existence of dawn woman and darkness man in the underworlds had not been known to the other Holy People so they introduced themselves, dawn woman saying that "... earth is my mother, white wind my father!" (Haile 1943b:72). Following the emergence this couple gave birth to "horizontal blue girl" and "horizontal yellow boy." These four, then, became the bii'gistiin, "inner forms," of the cardinal directions, each having a bii'siziinii, "in-standing one" (a "wind"), which is "their breathing means." Thus, "white wind" stands within dawn woman; "dark wind" stands within darkness man; "blue wind" stands within horizontal blue girl; and, "yellow wind" stands within evening twilight boy. According to Black Mustache, even "white wind" (the father of dawn woman) and "dark wind" (the father of darkness man) have "winds" which stand within
them, these being nilch'i doo diits'a'gi', "inaudible wind," and nilch'i disQs, "glossy wind," respectively (Haile 1943b:73).

While not all informants explicitly state that the "winds" of the cardinal directions "stand within" or are the "breathing means" of the "inner forms" of dawn, skyblue, evening twilight, and darkness, these "winds" are commonly associated by informants with the light phenomena. Informant CM said of the east, for instance, that "It is composed of dawn and 'wind'":

Åko ałníí' dóó nilį', dií hayoolkáal dóó nilch'i dó' ałníí'
So half it is, this dawn and "wind" too half

dóó nilį.
it is.

THE PROCESS OF CREATION

Elucidation of Navajo conceptions of the process by which nilch'i, "winds," were given to elements of the natural world is provided by informant CM in his narration of events of the meeting at which earth, sky, sun, moon, and various animals were created. This narrative further clarifies the nature of the relationship between the "inner forms" of the light phenomena and "winds."

In addition, in drawing a parallel between the legendary creation of elements of the natural world and the process of human reproduction, this informant throws light upon the Navajo conception of both of these processes by way of explaining the ways in which they are conceived to be similar.
According to informant CM's account, among the diyin dine'é, "Holy People," who attended the meeting to create earth, sky, sun, moon, and various animals were Átsé Hastiin and Átsé Asdzáán, "First Man" and "First Woman"; hayoolkááł hastiin and hayoolkááł asdzáán, "dawn man" and "dawn woman"; dootl'izh hastiin and dootl'izh asdzáán, "skyblue man" and skyblue woman"; nahotsoi hastiin and nahotsoi asdzáán, "twilight man" and "twilight woman"; and, chahalheel hastiin and chahalheel asdzáán, "darkness man" and "darkness woman."

Also in attendance were different kinds of níłch'i dine'é, "wind people," who would give life to the things being created:

These "winds" back then were Holy People, they were mirage people. These different kinds of "winds" gathered together. All of them back then would give life. 'In this way horses were made there, sheep were made, sun was made, moon was made. In this way, these were made together.

Áko níłch'iígíí éi aadéé' diyin dine'é danilí, hahoniiye'
So these "winds" from there People were, mirage Holy
din'é danilí. Éi álah silíí' dií níłch'iígíí éí ał'ąą people were. They had gathered these "winds" different
ádaat'éego. Áko áí áláahdi níłch'iígíí t'áá altso yiidiiyoolnaál. being. So these back these "winds" all of them will move them.

Díí áláahdi jó líí' ílya jiní, dibé ílya índída jónhona'a'í ílya, This back horses were t.s., sheep were and sun was way there made
made, made,
tl'éehona'a'í ílya. Éí dií álah hadadíyla. moon was These this together were made.

Other Holy People present at that meeting also seem to be identified by this informant with "wind people":


So these Holy People: Sunrays there were, rainbows there were, mirage people, mirage haze people, haze people—dark haze, blue haze, yellow haze, white haze, the holy haze—these back then did it.

Áko díí diiyin díineʼé: Shábitlʼól dajílį, náátsʼílíid
So these Holy People: Sunrays there rainbows were,

dajílį, hídahoniyeʼ díineʼé, hadahonestiin díineʼé, nestiin there mirage people, mirage haze people, haze were,

díineʼé—nestiin díilhíł, nestiin dootlʼizh, nestiin litsoi, people—haze dark, haze blue, haze yellow,

nestiin ligai, nestiin diiyinii—áí díí áádi yaa naaskai.

haze white, haze the holy these back did it.

one—there

The "inner forms" of the cardinal light phenomena placed the materials which they possessed, from which the various things would be created, in a basket and spread dawn, skyblue, evening twilight, and darkness beneath it and over it:

Here dawn woman and dawn man placed a basket and beneath it and on top of it spread the dawn. Female skyblue was spread beneath it (the basket) with dawn underneath. Dawn woman, dawn man, skyblue woman, skyblue man, evening twilight woman, evening twilight man—these were spread beneath it (in that order). They were spread beneath sheep, horses, hard goods, these being set inside the basket.

Áko kwii hayoolkááł asdzą́́ hayoolkááł hastiin bił tsʼaaʼ
So here dawn woman dawn man with basket

ńláánggo niiníní indída dząádi yiiyaa iníláągi tʼáá éí right placed it and here beneath placed the same there it

hayoolkááł biyaa niilkaad, bikááʼgi tʼáá hayoolkááł. Nahodeetlʼizh dawn beneath was on top the dawn. Sky blue it spread, of it

biyaa niilkaad, nahodeetlʼizh biʼáadii díí hayoolkááł biyaa. beneath was sky blue female this dawn under— it spread,
Hayoolkááł asdzáá, hayoolkááł hastiin, nahodeetł'iízh asdzáá, Dawn woman, dawn man, sky blue woman, nahodeetł'iízh hastiin, nahotsoi asdzáá, nahotsoi hastiin, áko sky blue man, twilight woman, twilight man, so dii biyaa hàaaskaad. Dibé lá, líi' lá, ntl'íz lá, dií biyaa these be- were Sheep, horses, jewels, this under neath it spread. ndaaskaad ts'aa bii' naaznilgo, go'ídaalya. were basket in being like that they spread it placed, were made.

With the "inner forms" of the cardinal light phenomena lying on top of one another, above and below the basket, other Holy People in attendance sang Blessingway toward it to give life to the creations. Meanwhile, the "inner forms" of the cardinal light phenomena had sexual intercourse, and something was formed beneath them:

Then they sang Blessingway toward it. Not many (songs) were sung--they sang only four (which were) really the ones by which they moved. So these were spread beneath and some were placed on top: Well, skyblue woman (and) man joined together and here, it seems, they had relations with one another; being covered they "bothered one another" beneath it. Here movement began under where they were spread, some underneath and some male ones on top. Here, beneath it, something formed.

Ááádoó índa koda Böyle hózhóójí yich'í' hade'eez'á. T'áá l'a'ish And from then blessing- they sang. Not many then ingway wards it

nihideest'á, t'áá dií'í' hahideest'á, ñláahdi ts'idí bee they sang, just four were sung, back then really by it

da'iiznáa'íi. Áko dii biyaa niilkaad dóó là' bikáá'ígi they moved So these under spread and some on top the ones. them
In having intercourse with a woman bodily fluids join together, and where these are joined a baby is formed. From the man's bodily fluid is the "wind" by which he lived and from the woman's is one "wind," too, by which she lived. So there are really two. So there, inside where it (the baby) formed, the one ("wind") existing within it they call "są'ąh naagháí," they call "bik'eh hózhó'n."
ts'íitooí áádéé' nílch'i yee hinánée ła' áádéé' asdzání yee bodily from "wind" by he one from the by fluid there it lived there girl it

hinánée dó' ła' áádéé'. Áko t'áá'aaníí naaki át'é. Jó áá she too one from So really two there So there lived there. are.

atsáníitl'ishée bii' hólónígíí éí díí k'ad áadi "są'ąh naaghái" where it formed in the one that now there "są'ąh naaghái" him existing
dííní, "bik'eh hózhóón" diíní. they "bik'eh hózhóón" they call it call it.

By this same process, but on a cosmic scale if you will, the "inner forms" of the cardinal phenomena in sexual intercourse bring their "winds" together to form the "wind" by which that being created will live. Informant CM, in concluding his account of the process of creation, stated that, "In this way, the one that is earth's 'wind,' the one that is sky's 'wind,' the one that is sun's 'wind,' the one that is moon's 'wind,' were made back then":

Áko áadi éí díí k'ad díí nahosdzáán binílch'i nílínii, So back in this way this earth its "wind" the one then that is,
yádíihí binílch'i nílínii, jónona'a'í binílch'i nílínii, sky its "wind" the one sun its "wind" the one that is, that is,
tl'ééhona'a'í binílch'i nílínii, áko áadi ádaalya. moon its "wind" the one so there they made. that is,
THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS

The roles of "Holy Ones" located at the sacred mountains of the four cardinal directions as being principal overseers of Navajo life and behavior, roles which will become more apparent in subsequent chapters, require a careful exploration of the meanings of these mountains according to traditional Navajo conceptions. It was seen that the principal mountains of the underworlds were closely linked with the phenomena of light of those worlds and thereby with the "winds" that gave life, knowledge, and guidance to the Holy People living there (see above, pp. 88-90). A similar situation exists in the present world where it is conceived that "Holy Ones" situated at the mountains have the capacity of knowing and, by some accounts, of directing what is happening elsewhere, with "winds" generally being said to be the means by which such communication is achieved with other parts of the world. Of particular interest concerning Navajo conceptions of the present world, then, are the identities of the "Holy Ones" located at the sacred mountains, the nature of their relationships with "winds" that are believed to be also located there, the activities of these "Holy Ones" and "winds" with respect to other living beings and inhabitants of the world, and their affinities with the phenomena of light of the cardinal directions.

Different versions of the creation of the present world generally concur that soil from the principal mountains of the
underworlds was brought up to earth's surface by the Holy People
during their emergence and that from this soil were made the sacred
mountains of the present world into which "inner forms" were placed.
In making the mountains of the east, south, west, and north, the
soil was mixed with white shell, turquoise, abalone, and jet,
respectively, or the mountains or their "inner forms" were "decorated"
with these "jewels" along with other adornments. One of the most
detailed descriptions of this creation appears in Frank Mitchell's
narration of the Blessingway myth in which is also expressed the
belief that means of communication with other aspects of the world
are associated with the mountains. According to this account,
the four mountains which had been located in the underworlds were
found to be located in similar positions on earth's surface.
Coyote, however, observed to the other planners that there should
be something standing within them by which they will live:

"... jóó okoo bii'naazįį doo, 'éí yee dahiináa doo"
"... you see within stand that by live
them they will, they will"

ní jin.
he t.s. (Haile 1930:31).
says

It was decided that the one to stand for them must be
ts'íída ba'át'e' ádinii, "absolutely faultless," one who "does not
think two ways" (Haile 1930:57). They then decided that some beings
patterned after Talking God and Calling God should be especially
made for this purpose from the materials used in decorating the
mountains, so White Shell Talking God, Turquoise Calling God,
Abalone Talking God, and Jet Talking God were created to stand within the mountains:

"'Éi dįgo dził yii' deidoozil . . ." 
"These four moun- within will tains stand . . ." (Haile 1930:60-61).

The four were then dressed in the same materials of which they were made (white shell, turquoise, abalone, and jet) and they were given names by which future people would call upon them in song and prayer. Gobernador Knob was also made and placed upon earth's heart and Huerfano Mountain was made and set upon earth's lungs, these mountains being decorated with various jewels and fabrics, respectively. First Man said that the ones to live within them would come into existence later. When the four beings who had been created took their positions within the mountains, songs were sung by which they would be able to speak to one another and it was ascertained that they would also be able to see one another (Wyman 1970:361-363). This version also relates that níłch'i biyázhí, "wind's child," was placed inside the principal mountains of the east and west which are the headrests of earth woman and sky man, respectively, to keep earth and sky informed and to be their means of communicating with one another (Haile 1930:28).

By these means, the principal mountains were given biyi' naazíinii, "those that stand within them" and it is said that they possess a means of breathing and of speaking to each other so that they are really alive:
"'Índá yee ádadidzhíihí, yee 'álch'i' hááádadízhíihí bee
"And by they breathe, by to each regularly they
which which other they speak
hólóglá . . . . Ñibee ts'idí 'iltso hináagoo át'éélá . . .
possess . . . . There-exactly all alive is really . . ."
by (Haile 1930:480-481).

This location of Talking Gods and Calling Gods at the
principal mountains is also told of in the origin legend published
by Curtis which assigns to "winds" roles enabling these gods to
communicate with others:

Then the Winds were stationed at the horizon to guard
the earth, and at the four sacred mountains in the east, south,
west, and north, to act as messengers for the Haashch'éélíí
and Haashch'éoghaan--Talking Gods and House Gods--who had
their abodes on them (Curtis 1907:89-93).³

By River Junction Curly's account of the Blessingway myth,
the Talking and Calling Gods of the mountains themselves are said
to have the means of supernatural travel to enable them to know
and to direct things, but "wind's child" directs such travels
and "yellow wind" also engages in them. Talking God, "... in
the form of White Shell Talking God . . .," and Calling God,
"... in the form of Turquoise Calling God . . .," were created
in the underworlds, each having "wind's child" placed at his ear
to direct him in travelling about (Wyman 1970:495-497). First Man
told them that he made them to be the leading chiefs, "... the
means of knowing things . . .," and that whatever they think will
happen accordingly and whatever they speak will so happen (Wyman
1970:497-498). In the underworlds, Talking God and Calling God
used to go back and forth to the four mountains situated at the
cardinal points, but following the emergence First Man instructed them both to go to Blanca Peak (in the east) from where, as possessors of the means of supernatural travel, they would always be present as overseers of holy ways and of what is being discussed. At the same time, "yellow wind" was sent by First Man to Hesperus Peak (in the north). "'From you also nothing will be kept hidden, things that occur at night, things that occur in daytime, all of these will be known to you,' he told him" (Wyman 1970:507). "Yellow wind" subsequently functioned to take word to the various holy places, such as at times when Talking God wished to call the other Holy People to a meeting. Other Holy People left to live at the interiors or at the bases of other mountains and mesas, while some Talking God and Calling God "Yé'í People" already had their homes on the mountains when the emergence had taken place (Wyman 1970:507-508).

The placement of various yé'íi, "spirits" or "gods," in the mountains of the four directions is described also by Hostiin Klah in his story of the emergence (1942:103-104); and, in Slim Curly's version of the Blessingway myth (Wyman 1970:154-156). In the latter it is told that at the summits of the four sacred mountains appeared the heads of all the "Yé'í People," Talking God, Calling God, Fringed Mouth, Destroyer, Humpback, Red God, Water Sprinkler, Male God, and Female God (Wyman 1970:154-156).

It has been said that various "winds" were placed at the sacred mountains, to act as messengers for the Talking Gods and
Calling Gods who live there (Curtis); to direct White Shell Talking God and Turquoise Calling God in travelling about, being placed at their earfolds (River Junction Curly); to be a means of knowing all that happens and of communicating with other holy places (River Junction Curly); and, to keep the earth and the sky informed and to be their means of communication (Frank Mitchell). According to informant CAB, the placement of "winds" within and on the mountains accounts for the sacred nature of these mountains. This informant, as may be recalled, had told of the origin of the four "winds" of the cardinal directions in earth's veins and water's veins and of the way in which these gave birth to four "big snakes," these eight together being nihidiyin, "our Holy (Ones)" (see above, pp. 74-87). Now, it appears that these "winds" are conceived to be located specifically at the mountains of the cardinal directions:

They ("winds") stand within the mountains, these (mountains) from then on being, by them, our sacred ones to the end of time. The One that is Holy, the One that made us, then said, "You will live by them." So these ("winds") stand within the mountains, Mount Blanca, Mount Taylor, San Francisco Peaks, Hesperus Peak, Huerfano Mountain, Gobernador Knob. In this way, these became our sacred ones. And these big snakes that were born, some harmful, some dark, all different, these were sent to these mountains.

Dzil bii' da'iilzi'yeeg éí shíí kodóó nihidiyin niliigo Moun- with- they these it from our sacred being tains in them stand seems then

kodóó bee danihi'deéjí' nihidiyin. irláhjí diiyin niliinizí from by to our end our sacred. Over Holy the One then them there that is

áníihilaayéeg kodóó índa diiyin. "Bee hinonáa doo" nihíhiigíí ní the One that from then sacred. "By you live will" ours said made us them
The association of Talking Gods and Calling Gods and the "winds" of the four directions with both the cardinally-oriented phenomena of light and the sacred mountains suggests a close relationship between these light phenomena and the mountains. Talking God and Calling God, the "inner forms" of dawn and twilight respectively, are the ones who White Shell Talking God, Turquoise Calling God, Abalone Talking God, and Jet Talking God of the sacred mountains were "patterned after" (see above, p. 143). In other terms, Talking God "... in the form of White Shell Talking God ..." and Calling God "... in the form of Turquoise Calling God ..." were placed in the sacred mountains of the east (see above, pp. 145-146). It seems that although Talking God and
Calling God appear in some legends as the "inner forms" of dawn and evening twilight respectively, their homes are conceived to be on the summits of Blanca Peak and San Francisco Peak (for Haile's discussion of this point, see Haile 1951:40, 294). The "winds" of the cardinal directions, too, are associated both with the light phenomena and the sacred mountains (see above, pp. 132-136, 146-147). An analogous situation is thought to have existed in the underworlds where, as may be recalled, the "winds" and "columns of light" were associated with the principal mountains there (see above, pp. 57-91).

There are other names given by some informants to the "inner forms" of the sacred mountains which, in part, are also suggestive of associations between these "inner forms" and the phenomena of light. These alternative names, while varying from one account to another, most consistently encode distinctions as to relationships with the phenomena of light of the four directions and the kinds of "jewels" from which these "inner forms" were made or in which they are conceived to be dressed. The latter distinctions are essentially the same as those applied in designating the "inner forms" as "White Shell Talking God," "Turquoise Calling God," "Abalone Talking God," and "Jet Talking God." The following names are applied to the "inner forms" of the sacred mountains in mythological accounts related by Sandoval (O'Bryan 1956); Matthews (1897); and by a present informant, CM. In the mountain
of the east (sisnaajini or Mount Blanca) are yol'gai ashkii, "White Bead Boy," and yol'gai at’ééd, "White Bead Girl" (CM); White Bead Boy who is also known as Dawn Boy and Rock Crystal Boy, and Rock Crystal Girl (Sandoval); Dawn Boy and Dawn Girl who are also known as White Shell Boy and White Shell Girl (Matthews). In the mountain of the south (tsoodzil or Mount Taylor) are dootl'izhii ashkii, "Turquoise Boy," and dootl'izhii at’ééd, "Turquoise Girl" (CM; Matthews); Turquoise Bead Boy who is also known as Turquoise Boy and Daylight Boy, and White Corn Girl (Sandoval). In the mountain of the west (gook'o'osliid or San Francisco Peaks) are diichili ashkii, "Abalone Boy," and diichili at’ééd, "Abalone Girl" (CM); Abalone Shell Boy who is also known as Twilight Boy, and Yellow Corn Girl (Sandoval); Twilight Boy and Haliotis Girl (Matthews). In the mountain of the north (dibe ntsaa or Hesperus Peak) are bashzhinii ashkii, "Jet Boy," and bashzhinii at’ééd, "Jet Girl" (CM); Jet Boy who is also known as Darkness Boy, and Darkness Girl (Sandoval); Darkness Boy who is also known as Cannel Coal Boy, and Darkness Girl (Matthews). In ch'ool'įį or Gobernador Knob are ntl'iz altaas'áí ashkii, "Mixed Jewels Boy," and ntl'iz altaas'áí at’ééd, "Mixed Jewels Girl" (CM); Beautiful Mixed Stones Boy and Girl (Sandoval); All-Jewels Boy and Girl (Matthews). Finally, in dził ná'oodilii or Huerfano Mountain are yódí altaas'áí ashkii, "Mixed Fabrics (Goods) Boy," and yódí altaas'áí at’ééd, "Mixed Fabrics (Goods) Girl" (CM); Pollen Boy
and Grasshopper Girl who are also known as Beautiful Goods Boy and Girl (Sandoval); All-Goods Boy and All-Goods Girl (Matthews).

Some of the variations in the above names may be traced to differences in translation from the Navajo. Yołgai is alternatively translated as "white bead" and "white shell"; diichilí may be translated by both "abalone" and "haliotis"; and "cannel coal" and "jet" may both be based upon the same Navajo term, báshzhinii.

On the whole, the evidence seems to indicate that White Shell Talking God, White Shell Boy, and Dawn Boy, for instance, all refer to the same Holy Person which is he who is an "inner form" of the sacred mountain of the east, just as "Abalone Talking God," "Abalone Boy," and "Twilight Boy" refer to the same "inner form" of the sacred mountain of the west. While these names are suggestive of conceptual relationships between these "inner forms" and the Talking God and Calling God "inner forms" of the phenomena of light, considerable ambiguity remains as to precisely how these relationships are viewed by the Navajo. Within the limits of data presented to this point, the same may be said to be true of "winds," which are said to be associated with both the sacred mountains and the phenomena of light.

It seems to be necessary either to recognize a diversity of Talking Gods (and Calling Gods and "winds") in the Navajo universe as Haile has suggested (1951:294); or that these gods (and "winds") may be conceived to be "duplicated," being at
different places at the same time in accordance with a process noted by Reichard (1970[1950]:54); or, finally, that the gods and the "winds" of the cardinal light phenomena and those situated at the mountains are conceived to be one and the same, although sometimes called by different names. With regard to the "winds," evidence will be presented later that supports the latter interpretation.

Despite the aforementioned problems, it suffices here to take note of the placement of important "Holy Ones" within natural phenomena of the four cardinal directions as well as the placement of "winds" in these four directions by which things are said to be known and by which communication is achieved with others. These features of Navajo ideology provide the foundation for the traditional Navajo theory of life and behavior to which later chapters will be addressed. The Navajo, as will be seen, look primarily to the "Holy Ones" of the four directions for their sustenance and guidance.

THE CREATION OF OTHER LIFE

In mythological accounts of the creation of such natural phenomena as earth, sky, sun, moon, the stars, vegetation, and animals and the placement within them of "inner forms" are to be found other expressions of Navajo beliefs concerning the role of "winds" in the creation of the present world. These aspects of Navajo mythology also detail the extent to which "winds" are
conceived by the Navajo to suffuse all of nature and the part
that they are conceived to play in the functioning of this world.

**Earth and Sky**

In the traditional Navajo view, earth and sky are conceived
to be provided with "inner forms" and with "winds" by which they
are able to breathe, think, speak, and be kept informed.

Frank Mitchell, in his version of the Blessingway legend,
provides one of the more detailed descriptions of the creation
of earth and sky. By his account, earth was made 'esdzáán nliiɡo,
"in the form of a woman," positioned with her head resting upon
Blanca Peak in the east and her feet in the west. Sky was made
hastiin nliiɡo, "in the form of a man," and was positioned with
his head resting on San Francisco Peak in the west (Wyman 1970:
344-352; Haile 1930:3-5). Nilch'i biyázhí, nilch'i dilhil
'aláají' nliiiii, "that Little Wind (Wind's Child), the Dark one
which is first in rank . . .," was placed inside of Blanca Peak
for earth while nilch'i litso 'akéédéé' nliiiii, "... Yellow
Little Wind, which is next in rank . . .," was placed in San
Francisco Peak for the sky. "'By means of these,' they were told,
'things will be made known to you.' These it seems actually tell
them things, and by means of them [the Little Winds], they also
speak to one another" (Wyman 1970:353; Haile 1930:28). In addition
to these "wind's children" placed in their headrests to keep them
informed, earth was given nilch'i yee ndidzihihgo, "wind by which
she would breathe," and sky was given nilch'i bee ŏdídzihi'í, see ntsahákeesigíí, "... wind by which breathing, by which thinking is done ..." (Wyman 1970:344-345; Haile 1930:4, 20).

A bii'gistín, "inner form," was made for the earth called są'ąh naaghái, interpreted by Haile as meaning "Long-life" or "old age," which bik'eh hózhóón, "... directs blessed conditions (Happiness) ..." on earth's surface. Sky was also given an "inner form," yádíhil bii'gistín, but this is not named or identified in the text (Wyman 1970:347, 481; Haile 1930:10, 556). By such means as these, earth and sky had become alive and were able to speak (Wyman 1970:348).

Klah identified są'ąh naaghái and bik'eh hózhóón as being "... the Holy Spirits to the Earth and to the Sky," stating that the earth and sky spirits are connected with corn pollen, their mouths being connected, their hands and feet being clasped together, "and also they have a black wind and a blue wind which work together ..." (Klah 1942:63). Haile interpreted Slim Curly as having said that earth has two "inner forms" identified as są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhóón ashkii and at'ée'd, "long life-happiness boy and girl," and that through the center of the earth is a níiyol tsoh, "big wind," by which earth breathes and keeps alive. This "big wind" has two heads, one in the north and one in the south, which represent the two "inner forms" of the "big wind" Haile 1932a:93).
The Sun and the Moon

Distinctions are apparently made in Navajo ideology between the sun and moon proper; those holy beings who "carry" them on their paths across the sky; their "inner forms"; and, the "winds" which give them life and keep them informed.

Haile notes that shá- is used colloquially to refer to the sun--as in sháájį', "to the sun," shándiín, "sunlight," and shábitlí'óló, "sunray"--and that ooljée' is used colloquially to refer to the moon (Haile 1951:286-287, 200). The term "jóhonaa'áí" may be translated as "who carries disc in daytime" and the term "tl'ééhonaa'áí" as "who carries night time disc" (Haile 1951:290-291, 335). These terms refer to those Holy Ones who were appointed to carry the sun and the moon in their daily movements, as told in various of the mythologies. Frank Mitchell referred to the sun's carrier as being "who-returns-with-one-turquoise" and the moon's carrier as being "who-returns-with-one-corn" (Wyman 1970:366).

In Stephen's account it is said that Jonaaibaestín (Jóhonaa'áí bii'gistiín) "Boy-who-went-inside-the-Sun" carries the sun on his back and that Kleonnaaibigestín (Tl'ééhonaa'áí bii'gistiín) carries the moon on his back (1930:104). These terms, however, referring as they do to bii'gistiín, "inner forms," are used by other informants to refer to a different pair of Holy Ones who were appointed to enter into the discs. These were identified by Frank Mitchell as being tsághádindínii diné tsílké, "Rock Crystal Young Man," and shándiín dinééh, "Sunlight Young Man,"
appointed to "stand for" the sun and the moon, respectively (Wyman 1970:378). More frequently, Turquoise Boy is named as being the one who was asked to enter the sun and White Shell Boy as the one who was asked to enter the moon (e.g., Goddard 1933:135; O'Bryan 1956:15).

When the sun and the moon were created, nilch'i, the "spirit life," was breathed upon them to give them life (Wheelwright 1949:43; Franciscan Fathers 1910:353). In addition, Frank Mitchell said that "dark wind" kept the sun informed while the moon was advised by "yellow wind." "By these means they and the people whom the two had left kept each other informed" (Wyman 1970:391).

Vegetation

The seeds of various kinds of vegetation which were brought up from the underworlds and planted here were given life by means similar to those used in giving life to other natural phenomena. Frank Mitchell told that when earth was made she was provided with various minerals and vegetation and that plant seeds and "the grand corn with twelve ears" were brought from below which when "sanctified" by ritual showed movement and growth (Wyman 1970:366-368). From this "grand corn" and from the plants were created naaąą' dine'é, "corn people," and nanse' dine'é, "vegetation people," respectively. "Winds" gave them life: "By means of Dark Wind they moved, by means of Blue Wind they moved about, by means of Yellow Wind they arose, by means of White Wind they
made a step [forward], by means of Sparkling Wind they spoke out' 
(Wyman 1970:345). When the mountains were created they were
dressed with the various Vegetation People by which it was said
they would become useful. The Corn People lived among the other
peoples at that time and brought planting into being (Wyman 1970:
397-400).

In interpreting the traditional Navajo view of vegetation,
Haile said that plants as well as animals are conceived as existing
t'áá dinégo, "in man form," the plant form being "... merely a
cover, or attire, in which the real supernatural appears on the
surface of this earth" (Haile 1943b:67). Thus, informant CAB
can say that a plant "has a mouth, nostrils, and eyes. They are
just like us":

T'áá ákót'éego át'é eii ch'il. Bizéé' hóló índa biníí'
In that way it is a plant. Its exists and its
mouth nostrils
hóló, bináá' hóló. Áko t'áá díí iniit'égígí át'éego, ts'ídá
exist, its exist. So just the way we are it exactly
eyes being,
t'áá ákót'é eii.
like that it is.

Animal Life

Numerous animals, insects, and birds, conceived of as
existing t'áá dinégo, "in man form," inhabited the underworlds and
emerged with the Holy People from below, while various other animals
such as horses, sheep, goats, and game animals are commonly said to
have been created in the present world.
In River Junction Curly's description of the creation of the animals of the present world, they started moving when Mirage Man, the Sun, Talking God, and the Begochidis breathed into them from the four directions while others sang. The "wind people" then placed "wind's child" on the top of the head of each animal and they put ears on the horses. Then "wind's child" went to the base of the ears of each animal, it being said that "'Díí yéé daadiits'a' dooleel' . . .," "'With this they will hear' . . ." (Wyman 1970:627; Haile n.d.a:455). Similarly, Sandoval related that after the Holy Ones made dogs, the "Little Breeze" sat on their ears: "Their ears were made from the winds, and at the tip of the tail also there is a breeze." Because of these, they do not get lost (O'Bryan 1956:105).

Informant CAB stated that doo yálti'ígií, "the non-speakers" (animals), know by means of "wind": "'Wind' informs the non-speakers. When we are thinking well of them, horses, cattle, goats, and everything that we live by, they know about it by means of 'wind.' They know by means of it. They know our thinking":

Doo yálti'ígií nilch'i bił daahalne'. Kodóó yá'át'éehgo Non-speakers "wind" them tells. From well here baa nitsííkeesgo--áko jó lii' da bee hinii'náa leh, béégashii about when we those horses by we live usually, cattle them think-- them
THE CREATION AND BIRTH OF HOLY PEOPLE

The part played by "winds" in giving life and instruction to the Holy People who were created or born on earth's surface merits particular attention in that a parallel is sometimes directly drawn by informants between this and the role of "winds" in Navajo life. The most complete accounts are available for the birth of asdzáán nádleehi, "Changing Woman," who was later instrumental in creating the Navajo. Changing Woman is often referred to as yolgai asdzáán, "White Bead Woman," although some informants regard these as being two different personages.

It is generally indicated that Changing Woman is the child of a pair of natural phenomena or their "inner forms" although the identity of this pair varies from one account to another. Thus, this pair have been identified as being darkness and dawn (Wheelwright 1949); dawn man and darkness woman (Franciscan Fathers 1910); earth woman and sky man (Haile 1930); earth and sky (Curtis 1907); earth spirit and sky spirit (Klah 1942); and, sá'ą naagháí bik'eh hózhóón (Haile 1932a). That the identifications are not in every case contradictory is evident when it is recalled that Klah identified earth spirit and sky spirit with sá'ą naagháí and...
bik'eh hózhóón; that są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhóón are considered by Slim Curly, according to Haile, to be the "inner forms" of earth; and that Frank Mitchell relates są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhóón to earth's "inner form" and the conditions on her surface (Klah 1942:63; Haile 1932a:93; Haile 1930:10). This is to say that earth and sky, their personifications, or their "inner forms" are often identified as being the genitors of Changing Woman. Those versions identifying her parents as darkness and dawn or dawn man and darkness woman remain divergent; however, even in these instances it should be recalled that darkness and dawn originated within earth and that informant CAB said that są'ąh naaghái and bik'eh hózhóón were put up by earth in two of the cardinal directions. From there, these could then have given birth to Changing Woman.

As with other beings and phenomena, "winds" entered to give Changing Woman life. This is told of by CM who stated that four "winds" passed through her: Níłch'i dílhi, "dark wind," entered on her right side biké tl'ááhdéeg', "from under her feet," and came out bitsii' t'áhjį hanootee'ee', "where her hair spirals out"; níłch'i dootl'izh, "blue wind," entered through this hair spiral, passing downward where it came out at the toes of her left foot where it hada'nestse'e', "spirals" (i.e., the whorls of the skin); similarly, níłch'i litso, "yellow wind," passed upwards through her body on the left side; and, níłch'i ligai, "white wind," passed downward through her body on her right side. CM elaborated on this as follows:
Just when "dark wind" ran upward, black hair was formed. From "blue wind" running downward, these things growing on earth's surface formed. That is why here, at the tip of our toes, it spirals—it ("wind") stuck out there. It ran up again, "white wind it was. White hair formed there which turned into grey. So these move us.

"Nláahdi té’ó nílch’i dilhil deigo eelwod déédæg’ tsaighá
There "wind dark" upward it when hair ran
dilhilgo dahyiza’. Yaago eelwod déé’ nílch’i dootl’izhyê ni’,
dark was formed. Down- it from "wind blue" it was, ward ran
dií nahosdzæ bikáá’gi nahodínîlyéhii éi silíí’. Éi bæ a dzægdi
this earth on it the ones that formed. That is here grow why
nihikee’ bilátahdi hada’nests’ee’, éi áájí hada’nes’اغ. Deigo
our feet at toes it spirals, there it stuck Upward out.

éi náánáálwod, nílch’i ligaiyê ni’. Éi nláahdi tsaighá ligaigo
it again ran, "wind white" it was. There hair white
dah náánáázn’a’, éi tsiibá silíí’. Áko dií nanhiilná.
on formed, that grey it So these move us. hair became.

"... Dií nanhiilná," "... these move us," because
"winds" are thought to also enter human beings when we are born, although only one or two (instead of four) are thought to enter each of us, as evidenced by whether a person has one or two places on his head from where hair spirals out. Haile's informant, Black Mustache, mentioned only one "wind," "white wind," as being within Changing Woman (Haile 1943b:74-75). By one account, a small "white wind" was placed in Changing Woman's right ear and a small "dark wind" in her left ear by her parents, Darkness and Dawn. After
Changing Woman went to live in the west, these "winds" would warn her when her husband, the Sun Carrier, was approaching (Wheelwright 1949:53, 57).

Talking God is said to have been made in a similar manner, having been given life and guidance by nilch'i, "wind": "The spirit of life" was breathed into him (Franciscan Fathers 1910:383); "white wind" was placed within him (Haile 1943b:73); and, "wind's child" was placed along the curves of his ear to direct him by telling him things (Wyman 1970:497). In the same way, various other Holy people were made, with "winds" giving them life and being placed at their ears to inform and advise them.

THE CREATION OF EARTH SURFACE PEOPLE

Navajo mythology, in providing descriptions of the creation of the ancestors of the Navajo and of other earth surface people, provides the basis for traditional Navajo conceptions of the part played by "winds" in human life. The processes by which Navajo ancestors are thought to have been made and the nature of the elements said to be utilized in their composition attest, as well, to the tendency of the Navajo to identify themselves with various aspects of their natural surroundings. Thus, in both their common relationships with "winds" and their composition and nature the Navajo and other elements of their world are thought to be closely interrelated.
Some mythological accounts and some informants allude to a dual creation of human beings. Informants often identify the descendents of the first creation as being the anaasazi, the ancestors of the present Pueblo Indians of the southwest, many of whom were said to be destroyed for making pottery like that of the supernaturals. Others trace the Navajo, in part at least, to this creation. The second creation of human beings refers only to diné, "The People" or the Navajo. In most accounts specific Navajo clans are traced to the individuals or pairs formed during this creation. In both creations "wind" is commonly mentioned as that which gave life to the people who had been made.

The first people are generally said to have been made primarily from corn and "jewels." Matthews recorded the view that in the first creation a man was made from white corn and a woman from yellow corn (1897:136-137). Sandoval told of the creation of four human beings, from a Turquoise Man fetish, a White Bead Woman fetish, white corn (the one that was found when First Man had formed) and yellow corn (the one found with First Woman) (O'Bryan 1956:102-103). The Goddard account relates that images of a man and a woman, respectively, were molded from the white shell corn and the yellow corn made of abalone with which First Man and First Woman had come into existence (1933:146-147). Klah related that the first creation of a man and a woman was from many different elements, soil of the earth, lightning, white shell, corn, obsidian, white wind, mica, pollen, animal flesh, water,
rain, etc. (1942:103-107). In the Curtis account, the first group of people were made from Black Fog Boy, Black Cloud Girl, Precious Stone Boy, Precious Stone Girl, White Corn Boy, Yellow Corn Girl, Rain Boy, and Rain Girl (1907:96).

Whatever the elements used, they were given life by means and processes similar to those used in giving life to the "inner forms" of natural phenomena and to other holy people. Matthews recorded the view that "wind" gave the corn "the breath of life" by entering at the heads and coming out at the ends of the fingers and toes, but Rock Crystal Boy gave them their minds and Grasshopper Girl gave them their voices (1897:136-137). According to Sandoval, the "Five Chiefs of the Wind" sent the "Little Breeze" which entered the corn and fetishes after which they became human beings (O'Bryan 1956:102-103). By Klah's account, as in the creation of other beings, the ałkéé'naa'ashii "follower pair," brought power and speech to the elements when it was motioned over them (1942:103-107). Goddard, in translating the text of his informant's origin story, interpreted that the created Navajo could stand only after "smoke" passed through them but the Navajo terms rendered as "smoke" are "nílch'i hiyázhí" which are rendered herein, and generally elsewhere, as "wind's child" (1933:147). By Curtis' account, people formed from the various elements after "Spirit Winds" blew between the skins where they had been laid and Talking God and Calling God had tapped the skins with rainbows and sunbeams (1907:96).
The second creation of people was primarily from the epidermis of various parts of Changing Woman's body and "jewels." Matthews' version tells of how Changing Woman rubbed epidermis from various parts of her body, this being formed into human pairs from which descended certain Navajo clans (1897:147-148). In Sandoval's narrative, White Bead Woman applied powdered white beads to various parts of her body then rubbed it off when it had become moist and rolled it into little balls which were wrapped into black clouds. People arose from this (O'Bryan 1956:166). Klah said that both Changing Woman and the Sun rubbed dead skin off of specified parts of their bodies into which they wrapped white shell and turquoise images. Certain clans were formed from this (1942:114-115). Curtis recorded that the cuticle rubbed by White Bead Woman from her body was mixed with bits of white shell, turquoise, abalone, and jet, and that from these materials four pairs of persons were formed (1907:96-97).

Only some of the accounts of this second creation detail how the scrapings from Changing Woman's (or White Bead Woman's) body were brought to life. The effects of "winds" or of the "breath" of Changing Woman are most often mentioned in this regard although this is not invariably the case. Frank Goldtooth said that the materials were brought to life in a ritual during which the gods prayed and sung over them (Fishler 1953:91); and, similarly, the Franciscan Fathers reported that the skin formed into human images was said to be quickened by chanting (1910:356). On the
other hand, Frank Mitchell said that the people created by Changing Woman from bichiin, "her cutaneous waste," spoke when Changing Woman "... blew her own speech upon them ..." (Haile 1930: 447-448); and, similarly, River Junction Curly's narrative indicates that Changing Woman gave life to them from the four directions with her own breath (Wyman 1970:633). In this connection, a close association of speech and breath with "wind" is evident in a description of the creation of earth surface people in which it is said that Changing Woman's cuticle and saliva together with some plants were formed into an image of man, and "wind people" were put into this image to move different parts of the body with one "big wind" being said to govern speech: "It has two names, bee'iiiniininii (by means of which there is life) and bee'endiidzihii (by means of which one breathes)" (Wyman et al. 1942:14-15).

The Curtis text states that Changing Woman's cuticle mixed with bits of "jewels" was placed between sacred buckskins and breathed upon by "Spirit Wind." The skins were then tapped with rainbow and sunbeam by Talking God and Calling God after which the people arose (1907:96-97).

Informant JT earlier told of how "dark wind" and "blue wind," alk'i dah siláago, "lying on one another," had been placed within and advised the Holy People in the underworlds (see above, pp. 98-105). These same "winds," according to informant CAB, were now instrumental in giving life to the Navajo in the present world. "Dark wind" and "blue wind," who are alternatively referred
to in this account as nílch’í diyin, "holy wind," and bik’eh hózhóon, respectively, went to the west and brought corn and the epidermis of Changing Woman back to the base of dook’o’oslíid, the sacred mountain of the west:

These two people, the one that is "holy wind" and the one that is "bik’eh hózhóon," went there (to the west). They brought corn back and the epidermis of the one who resides over there, Changing Woman. When they took care of the corn it ripened . . . . They gathered its pollen. It was put inside of the people (who were being created). It was put on them. Then the corn that was white was divided. One of the Mud People (a clan name) was made and also one of the Tall House People. The corn that was yellow was then divided. The Bitter Water People and the Near Water People were then made . . . . They were prepared to the point where they were ready to get up. "Medicine will be made again" it was said. Then corn pollen was put on us . . . . The two who went to Changing Woman, "dark wind" and "blue wind," this way (was said to them): "You two who went there will be put within them. You (people) will talk by means of ‘one lying on the other’" it was said. "Alright" it was said again. Then the two that went over there entered inside of the people who were made.

Jó diné diídí nílch’í diyin nilíinii bik’eh hózhóon nilíinii
 So peo- these "wind holy" the one "bik’eh hózhóon" the one
 ple

eí ákóó naazh’áazh. Jó éi naadág' néiníja' jo nídishní. Bichiin
to they That corn they brought to you I Her epi-
there went. back say. dermis

do' dií áájí dah sidáii asdzáán nádleehé bichiin. Éídí éi baa
too this over who sits woman changing her epi-
there dermis. it

áhályágo naadág' neest’ég áko . . . . Bitádídíiné' éí báagh nanool-
taking corn it so . . . . Its pollen that from they
care ripened it
deé'. Éí kodóó éí diné bit’áalyá jiní. Éí báagh ályaa jiní.
 ga- That then people was put t.s. That on was t.s.
 thered. in them them put
Ako dií naadę́ą́' ligai yę́ę aháájaa'. Hashtł́́ishnii la' ánályaa
Then this corn white that was Mud People one was made
was divided. again

jini, la' kiiyaa'ánii áko. Naadę́ą́ltsóíi yę́ę ahánánáajaa'.
t.s., one Tall House also. Corn yellow that again was
People was divided.

Éí tóóich'í'nii áko, tó'áhaní bił ánáánályaa . . . . Kodóó
These Bitter Water Near Wa- with again were From
People, ter People made . . . . here

t'óó nídidoo'nahígo ádaho'diilyaa jini. "T'áá azee' bił ánáá-just he will be they were made t.s. "Medicine with again
getting up

doontíí" hodoo'niid jini. Áádóó índa dií tádídíí'ęę nanooldee' will be it was said t.s. And this corn pol- was scat-
then then made" then len tered

yę́ę éí nihaažh ályaa jini t'áá át'é . . . . Dií asdzáán nádleehé that on us was t.s. all of it . . . . This woman changing was put

bich'į́' niizižh'áázh yę́ę niłch'i diłhil, niłch'i doolt'ízh bił to her the two went "wind dark," "wind blue," with

ákohgo, "T'áá nihi ákQQ nishoo'ázhígíí t'áá ni biyi'góné' andí'-this "You two to you who went just you within you
way, there them

dooyaléeł, ni dó'. Ákohgo ak'í dah siłáago éí bee yálti' doo" be put, you too. This one lying on the that by you will" way other it talk

hodoo'niid. "Lá'ąą" náahodoo'niid. Nléí góyaa niizižh'áázh yę́ę it was said. "Al- again it was There down the two went past right" said.

nt'ę́ę' t'áá eii biih hojíîle' jini.
it was these in them they t.s. went

Some versions indicate not only that those created from
Changing Woman's body were the founders of specific Navajo clans
but also that a different "wind" entered each such clan founder.

A fragment of informant FDT's account of the creation of the
Navajo illustrates this view. Stating that Changing Woman created the Navajo, this informant named the clans thereby created and which of the "winds" entered into them:

"Dark wind" was placed within the one called Near Water. "Blue wind" was placed within the Tall House one. Again, "yellow wind" (was placed within) the Tall House one. "White wind" (was placed within) Mud People. So these four were placed separately within them and they live by these.

Jó díidí tó'áhaaní wolyéé jéi éí nílch'i dilhił bii' yilyá
See this water near called that "wind dark" in was him placed

jíní. Díídí kiiya'áanii nílch'i dootł'izh bii' yilyá jíní. t.s. This house tall "wind blue" in was t.s. the one him placed

Náánáá díí nílch'i litso éídí éiyá kiiya'áaní. Díí nílch'i
Again this "wind yellow" that house tall This "wind the one.

lígai'ígíí hashtl'ishnii. Jó áko díí díí t'áá ał'ąą biih white" mud the ones. So four these separately in
daahya', jó éiyá dahideeznáá'.
were these they live. placed,

A similar conception was expressed by Wheelwright's informant who indicated that when Changing Woman made various Navajo clans together with white people and domestic animals she placed the "blue wind" within the first man who was made, "white wind" into the second, "yellow wind" into various domestic animals, "dark wind" into jet horse, and other colors of "winds" were put into other horses of like colors. In this account the people did not sit up and speak until the sun had filled his pipes made of jet, turquoise, white shell, and abalone, and blew smoke from the cardinal directions
over those who had been created (Wheelwright 1949:57-59). Despite statements such as these, most accounts do not, explicitly at least, associate particular "winds" with specific clans.

In view of the legends of the creation of "earth surface people," it is understandable that informants can say that the Navajo are made of corn and "jewels" and that "wind" stands within them:

So here, on my right side, I am made of white corn; here, yellow corn, alternating in this way to the top of my head. In the same way I am made of white beads alternating with turquoise, here turquoise, here white beads, here turquoise, here white beads. They alternate in this way. This is what is called perfect white beads . . . . Perfect white beads were placed in me, perfect turquoise was placed in me, perfect abalone was placed in me, perfect jet was placed in me, perfect mixed fabrics were placed in me, perfect diverse jewels were placed in me.

Jo áko díí shí kojí nishnáájí jó ákó kojí naadą́ą́' ligai bee
So this myself here right see here corn white of it side

haashi'dilya, kojí naadą́ą́' litsoi alnáánítá kót'éego, t'áá
I am made of, here corn yellow alternating this way, in

kót'éego kojí' shitsii't'áají' nohool'áh. Yołgai t'áá ákót'éego
this way to my head top it ends. White in same way beads

bee haashi'dilya, dootį́'izhii alnáágo--kojí dootį́'izhii, kojí of I am made, turquoise alternating-- turquoise, here beads

yołgai, kojí dootį́'izhii, kojí yołgai, áko ilnáánítá kót'éego.
white here turquoise, here white so they in this beads,

Éí bee wójí yołgai hadaat'é . . . . Jó áko yołgai hadaat'é
This is what white perfect . . . . You see white perfect
is called beads

beads
Furthermore, since these "perfect" jewels were also placed in the ones who became the "inner forms" of the sacred mountains, the Navajo say that they are made of the same thing as are the mountains' "inner forms":

Perfect white beads are placed in White Bead Boy; perfect turquoise is placed in Turquoise Boy; perfect abalone is placed in Abalone Boy; perfect jet is placed in Jet Boy; perfect mixed fabrics are placed in Fabrics Boy, Huerfano Mountain; perfect jewels are placed in Mixed Jewels Boy, Gobernador Knob. Over there White Bead Boy stands within Blanca Peak, Turquoise Boy stands within Mount Taylor, Abalone Boy stands within San Francisco Peak, Jet Boy stands within Hesperus Peak, Mixed Fabrics Boy stands within Huerfano Mountain, Mixed Jewels Girl stands within Gobernador Knob. We, here, are the same way, we who are called the Navajo. They exist within us.

Yołgai ashkii yolgai hadaat'é bitáh yis'á, dootł'izhii White Boy white perfect in him was Turquoise Bead beads placed,

ashkiiijí dootł'izhii hadaat'é bitáh sa'á, diichíli ashkii Boy turquoise perfect in him is Abalone Boy placed,

diichíli hadaat'é, báshzhinii ashkii báshzhinii hadaat'é bitáh abalone perfect, Jet Boy jet perfect in him
Informant CAB expressed a similar view, expanding it by saying that the Navajo are made of the same things as vegetation, earth, and sun, as well as the mountains. "This vegetation with which we will live, this that we exist on top of (the earth), those mountains, what the sun is made of, we are made in the same way as these":

\[
\text{T'áá diidi t'áá dií nanise' bił kééhwit'í dooleel t'áá éí.}
\]

These vegetation with we live will that one

\[
\text{Índa nleí dií bikáá' nihíl izinígíí índa nleí dzíí jö ákót'éego and that here on it we are parked and those moun-}
\]

\[
\text{tains way}
\]
tsódaazt'é'é jini, éidi úláahúęę́' áleé jónonaa'áí yaa
they are t.s., that from there sun of which

hadít'éhígíí, éidi éi bilgo ákót'éego ínihi'diilya jini.
it is made, those with in that we are made t.s.

In the same vein, Frank Mitchell told of how earth was
made "man-life" regarding all things on her surface and also
that which exists within. The soil similar to the flesh, the
stone parts are similar to bone, dawn's dew is like "flesh juice"
which furnishes moisture within, and as it is noted in this same
context earth's "inner form" is są'ąh naaghái (translated by Haile
as "Long-life") (Haile 1930:347). Earth is like man even in this
latter respect, it seems, for informant CAB has said that, "The
one called są'ąh naaghái, the one called bik'eh hózhóón stands
within us. They made us, they speak for us, they exist within us":

Są'ąh naaghái wolyéí bik'eh hózhóó wolyéí, t'áá éí nihií'
"Są'ąh naaghái" the "bik'eh hózhóón" the this within
one called one called, us

sizí kodi. Éi ídahnihiila, éí nihá yádaaíli', t'áá éí nihií'
it here. They made us, they for speak, the same in
stands us us

hóole'.
exist.

In sum, the Navajo conceive of themselves as having been
created of the same elements of which other phenomena of this world
are made, having within them that which is "holy" in the Navajo
universe, "perfect" corn and jewels and "holy wind."
SUMMARY

In review of accounts in the Navajo oral traditions of the creation of the present world on earth's surface, a number of Navajo beliefs relating to the nilch'i, "wind," concept have been brought into focus. It has been seen that "winds" which were said to have provided life and guidance to the inhabitants of the underworlds are conceived to have emerged from below with the other Holy People or to have been placed here by earth. As was the case in the underworlds the "winds" of the four directions are closely associated on earth's surface with the cardinally-placed phenomena of light and the principal mountains bordering the Navajo world. From these four directions, by many accounts, "winds" gave the means of life, movement, thought, and communication to the natural beings or their "inner forms" of this world, including earth, sky, sun, moon, animals, plants, and to earth surface people including the Navajo. Natural phenomena are therefore considered to be alive, no less than the people of this world, and able to communicate with others.

In the following chapter, the continuing role of the "inner forms" of natural phenomena of the four directions and of "winds" in giving life, guidance, and instruction to earth surface man, according to the traditional Navajo conception, will be explored.

\[1\]This sentence reflects the traditional Navajo conception that the nose is one seat of thought.
"Ts'iitoo'" is here rendered as "bodily fluids." For ts'iitoo' Haile suggested "flesh water, similar to, if not a variant of ch'iitoo' gastric or fetus fluid, fetal moisture . . . ." (my orthography of Navajo terms) (Haile 1950:267).

Curtis' orthography of Navajo terms has here been altered to accord with that used throughout this work. Although "House God" was favored by early students of Navajo mythology, "Calling God" is now the most common rendition of Haashch'égoghaan (Haile 1951:39).

These terms are written in accordance with the orthography used herein rather than that used by Wheelwright (1942).

The Navajo term "dootl'izh" denotes those segments of the color spectrum referred to by both of the English terms "blue" and "green" so that the green hues of plant life may be attributed by the informant to nilch'i dootl'izh, translated here as "blue wind."
CHAPTER IV

GUIDANCE FROM THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

With the natural phenomena of the present world having been created and endowed with "inner forms" and with "winds" having been given to them and to all other living things as their means of living, thinking, and communicating with others, the conditions were thereby established, in the Navajo view, for Navajo life. It is the purpose of the present chapter to explore Navajo conceptions of the functioning of different aspects of the present world with respect to their influences upon Navajo thought, speech, behavior, and well-being. Of particular interest are Navajo beliefs concerning the dynamics of their relationships with natural phenomena and their "inner forms," the part played by the "winds" suffusing the world in these relationships, and the nature of the interrelationships existing among the various "winds" of this world.

REGULATION OF THOUGHT

The conception that elements of the world are equipped to provide guidance and instruction to man is a basic element in Navajo ideology. This conception is broadly set forth in River Junction Curly's version of the Blessingway legend:
"With everything having life, with everything having the power of speech, with everything having the power to breathe, with everything having the power to teach and guide, with that in blessing we will live,' it was said" (Wyman 1970:616).

"T'áá 'ałtso dahanáágo t'áá 'ałtso yádaaltí'go t'áá 'ałtso 'Everything living everything speaking everything

'ándadidzi', t'áá 'ałtso ndant'áágo t'áá 'ééibee hójóógo neeildee' breathing, everything instructing these by them in we live blessing
doo" hodoon'niid jiní (Haile n.d.a:433). will" it was said t.s.¹

Earth, sky, sun, and moon, all having strong "winds," are regarded as being important regulators of human life. In Frank Mitchell's version of Blessingway it is told that after the "inner forms" were placed Coyote observed that, "'See, you have now made [the Earth] man-like. You have made it as though it would do thinking and go along planning [a means of livelihood] for you,' he told them" (Wyman 1970:347):

"Jó 'éí k'ad dinégii ít'áó ádolaa," ní jin, "ntsekeesdoo,
'See that now man similar to ye've he t.s., "think it will, made it," says

naháho'aał nahalingo, 'ákót'áó 'ádolaa" halní jin. for you it as it thusly ye've he t.s. (Haile plans were, made it" tells them 1930:12).

Informant CM indicated that several "persons," including earth and sky, have strong nílch'i, "winds," and were made to lead people:
Three or four really strong persons lead us. This earth is a very wise woman who owns absolutely everything, breathing absolutely every last, breathing thing. The one existing here, within earth, which she breathes by, is very strong it seems. Over there it is the same with the sky. The earth is compassionate with just everything.

Jó t'áá táá'gi daats'í diii' daats'í elé daats'í t'áá ífyisíí
Well three perhaps four perhaps these per- really
haps
diné bidziil niha dadées'eez. Díí nahosdzáán jó áko dií éiyá
people strong for their feet This earth well that
us are planted.

ts'íída asdzáá hwóóyáníi shįį át'é, ts'íída t'áá aítso dah
abso- woman wise one it she is, just everything she
lutely seems
yoooléel níidízih ninááneel'ąajjį'. Áko kójí nhahsdszáán yee
owns breathes to the last one. Over here earth by it

ńdidzihilii bii' hólónii ts'íída shįį bidziili bii' hóló.
she breathes in existing abso- it strong in exists.
her lutely seems one her

Nlááhjí jáádíhilí t'áá ákót'é. Áko Nlááhdéé' ts'íída t'áá
Over sky it is the So from there just everything
there same.

áltsoni bił baahajoobá'á dií nhahsdszáán níiinii.
with compassionate this earth the one
her that is.

This informant explained that, being "compassionate,"
the earth brings forth grass for the animals so that they may
multiply and spread, and when people plant "compassately" on
her she takes care of them. However, if the earth and sky alch’į'
náachį', "think badly towards each other," and the sky does not
move rain toward the earth, then vegetation ceases to increase.
Continuing, he stated that, "The 'winds' existing within earth
and sky are strong. It is the same way with the sun and the moon.
This was First Man's plan":
As regards the sun, it is told in Frank Goldtooth's version of the origin legend that it regulates peoples' daily activities and thoughts. Everyone goes by the sun who tells one when to sleep, to eat, to rest:

He knows what you are thinking and what you do. When he gets to the west he tells you to eat, rest, read [sic] and bathe. The Sun suggests or sends thoughts to you telling you to do these things. The wrong people who have the wrong thoughts go by the supreme devil, biįh yinlt'áai, who tells them the wrong things to do (Fishler 1953:21).

In the same vein, Frank Mitchell told of how "Rock Crystal Young Man" and "Sunlight Young Man" were made to "stand for," become the "inner forms" of, the sun and the moon. One would stand for work being done, journeys being made, and for future assistance: "... such a one you will appoint to do the thinking for you" (Wyman 1970:377-378):

... nahá yaantsékees doolelii, jó 'éí ndadolteel.
... for ye of it think will see that one ye'll who, appoint (Haile 1930:126).
The other person 'éi yaa áhályáa doolelii, "will represent" (take care of), the four beings of the cardinal points (Haile 1930:127). The regulation of the cardinal light phenomena and their "inner forms" seems to be generally attributed to the sun, for the daily journey of the sun determines the shábik'ehgo, "sunwise," sequence of these phenomena: Dawn appears ahead of the sun; following is skyblue over which the sun journeys; twilight is seen behind the sun; and, the sun returns to the east under darkness (Wyman 1970:372).

While it appears that the sun is believed to regulate the cardinal light phenomena, it is held that the latter are also endowed with the ability to think and to plan by which they, in turn, directly regulate human activities. By Frank Mitchell's account it was said that hayoolkaal, "dawn," which is male will be the first to cause people to move and that it will exist exclusively for whatever is good. Nahodeetl'iizh, "skyblue," is female and guides people in going abroad. Being "two-sided," some bad things happen at that time. Nahotsoi, "evening twilight," being male is also good since it guides people in coming together again. Chahalheel, "darkness," is female and there is more of whatever is bąhágii, "bad," at this time than in the others. These four are endowed with the ability to think and plan but in unequal measure since "skyblue" and "darkness." as females, were not given the ability of planning far ahead which is characteristic of male thought and, hence, was given only to "dawn" and "evening
twilight." It was also said that the thinking of these four beings of the cardinal points will be in favor of those people who address them and pray and sing to them in the proper way (Wyman 1970:369-371). In a similar way, Slim Curly included the cardinal light phenomena in the group called diné naakits'áadah naakai, "twelve persons go about here and there," of whom it was said that "These exclusively will be your future guides in life!" These four, it was said, will instruct people in their daily activities (Wyman 1970:164-165).

Informant CAB expressed his view of the influence of the cardinal light phenomena in terms of how human thoughts are regulated by them. People begin to think before the sun comes up in accordance with "darkness man":

This (in the east) is dawn boy and here in the south is skyblue girl, here in the west is twilight boy, here then is dawn girl--it ends in the north with her. From there, from where the sun comes up when it dawns, that is dawn boy. Before it, what was darkness, that makes us think, that darkness man.2

Díi hayoolkáál ashkii índa kojí shádí'ááhjí nahodeetliižh
This dawn boy and this in the south skyblue side
at'ééd, kojí e'e'ahjí nahotsoi ashkii, kodi índída hayoolkáál
girl, here in the west twilight boy, here then dawn
at'ééd, ṃlááhjí' bee nihool'áh náhookesjí'. ṃlááhjí' girl, to there with it ends to the north. From there her
ha'át'ááhídéé' éí haneilkáá'go éí áádéé' hayoolkáál ashkii.
from where the there when it that from dawn boy.
sun comes up dawns there
As the day begins and progresses, thought is in accordance with dawn man, skyblue woman, evening twilight man, and dawn woman (as the sun moves in its sháwik'ehgo, "sunwise," sequence in the east, south, west, north direction):

Here again it is the same way. These, again, are the same: Over here (in the east) dawn man, skyblue woman (in the south), over here (in the west) twilight man, over here (in the north) dawn woman. These make us think. We think according to them.

Konaanaát'é éí, nánáá díidi kojí t'áá ahilt'é: Kojí hayoolkáál hastiin, nahodeetlı'iižh asdzą́ą́, kojí nahotsoi dawn man, skyblue woman, over twilight here hastiin, kojí hayoolkáál asdzą́ą́. Áko éí nitsíí'ilkees. Éí bik'ehgo nitsíí'ilkees.

According we think.

Thus, thinking varies with the different times of the day. In different terms this same informant stated that where thinking begins it is called "rolling darkness" with "dawn boy" following it. Then when sunlight shines thought is in accordance with that:

From where thinking just begins, that is "rolling darkness." Dawn boy follows it. Dawn boy is when it dawns. You rest until that time, then you awaken usually feeling refreshed and well. Then when the sun is about to rise there is sunlight, the good one shines on us. We think by that.
That just beginning then from there thinking

That darkness rolling. So that dawn boy after it

from there dawn boy there when it you see. To

you rest then you awaken one's well usually parts

with well usually. From when the sun there sunlight, you then is about to rise

from this on us shines, the good one by on us shines. here it

That by we think.

In part, such statements as the foregoing merely reflect the common human experience: That we frequently awaken (our thoughts are stirred) before dawn; that with dawn we are usually well rested and have a feeling of well-being; that daylight is the time of maximum activity and can bring either good or ill fortune; that twilight is a good time because we gather together again after our day's activity; and, that bad things can happen in the darkness and bring bad thoughts. However, there is an additional dimension to the Navajo conception which attempts to account for this variance in human thoughts and happenings from one part of the day to another. A thought, whether for good or
ill, never occurs without cause: A nilch'i, "wind" is always behind it. The variance in human thoughts throughout the day is accounted for by the activity of different "winds." After all, associated with each of the cardinal light phenomena is a different "wind":

This, in sequence, from the east again (is) "dark wind," "blue wind" in the south, "yellow wind" over here in the west, "white wind" to there (north). In this way they are finished. It (the sequence) moves in this way with them (the cardinal light phenomena).³

Jó díí k'ad bikáá' góne' t'áá ńlááh ha'a'aahdéé' t'áá áádée'
So this now sequence there east from from there
náánáá nilch'i dihil, shááááahjí nilch'i dootl'izh, kojí again "wind dark," in the south "wind blue," over here

e'e'aahjí nilch'i litso, nilch'i ligai ńláahjí' áají' kot'éego in the "wind yellow," "wind white" to there to in this west there way

benidahwiis'ah. ŕí t'áá kót'éego jó bił kwánįįl.
they are finished. in this way with moves. It them

Therefore, the fact that bad things happen during darkness is due to the nilch'i, "wind," associated with it. "Evil happens within darkness. People who are 'foolish' get their 'wind' from there":

Biyi'gi baahágíi áhoonííł díí chahalheel. Nlááhdéé' doo Within evil happens this darkness. From there not it

ádahalyánííí biníłch'i hóló.
wise ones their "wind" exists (CAB).

If we awaken feeling ill it is because "'dark wind' exists with darkness. It seems that it causes it":
Jo áko chahalheel t'áá áájí nilch'i dihił bił hóló.
You see darkness that side "wind dark" with exists.

zi shi' áti'.
It seems does

it (CAB).

In the same way, informant CM indicated that some people
do not plan well because they have a bad "wind" standing alongside them, it being called "rolling darkness wind," while others have a
good "wind" beside them called "dawn boy." Here, it seems that CM
has applied the names of light phenomena to the "winds" conceived
to be existing within them:

Some people have a bad one ("wind") standing beside them
and they do not plan well, even when a really good one stands
within them. There are two different "winds." Two (kinds)
exist among us, one being good, one being bad. Their names
are different: The good "wind" is called "dawn boy"; the
bad "wind" is called "rolling darkness wind."

K'ad la' shi'ii nich'ogíi shi'ii la' hāqh naazi éi, jo éi'ígií
Here some it bad one some beside it they
seems them stands,

doo hats'íí ndaohojí'áah da nahalin, áko dií ts'idá yá'át'éehii
not well they plan it seems, see this really good one

bii' siziinii eida t'áá alts'o bāq hóló ndí. Jo kodi ch'íní'áh
in stands those everything on exists Here mentioned them

nilch'i t'áá al'qą át'ē. Naaki nihitah hóló, la' yá'át'éehi hóló,
"wind" different are. Two among us exist, one good one exists,

la' nich'ogí hóló. T'áá al'qą bizhi' hóló: Nilch'i yá'át'éehii
one bad one exists. Different their are: "Wind" good one

"hayoolkaal askii" bee wójí; nilch'i doo yá'át'éehii "chahalheel
"dawn boy" it is called; "wind" not good one "darkness

nilch'i yimścií" wolyé.
wind rolling one it is called.
It seems then that the cardinal light phenomena, which are regulated by the movement of the sun, are themselves thought to regulate Navajo daily activities and thoughts by means of the "winds" associated with them.

**NÍLCH'I, "WIND," AS MESSENGER**

It is by means of "winds" conceived of as messengers that the "inner forms" of the natural phenomena are believed to provide guidance to earth surface people. "Winds" are said to be sent by their leaders in the four directions to inform, advise, and protect people and to report back to these leaders on peoples' conduct.

Informant CAB, without identifying who these leaders are, said that "winds" move Navajo thought in accordance with their direction:

These ("winds") move it, the same ones move it (our thinking). The one who is their leader sits (and sends them) from there. From there where the sun rises, (and) one from over here in the south. One from over there where the sun sets, one from over there (in the north). So from four directions these ("winds") are here by their direction.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Éí nayiilná, éí t'áá eii neyiilná. } & \text{Nilít'éé' binainit'á'í} \\
\text{These move } & \text{the same move it. From there their} \\
\text{it, } & \text{ones } \\
\text{nilít'éé' t'óó nilít'éé' sidá jini. } & \text{Nilít'éé' háá'át'áhídée' la', } \\
\text{the one } & \text{from there he t.s. There from where one,} \\
\text{who is } & \text{sits the sun rises} \\
\text{kójí sháádá'áhídée' la' jini. } & \text{La' níghéí aná'át'áhídée' jini, } \\
\text{over } & \text{from the one t.s. One over from where the t.s.,} \\
\text{here } & \text{south there sun sets}
\end{align*}
\]
By some accounts, the leaders who send "winds" are clearly placed in the principal mountains. Informant CM, for instance, indicated that "messenger winds" are sent by the "inner forms" of these mountains in stating that, "These (mountains) are really strengthened by them (their 'inner forms'). The 'wind' that passes news along is here among us. It is placed over there for us":

Jó dií éí ńláahdi t'áá íyisíí bee dahóólzdil. Ako kodi
So these over there really by are So here them strengthened.

hání'ndii'ééi dií nihitah'di hóló níłch'i. Hání'ndii'ééi jó
news passes this among us exists, "wind." News passes well the one

éí ńláahdéé' nihiniiyé náánáásníl.
that from for us it is kept. there

These deities within the mountains are considered to be foremost among the leaders, possessing many valuable things. The "winds" sent by them to observe and to report back on Navajo conduct are also located at the mountains:

There are leaders inside of the surrounding mountains. Everything valuable will be seen against them (i.e., the mountains are decorated with all desirable things). In this way, these were placed within these mountains. It is just like Washington, D.C., in the white way—agents come from there. In just that same way these "winds" are from those foremost leaders placed within the mountains.
Díí k'ad dził ahééniní biyi'ídi jó áadi t'éiyá naat'áaníi
These here moun- sur- within there leaders
rains rounding them
daanilí. Ts'íída ha'át'iída binaahjí' dahodooleéł yá'át'éehgo
are. Abso- anything against will exist being good
lutely them
dooleéł, ts'íída t'áá altso binaahjí' yidooltséél. jó éí kót'éego
will be, just everything against will be seen. So in this
them way
díí dziłígíí bii' dah'iike'dí éí ákót'é. Ako ááđéę' jó t'áá
these moun- in they were in that See from just like
tains them placed way. there
bilagáana jí Waáshindoone dishńó--ááđéę' siláágo yiisnil dishńí.
white way Washington I say-- from agents placed I say.
there
Ako díí nlíááhdéę'ígíí t'áá ákonánánát'é dził bii' dah'iike'déę'
So these from there just like that moun- in placed
the ones tains them from
ááđéę' nílch'i díí alágjí' naat'áaníi daníilíiníi (CM).
from "winds" these fore- leaders they are
there most the ones.

And again:

It is that way with these two placed in (each of) the
mountains. Here "winds" are placed for us (and) from there
they presently move among us. If you do not respect something,
if you laugh about a person, if you call a person names, the
ones ("winds") that come from the two placed in the mountains
send news to there. Over there next is (reported) this: "This
person leads his life in this way, he said this!" In this way
these "winds" take news back. Some seem to oppose us, some
are merely like agents taking news back over there. In this
way they are placed for us over there, these here "winds."

jó éí díí dził bii' dah'iike'dí éí ákót'é. Ako kwe'é nílch'i
So these moun- in were placed that way So here "winds"
tains them there it is.
nihiniyé sinilíí éí nlíááhdéę' éí dzáádi nihitah daakaí jó áko.
for us placed these from these here among us they you see.
there walk
Doo hol'ílįįgogo diné baa joodlohgo diné bizhi' dajile'go,
Not something per- about laugh- per- names you call,
you value if son ing son
jó áko ńlááhđéę' dzil biyi' dah'iike'déę' ááděę'ígíí áko áadi
then from there moun- in placed from the ones then there
tains them from there
hane' áadi hane' adéél'i ńláahjį'. Áko áadi índa éiga :
news there news they to there. So over next this:
send there
"Kwe'é diné kót'éego njighááhią́įį kojíníilá!" Kót'éego hane'
"Here person this he leads his this he In this news
way life said!" way
anáádayii'ah éí díí núlch'i. Ła' níhiits'ą́įį daaníli naahalin,
it brings this "wind." Some oppose us they are it
back seems,
Ła' ei t'óó siláago naahalin áko ńláahdi hane' anáádayii'ah.
some merely agents like so over news it brings
there back.
Éí kót'éego ńlááhđéę' níhiiniyé náánáásníl díí núlch'i kódí.
In that from there for us they are these "winds" here.
way placed

In the same way, the origin story recorded by Curtis relates
that the "winds" were stationed at the horizon to guard the earth
and at the sacred mountains in the cardinal directions to act as
messengers for the "talking gods" and "house gods" who had their
abodes on them (1907:93).

In Slim Curly's version of the Blessingway myth, there is
the implication that the "chiefs" who send the "messengers" may
be found in other places as well:

And these Holy People (diyin dine'ę) are found in many
places so, while those that are chiefs (binant'a'i) as it
were stay in their homes, they have many messengers (binaalchi'i)
going out from there.4 These messengers [always on the alert]
sit facing you here while you plead [pray]. This news they
bring back to the homes of their chiefs where they relate of you, "Clearly he is pleading when he says, I have made your sacrifice [offering]" (Wyman 1970:238).

NÍLCH'I BIYÁZHI, "WIND'S CHILD"

It is most often the "young one" of "wind," nílch'i biyázhi, "wind's child," which is also referred to as nílch'i ált'ííísí, "little wind," that is identified as being the "messenger" by which the "inner forms" of natural phenomena are thought to provide guidance to the Navajo. Such smaller "winds" are believed to exist in the "winds" from the cardinal directions and are thought to relate to the Navajo in the same manner as they do to the Holy People including the "inner forms" of the natural phenomena, being found alongside one or at one's earfolds from where they convey warnings and advice.

It was seen in the previous chapter that "wind's child" was given to the natural phenomena and inhabitants of this world to be their means of knowing things and of communicating with others. It may be noted in the present context that more than one "kind" of smaller "wind" is thought to relate to both the Holy People and the present day Navajo. By numerous accounts, two such means of knowing are said to be given to each person, being commonly referred to as "wind" or "wind's child" and "darkness" or "child of darkness." It has been told that when First Man found the infant Changing Woman, he lifted her up "... recognizing that her mother was Darkness and her father was Dawn, and he noticed that in her
right ear was a small White Wind, and in her left a Dark Wind.

They had been placed there by her father and mother" (Wheelwright 1949:53). Later in this same text the "white wind" is referred to as "Little Wind" and the "dark wind" is called "Child of Darkness," both of whom would warn Changing Woman when her husband was approaching (1949:57). Similarly, the origin legend as recorded by Matthews makes mention of the two who warned the youngest of twelve brothers when he was being sought and threatened by Changing Bear Maiden. Níłch'i, "wind," at his right ear warned him by day and chahalheel, "darkness," at his left ear warned him by night. These were given him by Níyol, "the Whirlwind," and the Knife Boy (Matthews 1897:100-101). Frank Mitchell's reference to chahalheel, "darkness," and níłch'i, "wind," by which, as he said, the Holy People will be present whenever the Blessingway ceremonial is conducted is perhaps also alluding to the same means of communication with the holy ones:

"'inda kót'éi baanaakaigóó danihinááldoo, chahalheel bee
danihinááldoo, índa níłch'i bee danihinááldoo . . . ."
de meaning will be,
we'll be pre- and wind by we'll be pre-
sent . . . ." (Haile 1930:563).

Consistent with this is informant GES's statement about what singers of Blessingway say: "Behind me is 'child of darkness,' beside me is 'wind's child.' We live by these it seems:
"Shikáádíí' chahalheéł biyázhí" daaní, "shoshk'izhnílch'i
"Behind me 'darkness its they "beside me 'wind
child'" say,

biyázhí. Jó álko éí naníiílná nahalin." its You see these we live it seems."
child.'

Informant CM's statements correspond, in part, with these,
indicating that two "winds" stand along side of a person, one on
each side. They are called "dawn boy" and "darkness":

Here "winds" stand alongside of us, one on each side.
These tell us, "One who thinks in an evil way is standing
looking at you from over there" it seems they say. They
keep watch over there.

Kwe'él nihágh sizí, nílch'i alch'ishjí lá' nihágh sizí.
Here along us it "wind" on each one along stands.
stands, side us

Áko ál diigíí ál nihil halné', "Ááádzi' nichó'ógo nitsékeeségé
So these this us tells, "From evil way he thought
there

sízí nineľ'í' halné nahalin. Áko ál'áláahjí' haatsitsííd.
he looking they it So they over there keep watch.
stands at you" say seems.

A young informant reported that his father told him that
the "wind" standing on the left side of a person is male and the
one on the right side is female and that for that reason a man
should never let a woman stand on his left side. If he does so,
she can gain control over him and will no longer follow his lead.

By other accounts, "wind's children" or "little winds"
existing in the "winds" from all of the cardinal directions have
the capacity of speaking into the ear. In Black Mustache's version
of the Navajo Windway myth it is told that when First Woman's
mother gave birth to two boys and two girls four very small persons came to them saying, "'In days to come things will be known by means of us!' . . . ." These were identified as nílch'í dilhil biyázhí, "the young one of the dark wind," nílch'í dootł'izh biyázhí, "the young one of the blue wind," nílch'í litso biyázhí, "the young one of the yellow wind," and nílch'í ligai biyázhí, "the young one of the white wind." These were placed along the folds of their ears, some in those of the boys and some in those of the girls, and it was ordered that in the future it was to be in that way (Haile 1932c:18). Similarly, informant BY indicated that "little winds" are in the "winds" from the four directions which are all about one. When "winds" are depicted in sandpaintings of the Navajo Windway ceremonial "little winds" are depicted at their ears talking to them. In the same manner, these "little winds" speak into the ears of people:

To this day, these ("little winds") exist with all of them, the ones that are "dark winds," "blue winds," the ones that are "yellow winds," the ones that are "white winds." So now when "winds" are drawn in sandpaintings these ("little winds") are made like that, at their earfolds talking to them. In that way ceremonials are performed on them.

Díí áájí nílch'i dilhil daanilínií, nílch'i dootł'izh, These over "winds dark" the ones "winds blue," there that are,
nílch'i litso daanilí, nílch'i ligai daanilínííí, éí áájí "winds yellow" they "winds white" the ones these over are, that are, there

t'áá át'é díí jįįgóló shįį áájí shįį yil hóló. Áko kodi all this day to it there it with it So here seems seems them exists.
bee'iikáahdi éí nílich'i t'óó bee'iikáahgo sinilígíí áko in sand- these "winds" when in sand- placed then paintings
paintings

áájígo bijaa'at'ahii kwii t'áá ákót'éego, iikáah naazhjaa' in that their ear- here just like that, sand- made way folds paintings
t'áá bił dahalne'go t'áá ákót'éego bikaa' azaa'niił áko. talking to them in that way on them medicine see. taken

Our sort of copy (them), it was given to us in the same way as on the sandpaintings. When sometimes our minds start to wander it brings our thoughts back here. Sometimes you start to think about something that you can achieve and use for your protection. Something bad will harm you and you think "Don't!" Probably that ("little wind") does it.

Jó níhi t'óó bee ílh nahalinígiíí, t'óó nihik'iq'iq' höolyah See ours merely copy it seems, towards us it was
given
eí ááji kojí t'óó bee'iikáahjí éí ákót'éego. Jó nléí heit'éehda
that over here in the way of it is that There sometimes there sandpaintings way.

nléí áá shíí nitsídžíkkeesdi shíí kodi nitsóhiilimesteps. Heit'éehda
there it where our it here it makes us Sometimes seems thoughts are seems think.

nléí t'áá doole'égóó nitsídžíkos dóó t'áá le'é bee'aiizhdoogááíl
there somewhere you start and something you can achieve to think

dóó t'áá le'é biniit'ash doogááí. T'áá doole'é t'áá nchóígií
and something you can use for Something bad protection.

hodooléél jó áko "nichq'!" jiniiziíí. Áko shíí áádgéé'shíí
will be so then "don't!" you think. So it from there seems

éí át'í. that does it.
Other informants say that "wind's child" or "little wind" no longer directly advises the Navajo through the ear in the way that it advised the Holy People although it may still communicate with the Navajo by other means. In saying that the power of communication which was given by "wind" had been taken away from the Navajo, informant JT compared it with the telephone:

It ("wind") is like the telephone that the white man—everybody, we too!—always picks up to talk to one another, saying "uh huh, uh huh." They say that we, too, used to have "wind." That by which people talked to each other in our way was taken back from us.

Éí bilagáana, t'áá altso nihídó', béésh halné'é t'áá áko
The white everyone we too, telephone always man,

nízhdií'áhii, "uh huh, uh huh" jinígo, ahíł ahwiízhniilnih which one "uh huh, uh huh" saying, each we say something picks up, other

ákót'é jiní. Nihídó' nílch'i hólóó ínt'éé' jiní. Éí shįį that it t.s. We too "wind" have used t.s. That it is

bik'ehego ahíł dahojilne' nihįįyęę éí nihaa náádiilyá. being each they talk in our it from back was

Áajį́ atso naaghéé' ástįįd áajį́ atso. Áá dóó ádin.
There all monsters gone there fin- From none.

at ished. then
Even so, according to this informant, "little winds" are still all around. They tell Coyote what is happening and it is for this reason that if a coyote crosses one's path this should be taken as a warning not to proceed any further. Also, through owls and by other means the Navajo are warned of danger by "little winds."

The Navajo, in sum, traditionally believe that they are provided with guidance from naat'áanii, "leaders," situated in the four directions who send "winds" to instruct the Navajo and warn them of dangers, reporting back to the "leaders" about Navajo behavior. These níłch'i hani'ndii'ééi, "winds that pass news," are identified as being "winds' children" or "little winds." They are conceived to exist in the "winds" from the cardinal directions from where they stand alongside one or at one's earfolds to convey their information. According to some informants, they no longer directly communicate with the Navajo although they may do so by indirect means.

NÍLCH'I HWII' SIZÍNII, "THE WIND STANDING WITHIN ONE"

"Winds" from the four directions or sent by Holy Ones are thought by the Navajo not only to "stand alongside" people giving instructions through the earfolds but also to enter within them to become their means of living and thinking. The níłch'i hwii' sizíinii, "wind standing within one," would appear to be another element in the same process by which Navajo life is thought
to be regulated by Holy Ones existing in the four directions by means of "messenger winds." In this perspective, the conceptualized relationship between this inner "wind" and the "wind's child" or "little wind" discussed in the preceding section requires clarification.

In the same way that "winds' children" or "little winds" are said to have their origins in the cardinal directions, it is commonly said that the "winds" that are to enter within people are continually being born in the cardinal light phenomena in order that there will be an ample supply:

Within dawn, skyblue, twilight, and darkness these ("winds") are continually being born for us. When a woman is going to give birth, some of these "winds" run in from there. They push each other aside saying, "I will exist within it (the baby)."

Ako ńláahdi nihiniiyé oochíił, hayoolkááł, nahodeetł'iiizh
So there for us they are dawn, skyblue born,

biyi’di nahotsoi biyi’di, chahalheel biyi’di, kodi nihiniiyé within twilight within darkness within here for us it it, it,

oochíiłgo. Ako áádéé’ éí kwii asdzání iniilchiihgo áádéé’ they are Then from here woman when she is from being born. there giving birth there

héishíí yah iijah dií ních’iyéę. Háhgóoshíí nahgóó índa’hílgo which- in they these "winds." Very many pushing each other ever run aside,

"Šhígo iih hodeeshleek" daaníigo (CM).
"I in it will exist" saying.

In this context the myth fragment by informant CAB that was recounted earlier should be recalled in which it was stated
that earth put up four "holy winds" by speaking four "words" in
the cardinal directions, these being located specifically at the
principal mountains. It was said that these same ones enter the
Navajo as niłch'i nihiyi' siziinii, "the winds standing within
us," to give directives for life, movement, thought, and activity
(see above, pp. 122-128).

In some accounts, both the "winds" within and those all
around people are explicitly said to be placed there by the Ones
that are Holy:

The Ones that are our Holy Ones put them within us . . . .
All of them were put in this way (within us) and around here
among us from there.

T'áá shíį diyin shíį áádéé' nihiyi' dayiizla', nihiidiyin
That it Holy from within they were our Holy
seems there us put,
daanilíinii . . . . Áádéé' ákot'éego áádoó ákóó nihitahgóó
the Ones From in this and around among us
that are . . . . there way here
ándeziizla' t'áá át'é (BY).
they were all of them.
put

Another informant, CAB, supported the above view: "We
talk by the one that is within us. From there, the One that is
Holy put all of them within us, and the 'winds' around us take
care of us. In this way we live":

Jo díidí nihiyi'ígíi jó éí t'óó bee yéílti'. Áko álááhdéé'
So this one within that by it we See from there
us talk.
diyin, nihiidiyin nilínii jó éí nihiyi' hwiíyílaah t'áá
Holy, our Holy the One well it with- it put all
that is in us
It appears, then, that Holy Ones located generally in the cardinal directions, including "holy winds" themselves, determine which "winds" shall enter individuals to become their means of living and thinking just as "leaders" in the cardinal directions send "wind's children" or "little winds" to guide individuals by speaking into their earfolds. That the inner "winds" and the "winds" that instruct through the earfolds are conceived to be the same becomes evident from statements by various informants, such as that by informant BY:

The same one that stands within us sticks out here (the ears) it seems. We breathe by the same one. That one, "little wind," stands within us. They exist in all of those that are sounding around here (here, the informant is referring to the high winds which were heard outside of his home on the day of this interview). The same one that stands within us sticks out of our earfolds (i.e., it is placed there), and it is also here at our fingertips (at the spirals or whorls which are generally conceived to be tracks left by the entry of "winds" into the body).
Similarly, Sandoval told that when the Navajo were created the "Five Chiefs of the Wind" sent the "Little Breeze" which entered those being created so that "... little, fine hairs appeared over the bodies, for it is through these that air comes out of the body (O'Bryan 1956:102-103). Elsewhere, this same "Little Breeze" is said to have been seated at the ears of the Holy People advising them what to do. Thus, speaking of one of the sons of the sun, it is said that "... the little breeze, which is our life breath today, sat behind his ear ... ." (O'Bryan 1956:55).

In like manner, informant GES used the terms that are usually used to identify the "wind" informant placed at the ear, "wind's child," to refer to the "wind" within, saying too that it exists everywhere. "'Wind's child' exists everywhere. The same 'wind's child' exists within us in our tissues. We live by it, we think by it":

T'áá áltsoho hóló, nílch'i biyázhí. Nílch'i biyázhí t'áá át'é Everywhere it "wind's child". "Wind's child" the same exists,
nihitát'ah hóló, nihiyi'dí hóló. Nanihiilah, nitsíniihíilkees. in our it within it We live by it, we think by it. tissues exists, us exists.
This evidence that "wind's child" or "little wind" is conceived as being the same as "the wind standing within" is consistent with JT's version of events in the underworlds in which, as may be recalled, níłch'i, "wind," both advised the Holy People through their ears and gave them life from within. In the words attributed to Asdzaa Naat'ááh, "Woman Leader," "'... níihí' siláh ááddóó níihí halne'," "'... within us it is placed and to us it speaks" (see above, p. 108). "Wind" is here referred to as a single being who performed diverse functions, including those which are distributed among several "winds" in other accounts.

THE UNITY OF NÍŁCH'I, "WIND"

The heart of the matter is that there is only one níłch'i, "wind," in the Navajo conception but that it is called by different names which are assigned in accordance with a number of criteria. Thus, informant GES stated that, "There is only one 'wind' but it has five names, 'dark wind,' 'blue wind,' 'yellow wind,' 'white wind,' 'glossy wind,' 'wind's child,'" (naming, in fact, six instead of five):

Níłch'i éí t'áá lá'i ákondi ashdla' bee wóji--níłch'i "Wind" that just one but five by it is "wind it called--
dílhiil, níłch'i dootl'izh, níłch'i ñitso, níłch'i ligai, níłch'i dark," "wind blue," "wind yellow," "wind white," "wind glossy," "wind its child."
Some other informants, while accepting the basic premise that there is only one nilch'í, "wind," say that it has twelve names.

A reference in a version of the Chiricahua Windway myth to nilch'í doo'olgieedi, "wavy backed wind," exemplifies the process of naming which results in numerous appellations for "wind." "Wavy backed wind" does not refer to a different "kind" of "wind" but rather to the appearance of the "winds" of the cardinal directions, "dark wind," "blue wind," "white wind," and "yellow wind," as they travel to a ceremonial performance. Haile noted that, "The 'wavy back' is suggested by the dust caused by the winds coming to the performance on their hoops" (Haile 1932b:129). If this process were generalized, other names would be generated for "wind" depending upon its "appearance" in other situations. Consistent with the above is informant JD's statement that the different names applied to "wind" in the cardinal directions is in accordance with the general principle that for a Navajo ceremonial to be complete all of the cardinal directions must be named. The naming in a given ceremonial context is in terms of the colors assigned to the cardinal directions in the ideology and symbolism of that particular ceremonial. In JD's example of the Chiricahua Windway ceremonial, "wind" is given four names, "dark wind" in the east, "blue wind" in the south, "white wind" in the west, and "yellow wind" in the north, in line with the color symbolism of that
ceremonial, but these names all have a common referent. They ahiinékah, "all come back together."

It appears that "wind" is assigned multiple names in accordance with such criteria as the color symbolism of the direction of its origin (as in the example given by JD, cited above); its locus (e.g., níłch'i hwii' sízíinii, "the wind standing within one"); its size (e.g., níłch'i áłts'íísí, "little wind"); its appearance (e.g., níłch'i doo'olgiedi, "wavy-backed wind"); its character or possible effects (e.g., níłch'i ba'át'e' hólónii, "harmful wind"); and, its direction of rotation (e.g., níłch'i shábik'ehego, "wind turning sunwise"). Nevertheless, there is only one níłch'i, "wind," in the Navajo view, which is conceived to exist in these different directions and loci and to have various appearances, sizes, effects, directions of rotation, and so forth in different situations and at different times. The "home" of níłch'i, "wind," is in the cardinal directions and it comes from there with life-giving and thought-giving powers, sometimes as an agent of the Talking God and Calling God and other Holy Ones who also exist there in association with the phenomena of light and the sacred mountains.

SUMMARY

The earth, sky, sun, moon, phenomena of light, principal mountains and other natural phenomena, having been in the Navajo view endowed with "inner forms" and "wind" by which they live
and think, are thereby considered to be equipped to provide guidance and instruction to the Navajo, and perhaps to other earth-surface people as well. They are thought to accomplish this by means of "winds" in the form of "winds' children" or "little winds" which are sent primarily from the Holy Ones in the cardinal directions to be the means of living, breathing, thinking, and knowing for the Navajo and to report back to the Holy Ones about Navajo conduct. Nilch'i, "wind," conceived to be a unitary being, performs these and other functions under diverse names that are assigned in terms of such criteria as its direction of origin, locus, size, appearance, character, and direction of rotation at any given time and place.

1The interlinear translations are my own, based upon Haile's free translations.

2It should be noted in this passage that the name "dawn boy" appears to be applied to the dawn although he is usually said to be an "inner form" of Mount Blanca in the east. This is evidence, again, of the tendency to identify the "inner forms" of the four principal mountains with the cardinal light phenomena.

3A more common east-south-west-north sequence, beginning in the east, is "white wind," "blue wind," "yellow wind," and "dark wind," but the sequence given here by CAB is found in the symbolism and ideology of the Navajo Windway ceremonial.

4The Navajo terms in parentheses are from the original Navajo text (Haile 1932a:369).
CHAPTER V

PRINCIPLES OF LIFE AND BEHAVIOR

Discussions in the preceding chapters of the traditional Navajo conceptual organization of their world, of some of the holy powers believed to be inherent in it, and of the dynamics of the interrelationships of these powers with one another and with the Navajo, have been preparatory to explication of Navajo views of the part played by these Holy Ones, by means of "wind," in lending direction to the course of life of the individual Navajo. Of interest in this regard are Navajo beliefs concerning the roles of the Holy Ones and of "winds" in particular in the individual's conception, prenatal development, birth, growth into maturity, modes of behavior, and final decline into death. Particular attention will be given to behaviors and personal characteristics that are attributed to the direction of "winds" sent to the individual by the Holy Ones and behavior characteristics attributed to the influence of other, harmful powers and "winds." Intrinsically involved with these aspects of Navajo ethnopsychology are beliefs about the nature and source of the moral sense and about the scope of individual responsibility for one's actions. A final matter of interest in this chapter is the Navajo classification of behaviors that appears to be implied by the structure and content of this "wind theory" of behavior.
CONCEPTION AND PRENATAL DEVELOPMENT

Nilch'i, "wind," is believed to be within the individual from the moment of conception, being composed of several constituent parts. Its movement and growth produces movement and growth of the foetus in which it exists.

Nilch'i hwii' sizinizii, "the wind standing within one," may be said to be formed from two, four, twelve, or possibly other numbers of elements. By the account of informant CAB, it would seem that "winds" from all four directions must be conceived to be "standing within" each person for, as may be recalled, he told that mother earth, in speaking four "words," put up one "wind" in the east "which directs our life," another in the south which is "our power of movement," one in the west which is "our thinking," and one in the north which is "when we carry out our plans," all four of which would seem to be required for life and behavior.

These are said to be placed within the individual as reproduction takes place. Again, these "four words" are not different:

They are not different. They are just one. The one standing within us by means of which we talk is just one. It derives from them. They are just one but are called by different names.

Doo ał'ąą át'ée da. T'áá lá'ígíí át'éego át'é. Díí not dif- they are. Just one that way it This ferent is.

nihii' sizinizii bee yéiilti'ii t'áá lá'ígíí át'éego át'é. within which by we talk just one that way it is. us stands which
Bits’ánídáazt’i’. Éí t’áá lá’ígíí át’ée ndi t’áá ał’ąą át’éégo It derives from It just one is but different being them.

bee wójí (CAB).
by It which is called.

Consistent with this is another informant’s reply to a question concerning the number of "winds" conceived to be within people:

The elders said that according to the Navajo way there are four . . . the one called "dark wind," the one called "blue wind," the one called "yellow wind," the one called "white wind." These four are the ones by which we breathe. Also (i.e., they also said that) we breathe by means of just one although we breathe by means of four.

T’áá shįį́ diį́į́; jó diį́ dinę́į́ éį́ daį́į́į́ hastoiyéé . . . That it four so this Navajo it they older men seems way say past . . .

nílch’į́ díłhił wolyé jiní, nílch’į́ dootl’izh wolyé jiní, nílch’į́ "wind dark" it is t.s., "wind blue" it is t.s., "wind called called

lítsó wolyé jiní, nílch’į́ ligai wolyé jiní. Jó t’áá diį́į́iy yellow" it t.s., "wind white" it is t.s. So four is called called
diį́ bee ńdíidzihii. Áldó’ t’áá lá’i bee ńdíidzi ndi diį́į́ these by we breathe. Also just one by we al- four them it breathe though

bee ńdíidzi (HB).
by we breathe. them

Elsewhere, informant CAB emphasized the placement within one of those which were put up in the east and in the south,
saad lá’ii, "word one," and saad naaki, "word two," respectively, called also "álílee naagháii" (or "są’qh naagháí") and "bik’eh hózhóón":
When a baby is going to be formed there (inside its mother), one is already inside it, two being connected together. Over here, the one that is standing within us, the main part, that is "álílee naagháii" and next, on this side, "bik'eh hózhóón" ...

Awéé'ígíí jó áláahdi niitlilishgo ákohgo kodóó t'áá íídáá'
A baby over when it is so there already there to be formed

biyi' leh t'áá álah t'áá ahóoltágó jó t'áá lá'ígíí át'éego in it usual- both connected so just one it being ly together being

át'é. Kójó' kodóó bahsi'áanii díí nihii' sizalinii díí álílee it Here from the main this within standing "álílee is. here part us this

naagháii jó éí át'é, kodóó índa bik'eh hózhóón kójó . . . . naagháii" that it from next "bik'eh hozhoon" this is, here side . . . .

The mechanism by which these "winds" enter at the time of conception, according to informant CM's account related earlier, should be recalled in this connection. One "wind" is thought to come from each of the parents of the child-to-be via their bodily fluids, forming a "wind" consisting of two parts called "są'ąh naagháí" and "bik'eh hózhóón" (see above, pp. 140-141).

The female part of the "wind" formed at the time of conception is thus called "álílee naagháii" by informant CAB and "są'ąh naagháí" by informant CM. The male part, "bik'eh hózhóón," is also referred to as nílch'i áíts'íísí, "little wind," by CAB:

"Álílee naagháii" moves us. The one called "little wind" is "bik'eh hózhóón." That moves us, we live according to it . . . . So in this way, on one another placed, the "little wind" is placed on top of this "álílee naagháii," so we talk.
Four months after conception this "wind" within the foetus grows, causing the first movements of the unborn child. Other "wind" is added on to that already "standing" within so that it keeps growing along with the foetus:

Four months after conception the one standing within it moves upwards. When it moves upwards then it (the foetus) moves . . . . It seems that it ("wind") goes into what is already placed within it (i.e., the "wind" already placed within the foetus). As growth continues it moves. In this way, from then on it keeps growing, growing, growing to the point that it will be born.

Starting from exactly four months there conception

bi'i sizinée dehkót'įį. Ako nlahdi dehkót'įįgo ako hiditnáh in it grows. There when it grows it moves it stood upwards.

. . . . Ako nlahdi éi bi' iideel nahalin t'áá íidáa bi'
. . . . So there that in it goes it seems already in it it

siláh kodi. Hazhó'ó kojí' yileehgo índa ákogo kót'įį, hidi'nah. placed here. Slowly to coming then this it moves. here to be it does,
Jo kót'éego áádóó índa dee'áaniil, dee'áaniil, dee'áaniil
So in this from it keeps growing, growing
way there growing,
ts'ídá áléé idído'nahjį' ahaalzhish (CAB).
just there to where it that time.
will be born

BIRTH, GROWTH, AND THE MEANS OF LIFE

Nilch'i, "wind," is conceived to continue to guide the
growth and development of the individual after birth. The way
in which this process is conceptualized is indicative of the
Navajo view that "winds" impinging upon individuals from without,
by entering through bodily orifices and whorls, may differentially
affect the courses of individuals' lives.

When the baby is born it is said that the "wind" within
it ághóbiil'į', "unfolds him." It is at this point that the infant
commences breathing on its own and emits its first cry. Nilch'i
binaadéé', "surrounding wind," is added on to that within the
infant:

The one that is the very best "wind" adds on to itself
those from there and the one that is "bik'eh hózhóón" is
the same way.

Nléí ts'ída yá'át'éehii nilch'i éí álááhdeé’ yíneiyiilts’óóó
There abso- good the one "wind" it from it adds on to
lutely there itself

índa bik'eh hózhóónígíí t'áá ákót'é (CAB).
and "bik'eh hozhoon" is the same
the one way.
The particular "wind" that is taken in by the newborn infant is not a mere happenstance. It is sent to him by diyinii, the Holy One, and is conceived to have a determinative effect on the course of that individual's life, different "winds" being sent to different individuals at the time of their birth:

It (the Holy One) places some good in-standing ones it seems. It places some to so far (i.e., some will exist within people only to a certain point in their lives), some that will make white hair. Different ones, not just one, are placed within. Even though many are born, nevertheless different ones are placed within them it seems.

Lá' shįį yá'át'éehgo ii' sizįį shįį iih dayiilēh. La' shįį
 Some it being good within it within it Some it seems stands places. seems

t'áá shághaanįį', la' shįį t'áá nahgóó hatsii' yidoogah
to so far, some to there one's will become hair white

danízin'ígíí hwiih dayiilēh. T'áá ał'ąq doo t'áá lá'ígíí da,
that they within it Different not just one, think one places.

azhá shįį ákónéíláá' ndahodiichíi shįį ndi ał'ąq át'éé hwiih
even though so many are born but differ- it within ent is
dahalyé nahalin (JD). are it seems.
placed

A commonly expressed view is that these different "winds" vie among themselves as to which shall enter into a newborn child:

They are born for us over there, within dawn and skyblue, within twilight, within darkness. When a woman is going to give birth these "winds" run in from there, pushing each other aside. "I will exist within it" they say, pushing each other aside. "Who will be first?" they ask each other. So they have a meeting. "How long will you exist in it?" "To a certain point!" Some just for a short while and other to the end--"I will stay until then!" They exist within us, deciding in this way which one enters within us when there is a birth.
Ako álahdi nihiniiyé oochííł hayoolkaal, nahodeetl'iiizhá
So there for us they are dawn, skyblue born

biyi'di, nahotsoi biyi'di, chahalheel biyi'di, kodi nihiniiyé
within twilight within darkness within here for us
them, it, it,

oochííłgo. Ako áádeę́é' éí kwii asdzání iniilchíihojó áádeę́é'
being born. So from these here woman when she is from there
giving birth there

héishįį yah iih díí níích'iyyę́ háhgóóshįį nahoogó índa'hilgo.
Which- in they these "winds" very many pushing each ever run other aside.

"Shígo iih hodeeshleel" daaniigo nahó índa'hilgo, "Deit'éi shįį
"I within will saying pushing each "Who
it exist" other aside,

t'áá áltse yileehįįiįį?" . . . áadí t'áá bí nináda'híldílkid
first the one that there that they ask each
comes to be" . . . other

jini. Ako díí álah yileehįį "Danídzaji' iih hodíileel?"
t.s. So these that gather "How long in it you stay?"

"Áko lá índzaji'." La' álahdii dii 'áá kónighaańjí aadóó násgo'áh
"For so long." Some there just a short and longer
while others

úléé nihwinít'íhįį. "Áąįį' yihodeeshleel shíı," kót'éego
there to the end. "To I will exist me," in this
there way

ahadadiit'ahgo kwii nihiih hwiile', dzáądi achíihgo jó áko
they deciding here within exist, when there is then us
a birth

heit'éi shįį yiih ililgo' áadí (CM).
which- within it back
ever us runs then.

Other "winds" enter at later points in the development
of the individual so that the growing child is believed to be
continually subject to the influence of "winds" existing around
him. This is suggested by the use of the terms nílch'i hwii'siziinii, "the wind standing within one," to refer to the "wind" that exists within one from the mouth downward. The "wind" that one was born with plus that which one has breathed in is indicated:

This within us stands from our mouth downwards it seems. We breathe by it. It moves absolutely all of our blood vessels, it moves all parts of our body. We live by it. It moves all parts, even our heart.

Jó éi nihiyi'idi éiyá díí k'ad kodée' nihizéé' dóó kwíiyah
So this within this presently from our from down us here mouth here

jó kwíiyah sízí nahalin. Éí bee ndiidzih. Ts'ídá t'áá altso see down it it That by we Just all here stands seems. it breathe.

nihí'ts'oos niyiilnah, t'áá át'éé át'éé' nihitah niyiilnáh. our vessels it moves, all parts our it moves. bodies

Jó éi bee hinii'ná. Nihí'jéí ndi áadi jó éi t'áá át'é
So that by we live. Our heart even that it all it

niyiilná (HB).

"Wind" exists within us. Here on our surface a thin layer covers us. What will be our bodily hairs were made here, under our arms. They will breathe from here, at the edge of our mouth. They will grow from where our bodily hair exists.

Jó ŋláahdi nihiyi'idi nílch'i hólô. Kodi nihíkáá'gi
So there within us "wind" exists. Here on our surface

ált'áago nihigésti' jiní. Nihításhtl'oh dooleelii éídí kóó thin it covers t.s. Our bodily will be those here layer us hairs the ones

nihich'áayah góoda ádaalya jiní. Kóó nihidzá bágh góoda kodée'
our under- among were t.s. Here our edge among from arms made mouth here
In this way, each individual partakes of the "wind" around him. It is both within and all around him:

The one called "wind's child," this is just like living in water (i.e., it is all around us). This same "wind" moves us. . . . You see, the same "wind's child" exists within our tissues, it is within us, it moves us, it causes us to think.

Nílch'i biyázhi wolyáí díí t'áá át'ég' tó nahalingo bii' "wind's child" the one this water being in it called like that kééhwit'. T'áá éí naniihiláh nílch'iígíí . . . . Jó ákon living. Same one moves us this "wind" . . . . You see

nílch'i biyázhi t'áá át'é nihítát'ah hóló, nihiyi'íí hóló, "wind's child" same one within our it within us it tissues exists, exists, naniihiláh, nitsínihíilkees (GES).

it moves us, it causes us to think.

The individual's growth from conception through birth and childhood is governed by "wind," and such faculties as thinking, speech, and the ability to maintain balance and upright posture are also attributed to it:

We Navajo live by this "wind." When one is in his mother's womb, there he starts to develop at a certain rate. When he finishes developing he is born. From then, according to it ("wind"), when he reaches a certain age he will talk, and from there he goes forward--always forward he goes, it seems. One grows by means of this "wind," according to its direction.
Nilch'i dii bee hinii'ná nihi diné. Ako nleí itsádzizíth "Wind" this by we live we Navajo. When there one is in it

nleí hamá bitsádzizí t'áá jó nleí kóts'éego níltso go nahalingo there one's in her there this way at a cer- it seems mother womb tain rate

honaał, honaał. Nléidi ałtso hadaanílt'eehgo jó áadi áláahjí' he de- heThere finished developing there to there velops, develops.

ch'ihindé. Áádóó índa jó éí bik'ehgo áádóó índa náâstagháádóó he falls From that accord- then when he goes out. then ing to it so far

nleij's_ válti' yileeh áádóó yíwojį' náásnádídáh nleijíj'-- there he it comes and at that he goes to there-- talks to be point forward

t'óó náás t'óó náás nahalingo éí yoolįįlh nahalin. Dzé nilch'iigií only for- only for- it that occurs it seems. this "wind" ward ward seems Then

éí yee hiniiyéego k'ad éí nleí jó éí bik'ehgo jini (HB). that by growing now that that according t.s. it to it

At one year of age his thinking is very carefully established. At that point it ("wind") forms within his veins, his blood, his thinking, everything.

Nléí binááhai áadi índa binitsékees ts'íáá hazhó'ó yil There its year at that his thinking very careful- with point ly it
ech'é'ndahts'ooqd. Nléijį' bits'oos, binitsékees da t'áá ałtso it stretches. There his vessels, his everything thinking

nleijį' bits'oosoę t'áá ałtso bii' nahaleeh dilígií da (CAB). there his vessels everything in it forms blood also. them

Speech is accomplished by means of "wind" existing at the tip of the tongue:
T'áá áníiltso nílch'i t'élí bee yéílti'. Níhitsoo' bíláthagi
Everybody "wind" only by we talk. Our at the tip
it tongues

kwii danahale'.
here they
exist.

"Winds" also exist at the tips of the fingers and toes
where there are whorls on the skin, on soft parts, and on top
of the head where the hair spirals outwards:

There are whorls here at the tips of our fingers. "Winds"
stick out here. It is the same way on the toes of our feet,
and "winds" exist on us here where soft spots are, where there
are spirals. At the tops of our heads some children have two
spirals, some have only one, you see. I am saying that those
(who have two) live by means of two "winds."

Díí k'ad níhiíla' bíláthají' hadatneests'ee' kóó. Áko kojí'
These here our at the tips there are here. So here
hands spirals
nílch'i hadanees'á. Díí níhiiké díí biníjí' t'áá ákót'é, áádóó
"winds" stick out. These our at our toes it is the and
feet same,
kóó dahodit'ódígoó níhágá dahólógo át'é, díí nílch'iígií ákóó
here where soft on us existing they these "winds" there
parts are,
adatneests'ée'go át'é. Níhiitsiit'áadi kodi jó áko deet'éí
being spirals there Our head top of here you see certain
are.
shíí alchíní naakigo hanootts'ee' leh kodi, la' éí t'áá da
children two spirals usually some just
here, they
lá'i jó áko kodi. Áko éí nílch'i naaki yee dahínáanii át'é
one you see here. So they "winds" two by they live it is
them
dishníí (CM).
I say.
These ("winds" sticking out of the) whorls at the tips of our toes hold us to the earth. Those at our finger tips hold us to the sky. Because of these, we do not fall when we move about.

According to other investigators, the whorls on the skin and where hair spirals outwards are areas where various "winds" ("ghosts": Reichard) enter or depart from the body in addition to their doing so through the mouth and other orifices (Reichard 1970[1950]:32; Wyman et al. 1942:14-15).

According to the traditional Navajo conception, then, "winds" exist all around and within the individual, entering and departing through respiratory organs and whorls on the body's surface. That which is within and that which surrounds one is all the same and it is "holy":

From there, the one called "holy wind" and "nílch'i álílee naagháii" stands within us. This same one turns that one that walks about (the sky?) I say, it turns this (earth) I say, it turns water, everything. It alone is our Holy One. Really, only it is our prayer.

"Nlááhdéé' nílch'i áko éí k'ad "nílch'i diyin" wolyéí índa From there "wind" that now "nilch'i diyin" the one and called
Determinants of Approved Behavior

Proper conduct is attributed by the Navajo to the influence of particular nilch'i, "winds," on human behavior. Of direct relevance in this regard are the nature and actions of the "wind standing in" the individual at birth, the kinds of influence exerted by "winds" on socializing agents, and the influence of "winds" sent to the individual during the course of his life by the Holy Ones.

Informants commonly express the belief that each person is born with a good nilch'i bi' sизинii, "wind standing within him":

T'áa altso yá'át'éэhi bil nibi'diičíh (CAB).
Every one a good one with he is born.

As the individual grows he may make youthful mistakes, but this "wind" within functions to show him where he has not behaved properly, thereby teaching the right way in which to live. In this way, thought and "wind" grow with the person:
Thoughtlessness is greater during boyhood. At that time there is a really good one standing within, but nevertheless they (young people) misbehave. It (the "wind" standing within) teaches one to think about his misbehavior . . . . It is as though in thinking about this misbehavior it shows it back to oneself. The one that stands within does this: "This is what you did! Don't do that! Here, you look at it!" it seems to tell one about these wrong doings . . . . So there his thoughts grow within and his "wind" grows, too, it seems.

Jó kodée' ashiké jilii’dág' éí inii' ádin, ájí atisíltso
So from boys are when then thought is there it is here
naha'lin. Áko dządí hwii' sizínígíí ts'ídá shįį yą'át'ééhii it seems. So then the one that really it is good stands within one

hwii' siziɡo ndi áko kodée' t'áá doo daal'ínii ádajile'.
standing but then from misbehavior they make.
within one here

Áko áadi doo hóji'íhígíí áko áadi éiyęę t'áá éí hoch'i' So then wrong doing there that same one towards oneself

anááhonitin, t'áá hwí nabik'eh ndzídzílkeesgo . . . . Kwe'ę it teaches, oneself about it thinking . . . . Here

doo ákóójit'ihéegi kwe'ę nabik'eh tsídzíkeesgo kodée hach'i' wrong doing here about it thinking from towards here oneself

ch'éehyiilkeed nahalin. Kodi hwii' sizínígíí éí it'i: "Áko it shows back it seems. Here the one that it does "So stands within it:

kwe'ę hwí índzaagi! Dooda! K'ad nínii'į!" halní nahalin, díí here what you did! No! Here you look it tells it these at it!" one seems,
doo ákóójit'ihéegi. Áko áadi nooséeł nahalin dządí hayi'di wrong doings. So then it grows it there within seems one

hanitsékees'ígíí, nílch'iígíí kodí hanáá snooséeł nahalin (CM). one's thoughts this "wind" here also grows it seems.
The ability of the "wind" within one to perform this function is, in part at least, contingent upon the individual having received proper instruction from his parents or other socializing agents and strengthening his mind by thinking about and following these teachings:

What they say about "his mind is strong" is that when one makes himself that way, when something tries to harm him then his mind is really firm. If he doesn't do that then his mind is not stable, his mind is not strong, the one standing within him (his "wind") is not strong. Because of something like bad words he thinks just any old way and it makes it (the mind) not right . . . . If one is taught in that way (in the right way), if he thinks about it, if he is wise, he looks at everything in terms of this, it is as though others' actions are projected on a screen. If the one he walks by and breathes by (his "wind") is strong, then everyday it is as though it flicks (like a movie) to him, "That should not be done, you shouldn't do that!" (CL).

"Bíni' bidziil" daanínígíí éí ákót’éego ázhdiil’íh t’áá "His it is what they when it is one makes every- mind strong" say that way himself

altso nihónítahgo áko éí háni' bidziil áko yéego. Doo thing when it then one's is very. Not tries one mind strong

akójít’íhgóó éiyá doo háni' niłdził da háni' doo bidziil da one does that then not one's is one's is not mind stable mind strong

hwii' sizinii doo bidziil da. T’áá doole'é biniinaa t’áá within one not it is Something because it stands strong. of it

saad niché’ó ádaat’éii biniinaa t’áá adzaagi nitsí’iikees dóó words ugly the ones because just any way one thinks and that are of them

éí díí’ígíí háni’ígíí doo akwii yil’íh da. Jó éííí dákót’éego that one one's mind not right it makes So that in that it. way
The very fact that good instruction is given to an individual is itself due to the influence of "wind" on the socializing agents:

The same one that walks around for you (i.e., the "wind" that is sent here to help you) is sent also to them (one's parents). Then they teach the baby by means of it. They give instruction to the one that is born by means of the good one, they were taught by means of the good "wind." The word "holy" does not refer to something out there. The one that takes care of us around here is called "holy." "Holy" is not the name for something existing somewhere else. We live by it, we breathe by it, it is like that.

Nlááhdéeg' inágáálígíí t'áá éí áají' aldó' t'áá éí hach'į'
From there the one that same one to also same one towards walks for you there them kwííl'į. Áko t'áá áádéé' kojį' awéé' bee nabizhnitin.
 it So they from to baby by they teach.
sends. there here it

Héichihiígíí yá'át'ééhií shįį bee nabi'di'nitin--nílch'į
The one born the good one it by they give to "wind" for them seems it him instruction--

yá'át'ééhií bee naho'di'nitin áají. Jó áko éí đabidii'ńi the good by they were over So then the one one it taught there. we call
"diyin" doo ńlāahdi naagháii ńolyé da. "diyin" t'áá ákóðiígi
"holy" not over walks it is "Holy" around here
there around called.

nihaa áhályágáníii ńolyé. Doo háadi da naagháii ńolyée da "diyin."
of us the one that Not some— it walks it "holy."
takes care. where around means

Jó éí bee hinii’ná, éí bee ńdiidzih. Jó áko át’é (CAB).
That by we that by we This it is.
it live, it breathe. way

"Winds," then, are conceived to influence both an individual
and his instructors to conduct themselves in the right way. Those
which do so are the "little winds" sent from the Holy Ones of
the cardinal directions as discussed in the previous chapter.
Nílch’i álts’íísí, "little wind," works hard to keep the one
standing within one strong, even replacing it when it has become
tired. It reports what one says to the east and receives messages
from there which are passed on as warnings and advice:

When our thinking, the one that stands within us, becomes
tired, this "little wind" sends others from there so that
our thinking is strong, the one standing within us is strong.
It takes it out (i.e., the one that became tired). It does
not give up for us. It reports from here to the east like
a radio, what I am saying now is heard over there. In that
way it is received from it ("little wind") over there; and
then from there, "This way!" it tells it (i.e., the Holy One
in the east tells this to "little wind"). In this way we
think.

Binaadéé’ álts’íísí éidíí’ígíí ńlāáhdéé’ nihinisékees
From little that one from our thinking
around there

nihii’ sizínígíí dínílnahgo áko áádádí’ nílch’i áádádí’
in us one that when it then from "wind" from
stands gets tired there there
anéiyii'níl áko nihinitsékees bidziil, nihiyi' sizínii it sends so our thinking is in us the one again strong, standing bidziil. Háídoodléél jini. Œidí kodéé' éí yaa doo is It take it t.s. That from because not strong. out here of it

nihik'idagháah da. Kodóó áláah ha'aaahji' ních'í halne'é us it gives up. From there to the east radio here

nahalingo kodóó áajj' halne', díí'ígií át'éego kodóó yáshti'ígií like from to it this way from what I am here there reports, here saying

át'éego k'ad áajj' diits'a'. Akót'éego áko áadi bá náháádlá, like now to it is In that then there it receives, this there heard. way for it

áád'éé' dój k'ad, "Kót'é!" bídí'náh jini. Kót'éego éí nitsííkees from next, "This him it t.s. In this we think there way!" tells way

jini (CAB).
t.s.

By some accounts, this good "wind" nihágh sizí, "stands on us":

"Wind" stands on us here, one on each side. It is as though these tell us, "Over there is one who thinks in a bad way looking at you." So this stands here on us watching over there. This directs our heads and, sure enough, there is usually something there.

Kwe'é nihágh sizí ních'í alch'ishjí la' nihágh sizí. Áko Here on us it "wind" on each one on us stands. So stands side

éí diígií éí nihíl halne' "Áád'éé' niché'égo nitsékeeséé sizí these to us tell "From ugly way one that it there thinks stands

ninél'í" halní nahalin. Ako éí áláahjí' haatsitsííid kwe'é looking to one it So it to there observes here at you says is like.
nihą́gh sizį́. ́Éí nanihini'áh kót'éego niik'éhééé nahdę́ę́ on us it It directs our this sure behind stands. heads way enough

ha'át'íida leh (CM).
something usually.

The "wind" standing on us over here (indicating the left side of the body) is "są́'ah naagháí." Standing on us over here (on the right side) is "bik'eh hózhóón":

Nílch'i kojí są́'ah naagháígo nihą́gh sizį́. Kojí bik'eh "Wind" over "sa'ah naaghai" on us it Here "bik'eh here stands.

hózhóógo nihą́gh sizį́ (CM).
hozhoon" on it
being us stands.

The Navajo traditionalist conceives, then, that the "wind" which he is born with and the "winds" which are sent from the four directions to take care of him work together as constituent parts of "holy wind" to protect him from harmful outside influences. By this means he is shown the right way to behave and is warned of dangers. What is believed to be characteristic of a person whose life is governed by these influences is that he is responsive to good instruction and observes and follows the good ways of others:

He looks at someone. His shoes are nice, his pants and shirt are nice, his wife is nice. "I, too, will be that way" he thinks. Then he will surely start living that way.

Diné ńlééí jinééli. Yá'át'éehgo biké, yá'át'éehgo bitl'aahjí'. Per- there he Nice his nice his pants son looks at. shoes,

éé' índa yá'át'éeh índa be'asdzą́ dó' yá'át'éehgo da. "Shí ął dó' shirt also nice and his wife too is nice also. "I too
ákot'ée dooleel" jó jinízingo baa nitsídžíkees. Nik'ehéę t'áá that way will be" so realizing of he thinks. For sure just it

akóne' ajaghá jó ákot'ée lá (FDT). through he it is that here walks way.

By means of good instruction and a strong "wind," it is said that ba'át'e' ádin, "he lacks faults":

When he thinks by means of the one by which he becomes wise, when he lives in a helpful way, he is lacking in faults.

Bee hojíiyá áko éí bee nitsídžíkeesgo áko há'ahwiinit'íígo By he gets that by when he thinks when he is helpful it wise it

njigháago éí ha'át'e' ádin (CL). living that faults he is lacking.

DETERMINANTS OF DISAPPROVED BEHAVIOR

The causes of wrong conduct are generally attributed by the Navajo to the influences of harmful or evil "winds" on the "wind" existing within one. The strength of the inner "wind," the stage of a person's development when evil "winds" exert their influence, the nature of these evil "winds," and the ways in which they influence other persons in the individual's environment are all factors that are considered to be of significance in determining the course of the individual's behavior. The behavioral characteristics of those under the influence of evil "winds" are clearly defined by the Navajo and are contrasted with the characteristics of those who are under the influence of good "winds," and
it is also thought that these characteristics reflect similar
characteristics of the "winds" themselves.

The same "wind standing within" which under other conditions
is responsible for good conduct may also cause one to misbehave:

Sometimes we generally talk in a very nice way. Then
we turn to another way of speaking, the words being different.
The same "wind" that stands within causes this.

Lahda nizhónígo yéliilt'í leh. Áko ńléí t'áá lahgo yáati'jí
Some- nice way we talk gener- Then another of
times ally. way talking
niilk'i'ígií átí'íço, ákogo shíí lahgo át'é saad. T'áá nihií'
we turn to it so then differ- it the same within
causing, ent is words. us
sizinígií t'áá éí át'í (CAB).
the one same one does
that stands it.

A critical factor disposing one's "wind" to produce bad
thoughts and bad talking is its lack of strength. An individual
having a weak "wind" is more likely to think and act in this way:

This "wind" standing within one by which he breathes, if
it is not strong, if he does not think very far ahead, then
his words are bad.

Díí t'áá níłch'i hwii' sizinígií díí bee ádídzinígií doo
This "wind" within standing this by he not
one it breathes
hózhó bidžiilgóó jó ákogo doo hózhó náásdízidíkeesgóó jó ákwe'é
very strong if well then not very far ahead he so then
thinks

 t'áá nichó'ígií éí hazaad (CAB).
 ugly that his
words.

This varies from person to person since the "winds" within
people are not of the same strength:
These "winds" are not of the same strength. They are placed within us one after another like the fingers on my hand, so our thoughts are not the same. Some have really strong thoughts (and) that is good. Some have thoughts that are not very strong so they grow up being foolish.

Jo diidi nilch'i t'áá al'ággo abódziil. Jo ákót'éego
So these "winds" different their In this strength. way
diigi át'éego shlá'ígíi ałkéé'honá'ág nihwiih dahwiileeh
these like my hand one after an- within they go
this other placed us
ako nihintsékees al'ág neel'á. La' ts'idá binitsékees
so our thoughts different Some really their placed. thoughts
dabidziil éí yá'át'ééh. Díí ts'idá honitsékees doo ts'idá
are that is These really their not really strong good. thoughts
ýéego bidziilígíi éiyá éí t'áá'aanií doo ádahojilyágoó
very strong so they really not wise being
ndahizhniiyé (CAB).
yielded they grew up.

If one's "wind" is weak it is more susceptible to being influenced or affected by evil "winds" from without:

Over there it seems an evil one is waiting. Here, the one that he really lived by seems to stop (working). Then the evil "wind" runs in here (between the eyes). At this point bad things happen.

Ako naȟdéę' nichó'ígíi shįį háésdah. Ako shįį kodį iyisií
So from evil one it waits. So here really there seems
bee jináną́ niiltli' nahalingo. Ako áádą́'ních'i nichó'ígíi
by one lived stops it seems. Then from "wind" evil one it there
kojí ilgho'. Kwíi baahágii áda'hooníí (CM).
here runs in. This bad happen. point things
When this surrounding "wind" influences one then his words are not good. The one here that moves us does not do it. Some "wind" does away with his thinking, so then he speaks words that are not good.

Díidí nilch'i t'áá lá'í díí binaadé'egií nilch'iígíí éí
This "wind" one (kind) this from this "wind" that around

hweenít'íígo áko jó haazad doo yá'át'éeh da. Kodóó éí
when it in- then his words not good. From that fluences one here

na'iilnaanii jó éí doo át’íí da. K'ad díí nilch'i haashíít'éhíí
moves us the that not it Now this "wind" whatever (one does.

éidí hanitsékees nahjí' hats'á' kwiií', áko kodi saad doo
that one's think- away from it does, so then words not ing one

tyá’át’t’éehii éiyá éí t'éí njiinil (CAB).
good ones those only one moves.

If this happens in early childhood so that the growing child is under the continuous influence of bad "winds" there may be no way to restore the original condition:

Only good ones are put within us but when we start crawling around the "winds" that run around are put on us. It is something like stealing. These evil ones are put on what was growing nicely before, so one grows in that way with them. There is usually no cure.

Yá’át’éehii t'éí nihiih hilyá ndí jó álaahdi nikidii'nahdóó
Good ones only in us are but back when we start put there crawling

áádóó nihéédaiití’iin nahdinaajehég anájahgá nilch'i.
from on us they are there the ones going "wind."

there put that ran around around

Ha’át’íida yini’íh nahalingo jó kót’éego. Ńlááhjí yá’át’éehgo
Something stealing being that way. Over being good like there way
nohseélę ha’át’ii’da danch’ígíí jó yéédą́ą́́jíl’in jó kót’éego was growing some- evil ones are put on so this way thing

bił jiniiyé. Ako ei t’áá doo bidéélmín da, ádin (CAB). with one So then not there is a none. them grows. cure,

Some of these evil "winds" are ch’íidlí, "ghosts, harmful "winds" that have departed from the bodies of the dead:

This matter of not speaking good words, well when we die the one that stands within us leaves. It does not die. It walks out of one who did not talk in the right way, becoming "ch’íidlí," "ghost." So after the "wind" that left a person rises among those right here, then one's words are not good.

Díidí k’ad doo yá’át’ééhgóó yáati’ da, jó kodi nii’né áko This now not being good talk, well when we then die

nihiiyi’ siziinii éí... nihiiyi’ hahakáh. Éí doo née da. within the one it... of us walks It not it us that stands out. dies.

Jó éí doo yá’át’ééhgóó yáájiilti’ëg éí haiyi’ háiyáh, éí níláahdi So he not being good one who it of him walks that over spoke out, there

ch’íidlí nli’go. Ako níitch’i kodi e’i alk’idá’á’ diné yaa kót’í’go "ghost" being. So "wind" then it after-per- removing it-wards son self from

édíí kwe’é ītah ádii’nahgo ákogo haazaad doo yá’át’éeh da (CAB). that then among it rises so then one's not it is good. one words

It can be told whether a "wind" which departed from a body is good or bad by the direction in which it is rotating:

The evil one ("wind") is called "rolling darkness." The good "wind" is called just "darkness." A person dies when evil thoughts or something bad happens. After that it runs out and mixes with them. When looking at this "wind," the good one turns sunwise (i.e., in the same direction as the sun is conceived to travel). The evil one that ran out turns sun-ward (i.e., in the direction opposite to the sun's movement).
Various kinds of whirlwinds and perhaps other "winds" as well may affect one's conduct adversely:

There are so many different kinds of these "winds" that run around here. One is called "striped wind." Again, one is called "coiled wind." One is "revolving wind." If these run to here (to whomever is affected), they usually say of him that he does not live in the right way. That "wind" does it. It talks in a bad way for him: It is as though it is saying to him from there, "Say this!"

So these here around the ones that so many different run

Jó áko díí kwe’é binaadi naajeehii'ígíí jó díkwííshįį ał’ąą
áłt’éego naajeeh. Jó ła nílch’i noodő’dz wolyé jiní. Náánáá ła’ being run One "wind striped" is t.s. Again one called

éiyá nílch’i hanoʊ'ts’see' wolyé jiní. Jó áko ła’ nílch’i náayis that "wind spiraling" is t.s. One "wind revolv-called

niłch’i yá’át'éehii éí t’óó chahalheel wójí. Áájí nichó’ógo “wind” good one it just darkness is There being called. evil

nitsékees jó éí báqhágii éhooníílgo číné ádin, niíahaleehgóó thoughts that bad if it hap- per- dies, after that pens son

ii’háhejeehgé bił ełteeldego áł’té. Jinél’įįgo jó díí niłch’iiígíí it runs out with mixing it is. When look- this "wind" them ing at it

niłch’i yá’át’éehii éí shábik’ehgo náalwoł éí. Éí díí niłch’iígíí “wind” good one it sunwise turns that. This evil one

ii’háhejeehgé éí shádáahįį’ kót’éego náalwoł (CM). it runs out that sunward this way it turns.

Ch’įdii, then, may exist in the form of harmful whirlwinds.
These whirlwinds occur in various sizes, all of which may affect the "wind" "standing" within one:

These whirlwinds reach towards the heavens . . . . One turns this way, one turns that way . . . . This way we call "sunwise," that way we call "sunward." If the "sunward ("wind") runs upon us, running within us, then we think just any way. There are many different "winds": One is called the "little whirlwind"; next a bigger one; once again, a little bit bigger; again, a little bit above that one. So there are four of them. The largest one is called a "tornado." It is dangerous. So there are five in all . . . . So if one of these runs over us we start thinking in any old way. It makes the "wind" that we had lived by act erratically.

Díí k'ad naats'ó'oldisii áléí kót'éego wót'áh daazt'i . . . .
These whirlwinds there in this up- they way wards stretch . . . .

La' kót'éego ñdeélyeed, la' kót'éego ñdeélyeed . . . . Jó One this way turns, one this way turns . . . .

kót'éego shábík'engo dadii'ní, kót'éego shádáahji' dadii'ní. This way sunwise we say, this way sunward we say.

Shádáahji' náalwołgo nihik'élghod, nihii' yilgho'go, jó áko éí Sunward if it runs on us it within if it runs, well then runs, us

t'áá ádzaaqó nitsíikes. Áko nílch'i díkwíshíí ał'áą át'éego just any way we think. So "winds" so many differ- being ent

át'é: Díí k'ad naats'ó'oldisii wolyé áłts'ísísí'ígíí; nááná there This here "whirlwind" is "the little one"; again are: called
akóne'é nitsaa'iğiỉ; nánáná akóne' t'aa yoiwehígo nánáná át'é; next the bigger again next a little again it is; one; above

nánáná kodi t'aa yoiwehígo nánáná át'é. Jó t'áá diįįįį. Díí again here a little above again it So there four. This is.

ts'ídá nitsaa'iğiỉ "níyol tso" wolyé. Jó éí báhádzid. Jó áko very biggest one "tornado" is That is dan- So then called. gerous.

ashdla' nilį t'áá kódí . . . . Áko háídíigída nihiik'énlgho'go five are altogether . . . . So whichever over us running one

jó áko t'áá ádzaaagóó nitsíhidiikees. Nóch'iyéę doo ákwánniįł da then just any way we start to "Wind" that not right it think. was acts
doo akwiıyooliįł da bee hinii'nánęę nihiits'ąą' kwíil'į (FDT).
not right it does by we had lived ours it does to it it to it.

Only the first four of those named above really affect one's thinking. If the fifth one, the tornedo, runs upon people,
éí naanihiltseed, "it kills us."

On the other hand, those which turn "sunwise" influence one to think in a good way. "One kind makes us think in a good way, I say. These (other) ones turn 'sunward'":

Jó la' yá'át'ëehgo nitsíi'íkees jó dishni. Díí la' sháálahğįįįį So one good way makes us I say. These sunward think ones

údeilyeed (FDT).
they turn.

Just as it was said that some people have a good "wind" which nihąñg h sizi, "stands on them," it is also said that some people have a bad one which "stands on them":


Some it seems have a bad one which stands on them. They do not plan well even when a really good one possessing everything stands within them.

Some it evil one some on stands. These seems them

doohats'ii ñdaohoji'áah da nahalin, ñko dií ts'idá yá'át'éehii not well they plan it seems, this very good one bii' sizínii eída t'áá altso baq hólóq ndí (CM). in standing it everything on it even. them it exists

Sometimes if one's thoughts and behavior are changed for the worse another human agent may be the cause, although a "wind" determines the latter's action. Ánt'į, "witchcraft," appears to be involved:

From a "wind" over there that makes one act, a man who has bad thoughts wishes, "I will cause something (bad to happen)!"

From over it for it that "wind" from per- not there one does there son

yá'át'ééhgóó nitsékeesii éí t'áá diné "Ha'át'éego da ídeeshliįįi" good way who thinks he that per- "Someway I will make" son

yoo'nínii (CM). he wishes.

The bad thoughts of another person can be placed within one so that the latter's former good thinking is ruined:

One is living in a good way, thinking in a good way, thinking pleasant thoughts. Then those who think badly, those whose talk is bad, replace everything within us, so they re-run in us. It ruins one's life, one's thinking, everything. So it is said that one just walks in confusion. That is not good.
A young informant explained that by means of certain kinds of "witchcraft" practices a person can take away another's "wind" and replace it with a bad one, or get control of it and cause it to make its possessor behave in ways harmful to himself or others. Alternatively, the "winds" of dangerous animals can be controlled and used to cause those animals to engage in destructive acts against other people.

A person wishing to harm another in such ways must be cautious, however, for if the latter has a strong "wind" within him then he will overpower the one who intends harm:

These "winds" over there, earth's "wind," sky's "wind," and sun and moon (their "winds"), these are highly valued. . . . These four are dangerous--moon, sun, earth, sky--their "winds"
are dangerous. If a person lives by means of them and one thinks here in a bad way of him, it will not happen. The bad thinking will not go his way. One will merely fall under him.

Dii áláahdi nílch'iígíí, diidí nahoosdzáán binílch'í nilíinii, These over "winds," these earth its "wind" the one there

yádííhíí binílch'i nilíinii índa jóhonaa'áí, t'l'éhonaa'áí, sky its "wind" the one and sun, moon, that is

jó dií éí ts'idá áláahdi baa hóchi'. . . . Díí dií'ígíí well they real- most about one These four
these ly is stingy . . .

báháádzií--t'l'éhonaa'áí, jóhonaa'áí, nahoosdzáán, yádííhíí-- are dan- moon, sun, earth, sky--
gerous--

dií binílch'iígíí báháádzií. Éí diné yee hínáago kodóó nichó'ógo these their "winds" are dan- This per- by if he from bad
these ly most about one gerous. son them lives here way

baa nitsídžíkeesgo doo ádoníí da. Nichó'ógo nitsídžíkeeseyé about thinking if not it will In bad that thinking him
happen. way

doó hak'ehgo doolee'í, t'óó hwíjíigo biyaa ezhdoót'ísh (CM). not his way will, mere- oneself under one will fall.
gó ly him

Thus, a strong or powerful "wind" "standing" within one is a protection against evil onslaughts by others. It functions to protect one against maltreatment by others analogous to the way in which animals are protected by means of their "winds." For example, if the proper procedures are not followed in killing and dressing a deer its "wind" will affect the offender's mind:

They used to say that it will harm one. It will make him insane. He will not even know where he is going. It will make his heart quiver. Its "wind" does it.
Hągh dahool'aah daanít'ęgę'. Hanitsékees doo ákót'ęégóó
On it will they former-y one's think-ing not right away
one harm say ly.

iidoolíìì. Nijigháágóó ndí doo bééhózin da. Hajéí hats'ęgę'
it will Where one even not he knows. His from
make. walks heart him

ditlid iidoolíìì jiní. Binílich'i át'į (GES).
quiver it will t.s. Its "wind" does
make it.

In the aforementioned ways, bad or evil "winds" may be
"added on to" the good "wind" which one is born with, especially
if the latter has not been made strong, until they come to have
a determinative effect on one's thoughts and behavior. Just as it
is characteristic of a person having a good "wind" "standing" within
him that he learns the right way to live in accordance with the
example and teachings of others, so it is characteristic of a person
under the influence of bad "winds" that he does not listen to what
he is told and does not generally benefit from instruction:

Because of it (a bad "wind" within him) he does not do
what he is told, they say to themselves. He usually talks in
any old way.

Éí bąq éí doo ître'dinínígii át'ée da dahizhdi'ní. T'ąá
It be-not what he is told it they say to Just
cause of is themselves.

ídzaagi yáálti' leh (CM).
any way he talks usually.

If some children misbehave their behavior can be corrected
by appropriate instruction, but others cannot be changed:

Some keep living in the same way, you cannot straighten them
out. It is as though the "wind" standing within them is hurriedly
chasing them, as though bad thinking is quickly chasing them . . . .
So whatever will be taught to us, it is by the will of the one
that stands within us.
Some absolutely live, to be

that way. "Wind" in standing it hurriedly chasing it is them like,

bad way thinking quickly chasing it is So them like . . .

whatever teaches us the one within standing there that will be us

that one according it to it is.

It is commonly held by informants that bad "winds" do not respect any sub-group of the Navajo population. Any family may have a member who has a bad "wind" "standing" within him. No matter how adequate and favorable home conditions and parental guidance are, there are always differences among children in terms of their responses to these conditions and to parental injunctions. Those who do not listen have bad "winds" within them:

Some live recklessly, some carefully follow teachings . . . Of so many boys, say five, some drink, some think about life . . . Here, one or two become hard drinkers . . . The ones standing within them are probably different. It seems that these do this to them.

Some just recklessly they live, some carefully teaching

that by they And boys these so many five being some it live.
The text is provided in the main language, English, and is not significantly different from the original content.

In the same way that a person having a good "wind" within him is said to be ba’át’e’ ádingo, "lacking in faults," it is said of one who lives by a bad "wind" that ba’át’e’ hóló, "he has faults":

When a person thinks in the right way, is not reckless, does not talk just any old way, it is said that he lacks faults. This one who is reckless and who talks just in any way has faults. The one that stands within him leads him to think in that way, it seems.

Díí k’ad ċíné ńléí yá’át’ééh nitsékeesgo, doo be’édílááhgóó, This here per- it is when he not reckless being, son good thinks,

doó t’áá ádaagí yáálti’goó, jó ńi ba’át’e’ ádin wolyé. Díí not just any way he talks, well his are is called. that faults lacking This

k’ad ńléí be’édílááh da t’áá ádaagóó yáálti’goó, jó ńi ba’át’e’ where there reckless and just any way talking, that his faults

hóló. Kodi biyi’di sizíinii shįį átéego shįį ákót’é nabiíläh exist. Here within the one it it that it leads him that stands being seems way him

nahalin nitsáhákees’ígíí (FDT). it seems this thinking.

It is also said of a "wind," as well as of a person, that either ba’át’e’ ádin, "it lacks faults," or ba’át’e’ hóló, "it has faults":
The good "wind" existing among us, the one which turns sunwise, lacks faults. The one which turns sunward has faults. These are two different "winds."

Mílch'i yá'át'éehii níhitah hólóqgo éí shábik'ehgo nanáalwoł
"Wind" the good one among existing it in sunwise turns us
ba'át'e' ádin díí nílch'i. Shádáahji' nanáalwołlii éí ba'át'e'
its is this "wind." Sunward the one it its
fault lacking that turns fault
hólóqni át'é. Naaki ál'ág át'é díí nílch'iígíí (CM).
this one it Two dif- they these "winds."
has is. ferent are

Thus, both an individual and the "wind" that is influencing his behavior are said to have the same characteristics, either having or lacking in faults:

A man who will be good, who will be standing i. a good way, has a good "wind" forming within him. He lacks faults, he is not reckless, he is helpful toward others . . . . Again, over here one is not helpful, he is stubborn, he criticizes others, he speaks words that are not good. Back there a "wind" that is the same way formed within him.

Diné yá'át'éeh dooleelii yá'át'éehgo sizi dooleelii, jó éí
Man good who will good way he one who well he be stands will,
dílhígíí nílch'i yá'át'éehii bii' haleeh. Ba'át'e' ádinii, doo this one "wind" good one in forms. His faults he not him lacks,
be'édílááhii, éí yik'ehgo bá'ahwiínít'i . . . . Náná kojí reckless one, he towards is helpful . . . . Again over them here
diné doo bá'ahwiínít'iígóó, doo'ídehwóláágóó yaagááł, man not being helpful, being stubborn he walks,
niiyá'íhwodeelti', saad t'áá doo yá'ádaat'éehii jó éí yee yááltí' he criticizes, words not good ones these by he them speaks
also. Back then "wind" just same in formed that it way him is.
It has been said that while every person is believed to be born having a good "wind standing within" him and that other "winds" are sent from the four directions to guide his thinking and strengthen this "wind," there is another class of "winds" which may also act upon him from without causing him to think in the wrong way and to engage in disapproved forms of behavior. The interaction between these two classes of "winds," as is further specified in this theory, together with the responsibility of the individual are set forth below.

COUNTERACTING THE EFFECTS OF EVIL "WINDS"

While the Navajo "wind" theory of behavior provides explanations for both good conduct and wrong conduct in terms of the effects of two different classes of "winds" on the individual's behavior, it also specifies ways in which the individual may avoid the undesirable influence of evil "winds" and exert some control over his own destiny. These ways include heeding the foreknowledge of evil influences provided by the "little winds" sent from the four directions and exercising the option to petition these "little winds" to strengthen the "wind" within one. If such forewarnings are not heeded or the help of "little winds" is not solicited, evil influences may then gain the ascendancy with disastrous consequences for the individual.

"Little winds" from the four directions are thought to help the individual by strengthening the "wind" within him, "pushing
"away" harmful ones impinging upon him from without and amply warning
him of the future dangers inherent in a given course of action:

From there it places the good "wind" within us by means
of which we will speak, and from that point we think for our-

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of which we will speak, and from that point we think for our-

From there it places the good "wind" within us by means
of which we will speak, and from that point we think for our-
selfs. And, from there, "little wind" goes around so that
we speak by it. It also pushes bad things that will affect
us away from us. When it is not watching, it seems, it (the
bad one) goes in here so that we become sick. In the same
way, by the same one we think ahead for ourselves and speak
for ourselves. It puts behind us whatever causes hardship--
we think about it and plan for ourselves. For that reason,
the one called "little wind" exists here.

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of which we will speak, and from that point we think for our-
selfs. And, from there, "little wind" goes around so that
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way, by the same one we think ahead for ourselves and speak
for ourselves. It puts behind us whatever causes hardship--
we think about it and plan for ourselves. For that reason,
the one called "little wind" exists here.
nihich'į'nahwiináashįįhí-bík'ítsínídiiholkeesgo índa adáhodiiyiit'ah.
we suffer hardship-- about it we thinking and for ourselves we plan.

Kwiih yiniiyé naagha éí óolyé nilch'í áłts'íisi (CAB).
Here for that it that called "wind the little reason exists one."

An individual cannot foretell what is ahead of him but "wind" does this for him. This foreknowledge that it provides is important in warning the individual in advance of the harmful consequences of his misbehavior:

It sees for one whatever lies ahead but we cannot foretell it. If we say that which should not be spoken it will harm us.

Éí shįį áláahdi joogáalgoó ha'át'íi shįį áláahdi hadááhdi
It it there one walks however there in front seems

háyoo'íigo áko niih éí kodó éí doo béé'dinii'tíh da. Naishįį for one but we that our- not we can see. Whatever it sees

tíhodioolííl t'áá doo bee yááti'íi ijíníñgo jó áko atíññíhi-
will harm one not by spoken if one then harm us it says them

doolííñgo át'é (CAB).
it will it is.

This "wind" not only guides the individual's thinking but also continually monitors his behavior to see if he is living accordingly. If the person is seen to repeatedly ignore "wind's" advice and to "stumble" as a result, "wind" may withdraw its support and guidance:

The one that is in authority usually watches over one from there. People observe one as he goes through life. When he lives in the right way that is good. When he is not living this way, it ("wind") does not like it. I am saying to you that "wind" seems to talk to one from there, it makes one think. In the same way that we are telling each other things it seems to talk to one from there, this "wind." It is our
thinking, our planning, we live according to it. From there this "wind" is our thinking: "I will walk that way!" one wanted (and) so walked. But, walking over here (the other way) he stumbles, and that is not good.

Éí shį́į́ t'ąá iįyisí bihólñiih ŋláąhdę́ę́' t'cóyee' hakék'eh
That it really top author- from just after one
seems ity there

déez'įį' ļeh. Díí k'ad atiingóó joogáálgi át'éego diné dahonééžįį
it looks usu- This road one walks it peo- look at
ally. along being ple one

ľeh. Áko yá'át'éeh joogáalgo jó áko yá'át'ééh jinií. Doo ákwii
usu- Good one walks well it is good t.s. Not right
ally.

joogáálgoó éí jó áko éí doo bił yá'át'ééh da jinií. Díidí k'ad
one walks that then not with it is good t.s. This here
it

nílch'i nihi dishnínígíí jó éí nitsíí'iilkees nhägréé' hachįį
"wind" to you I say that makes one from to one
think there

yááltii' nahalin, k'ad nílch'i díí. Áko nihnitsékees át'é,
it talks it here "wind" this. So our thinking it is,
seems,

nihinahat'a' át'é, bik'ehgo hinii'náanii át'é. Ňláąhdę́ę́' díí
our plans it is, according we live it is. From there this
to it

t'ąá nílch'iígíí jó t'ąá éí nihnitsékees: "T'ąá ŋláąh góne'
"wind" same one our thinking: "Just there through
deeshááll!" jinízoó, joogáalyéę. Kojí da ajogháago jidiigohda,
I will one one walked. Over one walks one stumbles,
walk!" wanted, here

jó éí doo yá'át'ééh da jinií (HB).
so that not it is good t.s.

If one starts walking in the wrong way, it seems that this one called "wind," by which we live, at first wants to save him. "Be careful--do this, do this!" it seems to say when he starts walking that way. If he reaches a certain point in his bad ways it works very hard for him, thinking in vain,
"It should have been this way from a long time back." Then if he again starts walking in that same way, the one called "wind" does not lead him through here (i.e., in the right way).

Jó dií t’áá lá’ígíí nilch’i wolyéi bee dahinii’náanii
So this that is one "wind" called by the one we it live by

ňlááhdéé’ doo ákót’éego joogááígo ch’óoshdágá’daá’ t’áá haháh from there not right way one walks at first saves one

nízin nahalingo. "Hazhó’ógo joogááíl, kwíinááž, kwíinááž!" hailní it it seems. "Carefully walk, walk here, walk here!" it wants says

jidighááhgo. T’áá biláahjjí’ nichq’ígo jidigháahgo áko hanaanish if one starts Beyond it if one starts it works this way. for one

bilhé, "Ňlááhdéé’ kót’éego dooleelyée" ch’áéh nízingo. T’áá very "From back this way it should in thinking. In hard, then have been" vain

ákót’éego t’óó t’áá ákót’éego náásjidighááhgo t’áá bí ńlááhdéé’ that way just in this way again if one it from starts then on

jó doo áákóne’ ahwiílääh da jiní, nilch’i wolyéi (HB). it not through it leads t.s., "wind" the one here one called.

Whenever it reaches this stage that "winds" stop providing guidance it may be disastrous for the individual:

These "winds" tell things to each other just as we are talking to one another now. So from that point they are talking about him. "Leave him alone, don't bother him, let him do what he wants!" When that happens, that is very bad.

Jó t’áá bíjí nilch’ígíí dií t’áá bíjí dií k’ad achilda-
So that its "wind" this its this now each other way way

hwiilne’ígíí át’éego achildahahne’ jiní. Nahdée’ shíí na’ak’íí’ we are tell- it they tell t.s. From it about him ing being each other there seems
yááti'go. Áko "Nichq", t'áá doo baa nédaat'íní, bíni' yigááł, talking. This "No, don't him bother, leave him way
bíni' háágóó yigááł." Jó kwe'é doo yá'áshóó da (HB). let him do what he When this not it is wants." happens good.

It seems that what is conceived to happen at the point when "winds" withdraw their guidance and support is that the individual becomes weak, and when "wind" has finally been taken away he then dies:

When the one that is "wind" from over there thinks of one, if it looks at him and he is not walking this way (the right way), it makes his power of movement, his legs, his appendages weak. In this way the road he was walking on appears dim. . . . If he cannot seem to straighten himself up, it slows it (his "wind") down, it takes it from us. That is the end.

Nílch'i nilíinii nílátítú hánitsékeesgo jó ákogo "Wind" the one from there of one it so when that is thinks
honéél'íígo doo ákwii joogáálgóó kodi háát'íída hágááld nilíinii at one it not right one walks then whatever one's the one looks gait that is
hajáád da dií hats'áádz'a da doo níl dzilgóó éí yil'íígo, kót'éego one's and this one's ap- too not strong that it makes, in legs appendages this way
t'áá atiinggóó joogáályéé doo hózhó yit'íí'í da yíleehgo . . . . on the road on was not well it happens . . . .
walking appears
Áko nílátítú ni'kwíiyil'hgo t'áá ch'ééh nahalingo wónáásdóó So there it slows it down futile it seems after awhile
nihaa néidiidlééh jini. T'áá kódí jini (HB). from it takes it t.s. That is all t.s. us
A similar conception was expressed by informant CAB:

If we are going to make an important mistake, something not good, "winds" go about here for information. If we say something bad, we make a mistake in our Navajo way. "It is not good with him" it is said about us. From there, the one that is our Holy One takes out the "wind" that was within us. He stops our heart.

Ts'ídá t'áá íiyisíí adiilzhgo, jó áko doo yá'át'éehii, Just really if we will some- not that is good, err, thing
kodi níitch'i hani' yiniiyé ndaakai. Doo yá'át'éehii bee here "winds" news for it they Not good ones by walk. them
haidzhigo jó áko iilzhí diné niidliįįįí. "Jó doo hoł yá'át'éeh da" if we talk well we err Navajo our way. "Not with it is good" then him
nihidzho' niihinyilhinyi niihinaa niitch'iyyé about us it From there our the One then "wind" past is said. Holy that is
nihiyi' heilééh. Nihijéíyyé niiltł'i' jiní. in us it takes Our heart it stops t.s. out.

The individual, then, is conceived to be amply guided and forewarned by "winds" sent from the Holy Ones, with the implication that he is given the latitude to live his life accordingly. The individual can also actively petition "wind" for its help in countering the effects of harmful influences:

... It is listening. We who are Navajo live here by means of it. From here we talk to it. If we plead with it, it hears us. From then on it is good. If something harms one, by that means (i.e., by pleading with "wind") it becomes good. The person gets well.

... Adiits'a'go át'é. Díí k'ad diné niidliníí góo jó bee ... listening it is. These Navajo we who so by are it
hinii'ná kodi. Áko kodóó bich'į' yéiltí'. Néikąąhgo jó
we live here. So from to it we If we plead
here talk. with it

nihidiits'a'. T'áá áko áadóó yá'át'eeh. Ha'í'da qą dahooláahgo
us it hears. So then from it is good. Some- on if it
there where one harms

áadóó bee yá'át'éeh yileeh. Diné náádiidá (FDT).
from by it is comes Per- gets well.
there it good to be. son

Slim Curly, in his version of the Blessingway legend,
indicated that a person may pray and make offerings to the "wind
standing within" him to induce it to remain with him:

Pollen Boy you will deposit at the top of your heads with
accompanying prayer, and you will give some to your instanding
ones accompanied by prayer. On the strength of that they will
be satisfied to continue standing within you (Haile 1932a:175).

Similarly, jiverse references are made in the Navajo Windway
and Chiricahua Windway chantway myths to means by which "winds"
can be petitioned for their assistance. For example, in Black
Mustache's version of the Navajo Windway legend the prayersticks
of "little winds" as well as of the "winds" of the four directions
are described and it is indicated that they may be petitioned to
restore one's power of movement, thinking, and speech (Haile 1932c:
22-23, 120-121). When such prayers are made the petitioner's "wind"
may again be strengthened and well-being and right thinking may
be restored.

If despite the advice and warnings given by "winds" sent
by the Holy Ones and the availability of their help through prayers
and offerings a person disregards their succorance and persists in
a wrong way of life his "wind" may be taken from him, an indication that it is no longer leading him along the good way. It appears to be for this reason that ch'iidii, the departed "winds" of those who do not live to an old age, are to be feared. Their "faults," their harmful characteristics, are taken for granted.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF BEHAVIORS AND TRAITS

The theory of behavior described in the foregoing sections implies a classification of behaviors and traits, as well as a classification of "winds," in terms of criteria expressed by the contrasting terms ha'át'e ádin, "one lacks faults," and ha'át'e' hóló, "one has faults." What these criteria are may be indicated by how these contrasting terms are used by informants in diverse contexts and particularly how they are related to other terms used by the Navajo in describing behavior.

Referents of the Navajo term diné ájítéegi, "the way one is" or "one's disposition," include behaviors and traits referred to by one or the other of the aforementioned terms, indicating that this term may designate a larger class of behaviors of which ha'át'e ádin and ha'át'e' hóló specify subclasses. The sense relationships existing between these terms is suggested in an account of the creation of the "inner forms" of the principal mountains. It was said that these "inner forms" must be ts'idá ba'át'e' ádinii, "absolutely faultless." First Man and his group then suggested that the "inner forms" could be patterned according to their own
adajít'ééhígií, "dispositions," but Big Fly countered that they would then think two ways (i.e., they would then have "faults"). He advised, instead, that Talking God and Calling God serve as the models. The latter two, presumably, are conceived to have good "dispositions," meeting the additional conditions of being ba'át'e' ádinii, "faultless" (Haile 1930:357-358).

While ájit'éegi, "the way one is," may refer to "one's dispositions," it may refer to non-behavioral attributes as well since in its broadest sense it takes in everything that is known about a person. In some contexts it may refer to the state of a person's health while in others it may refer to his manner of dress or grooming, to his means of livelihood and degree of prosperity, or to his position and role in the community. Being based upon the Navajo verb stem -t'e, "to be," it may refer to "the way one is" in any and all aspects of his life. In its specific application to traits and behavioral "dispositions" the behavior referents of the subclasses designated by the terms ha'át'e' ádin and ha'át'e' hóló require explication. That is, what are the particular "faults" which are referred to in this conception of behavior and of person?

Some translations of the term ha'át'e' indicate that its sense has been taken to be akin to "meanness." Haile, for example, wrote that ". . . comments like the following are fairly common: bii'siziinii ba'át'e' édin 'his soul is without meanness'; or, bii'siziinii ba'át'e' xóló 'his soul has meanness'" (Haile 1943b:78). Similarly, in the "song of the left-handed wind" in the Chiricahua
Windway myth as told by Slim Curly, the "winds" are attributed with saying that no person must bother them because "' . . . nahaa'át'e' hólóo dooleel'" "' . . . there will be meanness in us . . . '" (Haile 1933a:86). In contrast, other "winds" were said to have had the appearance of ba'át'e' ádaadingo, "being very gentle" (Haile 1932c:85). If this "mean-gentle" distinction approximates the sense of the contrast between the Navajo terms in question, this would imply a Navajo classification of "dispostions" and of "winds" along something like a "mean-gentle" cognitive dimension.

When used to characterize the attributes of some non-human objects and beings, ba'át'e', "its fault," clearly does not approximate the English sense of "its meanness." For instance, when corn seed was first secured and planted, according to one legend, the crop grew having hardened kernels until after several unsuccessful efforts it finally matured. Having been "broken" and "trained" or domesticated, it was then said to be ba'át'e' ádin, "without fault" (Haile 1932a:632). In a similar way, ba'át'e' hólo, "it has faults," was used by one informant to characterize a horse who unexpectedly shies at anything in its path such as a plant or a stone. In this case, the "fault" of the horse is not that it is "mean" in the English sense but rather, as the informant said, that éí doo áhályág da, "it has poor judgement," and t'áá na'níle'dii nitsékees, "it thinks erratically."
In other usages, "it is harmful" appears to best approximate the sense of ba'át'e'. Thus, having told of the deleterious effects of wine upon the health and lives of many Navajo people one informant concluded by saying, "Jó dií wineígíí éí ba'át'e' hóló," "This wine has 'faults' (is 'harmful')." Concerning tódílihil, a whisky whose consumption earlier in Navajo history was said to have been well-controlled by the elders, however, the informant said that, "Éí doo hózhó ba'át'e' hólóó da," "It does not have many 'faults' (is not very 'harmful')." Similarly, it is said of plants such as poison ivy and poison oak that ba'át'e' dahóló, "they have 'faults' (are 'harmful')."

Which of these or other senses of the terms in question are implied when they are used to refer to the "dispositions" of people may be indicated by examining their usage in relation to other terms in such contexts.

Ha'át'e', "one's fault," or lack of it is conceived to be manifested in all facets of behavior, in thought, speech, and action.² It is said that ha'át'e' ádinii, "one who lacks faults," yá'át'éehgo nitsídizíkees, "thinks in a good way." It may be said of such a person that iiná éí yaa nitsékees, "he thinks about life"; hazhó'ógo nitsékees, "he thinks carefully"; binitsekees bidziil, "his thoughts are strong"; nizhónígo haa nitsékees, "he thinks in a nice way about one"; and so on. Speech follows thought in Navajo ideology and it is said that "one who lacks faults" nizhónígo yáálti', "talks in a nice way"; doo t'áá ádzaagi yáálti'go, "does
not talk in just any way”; and bizaad yá’át’ééh, "his language is
good." Finally, it is said of one who "lacks faults" that yá’át’ééhgo
joogááł, "he walks in a good way," and that yá’át’ééhgo jiiná, "he
lives in a good way."

Ha’át'e' hólóonii, "one who has faults," on the other hand
doo yá’át’ééhgo nitsékees, "thinks in a bad way." It may be said
of his thinking that doo hózhó náástsidzíkees, "he does not think
very far ahead"; t’áá ádzaagóó nitsékees, "he thinks in just any
way"; binitsekees doo ts’ídá yéego bidziil da, "his thoughts are
not very strong"; and so forth. In his speech, such a person t’áá
ádzaagóó yáálti’, "talks in just any way"; nichó’ígóó bizaad, "his
language is bad"; saad t’áá na’níle’dii yáálti’, "he talks carelessly";
etc. In his actions, doo yá’át’ééhgo naagháa da, "he does not walk
in a good way."

One's "disposition'" then, may be judged on the basis of
the way one thinks, speaks, and acts. Consider, further, the attri-
butes of ha’át'e’ ádinii, "one who lacks faults":

This person who lacks "faults" thinks in a good way, he
thinks well of one, one thinks well of him. He usually smiles,
comes up to one slowly and, showing his relationship, shakes
one's hand.

Díidí diné ba’át’e' ádingo nizhónígo nitsékeesgo, nizhónígo
This per- "faults" lack- good way he thinks, good way
son ing

háa nitsékeesgo, nizhónígo baa nitsíizíkees . . . . Éí yidloho
carabout he good way about one He smiling
one thinks, him thinks . . . .
yiga'al leh áadēgé' hahzhó'ógo kwe'é haiyighá dóó t'áá áko
walks usu- from slowly here he walks and then
ally there

kwá'ásini níigo háláák'eediini (HB).
relation- say- shakes one's
ship ing hand.

"One lacks faults" means . . . he does not argue with a
person. He does not steal. He is not mean . . . . Nothing
bad is said about him. He is "obliging" towards everything.

Ha'át'e' ádin wolyéi . . . diné yinídooltíil ádin. Doo
One's are it means . . . argues with none. Not
faults lacking person

ini'ii da. Doo binááhodőę́és da . . . . T'áá doo bee baa hani'íí
steals. Not he is mean . . . . Nothing by about is
it him said.

Bá'áhwiinit'í t'áá altsojí' (CM).
"Obliging" toward every-
he is thing.

Again, a person who "lacks faults" yik'ehgo bá'áhwiinit'í,
"is obliging towards others," and hwóoyá, "is thoughtful":

He who lacks "faults," he who is not "a trouble maker"
is "obliging" towards others. That man is "thoughtful," it
is said.

Ba'át'e' ádinii, doo be'édiláahii éí yik'ehgo bá'áhwiinit'í.
His who not "a trouble he towards is "obliging."
"faults" lacks, maker others

Áko éí diné hwóoyá dáhá'ni (CM).
So that man is it is said.
"thoughtful"

Há'áhwiinit'í, "one is obliging," cited above as being an
attribute of one who "lacks faults," refers to a willingness to
help others:

It is not spoken in vain towards him . . . Ask him
something and he will help out, this person who is very
"obliging."
T'áá altso go do ch'ééh hach'į' ha'adziigiío. . . . Everything not in toward it is spoken . . . . vain him

Bi'nólnííh éí ha'át'íí da yee nihiká adoolwoł, éí ayó diné
Ask him something by for he will he very person it us run,

bá'áhwiinít'į (HK).
he is "obliging."

It also connotes being "well-disposed" towards others:

"Obliging" means one who thinks in a good way toward everything . . . . It means he has good words for everything.

Há'áhwiínít'į wolyé ts'íída t'áá altsoįį' yá'át'éeh nitsídzí-
One is means just toward every good one "obliging" thing
kees . . . . Éí t'áá altso bá nihon'áh éí saad yá'át'éehii éí thinks . . . . It everything for ex- words good ones that it tends

óolyé (CAB).
it means.

Ha'át'ė' ádinií, "one who lacks faults," was also characterized above as being hwóóyé, "thoughtful." This refers to the ability to think expansively and to show good judgement:

They speak well. They think about everything. All of their plans are broad. All of their counsel is farsighted.

Éí bizaad yá'át'éeh. T'áá altso baa nitsánhákees. T'áá
Their lan- is good. Every- about they Every-
guage thing it think. thing

altso binahat'a' deeyit'ééh. T'áá altso t'áá nááse yee
their are Everything far ahead by
plans broad. it

yáálti' (GES).
they talk.
Sometimes another person, when quarreling with a person who lacks what is called "faults," sasses him in vain: 3 "I will argue strongly with him, he will speak in a bad way," one in whom bad words exist wishes in vain. But that person who lacks "faults" says nothing in this way. Even if one says something to that one, he will not get angry.

Ba'át'e' ádin wolyéí jó áko diné ha'át'éegi da diné da
His none what is well per- sometimes another "faults" called son person

Binídiiltli'go ch'ééh bóódzhí: "Áádéé' ha'át'éego da hadoozih
when he quar- in sasses "From some way he will rels with him vain him: there speak

Yéego bił yinídideshtlíl" ch'ééh nízoó la'déé' saad nichó'ó hard with I will begin in he one from words bad him to argue" vain wants

Bii' hólóonii. Áko nlaáhdeé' doo kót'é nínégé éí ba'át'e' ádin in existing. Then from not this he he "faults" none him there way says

Ha'ní diné. Eiyee' kó bijiníidi doo baháchigh da (CM).
It is per- That this to him not he gets said son. one said angry.

On the other hand, ha'át'e' hólóonii, "one who has faults," behaves in quite the opposite way:

In the Navajo way, if he is lazy, if he does not do what he is told, it seems from that he is mean . . . . He speaks carelessly. This person has "faults."

Dinéjí t'áá ákót'e áko bił hóyée'go, ch'ééh yil'áago, áko Navajo that way well with if if he does not well way him lazy, do what he's told, áádéé' hashké nahalin . . . . Éí saad t'áá na'níle'dii yee from he is it Words careless ones by there mean seems . . . .

Yálti'. Éí ba'át'e' hóló diné (CM).
He He "faults" has this talks. person.
In the Navajo way it is usually said that one who drinks, one who is "quick-tempered" and fights with people, that is what is meant by "he has faults."

Díí dinégó ha'át'éhígíí da adláanií ha'níí łeh áko jó éí
This Navajo way it is usually said that one who it is usual well that
drinks it is said

diné doits'iidii łeh t'áá áko diné yił álk'iijáh, áko éí óolyé per- "quick- usu- that way people fights, so that it
son tempered" ally ple with means

ba'át'e’ hóló (CM).
his exist.
fauls

Being doits'íida, "quick-tempered," báháchį "he gets angry"
and diné yidiiyoolhil, "he can kill a person." It is also said of
one who has "faults" that be'édílááh. That is to say that:

... he speaks words that are not good. He does not value
words, he jokes about people, he laughs at people, he laughs
at everything. A person who is be'édílááh is like that.

... saad t'áá doo ya'ádaat'éehii jó éí yee yáált'i'. Eí
... words not good ones these by he
them speaks.

saad doo bił nilíí da, diné ya nahalt'i', diné yeedloh, t'áá
Words not with he people about he people about every-
him values, ple them jokes, ple laughs,

altsoní yeedloh. Eí diné be'édíláahii éí kót'é (CM).
thing about he This person who is is like that.

By paraphrasing in English the foregoing statements, the
approximate sense of ha'át'e, "one's faults," may become more
apparent: One who lacks "faults" has a thoughtful approach towards
life; is well-disposed and helpful towards others; and, is even-
tempered and difficult to anger. One who has "faults" thinks
erratically; is contrary, argumentative and critical towards others;
and, is quick-tempered to the point of being mean and intemperate in his actions.

Although these data are suggestive of something like an "even-tempered—quick-tempered" or "gentle-mean" cognitive dimension underlying this classification of behavior and traits, additional studies would be required to validate such a dimension and to demonstrate its functional significance, if any, in the perception of others by the Navajo and in Navajo interpersonal behavior.

SUMMARY

Nílch'i, "wind," is believed to be within the individual from the moment of his conception when two "winds," one from each parent, form a single one within the embryo. The two parts of this "wind" are called "są'gh naagháí" (or "álílee naaghái") and "bik'eh hózhóón" (which is also called nílch'i álts'íísí, "little wind"). This grows with the foetus giving movement to it, and at birth it is added onto by another "wind" which enters the infant as the latter begins to live and breathe. The one that enters at birth is sent there by the Holy Ones and has a role in determining the individual's future characteristics and the course of his life. As the child develops under the guidance of the "wind" within him, the latter may be strengthened, weakened, or even replaced by others which impinge upon it from without. "Little winds" sent from the Holy Ones in the four directions work to strengthen the "wind standing within one" towards the end that it will continue to be
capable of helping the individual to lead a good life. A person with such a strong "wind" characteristically has the capacity to benefit from proper instruction and ba'at'e' adin, "lacks faults." Behavioral referents for this term suggest that it has a sense akin to "even-tempered" or "gentle." One having a weak "wind" is more vulnerable to the influence of harmful nílich'i binaádeé', "surrounding winds," including ch'íjíidii, those harmful "winds" which have departed from the bodies of others and which rotate "sunward." These harmful "winds" may enter into a person causing him to engage in bad thinking. A person under their influence characteristically does not respond to good instruction and ba'át'e' hóló, "has faults." Behavioral referents for this term suggest that it has a sense akin to "quick-tempered" or "mean." The "winds" sent from the four directions amply provide one with forewarning of harmful influences from surrounding "winds" and work hard to protect one from them. Furthermore, they may be petitioned for their assistance. If, in spite of this, an individual does not heed their warnings and advice, the Holy One may remove his "wind" from him and he will die as a result. The structure of this theory of behavior suggests that an "even-tempered-quick-tempered" or "gentle-mean" cognitive dimension may underlie the traditional Navajo classification of behavior.

1In indicating by gesture that outside "winds" may enter in between the eyes, informant CM is perhaps here indicating the rationale for the often-cited Navajo belief that the nose is a seat of thought: Nílich'i, "winds," which influence thinking are breathed in through the nose.
It has been pointed out that the thought-speech-action sequence of behavior is commonly attributed to the Holy People in Navajo mythology. It is typically told that the Holy People first thought about a course of action, then talked about it, and then acted upon it (e.g., Wyman 1970:388, 464, 498-499).

Bóózdih, "he sasses": One informant defined óódzih saying that "óódzih ha'nínígií saad t'áá doo yá'át'ééhííí yee hach'į'
hadah'dzhii," What is called 'óódzih' is saying bad things to others."
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in the preceding four chapters relate to a number of issues that were raised in the introductory chapter with regard to both Navajo thought in particular and traditional systems of thought more generally. The task of the present chapter is to relate the data of this study to these theoretical issues so as to integrate the Navajo ethnographic material with ethnologic theory at both the culture specific and the general ethnological levels.

The major theoretical questions to be addressed here, broadly considered, have to do with the source and the nature of the theoretical entities employed in such traditional cultures as that of the Navajo for accounting for human life and behavior; and, the relationship between such systems and objective reality as it is understood by western science. More specifically, the data will be examined, first, in terms of Navajo utilization of concepts embodied in their mythology for thinking about human life today. Secondly, the nature of the nílch'i, "wind," concept, as the central theoretical entity in the Navajo theory of life and behavior, will be analyzed from a number of perspectives in general ethnology and Navajo ethnology. It is of interest, in this connection, to consider
the extent to which the theoretically relevant features of "wind" are based upon its perceptible properties as opposed to abstracted dimensions (see above, pp. 19-21). From the point of view of Navajo ethnology the foremost issue is the conceptual relationship between the various "winds" of the Navajo universe and what have been called the "wind souls" and "wind mentors" relating to deities and man. Contradictory interpretations of the Navajo view of the "breath" or "wind soul" of the individual relate to such questions as to whether this "wind soul" is considered to control thought and behavior, whether it is regarded as being modifiable in response to environmental influences, and whether it possibly functions as a means by which Navajo deities are involved in Navajo morality (for review of these interpretations, see pp. 34-40). As regards "wind mentors," the deficiency in ethnographic knowledge of these "helpers" of deity and man was brought to attention in the introductory chapter (pp. 33-34). Another issue relating to Navajo conceptions of the "breath" of an individual and "wind mentors" is that of the means by which "winds" are considered to provide access to supernatural power in the universe (see discussion on pp. 44-47). All of these culture-specific issues will be seen to bear directly upon the question as to the existence in the traditional systems of thought of diverse cultures of the belief in a "soul" or "souls" within man; or, on the other hand, of the prevalence in "primitive" cultures of beliefs about human
"participation" in powers surpassing the individual (see discussion on pp. 9-16).

The third area of concern is that of the logic of the Navajo theory as a whole and the manner by which the "wind" concept is organized in relation to other elements in the system (these issues are raised on pp. 9-22). Finally to be considered is the question of the utility of this Navajo system of thought about man and his relationship to his environment as a means for grasping some "truths" which, by scientific standards, are objectively real (as discussed on pp. 22-26).

The ways in which these and other issues relate to data presented in the preceding chapters will be made more explicit in the following sections.

MYTH AND THEORY

The Navajo creation myth provides a body of concepts and beliefs which are used by bearers of traditional lore for explaining events in the present-day world as well as for explaining occurrences in the traditional history of the people.

That the basic concepts used by bearers of traditional lore in thinking about the events of their lives are based in the creation myth accords well with the views of those ethnologists who have held that the theoretical systems of traditional societies are constructed out of the conceptual materials at hand, which are usually embodied in the folklore and myths of the society.
(for a review of those views, see pp. 4-9). Even a cursory analysis of the Navajo theory of life and behavior is sufficient to show that its basic theoretical entities are to be found in the Navajo creation myth. Indeed, elicitation of much of the theory required of informants a preliminary recitation of mythic materials. Among the key concepts which are derived from, or find expression in, Navajo myths are those providing the cosmological underpinnings of the theory: The quadrantal division of space and the association of the four "winds" and the phenomena of dawn, daylight, dusk, and darkness with the east, south, west, and north quadrants, respectively; the ordering or sequencing of these natural phenomena and hence of all "natural" motion in terms of the conceived "clockwise" motion of the sun; the identification of sacred mountains and Holy People with the cardinal directions; and, the assignment of man-like "inner forms" and of "winds" by means of which breath, speech, thought, and motion is made possible to all phenomena (Chapter III). The Navajo creation myth also expresses the conception that "winds" are given man by which to live, think, speak, and act and that these are strengthened by "winds" sent from the Holy Ones of the cardinal directions (Chapters III and IV). It is predominantly to these conceptions and beliefs that bearers of traditional lore turn when confronted with the need to account for human existence and behavior.

The extent to which the Navajo conceive of an unbroken continuity in the conditions of life and existence, from the period
of inhabitation of the underworlds, through the emergence and the
time when the Holy People first walked the surface of the earth,
up to and including contemporary Navajo life, is striking to the
observer. This perceived continuity between the mythic past and
the present day is based upon a conviction that the same powers
which moved and guided the beings and phenomena of mythic times
are no less active now: Just as "holy wind" gave life to, and
provided guidance for, the Holy People in their emergence from
the underworlds and gave life to all things when the present world
was created, so it provided the means of life and guidance to
the first of the Navajo and it gives life and guidance to the
Navajo today (Chapters II-V). Things today are essentially as
they were then. Navajo myth, then, even when only its explanatory
or cognitive functions are considered, is not merely a tale of
the past, an account of how the present world came to be what it
is; rather, it is a system of concepts which are useful in thinking
about, in accounting for and explaining, the mundane events of
today. Navajo myth is "lived" in this sense, too, as well as in
the ways in which myths are "lived" as stressed by Malinowski:
That is, in governing or providing a charter for ritualistic behavior,
social organization, and morality (see above, pp. 6-7). The Navajo
creation myth provides a body of concepts and beliefs which have
instrumental value in the cognitive adjustment of the individual
to his world, in providing answers to some of the questions raised
by everyday living (cf. Kluckhohn, pp. 6-7).
THE UNITS AND STRUCTURE
OF THE THEORY

In analyses of traditional systems of thought ethnologists have observed that these generally contain elements which enable their users to account for observable phenomena by means of a simplified scheme of causal forces operating behind common sense experience, that causal agencies and other theoretical entities in such systems are themselves conceptualized largely in terms of the perceptible properties of the world, and that affective as well as intellectual motives typically are involved in their construction (these theoretical issues are discussed on pp. 9-22, above). The following analysis examines the Navajo theory of life and behavior from these perspectives.

The Units

That "air" or "wind" should be the basic concept in a traditional theory of life and personhood is not unexpected in view of the association of life with "breath" to be found in cultures in many parts of the world (see above, p. 10). When, however, the basic association between "breath" and life has been developed into a comprehensive theory of life, motion, thought, speech, and behavior, as is apparently the case with the Navajo, it is of theoretical interest to explore the manner by which the basic entity, in this case "wind," has been elaborated so as to enable it to account for all of the observable events requiring explanation. In terms of what perceptible or abstract features, for instance, has "wind"
been differentiated by the Navajo into causal agencies; and, by what cognitive or affective dimensions are these organized into a system?

One of the fundamental principles in the Navajo theoretical scheme is that "wind" is a unitary being or phenomena: There is only one "wind" (see above, pp. 201-203). In one sense, then, we find in Navajo thought a single entity which has the theoretical power of economically accounting for all motion, sensation, thought, speech, and behavior. In the Navajo conception, the whole living fabric of the universe, whether personified natural phenomena, animals, plants, or earth surface people, derive their powers of life, motion, thought, speech, and behavior from "wind" which exists everywhere (Chapter III).

The unity of "wind" as a single, deified phenomena has been obscured by its formal differentiation into various aspects, which are sometimes personified as "wind people," whose features are assigned theoretical relevance in accounting for diverse motions, dispositions, thoughts, and behaviors. In Navajo terms, the "name" by which "wind is called is a function of such criteria as its locus (e.g., earth's "wind," sun's "wind," or the "wind standing within one"); the color symbolism of the direction of its origin ("dark wind," "white wind," etc.); its size ("little wind" or wind's child"); its appearance ("wavy-backed wind"); its direction of rotation ("sunwise turning wind"); and, its possible effects on one ("mean wind") at any particular time and place (see above, pp. 201-203).
One question to be considered is the degree to which the criteria differentiating the various aspects of "wind" are based upon the "sensible" or observable properties of "wind" or, on the other hand, upon invented abstract dimensions which are then called upon in explanatory efforts. The data suggest that "wind" has been sub-categorized by the Navajo into its constituent parts largely on the basis of what might be called its "sensible" properties and only to a much lesser extent on the basis of abstract features having no perceptible manifestations. For the Navajo, who closely identify the four principal "winds" with light phenomena associated with the cardinal directions, the visual properties of these "winds" are experientially given: If one will grant the Navajo premises, it can be admitted that the white of the dawn, the blue of the sky, the yellow of twilight, and the dark of night are sensible properties of "white wind," "blue wind," "yellow wind," and "white wind," respectively (see above, pp. 132-136).

In a similar way, a key distinction in the Navajo theory is between "whirlwinds" that turn clockwise, in accordance with the conceived motion of the sun in the east, south, west, north direction, and "winds" that turn counter-clockwise or contrary to the sun's movement (see above, pp. 229-230). "Whirlwinds" having such motions are clearly observable in the Navajo country during the dry, windy seasons of spring and summer, due to the quantities of sand and dirt caught up in their movements. Furthermore, distinctions among "winds" on the basis of their size reflect observable
phenomena. "Wind's child" or "little wind" are key concepts in the Navajo theory of life and behavior, presumably because they are small enough to enter into bodily orifices and inhabit the body (see above, pp. 210-218). At the other extreme are strong "winds" having very real destructive power. Navajo informants will point to tiny, soot-filled "whirlwinds" at the base of fireplaces as evidence for the existence of "wind's child" or "little wind," and great sky-obscuring dust storms visibly attest to the existence of the other. Examples of the "sensible" properties of "wind" could be multiplied. Bad odors emanating from dead animals, or even attributed by the Navajo to the breath of some live animals, are evidence of the presence of potentially harmful "winds." The characteristics of a "gentle breeze" are manifest to all.

Other discriminations between "winds" are made on the basis of features which are not so readily apparent. Is there a basis in perception for "striped wind" or for "spotted wind" or do these concepts perhaps result from "tinkering" with the basic model (see above, p. 130). What about the "wind" a fetus is thought to receive from its genitors, consisting of two parts called "sąqąh naaghái" (or álíleeh naagháiı”) and "bik’eh hózhóón” (see above, pp. 207-209)? Clearly these are conceived not in terms of observable properties but rather in terms of features whose meanings and referents are still the subject of debate among Navajo thinkers as well as among anthropologists (as discussed above, pp. 44-47).
Furthermore, while "wind's child" may be at times perceptible in the soot at the base of fireplaces it is usually not so: A "wind" whispering into one's ear is a conception having no known observable referents. Neither are "winds" which have departed from the dead known to be observable although they are conceived to be the source of all manner of evil (see above, pp. 40-41).

For the Navajo, then, the basic theoretical entity for accounting for life, motion, thought, speech, and behavior has been differentiated so as to account for variance in these events; and, the theoretical grid which has been constructed in terms of attributes of "wind" is based in large part upon its perceptible properties in the Navajo environment and only to a lesser extent upon more abstract dimensions, all endowed with some significance in making sense of the world.

The Structure of the Theory

It has been suggested in the preceding sections that the Navajo traditionally utilize concepts found in their creation myth for answering questions prompted by the course of everyday life; and, that among the central concepts made use of in this process are those based upon an elaboration of the basic concept of a unitary "wind" into a "grid" of theoretical entities, differentiated primarily in terms of a system of observable features. A consideration of the kinds of relations conceived by the Navajo to exist between the "winds" so differentiated and the events of the world
to be explained in terms of their actions will relate to issues which have been raised about whether traditional systems of thought are systematic, logical, and based on causal or analogic relations, on the one hand; or, illogically organized on the basis of sentiment or emotional associations, on the other (for review of these issues, see pp. 9-22).

That there is a degree of affectivity underlying and partially shaping the Navajo theoretical system must be acknowledged. The basic Navajo premises that only a good "wind" is derived from one's parents and that only helpful "winds" are sent to the individual by the Holy People are clearly not based upon purely analytic or intellectual grounds (see above, pp. 208, 218-224). Parents are traditionally respected and valued, and such of the Holy People as Talking God and Calling God are virtually like revered elders to believers. If evil is to be accounted for, it goes against such social affectivity to find its source in parents or the Holy People who reside in the sacred mountains. Evil, then, must emanate from elsewhere, from sources which are not so highly valued.

While this element of affectivity underlying the structure is evident, nevertheless there is a fundamental logic penetrating the whole system that is patently not grounded in emotional motives. This logic is based in large part on the relation of causality, and the same causal principles are traced throughout the Navajo universe with an unfaltering consistency. If it be granted that "wind" is the locus and cause of life, motion, thought, speech, and behavior
and that it exists everywhere, the logical implications are clear, and they are explicitly recognized and developed by the Navajo:

Everything is alive and, by means of "wind," is capable of motion, thought, speech, and activity; and, everything, by means of "wind's" mobility, is capable of affecting those with whom it makes contact (Chapter IV).

The system of cause-effect linkages between the differentiated aspects of "wind" and other aspects of the Navajo universe comprise a set of relations different from the analogic relations by means of which, in Lévi-Strauss' analysis, the conceptual worlds of some traditional peoples are ordered (see discussion, p. 21). That is, the Navajo are not essentially postulating that a "correspondence" or homology exists between the structure of the set of "winds" on the one hand and the structure of human thoughts, behaviors, dispositions, and so forth on the other hand. It may well be that such a homology exists, that for instance a gentle person is thought to be to a mean person as a gentle "wind" is to a destructive "wind," a homology extending, in this instance, even to similarities in the content of the two levels of thought (evidence for this may be found above on pp. 238-239 and 248-257). But the relation of homology, of a correspondence in form and even in content between sets, does not sufficiently exhaust the full nature of the conceptualized relations between aspects of "wind" and other aspects of the universe. This relation, as has been said, is that of cause and effect. Any people limited to the intellectual gains proffered by the conceptual
merits of the species operator, as analyzed by Lévi-Strauss, would perhaps find "winds" to be rather "refreshing to think with" for their relatively greater conceptual power, as evidenced in their providing causal explanations for a diversity of events and processes by means of the action of a few kinds of forces.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF "WIND" TO THE INDIVIDUAL

Since "wind" is conceived of by the Navajo as a single entity, although consisting of various aspects defined largely in terms of its perceptible characteristics at any given time, its postulated relationship to the individual must be seen in the perspective of this understanding. The unitary nature of "wind" has important implications for interpretations of Navajo ethno-psychology, morality, and world view, with a focal issue being that of whether the Navajo conceive of human functioning in terms of the action of an "in-dwelling wind soul" within each individual or rather in terms of an individual's identity with, or "participation" in, influences and powers conceived to surpass the spatial and temporal limits of the body (for review of this general ethnological issue, see pp. 9-16).

The Incorporation of Powers of "Wind"

The present data indicate that for the Navajo the character of the individual's thought and behavior as well as his more general state of well-being is contingent upon the characteristics of the
particular aspects of "wind" which are affecting him at any given time. This capacity of "wind" to influence the individual from without derives from its power of motion and its ability, in the form of "little winds," to enter into human beings through bodily orifices. There, the particular power it is conveying, whether beneficial or harmful, is conceived to affect the power of motion, thought, speech, behavior, and general strength and well-being of the individual (see above, pp. 218-248).

In the Navajo theory there are several variables governing whether the "wind" incorporated by a person bears powers which are beneficial to the individual or harmful to him. Factors of "inheritance," activities of the Holy People on behalf of the individual, and the ritualistic actions of the individual himself are all considered to have a part in this process.

Each individual, as a matter of his birthright, is conceived to have the positive power of sā'agh naagháí bik'eh hózhóón within him as a "wind" formed of two parts "lying on one another." These originated in earth where they gave life, thought, and leadership to the Holy People in the underworlds, and they were subsequently placed on earth's surface, as "dark wind" in the east and "blue wind" in the south, from where they came to exist in the Navajo and presumably in other earth surface people. They are received by each generation anew from the parent generation at the time of conception (see above, pp. 207-218). It appears, therefore, that what have been regarded as being the "inner forms" of earth,
sąqha naaghái and bik'eh hózhóón, came to exist, in part, within man being essential to his life and well-being (interpretations of these Navajo concepts are reviewed on pp. 44-47). The inference may be made that it is primarily through the effects of these powers that hózhó conditions, those of beauty and well-being, are thought to exist for the individual.

These same powers continue to exist in the east and the south where they were originally placed and, together with other beneficial "winds," are available to lend strength to the "wind" within the individual. Such other beneficial "winds" include "yellow wind" of the west and "white wind" of the north (see above, pp. 206-207). It has also been reported that sun's "wind" and moon's "wind" have great protective power for the individual, and it is commonly acknowledged that "winds turning sunwise" are generally beneficial (see above, pp. 232-234). Undoubtedly there are many other helpful "winds."

These beneficial components of "wind" may be acquired as "little winds" by the individual during the course of his life with much of the initiative in this matter resting with the Holy Ones residing in the cardinal directions. The role of "little winds" or "wind's child" as the means by which supernatural power manifested in "wind" is able to directly affect the individual is expressed in various ways. These smaller "winds" are thought to be able to enter into and affect the person as components of nílch'i bii'sizíinii, "the wind standing within him." They may be said to be "breathed in," to "stand within one," or to "sit at
one's ear," thereby affecting the person in ways contingent upon
the powers conveyed by them (above, pp. 196-203). In this way,
it would seem, while not all of sun's "wind," for example, could
come to "stand within" a person (what would the sun then live by?),
a "little wind" or "child" of sun's "wind" might do so, bringing
with it part of the power of the larger "wind."

"Leaders" identified primarily with the sacred mountains
of the cardinal directions are considered to be actively involved
on behalf of the individual, in sending such "little winds" to
strengthen the "wind" within him, perhaps to replace it if it is
tired, to receive reports back by means of the "little winds" about
the individual's behavior, and by them to pass further guidance
on to the individual. "Little winds," in this way, "work very
hard" for the person. They help him to avoid the effects of evil
powers by giving him ample forewarning of such influences in his
path and by "pushing these away" from him. Other "little winds"
may be sent by deities to the person's parents or other socializing
agents to influence them to provide good instruction to him, thereby
supporting the efforts of the "wind" within him (above, pp. 218-248).

The individual may also play an active part in this process
by petitioning "wind" for its help in strengthening the "wind"
within him and restoring his power of movement, thinking, and
speech (above, pp. 246-248). By use of ritualistic means given
to the Navajo by the deities he may endeavor to concentrate beneficial
power about him and inhale the "breath power" of supportive deities
or he may exorcise "breath poison," the "potentiality for evil" associated with departed "wind souls" or other evil influences manifested in harmful "winds" (above, pp. 34, 45). In these ways, the individual is able to build a strong nilch'ì bii'siziinii, "wind standing within him," one that is "lacking in faults" which will produce in his thoughts and behavior the same "faultless" qualities, characterized by a gentle, even-tempered, and helpful disposition toward others (above, pp. 248-257).

If "wind" is an "undependable" deity, it is because hóch'ì, "ugly" or "evil" powers are also conceived to be manifested in it. "Wind" is a medium by which such powers in the universe may be adversely brought to bear upon earth surface people. These powers, as well as beneficial ones, may be incorporated into man to have their effects upon his powers of motion, thought, behavior, and general strength and well-being. As with beneficial powers, they may enter during breathing and through bodily orifices or they can influence thought through the ear (above, pp. 45, 225-240). This "evil" aspect of "wind" includes ch'ìidii, "winds" which have departed from the bodies of individuals who died prior to attainment of old age. Other "winds" may be controlled by means of witchcraft techniques to exert harmful effects. Presumably, the particular "winds" associated with hostile deities can convey the powers of these deities to impinge upon the individual. These together with the "winds" of dangerous animals and "winds" abnormally rotating "sunward" may, in the manner of the "breath poison" referred to
by Reichard, be injurious if they impinge upon one (see above, pp. 34, 225-240).

In sum, it appears that the Navajo regard personal characteristics as being manifestations of similar characteristics existing in the powers of the universe. The complex of behavioral traits subsumed by the terms a'át'e' ádingo, "being faultless," are a function of existing under the influence of "winds" manifesting supernatural powers which are also "faultless." Such "winds" are sent to the individual by those deities such as Talking God and Calling Gods who are "inner forms" of the sacred mountains and who are themselves ts'ídá ba'át'e' ádinii, "absolutely faultless."

In the same manner, those undesirable behavioral traits referred to by the terms a'át'e' hólóqgo, "having faults," are the effects of "winds" manifesting supernatural powers which also have "faults" (above, pp. 238-239, 248-250). It may be concluded, therefore, that in the same way that health for the Navajo has been said to involve a proper relationship to one's environment and not just the correct functioning of one's physiology, it may also be said that good conduct and character involves such a relationship and is not merely the expression of a good, autonomous self (see Witherspoon n.d.a:24).

Navajo Morality

The latter conclusion suggests that for the Navajo the moral sense has its source in benevolent supernatural powers, right
conduct being an integral part of an ideal relationship with these powers. The evidence for this will be reviewed here in some detail since this conclusion is in sharp contrast with the findings of earlier investigations (see above review, pp. 38-40).

The basis for the conclusion that the Holy Ones are thought by the Navajo to prescribe and enforce morality consists of evidence that "messenger winds" are conceived to be sent to the Navajo by the Holy Ones, that these "winds" convey prescriptions of right conduct, and that continued wrong conduct in the face of these admonitions is believed to result in action by the Holy Ones to remove the individual's means of life, the "wind" within him.

Numerous Navajo statements attest to the belief that "winds" are sent to the Navajo by the Holy Ones, especially by those existing in the sacred mountains identified with the cardinal directions, to influence Navajo thinking and to report back about Navajo behavior. As examples, it has been said that "winds" were stationed at the horizon to guard the earth and at the sacred mountains in the cardinal directions to act as messengers for the "Talking Gods" and "Calling Gods" who had their abodes on them (above, p. 145); there are naat'áanii, "leaders," within the mountains, and "winds that pass news" ("messenger winds") are kept there to be sent as agents by these "leaders" and report back there about Navajo behavior (above, pp. 187-189); "leaders" of the "winds" reside in the four directions and send them from there to move Navajo thinking (above, pp. 186-187); "little wind" reports to the east what an individual
is saying and is there told what to tell the individual to think (above, pp. 222-223); "the top authority from there" looks after one, and "wind" seems to talk to one from there and makes one think (above, pp. 242-243); and, Holy People are found in many places and those that are chiefs send out messengers which return with news of prayers and offerings made by the Navajo (Wyman 1970:238). Consistent with the above are other statements concerning the origin of the "winds" that are conceived to be placed within individuals at the time of birth: "Our Holy Ones" put "winds" within us and around here among us; and "Our Holy Ones" put "winds" (which had been placed earlier at the sacred mountains) within us (above, p. 198).

Some Navajo statements indicate that "wind" is thought to have an autonomous role and that rather than being a mere messenger for other Holy Ones it impinges upon the Navajo of its own will. Thus, informants have said that "winds" are born within the four directions and that when a baby is to be born they run in from there to decide among themselves which shall enter within it (above, pp. 211-212; Haile 1943b:82). Consistent with this also is an informant's statement that the "winds" decide among themselves whether to withdraw their guidance as a result of a person's misbehavior (above, p. 244). Haile has also cited a tradition that nîlch'i, "wind," and nîlch'i biih, "wind deer," are creators of the universe including the smaller "winds" which they dispatch into human bodies (see above, p. 43). These views are generally
consistent with the importance of the role assigned to "wind" throughout this paper as a Holy One who is the possessor and conveyor of knowledge as well as giver of life and movement to the inhabitants of the various worlds. It is immaterial for the present issue whether or not the "little winds" which are conceived to enter into and to advise the Navajo are dispatched by "winds" or by other deities. They are in either case sent by diyinii, "Holy Ones," to which class the "wind" deity itself belongs.

The question as to whether Navajo deities are conceived to impart moral advice may now be seen to rest solely upon the nature of the instructions and advice said to be given to the Navajo by means of "winds." The clearest evidence that such instructions and advice include a moral component is provided by statements from present informants about the actions of "little winds" which are within and which impinge upon the individual. It may be said that these "little winds" function as a conscience, which has been defined in Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language (1952) as being ". . . a faculty, power, or principle, conceived to decide as to the moral quality of one's thoughts, enjoining what is good . . . ." Informants indicated that nílch'i hwii'sizíinii, "the wind standing within one," is a moral agent in this sense:

It (the "wind" standing within) teaches one to think about his misbehavior . . . . It is as though in thinking about this misbehavior it shows it back to oneself. The one that stands within does this: "This is what you did! Don't do that! Here, you look at it!" it seems to tell one about these wrong doings . . . (Informant CM, above, p. 219).
That the Holy Ones are believed not only to prescribe right conduct to the Navajo by the medium of "winds" but also to enforce their prescriptions is also indicated by the present data. Although "winds" may repeatedly warn an individual about his doo ákót'éego joogáálgoo, "wrong ways," saying "Be careful--do this, do this!," events may finally reach a point where the "winds" in essence give up and say among themselves, ". . . 'Leave him alone, don't bother him, let him do what he wants!' When that happens, that is very bad" (informant HB, above, pp. 243-244). While being left alone by these "winds" for continued misconduct may not at first seem to constitute a negative sanction for such behavior, it is a most serious development in the Navajo view. For, when such "winds" withdraw their guidance and support from the individual the "wind" within him is inevitably weakened and the individual himself weakens. When his "wind" is finally "taken away" death results.

When the one that is "wind" from over there thinks of one, if it looks at him and he is not walking this way (the right way), it makes his power of movement, his legs, his appendages weak. In this way the road he was walking on appears dim . . . If he cannot seem to straighten himself up, it slows it (his "wind") down, it takes it from us. That is the end (above, p. 245).

Thus, it seems, the Holy Ones by means of "messenger winds" are thought to warn the individual of behavior consequences, evaluate the goodness of behavior, and prescribe right conduct. Although obedience is not commanded, supernatural sanctions are specified for continued failure to heed the moral prescriptions. If the
individual continues to live in the "wrong way," the Holy Ones remove his "wind" from him and he dies as a result.

While "holiness" may not in every instance connote moral sanctity or goodness, nevertheless Navajo knowledge of that which is moral is believed to derive at least in part from the deities. It seems justifiable to conclude that for the Navajo an ideal relationship with the Holy Ones consists in part of living in accordance with their moral guidance.

The above presentation of the functioning of nilch'i, "wind," as a moral agent appears to be consistent with a Navajo belief in personal responsibility and accountability for one's conduct, contrary to Haile's interpretation cited earlier (above, p. 36). The role of "wind" is here interpreted to be that of guiding the individual's thoughts and behavior and repeatedly warning him when necessary of the consequences of his acts. The individual may also be influenced by evil influences and for that reason not heed the advice, but let it not be said that he lacked forewarning! If one persists in his wrongdoings and does not petition for help, then "winds" may withdraw their support and an early death may result.

Navajo Eschatology

The death of an individual before the attainment of old age is thought to be brought about by the active intervention of deities. The latter deprive an individual of the "wind" within him, his "breath of life," in instances in which he persists in
living in the wrong way despite warnings and guidance sent by means of "little winds." In such cases, the "wind" within the person, presumably the cause of the wrong doings, is believed to be removed or taken away and it is subsequently to be feared as a ch'iidii, "ghost" or "potentiality for evil." This is believed to then exist as a "wind turning sunward" among other "winds" on earth's surface, causing trouble for those still living (above, pp. 229-230, 240-248).

The above interpretation, based upon present data, agrees with that of Reichard in attributing the cause of death at an early age to the evil the body has been unable to throw off. However, it differs in that the direct cause of death in the present view is an action by one of the deities, perhaps the "wind" deity itself, in removing that evil. It also differs from Reichard's as well as Haile's interpretation, in its identifying ch'iidii, the departed evil, with the departed "wind soul" although such an interpretation agrees with that of Wyman et al. who describe the identification of ch'iidii with the departed "wind soul" as being a "major idea pattern" in Navajo eschatology (see above, pp. 40-41).

Living to an old age is a sure indication that the deities had been given no cause by the individual's misconduct to remove his "wind." It may be for this reason that the "breath of life" is not to be feared by others when after it declines in strength concurrently with one's attainment of old age it finally leaves the body.
"Wind Soul" Versus "Participation"

The Navajo theory of spiritual influences on the life and behavior of man, as presented in the preceding analysis, posits both that these influences are changing or dynamic and that they are not confined to the limits of the body, conceptions which have also been found in the systems of thought of other traditional cultures (see above, p. 18). It becomes evident that the western conception of the "soul" of an individual, as a spiritual agency residing within and imparting life to the individual, fails to translate the Navajo conception that "wind" impinges upon the individual throughout life, sometimes becoming part of the "wind within one" by which one lives, moves, thinks, speaks, and acts. Nor does modification of the "soul" concept so as to allow for the existence of several "souls" provide a less misleading interpretation of these conceptions. Rather, the interpretation advanced by Lévy-Bruhl, that many peoples conceive of a "participation" in powers surpassing the individual, better renders the Navajo view (see above, pp. 13-16). The Navajo individual is conceived to directly "participate" in what has been identified as the primary source of all beneficent power, są'ąh naagháí bik'eh hózhóón, and he "participates" in other powers which are sent to him from the sacred mountains as well as in powers for evil existing about him, all of which exist before and after the individual and yet are potential and real components of his being while he is alive. For these reasons, the usual translation of nílch'i hwii'sizíinii as
the "in-standing" or "in-dwelling" "wind soul" should be discarded. "The wind within one" should adequately serve in its stead without implying that it is fixed there for life.

In order to be consistent with established usage, the term "nílch'í" has been glossed throughout this paper as "wind" although it is clear that this does not adequately convey the sense of the Navajo term. "Nílch'í" refers to the air or atmosphere which is attributed with having a holy quality and powers that are not acknowledged by bearers of western culture. In order to emphasize the latter aspect of the Navajo concept the phrase "holy wind" has sometimes been used in this paper, although "spirit" or "holy spirit" could perhaps as well be used. The translation "holy wind spirit" was suggested by Prof. Oswald Werner at the 1972 Pecos Conference in Flagstaff, Arizona.

A Comparison of Dakota and Navajo Theories

In interpreting Navajo beliefs about the determining influences in life and behavior the same issues are confronted as were met in interpretations of Dakota thought about these matters. Either system of thought can be interpreted so as to give emphasis to the belief in human "souls," consistent with Tylor's principle of the "doctrine of souls," although it is misleading to do so for the Navajo as was indicated in the previous section; or, so as to stress that what have been called "souls" are in actuality conceived as merely differentiated aspects of a greater spiritual
reality, as was argued by Lévy-Bruhl (see above, pp. 17-18). But regardless of which interpretation is placed upon them, there are striking similarities in form and content between the two belief systems.

We find in both the Dakota and the Navajo theoretical systems the conception that supernaturals may be conceived of as one, yet many; as unitary beings having separable aspects. Thus, it may be said of both the Dakota Wakan Tanka and the Navajo Diyin that they constitute in their unity all of the gods of their respective domains. Furthermore, emphasizing for the moment the perspective assumed by Tylor, we find that both the Dakota Skan, "the Great Spirit," and the Navajo nílch'i, "wind," are thought to be composed of four (some Navajo say more) "individuals," although for the Oglala these are "Sky," "Wind," "Bear," and "Ghost" and for the Navajo they are the various "winds" (above, pp. 16-17, 201-203). Beyond their shared associations with "wind," "sky," and possibly "ghost," both Skan and nílch'i are conceived to give power and movement to all that moves. Skan is said to impart a "spirit," "ghost," and "potency" to each of mankind at birth while nílch'i (or other "holy ones" according to some informants) is said to impart smaller "winds" to each of mankind throughout the course of life. In both theories these imparted agents have similar functions in controlling the dispositions and actions of the individual, giving him strength, and forewarning him of good and evil (above, pp. 16-17, 210-225).
Continuing this line of interpretation, we find that death in either case is attributed to the departure or withdrawal of that agent which gives strength and forewarning of good and evil, the niya, "ghost," for the Oglala and nílch'i biyázhi, "wind's child," for the Navajo, and in both cases these testify regarding the conduct of the individual during life, the niya to Skan and nílch'i biyázhi to diyinii, "the holy ones" (including nílch'i) who dispatched it. In both cases, too, that agent who had controlled the "dispositions" of the individual, the nagi, "spirit," for the Dakota and nílch'i hwii'sizíinii, "the wind standing within one," for the Navajo, departs at death for a "spirit world" if it is worthy but remains on earth to whisper malicious things to mankind and cause trouble if it is judged unworthy, becoming a sicun to the Oglala and a ch'íidii to the Navajo (above, pp. 16-17, 240-248).

There are numerous differences, to be sure, between the two belief systems interpreted in this manner. According to Walker's data, the Oglala conceive of Tate, "wind," as being only one of the four individuals comprising Skan, "the Great Spirit," and as the "father" of the "Four Winds," while the Navajo "wind" concept seems to embrace only all sub-categories of "wind" and yet is assigned many of the salient functions of the Oglala "Great Spirit" (above, pp. 16-17). Also, as has been noted above, some of the functions of Skan are assigned by some Navajo informants to diyinii, "the holy ones," in general rather than to "wind" in particular. But the identity of Skan and nílch'i in their common association with
concepts of sky, "wind," and spiritual agencies sent to individuals; in their roles in imparting spiritual agencies to control the dispositions, actions, and strength of the individual and to provide forewarning of good and evil; and in their common functions at the individual's death of receiving or transmitting testimony about the individual's life, suggests that the nilch'i concept may refer to what, for the Dakota, has been translated as "the Great Spirit."

Interpreting Dakota and Navajo belief systems in terms of Lévy-Bruhl's theory of participation also points to congruences between the two (above, pp. 17-18). In brief, if as Lévy-Bruhl suggested the Dakota conceive of the individual as participating in an unseen power signified by the term "wakan" or "wakanda" (perhaps, we might add, through the agency of Skan), in a similar way the Navajo conceive of the individual as participating in diyinii, the holy powers of the universe, the foremost of which are signified by the terms sa'ah naagháí bik'eh hózhóón, through the agency of nilch'i.

Navajo World View

The focus of the present study has been on the Navajo nilch'i, "wind," concept and particularly on its place in what has herein been referred to as "the Navajo theory of life and behavior." The data as presented have been abstracted for purposes of analysis from a broader corpus of published and unpublished sources which, taken altogether, constitute what is known about Navajo world view. Although what has been presented is not intended, therefore, to provide a
comprehensive account of Navajo ideology in its broader aspects, it may nevertheless be asked what this analysis of the nilch'i, "wind," concept contributes toward an understanding of Navajo world view.

Interpreters of Navajo world view have generally stressed Navajo concern for maintaining "harmonious" relationships with supernatural powers and especially with a source of all well-being or destiny of man, "universal harmony," said to be symbolized by the phrase "są'ą́h naaghái bik'eh hózhóón." However, the means by which attainment of "harmonious" relationships with such powers is thought to be achieved has been a matter of dispute among investigators of this matter, although the special role of "wind" in this process has sometimes been intimated (see above, pp. 44-47).

Evidence from the present study that the powers for good symbolized by the phrase "są'ą́h naaghái bik'eh hózhóón" are conceived by the Navajo to have originated in earth prior to the emergence onto earth's surface and are earth's means of thought and speech is most consistent with Haile's view that these powers are the "inner" and "outer" forms, or are perhaps both "inner forms," of the earth. That they became the means of thought and speech of all the Holy People also concurs with Haile's data (see above, pp. 45-46, 98-105, 120-128). But whereas Haile, after inquiring about the meaning of the phrase "są'ą́h naaghái bik'eh hózhóón" understood his informant's reply that it is "the very life and breath" of an individual to mean that its meaning is too sacred to be revealed, the present data
suggests that perhaps the informant was simply answering his question: These powers are, indeed, thought to be the "very life and breath" of a person in a very literal sense, being equated with the "wind" within the individual from conception onwards (see above, pp. 206-210; Haile 1930:Introduction). Similarly, while Haile, and Witherspoon after him, understood that sā’ąh naagháí became the thought and bik’eh hózhóón became the speech of the Holy People, neither investigator extended these identifications to the thought and speech of the Navajo or other earth surface people. Hence the necessity of Witherspoon's interpretation that the Navajo seek identification of their thought and speech with sā’ąh naagháí bik’eh hózhóón in ritual through purely symbolic processes (above, pp. 45-46). That sā’ąh naagháí bik’eh hózhóón are directly incorporated into the spiritual make-up of earth surface people, as they are of the Holy People themselves, being productive of sustaining life, breath, thought, and speech for all living things, becomes clear only from the present data, although it relates closely to Reichard's view that the "breath power" of benevolent deities may be directly incorporated through the rite of inhalation (above, p. 34). A very literal identification with such power, through "participating" in that which surpasses all living things is thereby achieved.

Whether sā’ąh naagháí bik’eh hózhóón refers to a "universal harmony" of powers for the good with which the Navajo seek to "harmonize" their lives is another question (above, p. 44). While the Navajo seek to incorporate the powers of benevolent deities,
such powers are seen to exercise a kind of regulation and control over Navajo life, thought, and behavior that is not accurately conveyed by such constructs as "harmony." As has been seen, Navajo behavior theory envisions an active and direct intervention by the deities in Navajo life, thought and behavior. Supernaturals associated with the sacred mountains in the cardinal directions are conceived to be continually exercising surveillance over Navajo behavior, receiving reports about it by means of "little winds" and issuing injunctions telling how one should think and act. They are conceived to remove one's means of life on the basis of continued wrong doing. Evil powers too are considered to be able to have authority over thought and behavior to the extent that they are able to gain access to one's body and thoughts. If such relationships between man and supernatural powers, in their ideal forms, are to be characterized as "harmonious," it must be stressed that an equilibrium of man with such powers is not thereby implied. The superordination of the deities over man, in their roles of overseeing, guiding, and to a considerable extent controlling the life of the latter seems clear in at least this aspect of Navajo ideology (above, pp. 240-248).

The meaning of the phrase "są'ą́h naagháí bik'eh hózhóón," insofar as it has been understood, is not inconsistent with this view. If, with Haile and Witherspoon, these terms are taken to refer to a central power identified with earth's "inner form," it may be said that this power is believed by the Navajo to come to exist


within man (above, pp. 206-209). When one lives in accordance with such power, old age and hózhó, "conditions of beauty," are attainable and hózhó, "ugly" or "evil" conditions, are not admitted into one's life. Witherspoon's relating of the meaning of the phrase "są'ąh naaghái bik'eh hózhóón" to Navajo goals of "the continued re-occurrence of the completion of the life cycle" and maintenance of "the positive or ideal environment" is in general accord with the present view (above, p. 45). As has been seen, Navajo behavioral theory specifies the means by which the life cycle may be successfully completed and by which positive conditions may be maintained and restored (above, pp. 240-248).

The terms "álílee naaghái," which have been interpreted herein to have the same referents as "są'ąh naaghái," may be interpreted to mean "the one that re-occurs supernaturally," again referring to the rejuvenating power of the earth which was given to man (above, pp. 207-208). Perhaps the complete phrase "álílee naaghái bik'eh hózhóón" expresses the idea that "the one that re-occurs supernaturally gives conditions of beauty and well-being," once again referring to the means by which the good life may be attained, as expanded upon in the theory described herein.

According to the present interpretations, then, the Navajo hold that what are called "są'ąh naaghái" or "álílee naaghái" and "bik'eh hózhóón" were put up on earth's surface and that by them life will continually re-occur and ideal conditions will prevail. The good Navajo, one who "lacks faults" in his thoughts
and behavior, one who is healthy and prosperous, one whose life accords in every aspect with the right Navajo way, one who lives to a ripe old age, derives his strength for this kind of life from maintaining a proper relationship with such Holy Ones, from soliciting their help and guidance and living in accordance with their prescriptions. On the other hand, one who "has faults" in his thoughts and behavior, or one who suffers illness, poverty or other misfortune, must re-establish a proper relationship with the Holy Ones if his condition is to change for the better. The various ceremonials and prayers were given to the Navajo by the Holy People to help them achieve and maintain the ideal relationship, and nilch'i, "wind," is sent to them and placed within and about them toward the same end.

FOUNDATIONS IN REALITY

It is one thing for the Navajo to construct from the materials of their creation myth a theory of life, motion, sensation, thought, speech, and behavior, having "wind" as a focal concept. Quite another question, of course, is the degree to which this myth-based theory "holds to reality" (see theoretical discussion above, pp. 22-26). The many ways in which Navajo myth and the theoretical systems based upon it diverge from views of reality as constructed by modern science will be more apparent to bearers of western culture than the extent to which Navajo thought may successfully grasp reality. For this reason, emphasis will be given here to some
convergences which may be seen between Navajo thought and the views of science.

To be least contested, perhaps, are the truths which might be called "poetic" truths that are to be found in Navajo beliefs, what Jensen referred to as expressions of the "qualitative" aspects of reality (see above, p. 23). If Navajo thought is interpreted from this perspective it is possible to find verities that all might acknowledge: That earth is indeed our "mother" and the mother of all things on her surface; that "breath" is, in a sense, the very essence of life; that man and his natural environment consist of the same substances and forms; that our lives are constantly influenced by our environments. We can also recognize that Navajo feelings of security when they are among their own people are perhaps expressed in their conception that helpful "winds" are sent to them from the deities residing in the four mountains bounding their land. Perhaps from our own experiences we can recognize an expression of the psychological benefits of religious belief and prayer in Navajo accounts of the strength to be derived from prayers to their Holy Ones.

More problematical is the extent to which causal relations postulated by Navajo theory express similar relations as postulated by modern science. Comparisons of the two should not be expected to reveal identities between aspects of Navajo theory and of scientific theory since the basic theoretical entities of the two systems differ. However, following Lévi-Strauss' cue that traditional
systems of classification embodied in mythic thought, such as those based upon the species "grid," are suitable "codes" for conveying messages likened to languages, it is possible to look for ways in which the two languages in question, the Navajo "wind" theory and scientific theory explaining the same kinds of events, are conveying the same "messages" about causal relations (Lévi-Strauss 1966:75-76). It is in this sense that Horton could see expressions of the same reality in psychoanalytic concepts of warring factions within the mind and West African ideas about contesting souls within a body (see above, p. 25).

It is in this same sense that the Navajo theory appears to hold to at least some of the basic aspects of the same reality as is expressed in the modern scientific language of Mischel's social behavior theory, which is "... a synthesis of theoretical principles from the experimental study of social behavior and cognition" (Mischel 1968:149). In both theories, the recognition of the saliency of situational or environmental influences on thought and behavior, whether these influences be conceptualized as "winds" or as stimuli and reinforcement contingencies, stands in marked contrast to "folk" as well as scientific theories which stress the purely intrapsychic determinants of behavior (Mischel 1968:4-9, 299-300). If the "wind within one," as an immediate source of thought and behavior, be taken to refer in part to the same reality as an individual's repertoire of acquired or learned behaviors, in social behavior theory, then both theories concur that this reality
may be weakened or strengthened by means of external influences and experiences. In the same way, both theories, generally speaking, regard deviance as being a function of the situational conditions which produce it, whether these be thought of as stimulus conditions or as harmful "winds," rather than of intrapsychic pathology (Mischel 1968:150-201). Accordingly, both theories stress modification of the individual's relationships with some aspect of his environment as necessary for overcoming deviance, in the one case by removal of the offending "wind" through ceremonial means and in the other case by such means as manipulating the consequences of the deviant behaviors (Mischel 1968:165). In accounting for behavior both theories also give overt recognition to the effect of social influences upon the individual's behavior, conceptualized in both instances in terms of the efficacy of others' examples and of persuasive communications, informing the individual of the likely consequences of particular behaviors (Mischel 1968:150-168; above, p. 220).

Seen in this perspective, the Navajo emphasis on external determinants of thought and behavior, however alien to our way of thinking may be the "code" in which the basic message is conveyed, does apparently grasp a reality that our modern science has only recently begun to fully appreciate.

It is easy to overstate this argument: There are, of course, fundamental and critical differences between the Navajo theory and such theories as Mischel's. The theoretical relevance of Holy People, "messenger winds," "ghosts," and witchcraft in Navajo
explanations of behavior, and ceremonial practices for invoking beneficial spiritual agencies and exorcising harmful ones in Navajo prescriptions for behavioral change, are only a few of the features of Navajo belief which obviously diverge from anything proposed by social behavior theorists. Even these qualifications, however, are not to imply that such aspects of Navajo belief are "sponsored by absurdity." Physicians and psychiatrists personally attest to the therapeutic benefits of Navajo healing practices in at least some instances; and, as Horton has indicated, traditional theories may arrive at some reality-based causal connections, such as the relationship of sickness to disturbances of social life, prior to their full appreciation by modern science (1967a:55-57).
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