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Navajo Games

JANET M. CLIFF

INTRODUCTION

This article is a review and synthesis of materials on Navajo games, with an annotated bibliography of those materials. Because this work addresses two different but not incompatible audiences—Navajo scholars and game scholars—I have not attempted to clarify game terms and issues for Navajo scholars, and vice versa. Readers wishing more background on either subject should consult appropriate works.

These materials contribute to our understanding of Navajos, games, and scholarship. First, this work reveals that there is more information on Navajo games than one might initially expect. In addition, it provides background information for further research on both Navajos and games. The information presented here challenges Western perceptions of games and playing. It reveals the interrelationship between games and other aspects of Navajo culture. Finally, it demonstrates that one can gain a great deal of information from unscholarly, generalized resources.

Of the 329 works considered for this paper, 163 are included, regardless of whether documenting or describing games was the authors' primary interest. While this evaluation is not definitive, I have personally reviewed all of the works cited. In the introduction, I provide information essential for understanding the subsequent discussions, first on the relationship between games and religion (p. 5), then on the nature of games and gaming (p. 15), followed by descriptions of specific games, toys, and play activities (p. 31); I end the discussion with a summary and suggestions for future scholarship (p. 41). The essay concludes with notes (p. 44) and an annotated bibliography (p. 63).

Janet M. Cliff received her Ph.D. in folklore and mythology from UCLA in 1990.

FIGURE 1. "Lazy Day," by James Wayne Yazzie (from the collection of James T. Bialac). Reprinted from *Southwest Indian Painting, A Changing Art*, by Clara Lee Tanner (1973), University of Arizona Press, by permission of the author and James T. Bialac.

By "Navajo games" I mean any game, toy, or play activity participated in or described by Navajos and/or Navajo scholars. Thus, basketball, frisbee, and eye juggling are included. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine which games are, or were, "traditional Navajo" games. The Navajos and their Native American neighbors readily admit to learning each other's games. Some games have been so well incorporated into Navajo society that scholars have labeled them "traditional," regardless of the fact that they could have existed only in the New World since the arrival of the Europeans.

The name of a specific game identified by either informants or researchers is capitalized; generic names and toys are lower case (e.g., Rummy and cards). Where information was insufficient to determine whether a game was specific or generic, I did not capitalize the name of the game. Where the name of a game is the same as the title of the story or the name of a character, I have used quotes. Thus, Moccasin Game is the name of the game; "The Moccasin Game" is the title of the story; and The Moccasin Game refers to both the game and the story. Likewise, Great Gambler is the name of a character in the story "The Great Gambler," and The Great Gambler refers to both the character and the story. Some Navajo scholars have been ambivalent in their use of such terms as *chant, ceremony,* and *way.* Based on the contextual information, it has been difficult to determine which term to use.[1] Those who are particularly interested in religious aspects should examine the specific works.

Many difficulties arise in conducting research on Navajo games. First, Navajos are notorious for the "subtle tricks" (e.g., doing a dance backwards for a film) they play on ignorant and/or obtrusive researchers.[2] Some of the unusual variations in the games and narratives, I suspect, are examples of this. Other difficulties arise because of the lack of interest in the topic among scholars.

Most of the works I cite are scholarly in intention. However, children's books, biographies and autobiographies, and works containing traditional narratives turned out to be good sources. Authors of most children's books on Indian games consider Indians a homogeneous group and provide no analysis. Likewise, they often neglect citing their references or indicating specifically what modifications have been made to create games palatable to youngsters and authorizing school boards. However, children's

books do provide the best description of how a game is played, because the authors are attempting to teach the game and often also explain how to make the implements needed for play. Biographical works present information about the contexts for game playing and cite games actually played. Unfortunately, most biographies provide no index, lack detail, and naturally include little or no analysis. Numerous works relate stories with games, providing values and beliefs about the game, as well as clues about how the game is currently being played. However, these narratives sometimes include games that no one plays or even knows. Films and illustrations reveal the positions of the players, recordings provide tunes for the songs, and newspapers demonstrate the popularity of certain sports.[3] Works which did not initially appear to provide information became a substantial part of this review.

Most works focus on adult games, in contrast to research on Euro-American folk games, which examines primarily children's games. Furthermore, Navajos of all ages participate in many activities labeled as *children's* games by Westerners. A major question is why there is such a paucity of works on games, regardless of the age group. Researchers are influenced by the Protestant work ethic; "real" scholarship can be done only on serious subjects, those leading to some tangible, productive item or to the fine arts. Thus, the study of Navajo folklore has largely focused on narrative and material culture, to the exclusion of other forms of expressive behavior. To many researchers, games represent the antithesis of productivity.[4] Even in present folklore studies, the lack of research on folk games reveals that scholars still consider them to constitute a minor genre. So firm were and are researchers' biases that although Navajo researchers make such statements as "all spare time is devoted to sports," the chief's wife "made herself three small sticks for gambling and would go off all day," "Navajos love to have a good time," and they "play games while waiting," no one has done an extensive study on Navajo games.

Many authors who include Navajo games do not state where they got the information: Are they primary or secondary resources? Contextual information is almost nonexistent. Several authors write that games are played at "ceremonies," but do not state which ones. At best, researchers compare the rules of Navajo games to those in other cultures. Thus, one sees that

while some have been interested in the Navajos, no one has been particularly interested in their games.

Through the combination of various comments about individual games and playing contexts as presented here, one can begin to understand the role of games in society and for the individual, attitudes toward games, the relationship between games and other aspects of culture, and the nature of games and gaming.

GAMES AND RELIGION

A study of Navajo games should begin with their religious foundations. Although scholars still do not fully comprehend the complexities of the Navajo ceremonial system(s),[5] few have explored the relationship between games and religion.

Many games are interconnected with religion and/or are founded on religious beliefs.[6] Not only do games unite earth and sky people; the Holy People are also the originators of the rules for various games played by humans.[7] Priestly rites exist for gambling,[8] and stories of good luck at gambling can assure a successful hunt.[9]

While traditional games have origin myths, seasonal restrictions, and an affinity with ceremonies, even the "modern" game of Basketball has incorporated religious elements.[10] Besides the official purposes for having ceremonies, these events also provide an excuse for Navajos living in relative isolation to congregate.

> Naturally there are long intervals during three, five and nine night ceremonials in which the singer and his helpers are idle. This may happen either because the ceremonies of the morning are concluded, or because the ritual requires only a short afternoon ceremony and the singer must await the arrival of the late afternoon or evening for night ceremonies. Nothing in Navaho ritual seems to forbid that these intervals be filled with races or other games of chance. [Such games] are permissible near or on the ceremonial grounds.[11]

The following activities have been documented as occurring during breaks in ceremonies: archery, cards, foot and horse races,

jumping, Stick Dice, Moccasin Game, Hoop and Pole, and Shinny.[12] Furthermore, the Franciscan Fathers note that Moccasin Game "is interrupted only in the course of actual singing or sand painting."[13] Generally, the ceremonies that have included games are not specified, nor is the relationship between a specific game and a specific ceremony examined.

Moccasin Game and Hoop and Pole appear to have a close alliance with religious ceremonies. On two occasions Moccasin Game "was added to the ritual of a chantway."[14] Its origin story may be part of the Beautyway narrative[15] and perhaps is the basis for the Dead Spirit ceremony.[16] In addition, Moccasin Game

> seems to have had a certain amount of religious significance. An offering of turquoise was given to the yucca plant that furnished the ball and counters; it was deposited by the chanter in charge of the ceremony. When the game ended, the same individual hid the counters and ball and made another turquoise offering. At this time a prayer was said asking for the quick recovery of the patient. It was also customary for a contestant who had scored ten points to pray for the patient or blow smoke through the smokehole in order to insure fast recovery.[17]

Thus, in addition to being permitted at ceremonies, games may actually be beneficial to the patient in a healing ceremony.

Hoop and Pole appears to be inadvertently aligned with ceremonies. Culin believes the "gaming ring" used in a curing ceremony, as described by Stevenson (1891), is the ring for Hoop and Pole.[18] Matthews notes that Hatdastsisi, associated with the Night Chant ceremony,

> carries on his back a ring about 12 inches in diameter made of yucca leaves. . . . The ring is like that used in the game of *nanzoz* [Hoop and Pole] and indicates that the god is a great gambler in *nanzoz*.[19]

However, Matthews does not mention whether or not the impersonator of the god actually plays Hoop and Pole when he attends the ceremony. Instead, the impersonator cures diseases in the visitors to the Night Chant ceremony.[20] Hastseltsi, Red God or Racing God, is also associated with the Night Chant cere-

mony. His impersonator challenges others to foot races and does not assist either the patient or the visitors.

Many ceremonies and games have seasonal restrictions. Winter begins with the first killing frost and ends with the first lightning bolt. However, seasonal restrictions on Shinny, Stick Dice, and Hoop and Pole appear to be idiosyncratic.[21] Most Navajos agree that string figures should not be made in the summer, but this taboo apparently is violated with some frequency.[22] Moccasin Game is played only during the winter. Hill specifies that in October, it is played only with five- and nine-night ceremonies.[23] Furthermore, Franc Newcomb notes that no games can be played during Gahnji, the thirteenth month corresponding to the end of October and the beginning of November.[24]

These seasonal restrictions match other religious beliefs. Most traditional narratives may not be told during the summer; even some published stories and films have winter restrictions.[25] David Aberle and Gretchen Chapin complain about the difficulty they had during the summer in collecting narratives that included games.[26] Since most traditional games are based on or found in the Origin Myth,[27] they naturally have seasonal restrictions.

Whether a game has an origin story or is included as an episode in another narrative, these stories provide clues to the values and beliefs about games, as well as to how games were being played at the time of the telling. However, these narratives may include games that no one plays, knows, or could possibly play if he or she knew them. Games are most often cited in "The Emergence," "The Growth of the Nation," chantway narratives, "The Great Gambler," "The Race with Frog," Coyote tales, and "The Moccasin Game." All of these narratives, however, are sometimes referred to as parts of "The Origin Myth." Although string figures are described as being made in conjunction with the telling of stories, no narrative has been specified for them.

Games apparently were known in the previous worlds. Once the people entered this world, they immediately began either to play these games or to create new ones.[28] Games mentioned in emergence stories are archery, *aspin, Atsa,* Ball Race, "three kinds of dice," *Dilkon,* foot races, Hoop and Pole, *Patole,* and Stick Dice. "The Stick Race" appears fairly early in the Origin Myth,[29] as does "The Separation of Sexes," which in some versions is caused by women's excessive gambling at Stick Dice.[30] The

Twins race with the Holy People, and while Changing Woman travels to her home in the west, there is a foot race.[31] Birds also race, although whether they race on foot or in the air is unclear.[32] As various clans come together to form the Navajo tribe, they play Hoop and Pole, Moccasin Game, a game with a stone on a foot, a type of tag set in a cornfield, and hide and seek set in a cornfield.[33]

Chantway narratives relate the origins of various religious practices and beliefs (e.g., curing rituals). Because of the interrelatedness and obsolescence of some of the chantways, difficulties arise in determining how many chantways exist(ed). However, eleven include the playing of games. In five chantways, the hero becomes separated from his people because he gambles excessively at ball, dice, foot racing, Hoop and Pole, kickstick, *ne'ji,* Seven Card Dice, and/or Straddlesticks.[34] Because he is unsuccessful at gambling and reduces his family to poverty, his family expels him. The child hero may be separated by being kidnapped while the Holy People play tag[35] or while the family plays games.[36]

Once he embarks on his own adventure, the protagonist plays with children,[37] joins the wrens in rock sliding,[38] and submits to a suitor test.[39] He contends with others who are indulging in games: women arguing over Stick Dice;[40] Jicarilla Apache who are late to a dance because of gambling at Hoop and Pole on the way;[41] Plains Indians playing Hoop and Pole;[42] the hero's parents playing at a ceremony/dance;[43] and the Holy People perhaps engaged in a race.[44] Two episodes in the hero's adventure have become stories in their own right.

In the Prostitution Way and the Water Way, the hero encounters Great Gambler/White Butterfly.[45] "The Great Gambler" also has become a popular and well-docmented story outside the frame of either the Prostitution Way or the Water Way.[46] Interestingly, Tom Ration, the most recent narrator of "The Great Gambler," is the only one to refer to the "Prostitute Way" during a telling that was not connected to a ceremony (1977). The Great Gambler was referred to as far back as 1854 and has been mentioned intermittently through the years.[47] Washington Matthews republished his 1889 article "Noqoilpi, the Gambler" in 1897;[48] William Whitman retranslated it for children in 1925;[49] and Paul Zolbrod retranslated it in 1984.[50] Larry Evers also rewrote "The Great Gambler" based on Aileen O'Bryan's "The Story of No-

qoilpi, "The Great Gambler."[51] Thus, from Prostitution Way and Water Way narratives and from independent episodes, thirteen versions of "The Great Gambler" exist. Two of these versions appear to be from the same informant, first collected in 1923–24 by Pliny Earle Goddard and in 1928 by O'Bryan.[52]

Whether as part of a chantway or as an independent story, "The Great Gambler" is fairly consistent. Great Gambler is challenged to a series of games by his identical twin in the separate story or by Downy Home Man in the chantways. A total of fifteen games are ascribed to Great Gambler: Ball Game (Rat/Mouse/Bird), Ball Race, Baseball, foot race (Wind/Breeze and Frog), Guessing Game (Wind/Breeze), a guessing game (Wind), Hoop and Pole (Snake), Kicked Stick (Woodpecker), Measuring Worm (Measuring Worm), Push on the Wood (Wind and Worm/Gopher), Seven Card Dice (Bat/Wind), Shinny (Bird), Stick Dice (Lightning/Wind), Thirteen Chips (Bat/Canary), and wrestling (Wind). The challenger wins these competitions through the aid of the Holy People. Four games appear frequently and often in the same order: Seven Card Dice or its variant, Thirteen Chips; Hoop and Pole; Push on the Wood; and the foot race. In one version, instead of a foot race, it is a flying race.[53]

Only at the close does the story vary. At his defeat in the chantways, Great Gambler asks to be killed by his rebounding ax (i.e., the ax kills the striker). The challenger is warned, and Great Gambler is successfully decapitated. Butterflies—usually white—emerge, accounting for Great Gambler's name, White Butterfly, in the chantways. In one version, however, butterflies are not mentioned.[54]

Goddard's and O'Bryan's informant retains the rebounding ax. But instead of decapitating Great Gambler, the challenger shoots him into the sky with a bow. Chapin, Evers, Stanley Fishler, Matthews, Richard Pousma, Ration, and P. G. S. Ten Broeck include only the bow and arrow image. Furthermore, all of these variants end with Great Gambler becoming a Spaniard, Mexican, or Anglo.

Two versions have a unique ending. The Lula Wade Wetherill and Byron Cummings text closes with Great Gambler never being challenged and thus never being defeated. His slaves eventually murder him and bury him under a rock.[55] Pousma's version concludes with Great Gambler's widow challenging the

victor to a guessing game.[56] All versions of "The Great Gambler" take place in Chaco Canyon and provide an explanation for the ruin now called Pueblo Bonito.

Another game that chantway heroes encounter during their adventures is a foot race with Frog/Toad. This race is found in Hail Way and Wind Way narratives and is similar to the race between Great Gambler and his challenger. In "The Great Gambler," the contestants usually race around a hill or mountain. With the assistance of Wind/Breeze, the challenger avoids and then catches the bewitched missiles that Great Gambler shoots at him. The challenger then shoots Great Gambler with the missiles and wins the race.[57] In two versions of "The Great Gambler," Frog assists the challenger, and no mention is made of the bewitched missiles. Instead, Frog urinates on Great Gambler's path in the race, causing him to slip just before the finish.[58]

Gladys Reichard and Mary Wheelwright collected the Hail Way narrative from one informant, Klah.[59] In "The Race with Frog," Klah includes two circular foot races. In the first race, without an assistant, the hero is shot three or four times with arrows or hail from Frog and loses parts of his body. After the Holy People revive him, the hero again challenges Frog to a race. This time, the Holy People assist him. During the race, Frog and the hero attempt to confuse each other through their powers over natural elements (e.g., clouds, rain, fog, hail, whirlwind, lightning, cattails, and pollen). Frog loses. Like Great Gambler, Frog has a rebounding ax, but he is not killed.[60]

The Wind Way narrative also includes a race between Frog and the hero. In one version, there are two races. Frog wins the first race and gains the hero's legs. To escape an ogress, Frog hides the hero. Frog challenges the woman to a race, with the hero as the prize. Frog either confuses the woman through his power over the weather or forces her to run where he has urinated, causing her to fail. In either case, Frog wins and the man is released.[61] The similarities between "The Great Gambler" and "The Race with Frog" are striking and suggest possible connections among several characters.

Coyote, the trickster, appears to be a natural gamer and participates because he wants to eat or because the game looks like fun. Coyote usually runs a circular foot race, as in "The Great Gambler" and "The Race with Frog," with Skunk/Wildcat to get all of the roasting prairie dogs.[62] Likewise, Coyote challenges Por-

cupine to a jumping game in order to get the elk Porcupine has killed.[63] In both cases, the game is a minor, albeit critical, part of the story. Although Coyote wins the games, at the end of the narrative he is still hungry.

When Coyote intrudes while others are playing, the game is a major part of the story, and Coyote is physically injured. In playing Hoop and Pole with the beavers or otters, Coyote literally loses his skin.[64] When Coyote insists on joining lizards in rock sliding, he dies and usually is ritually revived by them.[65] Berard Haile's text does not specify the consequences of Coyote's involvement except to say, "He failed completely."[66] In one version, Coyote joins some birds that are rock sliding. In this case, he does not die but is injured.[67] Interestingly, in the Beautyway narrative, the heroine attempts rock sliding with some birds she meets. She is killed, and animals (Holy People?) ritually restore her.[68]

Birds are often associated with eye juggling,[69] although in one version lizards are mentioned.[70] Here again, Coyote insists on joining in the game and loses his eyes in the end.[71] In another variation he does not lose his eyes by juggling them, but by using them as marbles when playing with the birds.[72]

Pousma provides two atypical Coyote tales that include games. In one, Coyote observes birds' play involving water.[73] Instead of asking to join, he mocks the birds. Eventually he is trapped, killed, and skinned for his behavior, and the birds wear his fur. This apparently is a variant of "Coyote and the Otters" found in Matthews.[74] In Pousma's version of "Coyote and the Beavers," the game element is completely omitted.[75]

Barre Toelken recorded a tale in which Coyote tries to trick Skunk into playing the eye juggling game that he learned from the birds. Coyote hopes Skunk will lose his eyes, so he can eat him. This story combines both of the usual outcomes for Coyote when he plays games: He is injured, and he remains hungry.[76]

Coyote also is a character in "The Moccasin Game" (see figure 2). However, this narrative is rarely considered a Coyote tale. Haile justifies this distinction by stating that in "The Moccasin Game," Coyote is following the directions of First Man and First Woman and is not acting on his own.[77] Thus, "The Moccasin Game" usually is part of the Origin Myth.

"The Moccasin Game" is the most frequently documented narrative that includes a game.[78] The story consists of the set-up and

FIGURE 2. "The First Moccasin Game," by Raymond J. Johnson. Reprinted from *Navajo Studies at Navajo Community College,* by Ruth Roessel (1971), by permission of the artist.

action of the game, especially noting the cheating by the participants. Whether Yeitso,[79] Coyote,[80] or the other animals instigate the game, it is a competition over whether there will be eternal day or eternal night. In one version, they are gambling for eternal life or death.[81] The nocturnal and diurnal animals form the two teams. Coyote's continual switching between sides is justified by the fact that he is both a diurnal and nocturnal animal.[82]

The game takes place in a cave at Red Rock Canyon on the Continental Divide.[83] The participants play as people do today, except that, as animals and/or Holy People, they have two cheating techniques humans do not have. Yeitso, a giant, has the ability to locate the buried ball.[84] He cries when his side is losing.[85] Like a human, Owl, a nocturnal animal, holds the ball instead of hiding it in a moccasin.[86] But unlike humans, the diurnal animals Gopher and Locust, who leaves his shell above ground, tunnel underground to locate the ball.[87] In one version, Owl holds the ball twice.[88] In another, Gopher, while underground, moves the ball after Yeitso has made his guess.[89]

Whether the game ends after the first night or is continued for four nights,[90] neither side wins. The result is the perpetual alternation of day and night. In only two versions is gambling viewed negatively. Talking God Leading Dawn warns against gambling,[91] and the gamblers disguise themselves so Dawn-woman will not recognize them.[92] Ten other versions end with the animals inexplicably changing physically.[93] Bear's and Crow's alterations are most frequently reported, although seventeen other animals are also mentioned. Newcomb and Reichard also cite geographical changes at the end of the story.[94]

Moccasin Game is referred to in two other narratives. Coyote steals fire from the Holy People while they are playing Moccasin Game.[95] Changing Woman attends a Moccasin Game with First Woman.[96] Later, while Changing Woman is absent, the players gossip about her sexual relations during the game.[97]

Games and religion obviously are interrelated in Navajo culture. Religious aspects are even incorporated into nontraditional games (e.g., cards, Basketball, and horse racing). In narratives with a religious foundation, descriptions of games reveal much information about gaming practices. Games mentioned in religious narratives seem to fall into three major categories: known games, unknown games that actually could be played based on

the descriptions, and games without descriptions. The two latter categories may include games that were played at one time or are still being played but are called by different names. Only Coyote's eye juggling game cannot be played by us mortals.

For the most part, "The Emergence," "The Growth of the Nation," and chantways include only brief references to games, so one does not learn much about the actual games. However, these references do suggest attitudes toward games and gaming. Games are viewed either positively or negatively. After the emergence, the people are not described as lazy or irresponsible when they immediately begin playing games created by the Holy People or creating their own games. When various clans meet, eventually forming the Navajo tribe, they begin to play together. In two chantway narratives, the protagonist either plays with children or observes a Plains tribe playing Hoop and Pole. These episodes suggest that playing is an acceptable activity; that the people are not suffering physically, since playing does not satisfy immediate biologically based survival needs; and, perhaps most importantly, that the participants are human. Surely, when you meet someone who could harm you, but you find that he or she is playing a game you recognize, you feel comforted. In short, games establish whether the people in question are "civilized" or not. If unfamiliar people play your games, then perhaps they can be trusted and even welcomed into the tribe.

Negative attitudes toward gaming also appear. One strong element of Navajo religion is balance, that is, avoiding excess or lack of control. When characters become too involved in games, negative consequences occur: Children are kidnapped while their guardians play; excessive gaming leads to arguments or marital disputes; people are late to an event because of their involvement in a game.

The major warning is against excessive gambling. In half of the chantway narratives that include games and in "The Moccasin Game," the playing of games itself is not censured. Instead, uncontrolled gambling is criticized. As part of the Prostitution Way, "The Great Gambler" naturally warns against gambling excessively. The Prostitution Way is not so much about prostitution, as about excessiveness. Reichard feels it should be called Excess, Recklessness, or Rashness Chant, and Wyman refers to it as Excessway.[98] Coyote's injuries while playing and, in Beautyway,

the protagonist's "death" from rock sliding also appear to be general comments about what happens when someone lacks control.

Cheating is not viewed negatively in narratives. Holy People and heroes cheat, and such behavior seems to be expected.[99] Reichard believes that when cheating is reprimanded, it is not because of ethics, "but because the one attempting the deception was unskillful."[100]

Cheating is specified in stories that focus on the game. Great Gambler and his challenger cheat in "The Great Gambler," Frog and the hero cheat in "The Race with Frog," and members of both teams cheat in "The Moccasin Game." While Coyote technically does not cheat, he certainly takes advantage of his competitors' physical weaknesses when he challenges Skunk to a race and Porcupine to a jumping game.

THE NATURE OF GAMES AND GAMING

In descriptions of Navajo games and gaming, some generalities emerge. Navajos associate games with adults and not children, although children have their own activities and can participate in adult games "for practice." Adult solitary play has been documented only twice,[101] whereas children frequently play alone.[102]

Navajo games have been characterized as games of chance and dexterity,[103] but strategy is not entirely absent. Some adults are named for their gaming abilities: Hoop-Poler, Slim Gambler, Stick Bounder, Woman Playing Cards, and Woman Who Flips Her Cards.[104] Although Navajos do not devote all their energies to play, Euro-Americans often have complained that Navajos spend too much time playing; and Navajos have complained that when employed by non-Indians, they have little time for play.[105]

Recent comparative studies of Navajo sports behavior reveal the Navajos' underlying attitudes toward gaming. Apparently, the goal of any game is not so much to win as simply not to lose. One is considered successful in sports based not on product (i.e., winning), but on process (i.e., effort and ability). Thus, a player often is competing with herself/himself, instead of with others. Furthermore, although a player may not want to lose, he or she does not want to appear too much better than the opponents and

must shun public recognition in order to avoid the accusation of practicing witchcraft.[106] This is not to imply that Navajos are noncompetitive, for even in activities that are not normally considered competitive, they can exhibit this characteristic. Toelken

> recalls[s] that kids would sit in a circle and do the [string] figures, passing the loop from one to another, clockwise. It was slightly competitive, in that each person tried to produce a figure which the others hadn't. . . .[107]

If process determines success, this could account for the lack of reference to, or the denial of, referees.[108]

The benefits of playing have been related only in connection with children. Haile notes that Moccasin Game teaches children not to lose their tempers.[109] The benefits of making string figures have also been noted.[110] Toelken's informants are the most articulate. String figures (see figure 3) occupy children's attention, provide amusement, teach concentration, help people think so they will not get lost or in trouble, keep lives in order, demonstrate how human lives relate to nature, and show how to avoid confusion and sickness.[111]

Scholars often have commented that Navajos have a song for everything, and games are no exception. While no documentation exists of singing games (i.e., a play or game activity for which a song creates the structure—and often also the rhythm), different forms of game songs (i.e., songs that usually are sung only in a play or game context but do not provide the structure of the activity) are quite common. Thus, songs exist for making gaming equipment, for gambling, and for specific games. Song games (i.e., a play or game activity that is sung, but the song does not provide the structure for the activity) may also exist. Hegemann refers to "competitive singing bouts."[112]

Although many Native American scholars have stressed the importance and recurrence of the cardinal directions and the circular motif, these are not reflected in Navajo games. In fact, if any direction is specified, it is just as often linear as circular. For example, in races (Ball, foot, horse, Stick) the contestants run to a specified point and perhaps turn back (see figure 4). Euro-Americans appear to have introduced circular tracks for racing. Hoop and Pole was played either on an east-west or north-south course, and the moccasins for Moccasin Game are buried in an

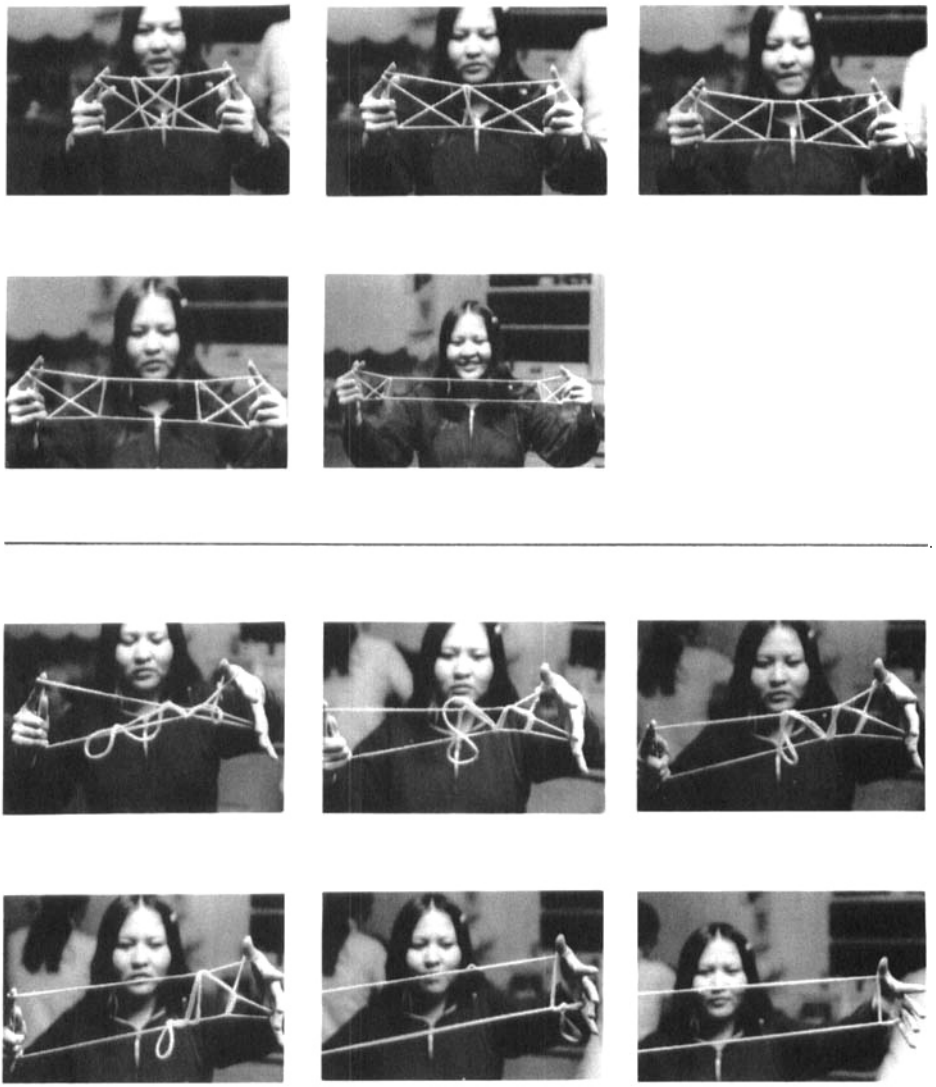

FIGURE 3. Top: "Two Coyotes Running Away from Each Other."
Bottom: "A Worm Crawling Along."
Photos by Barre Toelken. Reprinted from *The Dynamics of Folklore*, by Barre Toelken (1979), Houghton Mifflin, by permission of the author.

FIGURE 4. Horse Race. Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, E. Hegemann, photographer.

east-west line. In Navajo style Baseball (see figure 5), which was popular from around 1865 to the end of the nineteenth century, the bases were placed at the four cardinal directions and were run sunwise (clockwise). The placing of bases for American style Baseball in Navajo country has not been specified in published literature. The bases are run counterclockwise. Stick Dice appears to be the only game played in this century that includes the circular motif. However, during the nineteenth century, both Edward Palmer and Matthews noted that the Stick Dice "board" was arranged in a square.[113] Thus, neither the orientation of the cardinal directions nor the circular motif appears to be a strong characteristic of Navajo games.

One important element in Navajo gaming practices is gambling (see figure 6),[114] which may be the Navajo criterion for defining an activity as a game. The connection between gambling and games can be inferred through scholars' interpretations of informants' comments. Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn state that "[archery] was not considered a game at Ramah, and there was

Fig. 1085.

Fig. 1086.

FIG. 1085. Ball; diameter, 2¼ inches; Thompson Indians, British Columbia; cat. no. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$, American Museum of Natural History; from Teit.
FIG. 1086. Bat; length, 24¼ inches; Thompson Indians, British Columbia; cat. no. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$, American Museum of Natural History; from Teit.

FIGURE 5. Baseball. Reprinted from *Games of the North American Indians*, by Stewart Culin (1907), Smithsonian Institution.

no betting," and "[a]ccording to Inf. 7, there was neither betting nor a referee; and [Stick R]ace was therefore not considered a game."[115] Newcomb and the Franciscan Fathers further note that there was no interest in games that lacked gambling.[116] The possibility that gambling is the criterion for determining whether an activity is a game may explain the pervasiveness of gambling in Navajo society.

Many Euro-Americans who have had contact with Navajos have described them as "passionate," "inveterate," and "incorrigible" gamblers.[117] "Betting is a tribal pastime,"[118] and "nearly all Navajo men gamble."[119] Women also gamble, "but not as much as men," and "betting [is] . . . indulged in by both spectators and contestants."[120] Frank Mitchell's *Navajo Blessingway Singer* provides an excellent view of the pervasiveness of gambling, for Mitchell, according to his wife, was an obsessive gambler.[121] In short, "if you ask a white man what the Navajo crimes are, he will tell you . . . gambling. . . ."[122]

While Navajos may be "addicted to gambling,"[123] when they

engage in an activity "'for practice' by chidren, or 'just for fun,'" they do not gamble.[124] Furthermore, not all Navajos gamble[125] or have the means to gamble: "[Inf. 1] had never learned to play [Stick Dice] because he 'never had anything to bet.'"[126]

In narratives, uncontrolled gambling is criticized.[127] Euro-American attitudes toward gambling also have become a factor in Navajo play:

> Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, the morals of the Navajos became a matter of public concern. Early agents and officers had reported them well-behaved except for their two characteristic vices, polygamy and gambling.[128]

Some influential Navajos opposed gambling on the grounds that it wasted time and money.[129] Such opposition probably contributed to the decline of some traditional Navajo games. Elizabeth Hegemann notes that while "the Indian Bureau regulations did not allow gambling on the reservation, nor were traders allowed to sell playing-cards or dice," government stockmen and Navajo policemen ignored the gambling that took place during Squaw Dances.[130] However, Irene Stewart's father was imprisoned several months for gambling.[131] Dane and Mary Roberts Coolidge perhaps give the best perspective on the pervasiveness of gambling in Navajo society: "Gambling, then as now, was no more common among the Navajos than among the rough whites by whom the Reservation was surrounded."[132]

If gambling is the criterion for defining a game, then undoubtedly gambling "can be part of any game."[133] Thus, gambling is or has been included in archery, Ball Game, Ball Race, Baseball, cards, Crossed-stick, Guessing Game, Hoop and Pole, jumping game, Kicked Stick, Moccasin Game, Push-on-the-Wood, foot and horse racing, Seven Card Dice, Shinny, Stick Dice, and Thirteen Chips. Unfortunately, whether or not gambling exists in other "games" is unknown. Interestingly, Andy Tsihnahjinnie's painting, *The Gamblers,* depicts only one type of game: cards (see figure 6).[134]

Little is known about beliefs in luck. However, George Wharton James's report of a gambling amulet, Evers's aside about gamblers placing beads in rats' and owls' nests, and Aberle's reference to a good luck method for Stick Dice are connected to

FIGURE 6. "The Gamblers," by Andy Tsihnah-jinnie. Reprinted from *Southwest Indian Painting, A Changing Art,* by Clara Lee Tanner (1973), University of Arizona Press, by permission of the author.

The Great Gambler.[135] In Stick Dice, players can manipulate the dice in a certain manner "to break bad luck or insure further good luck."[136]

Specifics about gambling are lacking also. Wagers (e.g., arrows, blankets, bridles, buckskins, horses, money, saddle blankets, saddlebags, saddles, silver jewelry, and turquoise[137]) are placed before the action and are set aside (e.g., in blankets, under rocks, in roof beams). Newcomb's involvement with gambling provides the best information on the procedures. The first (and perhaps only) time Newcomb played Moccasin Game, she placed a wager:

> [W]e handed our bets to the man in charge of the game and watched as he put them in a sack with the others, tied the sack, and buried it at the end of the mound of sand. Placing a blanket over the spot he proceeded to sit on it. I smiled a little at those elaborate precautions to insure the safety of the bets.[138]

Newcomb did not stay till the end of the game and, apparently, did not request the return of her wager. She became more involved in another gambling experience when she bet on her own horse:

> Everyone eyed Bay Billy [Newcomb's horse], commenting on his good points and pointing out his weak ones, trying to estimate his speed. A horse owner from the opposite group led out a long-limbed, Roman-nosed gray gelding ridden by a small barefoot boy. . . . I thought the horse looked like a veteran racer, and the boy seemed part of the horse—a hard combination to beat. Both horses were now paraded up and down the track for all to see and make a choice.
>
> A blanket was spread on the track between the two groups of spectators and the betting began. A person on one side would hold up a silver bracelet, which would be matched by a bracelet on the other side, then both would be deposited on the blanket. . . . Gradually the number of articles on the blanket grew to a good-sized pile. I held up three silver dollars, and the woman on the other side matched with a pair of turquoise earrings. We both walked to the blanket and deposited our bets. Finally the betting ended, and the

> men on the racing committee knotted the corners of the blanket and set it to one side.[139]

Bay Billy lost. Newcomb concurs with others that Navajos are good losers.[140]

Newcomb's experience at the horse race reveals an important aspect of gambling: It can require extensive strategy. In this case, everyone who wished to be involved with the race carefully evaluated Bay Billy. Then someone selected another horse that he felt was a fairly even match for Bay Billy. The potential gamblers compared the two horses. If the horses were unevenly matched, there would be few, if any, bets. We know nothing about the other owner's wager, if he bet at all. Next, potential bettors had to determine how much they would place on their selected horse and find someone to bet against. Finally, each bettor had to evaluate the opposing bettor's wager to determine if the bets were equal. Although a race between two horses may appear relatively simple, the gambling requires careful calculation.

Perhaps then, gambling is not only the criterion for determining whether an activity is a game; it also should be considered a game in itself. If this is the case, then the other games that include gambling could be viewed as simply the means for Navajos to play what may truly be their favorite game—gambling.

Some connection seems to exist between gambling and cheating in Navajo gaming practices. "The Great Gambler" focuses on both the gambling and the cheating by the two protagonists. "The Moccasin Game" follows the cheating of the opposing sides as they wager for eternal day or night. In cursing another Navajo, a man describes the two traits. The condemned man explains,

> I lost everything because an old Navajo man put a curse on me, saying, "You, Son of Watchman, you think you can ridicule me and get by with it. Well, you have gambled long enough, cheating and taking my grandson's silver buttons. You will lose everything and die chewing on the soles of your moccasins."[141]

Gambling seems to lend itself to cheating, and players do not always gamble on their own side:

> SG related an incident in which a leader, having chosen an excellent team [for Shinny], bet heavily and lost be-

> cause his teammates, without telling him, placed their wagers on their opponents and allowed them to win.[142]

Although it is difficult to determine how much deception actually occurs, cheating during play may be another strong element of Navajo gaming.

Like gambling, cheating can be viewed as a form of strategy. Theoretically, cheating increases a player's chances of winning—or at least not losing—a game. Furthermore, knowing that the players may be cheating affects the gamblers' calculations when placing a bet. Thus, the gambling for the relatively simple horse race described above had already become complex, and the complexities would increase if the gamblers calculated in the possibility of cheating.

Apparently, cheating is not viewed negatively. In fact, all contextual data characterize a positive mood during actions that include cheating. Also, in two instances the informants considered cheating a joke.[143] This attitude toward cheating is similar to Euro-American attitudes toward pranks on April Fool's Day and other nonmalevolent deceptions. However, it is unclear whether those who have lost their bets consider cheating "hilariously funny."[144]

While cheating is anticipated and possibly regarded as humorous, discovered cheating requires some form of reprimand.[145] Usually, players correct the deception by either returning an object to its original position or redoing the action; or the players return the items wagered and terminate the game. In only one instance did an informant cite the expulsion of a player for his discovered cheating.[146]

Although cheating appears to be a regular aspect of Navajo gaming, most early works do not refer to it or comment on it. This lack of reference is perplexing. Perhaps cheating as part of gaming did not exist earlier. This is doubtful, for many traditional narratives that include gaming mention at least one participant who cheats. Perhaps early ethnographers did not notice cheating or did not understand the games well enough to know that a player had cheated. Perhaps the collector believed the cheating to be an isolated incident and glossed over it in order to present Navajos positively to the general reading public. Or worse, perhaps collectors did not realize that cheating could be part of a game. Only W. W. Hill was interested in cheating and

apparently specifically asked informants how one could cheat at various games.

Cheating has been documented in Ball Race, Button Game, Stick Dice, Seven Card Dice, Hoop and Pole, Shinny, Moccasin Game, and foot and horse racing. However, as an informant noted, it is difficult to cheat in games that have many bystanders.[147] Some variants of Ball Race and Button Game have been modified to counteract possible cheating. In Ball Race, players may be required to wear shoes so that they do not put the stick between their toes and run with it,[148] and, in Button Game, a long string may be attached to the button to prevent it "from being palmed or hidden in the clothing."[149] In Stick Dice, "[p]layers attempted to cheat by counting more spaces than they had scored"; in Seven Card Dice, one could try "to turn a die without being seen"; and in Hoop and Pole, "[a] contestant, on pretense of making a close examination [of the fallen hoop], either pushed the hoop over the thong ends with his nose, or blew them into the desired position."[150] As seen above, "thrown" games are not unknown, and perhaps this also occurs in other games besides Shinny.

Cheating in Moccasin Game appears to be widespread and perhaps part of the rules. "To preclude fraud, . . . the moccasins are exchanged."[151] However, one could still cheat by not hiding the ball in a moccasin, by hiding two balls, by having a confederate on the other team, or by applying a special mixture around one's eyes that is believed to allow one to see the hidden ball.[152]

No documentation of cheating in an actual foot race exists. However, one informant commented, "They got to be crooked so we had to stop this."[153] Cheating in horse races is better known. One could enter a horse that looked good but was extremely slow. An individual could secretly run either his or his opponent's horse all night, so it could not run the next morning. The rider could hold the horse back during the race. Or one could rub "medicine" on the horse's legs to make it lose.[154]

Songs are sometimes viewed as a form of cheating:

> Songs believed to bring success were sung in secret before play began. "If a man began to sing during the game [Seven Card Dice] he would be thrown out as if he had been cheating."[155]

Songs also could protect a person from possible cheaters:

> A boy twenty-five if a man taught him how to play [Hoop and Pole] would have to have a song to play. If you don't know, the people who play can cheat you pretty bad.[156]

No one, however, has investigated the relationship between songs and cheating. In fact, so little is known about the relationship between music and Navajo games in general that it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion. Only one record exists of songs being sung to the gaming equipment by the individual making it.[157] Songs are used during play in a variety of games, but few scholars have determined if the songs are associated with only one game or can be sung during any game.

Songs for Moccasin Game are well documented, with Matthews and O'Bryan providing thirty-five different song texts.[158] Hoop and Pole may have its own songs, and only those who know the songs are considered qualified and likely players.[159] Gambling songs exist for cards and Stick Dice and are sung while playing them.[160] Songs are also sung to insure a win.[161] Other references to songs and games are vague.[162]

Little information exists on Navajo children's play. Only three traditional narratives mention playing children,[163] one scholarly work focuses on children,[164] and one children's book actually includes a Navajo children's game.[165] Nearly all data on Navajo children's play are based on biographical works.

This lack of information is due to several factors. In traditional Navajo society, games are associated with adults. Thus, if collectors inquired about games, they would be told about adult games or games played by people of all ages. Also, if gambling is the criterion for defining an activity as a game and if children are not allowed to gamble, then by definition children do not have games. And finally, Navajo children are expected to work and are "told not to play too much."[166] Most references to play relate to activities that a child of about six years may engage in while spending the entire day "watching" sheep.[167] Because of the tedium of the job, the children often pass the time in play, sometimes injuring the animals.[168]

In their study of Navajo children, Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn assess the work/play dichotomy this way:

> It is doubtless true that Navaho children start "working" younger than white children, but it is not at all sure that they see this as a hardship or as an interruption of their "play." "Play" becomes "work" at times and vice versa. Thus, while the little shepherd works by taking the sheep out in the morning, he spends considerable periods of time while watching them graze in playing with them or the dog or his fellow shepherd or the stick and rocks around. Nor is play only for children and work only for adults; all ages do both as it becomes possible or necessary, as a natural and expected manner.[169]

Apparently children also play around the hogan and in the evenings.[170] Children of the opposite sex are not encouraged to play together.[171] However, "apart from dolls and roping there is little sex typing of amusements in the pre-adolescent period."[172] Furthermore, Leighton and Kluckhohn concluded in 1948 that "the boys are free to play [a Euro-American trait] instead of having to help with the family work [a Navajo trait]."[173] In recalling her childhood before going to school, Irene Stewart states, "All was play."[174] Regardless of the degree of play or work in which Navajo children engage, when they were asked, "What is the best thing that could happen to you?" play was not their preferred answer.[175]

	Shiprock	*Navaho Mt.*	*White*
Having or obtaining property	44%	52%	23%
Pleasure or fun	16%	14%	23%

It appears that for Navajo children, play is not one of the preoccupations of childhood.

It is difficult to determine what Navajo games are unique to children. According to one informant, children did not play Stick Dice.[176] However, many "adult" games are apparently modified to exclude gambling when children play. Otherwise, "their participation did not differ from that of adults."[177] Two informants, however, wrote about their gambling experiences as children. While herding sheep, one gambled at archery and at a stone-throwing game played in the same manner as the archery game. Probably the children were herding without adult supervision.

Of course, the archery game is not unique to children. The second informant wagered apples on a foot race, another game also played by adults. "I won, so they gave me all the apples, and I gave them back to them again."[178] "Navaho childhood diversions are almost wholly simple and unorganized";[179] this may account for the fact that there is only one detailed description of an exclusively children's game: The Coyote and the Father.

This is not to imply that Navajo children do not play. Most of their amusements are either physical or a form of mimicry. They throw stones into water or at tin cans, toss frisbees, make faces, climb, twirl around posts, swing, bat rocks with sticks, jump on boards with cans on the other end, ride one another, chase tumbleweeds and each other, and test their strength.[180] After relating that seven- and ten-year-old boys could not catch a ball, Bailey then reports observing a two-year-old making string figures.[181] The physical abilities of these children are undoubtedly related to their degree of experience with the actions. Playing house appears to be the favorite activity, although playing rodeo, playing at sheep herding, pretending to be billy goats and singers (i.e., curers), riding horses, and driving carts are also known.[182]

Just about anything (e.g., a stick, a can, a stone) can become a toy. Figurines (see figure 7) and live animals (e.g., cats, dogs, sheep, rabbits, prairie dogs, lizards, and rattlesnakes[183]) appear to be favorite children's "toys," although tops, buzzers, and slings are mentioned also.

School and exposure to Euro-American culture have affected children's play. School, of course, provides the largest congregation of playmates. One dorm mother required writing assignments as punishment for misbehavior. One student wrote,

> I will not run in here because I don't do it at home that is because we don't have enough boys to play with. Here at school we have enough boys to play with that is why we do it, it's a rule not to do it too. At home I am always tired that is why I don't run but here I don't get tired excepted on Sat. and Sun. [when students do chores].[184]

The amount of time scheduled for play apparently varies for each school. For some, "Saturday afternoons [are] for play,"[185] some have a field day,[186] and others have recess during the day and

FIGURE 7. Animal Figures in Clay. Reprinted from "Archeological Theory and Anthropological Fact," by Adelaide Kendall Bullen, in *American Antiquity* 13:2 (1947). Photo courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, E.W. Haury, photographer.

allow the children to play in the evenings.[187] However, Stewart comments that, because of the daily four hours of work in industrial education, "[b]y evenings I was too tired to play."[188] Later, she says, "[W]hen I was home on summer vacations, I missed the fun I had at school."[189]

Regardless of how much playing time the children had, they still enjoyed physical and imitative activities, such as Three-legged, Sack, Blindfold, and Wheelbarrow races, follow-the-leader, jump rope, rolling rocks down hills, jumping on beds, throwing snowballs, skating, playing on swings and slides, playing dolls, Tarzan, and rodeo.[190] The schools are influential not only in introducing Euro-American amusements, but also in providing the opportunity for the reintroduction of Moccasin Game and Shinny to many Navajo children.[191] The film, *Coyote and the Beavers,* may also reintroduce Hoop and Pole. Unfortunately, for many children's activities, descriptions are lacking, making it impossible to determine what types of activity they are or how toys are used (e.g., merry-go-rounds, somersault, jacks,

and marbles). Interestingly, no Navajo informant cites a game deemed suitable for Indian children by the United States government.[192]

Through experiences in school, the military, and off-reservation jobs, Navajos have incorporated many modern games into their repertoire. This incorporation is not surprising, for Native American scholars have easily concluded, and Native Americans have readily admitted, that the tribes share games. The exchange between Navajos and Euro-Americans has been unequal. There is no documentation of Euro-Americans incorporating Navajo games. However, in at least one instance, Euro-Americans adopted a Navajo playing style.[193]

Spaniards and/or Euro-Americans introduced "modern" Navajo games. In particular, the Spanish not only brought the horse, leading to such activities as horse racing, rodeos, and Chicken Pull, but also contributed wrestling and cards. The two most often cited card games are Monte and Coon Can, Spanish variants of Rummy.

Besides the already listed amusements for children introduced through the schools, ping-pong, Boxing, Cross-Country, Basketball, checkers, American-style Baseball, American Football, Bowling, Volleyball, Golf, and pool are also played. The popularity of some of these can be assessed easily by perusing some of the local newspapers.[194] Manufactured toys (e.g., frisbees, balls, and dolls)[195] and manufactured materials (e.g., tires for swings, boxes for carts, and denim for Shinny balls)[196] are utilized. Also, references to playing outside in the winter are recent, suggesting that this may be a new development (e.g., snowmen, snowballs, sleds, and [ice?] skating).[197]

However, even when adopting a Spanish or Euro-American game, Navajos seem to have modified the activity to fit their own gaming practices. In his study on Basketball, Kendall Blanchard notes that Navajos are not becoming acculturated to Euro-American culture through games, but instead are adapting Basketball to their own values (1974). Allison's descriptions of Navajo tournament Basketball further support Blanchard's observations.[198] This adaptation of a game to Navajo values and playing styles can be seen in Baseball and horse racing from the nineteenth century.[199] Allison's recent descriptions of Navajo pick-up Basketball (see figure 8) especially emphasize the adaptation of a game to Navajo playing values and styles.[200] Thus,

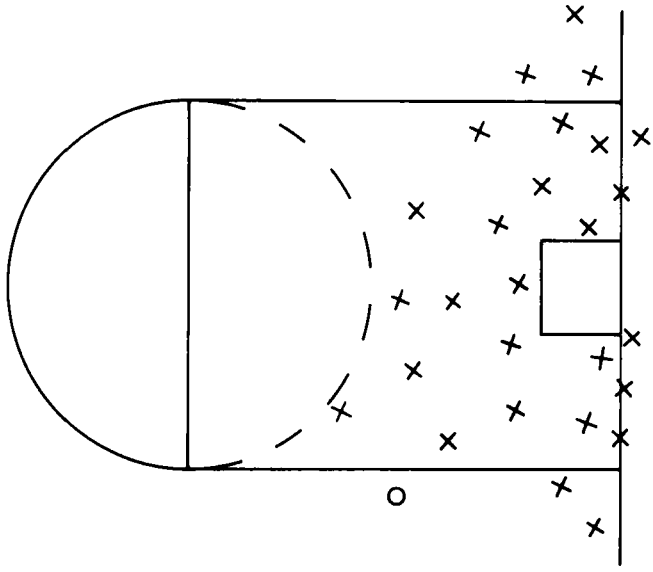

FIGURE 8. Pick-up Basketball. Reprinted from "A Structural Analysis of Navajo Basketball," Ph.D. dissertation by Maria T. Allison, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

while Navajos may incorporate "modern" games into their repertoire, the way the games are played seems to remain distinctly Navajo.

SPECIFIC GAMES, TOYS, AND PLAY ACTIVITIES

In the works cited, ninety-two distinct Navajo games, toys, and play activities are identified. Some of these are mentioned only in passing or are only briefly characterized. Some may be variations of each other, making the total less than ninety-two. My groupings of particular activities are based on what is printed in the sources about the activities. Thus, my groupings may not be entirely accurate. Amusements for which there is limited information are listed in alphabetical order by English name, or by Navajo name when no English name is given:

aspin;[201] ball;[202] ball throwing;[203] Bowling;[204] Boxing;[205] card playing (see figures 1, 8, and 9);[206] checkers;[207]

dice;[208] follow-the-leader;[209] [American] Football;[210] frisbee;[211] Golf;[212] guessing game with fist;[213] hide and seek;[214] house;[215] jack rabbits;[216] jacks;[217] jump rope;[218] jumping;[219] kickball;[220] kickstick;[221] marbles;[222] measuring worm (*najoci* pole, rainbow stick);[223] merry-go-rounds;[224] *ne'ji;*[225]*Patole;*[226] Ping-pong;[227] Pool;[228] potato pull;[229] ring and pin;[230] rodeo (cowboy sports, roping);[231] [competitive] singing bouts;[232] skating;[233] sled;[234] slings and sling shot;[235] snowballs;[236] snowmen;[237] somersault;[238] stick game;[239] stone on foot;[240] [a game with] stones;[241] straddlesticks;[242] swings (*ndibal, niz dabal*);[243] tag;[244] tops;[245] tossing contest;[246] tug-of-war;[247] Volleyball;[248] willow horses (*ndi yilili, alicini bili, licinbe alya na ni*)[249] and wrestling.[250]

Enough details are available on thirty-five games to distinguish them from other games and to provide somewhat detailed descriptions of them. Of course, variants and idiosyncratic rules exist. For example, "SG said that tripping or striking an opponent with a club was legitimate; PP said that it was not."[251] Theoretically, rules were agreeed upon before the activity began.[252]

Ahchineh-bah-jee-chin (we won't give the children away)—A children's game played in a cornfield, where a child running sunwise (clockwise) tries to tag other players positioned at the cardinal directions. This game is included in the Origin Myth.[253]

Archery (arrow game, bows and arrows, warfare games, *yiskah, saziоldo, sasi oldo*)—Archery is mentioned in the Origin Myth, and Beautyway and Enemy Way narratives. It is played during breaks in ceremonies and involves gambling. Three forms of archery are played: shooting at a still mark (arrow, ground, yucca);[254] at a moving mark (yucca ball tossed into air);[255] and for distance[256] (unspecified or indeterminate forms[257]).

Atsa—This game is played with a forked stick and ring and may be a variant of Hoop and Pole. It is believed to have been brought from the lower world.[258]

Ball Game *(Tsol)*—In "The Great Gambler," the ball is hit/kicked through a hole, against a post, or for distance.[259]

Ball Race *(Oolis, Idies, Iddi, Baaes, Iolis)*—A team game consisting of kicking a small round stick over an agreed upon course to a stake. The stick is initially buried and must be brought to the playing surface by digging it out with one's toes. Because the ball can be touched only with the foot, having the ball land in or near cacti adds another difficulty to the game. Some versions require shoes, because a player can cheat by putting the stick between his toes and running with it. The game is played in spring or fall, although some groups do not allow it, because they believe it may cause too much wind. This is a gambling game, often confused with Stick Race, and is played by Great Gambler and in the Origin Myth.[260]

Baseball (see figure 5; *Aqae Jol Yedi, Aqejolyedi*)—Believed to have been incorporated after the 1863 imprisonment. However, bases are placed at the cardinal points, the bases are run sunwise, and there can be more than one batter. Four strikes equal one out, and there is one out per side per inning. Great Gambler plays this game. American style Baseball appears to be more prevalent today.[261]

Basketball—Two forms of Basketball are played: tournament and Navajo 21 (pick-up). Navajo 21 (see figure 8) is an individual game of about 15 to 20 players, in which each player attempts to score exactly 21 points.[262]

Button Game—A guessing game in which a player guesses who has the button.[263]

Buzzer (bull roarer)—A children's toy that makes noise when it is spun in the air.[264]

Chicken Pull *(Nahoxai, Nahoqai)*—An individual sport in which a galloping horseman leans over and tries to extricate an almost fully buried chicken (usually live) from the earth and return the trophy to the patron of the sport (often a Euro-American), who awards a cash prize. The game usually results in the multiple dissection of the chicken as others try to claim it as their own. If a chicken is unavailable, a burlap bag is substituted. This game originated from the Spanish.[265]

The Coyote and the Father—A form of tag played by children. "Coyote" asks "Father" for each of his children, who are lined up behind him. Father refuses, explaining that each particular child is needed around the home. Then, "Coyote starts to catch the [child] at the end of the line. The father, with his line of children following his every move, tries to protect the child under attack."[266] After all the children have been tagged and are out of the game, Coyote chases Father. Once tagged, Father begins chasing Coyote, and the game ends when Coyote is caught.[267]

Crossed-stick (*Ashbii;* blanket, basket, and ball)—An individual game consisting of tossing up, by hand or by a basket, two to four decorated sticks to a blanket tied to the ceiling. Points are scored depending on how the sticks land in relation to one another or if they return to the basket. This is a gambling game and is often confused, by non-Navajos, with Stick Dice.[268]

Dilkon—A game believed to have been brought from the lower world. It uses two sticks and may be a variant of Hoop and Pole.[269]

Don't Laugh—"You don't laugh when the clown is coming in; if you do, you have to forfeit to the clown."[270]

Eye Juggling—A game played by birds which Coyote tries to imitate.[271]

Figurines (see figure 7; *hasxis danee*)—Toys usually made from mud by children.[272]

Guess the Number—Out of forty-eight sticks, players must guess how many have been hidden.[273]

Guessing Game—In "The Great Gambler," the challenger must guess what is in each of the water containers or what is represented in a picture of the water containers.[274]

Guessing Game with Corn Husks—Used to test male suitors, this game also revealed medicines for skin diseases.[275]

Hoop and Pole (see figure 9; pole game, hoop and stick, *Nahezhosh, Na Azos, Naazhozh, Nanzoz, Naah T'chonz)*—An individual

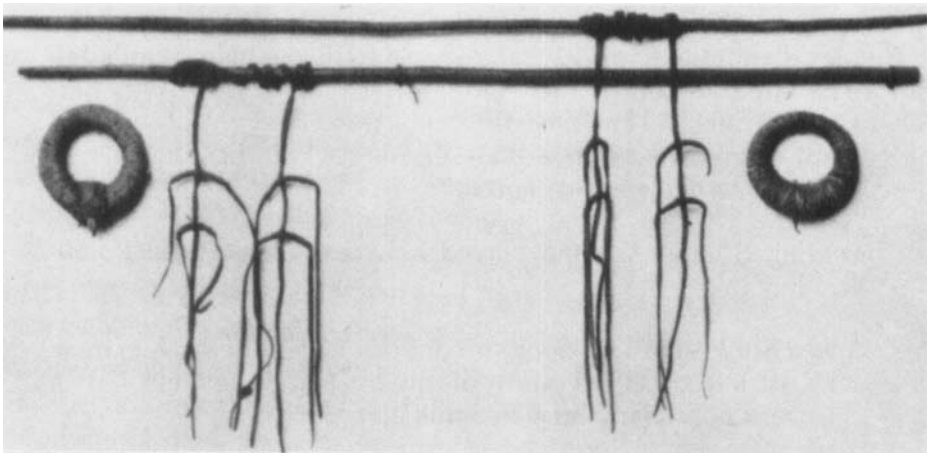

FIGURE 9. Hoop and Pole. Reprinted from *Navajo Material Culture*, by Clyde Kluckhohn, W.W. Hill and Lucy Wales Kluckhohn (1971), by permission of Harvard University Press.

game between two players, consisting of rolling a hoop over a level, cleared east-west or north-south course and thrusting a pole through the hoop while it is in motion. The pole has buckskin strings ("turkey feet") dangling from it, which should catch the hoop and bring it down. Points are scored in accordance with how the strings lie on the hoop. The poles may be two sticks lashed together or one stick. Songs for winning are sung while making the equipment and during play. However, the singing of certain songs during play is considered cheating. None of the songs have been recorded. This is a gambling game for both players and spectators. It lasts three or four days and is played at any time of year, but most commonly during ceremonials. *Dilkon* and *Atsa* may be variants of this game.

The Navajo hoop style and pole style differ from those of other tribes. Navajos do not put netting in the hoop. Instead, they put turkey feet on the pole. Based on Culin's (1907) interpretation of Stevenson's "gaming ring," the hoop for this game is used also in the Yei Bichei ceremony. The game was first documented in

1846, seems to have disappeared a hundred years later, and is not accurately depicted in any illustration. For example, in the film *Coyote and the Beavers*, the contestants do not run alongside the hoop, they try to throw the pole through the hoop, and the poles do not have turkey feet. Hoop and Pole is also included in "The Great Gambler," the Origin Myth, and Plume Way narratives. The god Hatdastsisi, who is associated with the Night Chant ceremony, wears a hoop on his back, indicating that he is a great gambler in this game.[276]

Jumping Game—A game played between Coyote and Porcupine.[277]

Kicked Stick—Perhaps a variant of Stick Race. The players must kick a stick to specified points on the track and then kick it over a house. Great Gambler plays this game.[278]

Moccasin Game (see figure 2; Hidden Ball Game, Hide the Ball, *Kesitse, Kestice, Kesze, Kheshje*)—A team game consisting of burying four moccasins in an east-west line on the north and south sides of the central fire and hiding a ball in one of the moccasins. Points are determined by how well the other team guesses where the ball is hidden. Usually, 102 yucca sticks are used for scoring, which some Navajos believe represent the ideal life span, the generations, or the sky roads of the sun. However, there is either great confusion or great variation in the actual scoring. Players gamble on the outcome. The game is played only during winter nights, sometimes during intervals in ceremonies, and sometimes is included in chantway narratives. Culin (1907) and Newcomb (1966) include descriptions of actual playing sessions.

Moccasin Game is based on a game played in a narrative to determine whether only day or night should exist. The two teams, composed of nocturnal and diurnal animals, sing appropriate, mostly humorous animal songs. The players cheat. The narrative also explains the physical features of nineteen animals. The Moccasin Game is also sometimes mentioned in "Coyote Steals Fire," "White Shell Woman," and the Origin Myth.

Both the game and the narrative have maintained their popularity. Songs are included on four recordings, and five Navajo artists have depicted the original game. Some Navajos now refer to it as The Sneaker Game.[279]

Peon Game—The player must guess in which hand another player is hiding a pebble. This is a children's variant of Moccasin Game.[280]

Push-on-the-Wood (pull a stick, push a post, planted sticks, tree breaking, tree push over, *Tsinbetsil, Tsin-beedzil, Tsi-nbetsil*)—From "The Great Gambler," where the contestants must push/pull/break a tree/post/stick from its base.[281]

Quoits (ring-toss, ring)—Similar to the European game, except that points are made also according to which side of the ring touches the post.[282]

Race—Racing seems to be a popular activity and can appear almost anywhere in a traditional narrative or biographical work. However, the term *race* is often used loosely and may simply mean that someone is running. The traditional running in the morning and during the puberty rite are not, in fact, races.

Foot and horse races are the most common, although Three-legged, Sack, Blindfold, and Wheelbarrow races have also been documented.[283] Cheating occurs in both foot and horse races. The spectators gamble, and winners of races can receive prizes. Although some races are planned in advance, they seem to occur whenever different groups of people gather. They appear to be especially popular during breaks in ceremonies. Sprinkling horses and humans with pollen from birds is believed to make them swift. Foot and horse races are detailed below.[284]

> ***Foot Race***—Historically, men stripped of clothing ran to a predetermined point (a quarter mile or further) and perhaps back. Since the internment at Fort Sumner, women have participated, and the distance is believed to have become shorter (about one hundred yards to eight miles). Currently, Cross-Country is a popular sport. In narratives (the Origin Myth, "Monster Slayer," "The Great Gambler," "Coyote and the Skunk," and Hail Way, Wind Way, and Water Way narratives), foot races are usually circular (around a mountain or hill or on a circular track). Hastseltsi, a god of racing, is associated with the Night Chant ceremony and, on the last afternoon of the ceremony, challenges others to foot

races. Great Gambler, Frog/Toad, Coyote, Monster Slayer, and Born-for-Water compete in races.[285]

Horse Race (see figure 4; *libizadtah*)—Horse racing is not included in any traditional narratives; probably the Spanish introduced it. It has been a popular activity since at least 1854. Geldings are considered the best race horses; those selected are specially trained for racing. The Navajos believe that horses can be made swift by smearing them with blood or singing over them. Riders are also trained, and individuals have developed reputations as good riders and trainers. Riders compete based on sex, age, or both. Historically, only two horses without saddles run on level ground to a stake a quarter- to a half-mile away and perhaps return to the start. The winning of the race is determined by the horse's hoof, not his head. The Navajo developed a tradition of racing against Euro-American soldiers; unfortunately, one such race in 1861 resulted in the Fort Fauntleroy Massacre.[286] Sometime before 1937, circular race tracks emerged, but by 1940 they were no longer in use. Various forms of horse racing exist, such as wagon and relay racing. Wagon racing begins with the hitching of the horses. For relay racing, the rider must transfer the saddle to each of the horses he uses.[287]

Rock Sliding (rolling stone)—Played in Coyote tales and in Beautyway narratives. I have heard of this actually being played.[288]

Seven Card Dice (seven dice, seven cards, stick dice, *Da-ka Cosced, Dakha Tsostsedi, Daka Tsostsedi, Taka-sost-siti*)—An individual game consisting of seven colored chips shaken in a basket, tossed up, and then caught again with the basket. Points are based on the arrangement of colored dice. This is a gambling game, with bets made by onlookers and players. It is played also in "The Great Gambler" and "Game Story."[289]

Shinny (*Ndilkl, Ndashdilkhal, Ndashdilkal*)—A team game played during the winter or early spring, consisting of striking a ball with a curved end of a stick until it crosses the opponents' line, a distance ranging from one-quarter to two miles. The game may begin by digging the buried ball out of the center of the field.

Usually the ball is buckskin filled with fur, grass, or rags. The game includes gambling, and players have been known to throw a game.

There are several beliefs regarding Shinny: If played in the summer, it will bring wind and rodents; in a cornfield, a sandstorm; and with a dead nighthawk, rain. Often played during one-night ceremonies, it is also mentioned in "The Great Gambler," and Beautyway and Enemy Way narratives.[290]

Stick Dice (see figure 1; three sticks, three stick dice, women's stick dice, bouncing sticks, stick rebounds, wood game, stone stick, *Tsindi, Setdilth, Cidil, Ashbfi, Nexhi, Wozhi, Tqeli, Tsli, Tsidil, Tsindil, Azilcil, Sitih, Tsittilc, Tze-chi, Set Tilth, Zse Tilth*)—Although Stick Dice was first documented in 1846, archeological evidence suggests that this game existed as early as between 1660 and 1770. The game is part of the Origin Myth and "The Great Gambler," has several mythological origins, and in some versions of "The Separation of the Sexes," was the cause of the separation. Stick Dice is played at large ceremonies, Enemy Way in particular.

Forty stones are set in a circle in four groups of ten on ground prepared for the game. The breaks between the groups face the cardinal directions. Twigs, placed between the stones, are used as counters and are moved back and forth, depending on the outcome of the scoring from the dice. A large stone occupies the center of the circle. The three dice are thrown against the large stone, bounce to a blanket suspended four feet above, and then return to the ground. How the dice land determines whether points are made or lost. The first person to complete the circuit of the forty stones wins. This game involves extensive betting, and cheating can occur by counting more spaces than the player has scored. Both men and women play the game, seemingly anywhere and at any time, although some Navajo have seasonal or time-of-day restrictions. None of the songs for this game has been recorded.[291]

Stick Race (*Na Lzagi*)—A team or individual game played with a puck and stick. The puck consists of two sticks tied together, forming an *H* shape, with the string creating the crossbar. The player uses the stick to propel the puck to a particular point one-

quarter to three miles away, and then propels it back to the starting point. This game often is confused with Ball Race.[292]

String figures (see figure 3; cat's cradle, web weaving, *na atlo, na-ash-klo*)—Figures should be made only during the winter; otherwise, it is believed, they will cause lightning or spider or rattlesnake bites. Taught to the Navajo by the Spider People, string figures benefit the people in many ways: They occupy children's attention, provide amusement, teach concentration, help people think so they will not get lost or in trouble, keep lives in order, demonstrate how human lives relate to nature, and show how to avoid confusion and sickness. Figures usually are made by individuals and often occur in conjunction with story-telling. There is a prescribed manner for creating the figures. Adults and children, males and females engage in the activity, and individuals are admired for their speed and skill. Forty-one traditional figures are given. However, some Navajos are so versatile with string that they can create new, recognizable figures.

Twelve traditional figures concerning the heavens are known: star (*so-a-hinatsan-ti-i*); morning star, evening star, large star (*sotso, sutso, so-so*); feet ajar (*hastqin sakai*); Pleiades, seven stars (*dilyehe*); many stars (*so lani, so-tlani*); pinching stars, twin stars, two stars (*sohotsi, so ahotsii, so-bi-tere*); horned star (*so bide huloni*); big star; north star; zigzag lightning (*atsinltlish, atsinil-klish*); cloud effect (*kosishchin*); and storm clouds.

Fifteen traditional figures concerning animals are known: snake (*tlish*); coyote (*mai*); coyotes running in opposite directions (*mai alts ayilaghuli*); two coyotes (*mai-at-sani-il-watli*); horned toad (*nashui dichizhi, na-a-sho-i-di-chizi*); owl (*naeeshja, nas ja, nashja*); stomach of a sheep or poncho (*lesis*); bird's nest (*ato, a-to*); cow's head; butterfly (*ga-lo-ki, ga-hi-ki*); worm; a second worm; lizard; mouse; and bat.

Fifteen traditional figures concerning humans are known: man (*dine, denne*); bow (*altqi, atl-ti, at-ti*); arrow (*ka*); hogan; double hogan (*altsahogan, naki hogan, atl-sa-hogan, at-sa-hogan*); carrying wood (*chizh joyeli, chiz-jo-yet-li*); woman's belt (*sis*); sternum with ribs (*ayid, ai-yit*); a standing tooth (*who sezini*); a bent tooth (*whoshiyishi*); Apache door; sand painting figure (*os-shis-chi, kos-shis-chi*); tipi; Navajo rug; and arrowheads.[293]

Thirteen Chips (*Caka-cqadsaca, Takathadsata, Taka-thad-sata, Taka-t Had-sata*)—An individual game consisting of thirteen dice colored

on one side. Scoring is based on how the dice land after they have been tossed into the air. This game is included in "The Great Gambler."[294]

SUMMARY AND FUTURE SCHOLARSHIP

While this review is not definitive, it reveals that a great deal of information about Navajo games already exists. Based on this information, we can draw several conclusions about Navajo games and gaming. First, the concept of "traditional Navajo" games needs to be modified. Navajos readily incorporate others' games and, most significantly, freely adapt others' games to their own gaming style. While gambling may be the criterion for determining if an activity is a game, gambling itself should be considered a game, with other recognized games acting as a vehicle for gambling. Gambling and cheating, especially if successful, are examples of strategy. Furthermore, cheating is not an anomaly, but a part of gaming. In narratives, the ability to play games reveals the "humanness" of foreigners. In daily life, the playing of games is perceived as a normal adult activity. Games and playing are interrelated with other cultural aspects. Surprisingly, the circular motif and the cardinal directions do not appear to be a strong element in Navajo games.

This review has provided a glimpse of the role games and playing have in Navajo society and for the individual. In general, we now have a beginning foundation for understanding another aspect of Navajo culture, the nature of games and gaming. Perhaps most significantly, this review challenges Western perceptions of games and playing.

The best materials describe in varying degrees individual Navajo games, with little or no analysis. "Navajo Gambling Songs" (1889) is the result of Dr. Washington Matthews's own fieldwork and focuses on The Moccasin Game. This work gives some indication of the relationship between narrative and game.

Caroline Furness Jayne, inspired by A. C. Haddon and her brother's personal collections from overseas, provides a beginning cross-cultural study in *String Figures: A Study of Cat's Cradle in Many Lands* (1906).

One year later, Stewart Culin, a museum curator who naturally focused on games with implements, provided the best reference work to date on all Indian games. Although Culin did conduct

some fieldwork on Navajo games for *Games of the North American Indians* (1907), most of what he writes about them is a compilation of others' notes, especially those of the Reverend Berard Haile.

Father Berard Haile, a Franciscan priest, served the Navajo for some sixty years, studying their language and culture. He not only assisted Culin, but also provided a chapter on Navajo games in *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language* (1910) and later, out of anger over Reagan's article (1932), produced "Navaho Games of Chance and Taboo" (1933). Between these two reference works—the latter being a continuation of the *Dictionary*—and his notes for Culin, Haile is the best source for Navajo games.

Kathleen Haddon, daughter of A. C. Haddon and associate of Jayne, drew on their work in *Artists in String: String Figures, Their Regional Distribution and Social Significance* (1930). Although Haddon includes no new fieldwork on Navajo string figures, her work is comprehensive and attempts to provide some analysis.

Although not specifically interested in games, W. W. Hill provides the best description, in *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians* (1938), of how games interrelate with other aspects of Navajo culture. Furthermore, his early notes on game playing in *Navaho Material Culture* (1971) supply us with the most detailed descriptions of how the games are actually played.

Beginning with David F. Aberle's "Mythology of the Navaho Game Stick-Dice" (1942), descriptions of games improve as investigators begin to examine games individually, noting origin stories and eliciting information from Navajos directly. Unfortunately, Aberle's own techniques for gathering a fuller description are questionable. (See endnote 26.)

Aileen O'Bryan's *The Dine: Origin Myths of the Navajo Indians* (1956) and Katherine Spencer's *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths* (1957) deserve special mention for their comprehensiveness, although the practice of publishing traditional narratives is not new. Both provide extensive references and thoughtful commentary.

Barre Toelken, the one recent author to include string figures, also provides the only contextual account for them. Ironically, explaining the context of string figures is not the purpose for their inclusion. In *The Dynamics of Folklore* (1970), an introductory folklore textbook that contains a chapter entitled "The Folk Performance," Toelken relates a traditional Coyote story, and he includes the string figures to provide the context before the be-

ginning of the story. Although details are lacking as to how the figures are actually made, Toelken presents one Navajo family's comments on the origin and purposes of the figures. Toelken not only describes traditional figures, but also characterizes the versatility of one informant who produced spontaneous figures depicting the three fieldworkers.

Navaho Material Culture (1971) is the most recent reference work on Navajo games. The noted Navajo scholar Clyde Kluckhohn co-compiled this work with W. W. Hill and Lucy Wales Kluckhohn. Through their comparison of published scholarship and field data, they provide the best factual explanations of games and cite known variations in games. Their book also is the only work to present a comprehensive overview of Navajo toys. Unfortunately, with the exception of a comment about foot races, the work includes only activities that require material objects.

Although Tom Ration's telling of the narrative "One-Who-Wins-You," in "A Navajo Life Story" (1977) includes no new information on actual game playing, he hints at the correct context for the telling of "The Great Gambler." He also provides a fascinating interpretation of the story to explain modern objects such as airplanes, golfballs, highways, and electric current.

Maria T. Allison's studies (1979–82) of Navajo Basketball are the first to provide a detailed description and analysis of attitudes toward play, playing styles, and values. However, her general lack of knowledge about other games and gaming practices among Navajos limits her work.

Recent works have increased the depth of descriptions of games, which is necessary for the understanding of traditional gaming activities in any culture. Researchers of Navajo culture who include games are beginning to note the variations in a game and to focus on one particular game at a time, instead of trying to produce a comprehensive but superficial survey.

Because of the previous lack of focus on games, many of my tentative "conclusions" in this review may be refuted easily in future research. While much work can still be done with the available materials, the bulk of the future scholarship requires fieldwork. First, one needs to know what games are played, how they are played, who can play, and where and when they are played. Games also need to be viewed holistically. Descriptions must provide not only the text (i.e., the written descriptions of game rules), but also information about the texture and context.

With the background information provided here, researchers

may be able to avoid some of the "subtle tricks" that plague the earlier works. Changes in games and playing need to be explored, and we need more information on games and music, games and religion, string figures and narratives, luck, and outdoor winter play activities, for example. Functional questions demand answers. Before any in-depth future research can begin, scholars must recognize their antigame bias and realize the importance of games and playing not only in Navajo society, but for humans in general. Future scholarship needs to address the above issues to provide a better understanding of the Navajo—an openly recognized gaming society—and, eventually, a better understanding of human behavior.

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NOTES

1. In addition, English spellings for Navajo words are notoriously inconsistent, even within one author's works, and accent marks have been omitted. However, I have been consistent in my own spelling of the terms. "Navajo" is spelled correctly either with the "j" or the "h", although the "j" spelling is preferred currently.

2. See, for example, Elizabeth Compton Hegemann, *Navajo Trading Days* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), 92; Barre Toelken, "The 'Pretty Language' of Yellowman: Genre, Mode and Texture in Navaho Coyote Narratives," *Genre* 2(1969):211.

3. In this work, "sport" is used as it is found in the sport pages of a newspaper. For a more detailed discussion on the relationship between sports and games, see Janet M. Cliff, "Lucidity: A Model for Understanding Play and Game" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990), 50–63.

4. For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between productivity and games, see Cliff, "Ludicity," 40–43.

5. See, for example, Leland C. Wyman, "Navajo Ceremonial System," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 10, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1983) 536–57.

6. Berard Haile, "Navaho Games of Chance and Taboo," *Primitive Man* 6(1933):38; W. W. Hill, *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 18 (New Haven, 1938), 180; Clyde Kluckhohn, W. W. Hill, and Lucy Wales Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Cul-*

ture (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 375; Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974[1946]), 222; Gladys A. Reichard, *Navaho Religion: A Study in Symbolism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974 [1950]), passim; Katherine Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life in the Navaho Origin Myth,* University of New Mexico Publication in Anthropology, no. 3 (Albuquerque, 1947), 93–97; Katherine Spencer, *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths,* American Folklore Society, Memoirs, vol. 48 (Philadelphia, 1957), passim.

7. Berard Haile, *Starlore Among the Navaho* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum on Navaho Ceremonial Art, 1947), 18; Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 235; Barre Toelken, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), 95.

8. Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 222.

9. Hill, *Agricultural and Hunting Methods,* 103.

10. Maria T. Allison, "A Structural Analysis of Navajo Basketball" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1980), 66.

11. Haile, "Navaho Games of Chance and Taboo," 36.

12. Flora L. Bailey, "Navaho Motor Habits," *American Anthropologist* 44 (1942):230; Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska,* vol. 1 (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970[1907]), 122; George Amos Dorsey, *Indians of the Southwest* (New York: AMS, 1976[1903]), 170; Walter Dyk, *Son of Old Man Hat: A Navaho Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 140–41, 333–34, 357; Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language* (St. Michaels, AZ: St. Michael's Press, 1968[1910]), 487; Haile, "Navaho Games of Chance and Taboo," 36; Hegemann, *Navaho Trading Days,* 89, 91; Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Culture,* 383, 385, 390, 398; Kluckhohn and Leighton, *The Navaho,* 96; Franc Johnson Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah, Navajo Medicine Man and Sand Painter* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 21, 129–31.

13. Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary,* 487.

14. Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Culture,* 389.

15. Alice and Jerry Bathke, "They Call Themselves 'The People,'" *The University of Chicago Magazine* 61: 5(1969):6; Dine Bi'olta Association, *Winter Shoe Game Songs: Dine Bi'olta Winter Workshop 1973* (Ganado, AZ: Dine Bi'olta Association, 1974), 1.

16. Aileen O'Bryan, *The Dine: Origin Myths of the Navajo People,* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 163 (Washington, D.C., 1956), 70 n. 39.

17. Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Culture,* 391.

18. Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indians,* Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report 24 (Washington, D.C., 1907), 435.

19. Washington Matthews, "The Night Chant, A Navaho Ceremony," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 6 (1902):15.

20. Ibid.

21. Hill, *Agricultural and Hunting Methods,* 16; Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Culture,* 383, 398.

22. Bailey, "Navaho Motor Habits," 230–31; Dyk, *Son of Old Man Hat,* 213–14.

23. Hill, *Agricultural and Hunting Methods,* 16.

24. Franc Johnson Newcomb, Stanley Fishler, and Mary C. Wheelwright, "A Study of Navajo Symbolism," Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Paper 32, no. 3(1956):12.

25. These include, for example, *Coyote and the Beavers* (Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation, 1974); *Coyote and the Lizard* (Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation, 1974); *Dine Bahane: Coyote and Skunk* (Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation, 1972); Dine Bi'olta Association, *Winter Shoe Game Songs;* NAMDC, *Navajo Children's Literature* (Albuquerque: Native American Materials Development Center, 1984).

26. The information they did collect is confusing and does not correspond with similar information collected by others during the winter.

27. Kay Bennett, *Kaibah, Recollection of a Navajo Girlhood* (Los Angeles: Westernlore, 1964), 183; Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary,* 478.

28. David F. Aberle, "Mythology of the Navaho Game Stick-Dice," *Journal of American Folklore* 55(1942):146–52; Berard Haile and Mary Cabot Wheelwright, *Emergence Myth According to the Hanelthnayhe or Upwardreaching Rite,* Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Navajo Religion Series, vol. 3 (Santa Fe, NM, 1949), 12–13; Sigmund A. Lavine, *The Games the Indians Played* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974), 20; Matthews, *Navaho Legends,* American Folklore Society, Memoirs, vol. 5 (New York, 1969[1897]), 77; NAMDC, *Navajo Children's Literature,* 2:122; Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life,* 94; P. G. S. Ten Broeck, "Manners and Customs of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes of New Mexico" in *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* ed. Henry R. Schoolcraft (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1854), 89; T. Stanton Van Vleet, "Legendary Evolution of Navajo Indians," *American Naturalist* 27(1893):71; Paul G. Zolbrod, *Dine Bahane: The Navajo Creation Story* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 82.

29. Ball Race—O'Bryan, *The Dine: Origin Myths of the Navajo Indians,* 36.

30. Haile, "Navaho Games of Chance and Taboo," 38; Alexander M. Stephen, "Navajo Origin Legend," *Journal of American Folklore* 43(1930):97.

31. Matthews, *Navaho Legends,* 106, 134; Zolbrod, *Dine Bahane,* 184–87.

32. Elsie Clews Parsons, "Navaho Folk Tales," *Journal of American Folklore* 36(1923):373.

33. Hasteen Klah, *Navajo Creation Myth: The Story of the Emergence,* Navajo Religion Series, vol. 1 (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1942), 121, 122; Matthews, *Navaho Legends,* 141; Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life,* 94; Zolbrod, *Dine Bahane,* 297, 300; unspecified game—Edward Sapir, *Navaho Texts* (Iowa City: Linguistic Society of America, 1942), 83.

34. Game Way—Pliny Earle Goddard, *Navajo Texts,* Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 34, pt. 1 (New York, 1933), 161; Hail Way—Gladys A. Reichard, *The Story of the Navajo Chant* (New York: Columbia University, 1944), 3; Spencer, *Mythology and Values,* 101; Mary C. Wheelwright, *Hail Chant and Water Chant,* Navajo Religion Series, vol. 2 (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1946), 3; Night Way—Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 111; Spencer, *Mythology and Values,* 156; Plume Way—Reichard, *Navaho Religion,* 68; Spencer, *Mythology and Values,* 167; Leland C. Wyman, "The Sandpaintings of the Kayenta Navaho: An Analysis of the Louisa Wade Wetherill Collection," *University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology* 7(1952):88; and Star Way—Wyman, "The Sandpaintings of the Kayenta Navaho," 40–41.

35. Wind Way—Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 176, 178.

36. Star Way—Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 124; Wheelwright, "Myth of Sontso Hatral (Big Star Chant)" (revised edition), Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Bulletin no. 2 (Santa Fe, 1957), 1-2.

37. Prostitution Way—Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 138.

38. Beautyway—Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 153.

39. Enemy/Beautyway—Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 107-108; Berard Haile, *Origin Legend of the Navaho Enemy Way: Text and Translation*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 17 (New Haven, 1938), 161, 167; Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 216; Mary C. Wheelwright, "Myth of Mountain Chant and Beauty Chant," Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Bulletin no. 2 (Santa Fe, 1951), 18; Water Way [?]—O'Bryan, *The Dine*, 164-65.

40. Enemy Way—Haile, *Origin Legend of the Navaho Enemy Way*, 67; Haile, *Starlore Among the Navaho*, 14.

41. Water Way—Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 114.

42. Plume Way—Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, 191, 193; Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 174.

43. Seven Card Dice; Mountain Way—Richard H. Pousma, *He-Who-Always-Wins and Other Navajo Campfire Stories* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1934), 78, 80.

44. Night Way—Sapir, *Navaho Texts*, 189, 513 n. 15:113.

45. Berard Haile, *Waterway*, American Tribal Religions, vol. 5, Museum of Northern Arizona Press (1979), 48-51; Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 22, no. 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1944), 106-107; Spencer, *Mythology and Values*, 108-109, 110, 113, 116, 147; Wheelwright, *Hail Chant and Water Chant*, 100.

46. Gretchen Chapin, "A Navajo Myth from the Chaco Canyon," *New Mexico Anthropologist* 5(1940):64-66; Lisbeth Eubank, "Legends of Three Navaho Games," *El Palacio* 52(1945):138-40; Goddard, *Navajo Texts*, 140-46; Dorothy Childs Hogner, *Navajo Winter Nights: Folk Tales and Myths of the Navajo People* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1935), 129-32; Matthews, "Noqoilpi, the Gambler: A Navajo Myth," *Journal of American Folklore* 2(1889):89-94; Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, 82-86; O'Bryan, *The Dine*, 48-62; Pousma, *He-Who-Always-Wins*, 57-69; Tom Ration, "A Navajo Life Story," in *The South Corner of Time: hopi, navajo, papago, yaqui tribal literature*, ed. Larry Evers et al. (Tucson, AZ: Sun Tracks, 1980), 67-69; Lula Wade Wetherill and Byron Cummings, "A Navaho Folk Tale of Pueblo Bonito," *Art and Archeology* 14(1922):132-36.

47. Dane and Mary Roberts Coolidge, *The Navajo Indians* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 71, 86, 111; Culin, *Games of the North American Indians*, 668, 790; Stanley A. Fishler, *In the Beginning: A Navaho Creation Myth*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers 13 (1953), 105-106; Lavine, *The Games the Indians Played*, 22, 54; Reichard, *Navaho Religion*, 59, 77, 198, 209, 275, 383, 388, 474, 499, 502, 503, 522, 526, 601; Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life*, 94-95; Ten Broeck, "Manners and Customs of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes of New Mexico," 91.

48. Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, 82-86.

49. William Whitman III, *Navaho Tales* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1925), 103-117.

50. Zolbrod, *Dine Bahane*, 99-112.

51. Larry Evers, *Between Sacred Mountains: Navajo Stories and Lessons from the Land,* Sun Tracks, vol. 11 (Tucson, AZ: Sun Tracks and the University of Arizona Press, 1984[1982]), 63–69; O'Bryan, *The Dine,* 48–62.

52. Goddard, *Navajo Texts;* O'Bryan, *The Dine.*

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57. Evers, *Between Sacred Mountains,* 67; Goddard, *Navajo Texts,* 145–46; Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft,* 107; O'Bryan, *The Dine,* 60–61; Ration, "A Navajo Life Story," 68–69; Wheelwright, *Hail Chant and Water Chant,* 100.

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130. Hegemann, *Navaho Trading Days,* 89.

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132. Coolidge, *The Navaho Indians,* 258.

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134. Clara Lee Tanner, *Southwest Indian Painting: A Changing Art,* 2nd ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 315.

135. Aberle, "Mythology of the Navaho Game Stick-Dice," 148; Evers, *Between Sacred Mountains,* 64; George Wharton James, *Indians of the Painted Desert Region: Hopis, Navahoes, Wallapais, Havasupais* (Boston: Little Brown, 1903), 149.

136. Bailey, "Navaho Motor Habits," 230.

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162. Susan H. Boyd, "This Indian Is Not an Indian: Labelling Play in Indian Powwowdom," in *Play: Anthropological Perspectives,* ed. Michael A. Salter (West Point, NY: Leisure, 1978), 220; Boyd, "Stick Games/Hand Games: The Great Divide," in *Forms of Play of Native North Americans,* ed. Edward Norbeck and Claire R. Farrer (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1979), 216; Hegemann, *Navaho Trading Days,* 90; W. W. Hill, *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians,* 180; Matthews, *Navaho Legends,* 24.
163. Klah, *Navajo Creation Myth,* 122; Sapir, *Navaho Texts,* 83; Van Vleet, "Legendary Evolution of Navajo Indians," 71.

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181. Bailey, "Navaho Motor Skills," 229, 231.
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227. Allen, *Navahoes Have Five Fingers.*
228. *Ten Thousand Beads for Navaho Sam*, 16mm film (Eccentric Circle, 1971).
229. Mitchell and Allen, *Miracle Hill.*
230. Millen, *Children's Games from Many Lands.* This probably is a mistake, as Millen cites Culin's *Games of the North American Indians* as the source for this game. However, Culin does not mention the Navajo in his discussion of ring and pin.
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235. Bourke, "Bourke on the Southwest"; Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People.*
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Bailey, Flora L. 1942. Navaho motor habits. *American Anthropologist* 44:210–34. Describes motions for ball throwing and catching, Stick Dice, archery, and string figures (pp. 229–31).

Baldwin, Gordon C. 1969. *Games of the American Indian.* New York: Norton. Children's book of Indian "children's" games. Mentions that bull-roarer is sacred (p. 33) and includes aspects about Navajo string figures (pp. 128–30, 140). Used Culin (1907), W. Dyk (1938), A. C. Haddon (1903; including photograph), and Jayne (1906) as sources.

Bathke, Alice and Jerry. 1969. They call themselves "the people." *The University of Chicago Magazine* 61(5):2–17. Briefly relates "The Moccasin Game," possibly connecting it to Beautyway ceremony (p. 6).

Begay, Reg. 1969. Shoes game songs. On *Traditional Navaho Songs.* Phoenix, AZ: Canyon Records ARP6064, 2:4. Originally pressed on Canyon ARP186a, 1948. Moccasin Game songs with brief description of game on album jacket.

Bennett, Kay. 1964. *Kaibah, Recollection of a Navajo girlhood.* Los Angeles: Westernlore. Autobiographical work of a girl's daily routine from 1928 to 1935. Refers to children's play (pp. 16, 44, 54, 67, 144), wrestling (p. 81), Stick Dice (pp. 121, 179, 238), horse racing (pp. 150, 165, 186–87, 236), hunting jack rabbits (p. 187), school games (p. 228), games and legends (p. 183), Chicken Pull (p. 235–36), and figurines (pp. 63–64, 133).

Blanchard, Kendall. 1974. Basketball and the culture-change process: The Rimrock Navajo case. *Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 5(4):8–13. Compares Navajo and Mormon Basketball play. Argues that instead of becoming acculturated through the sport, the Navajos are adapting the sport to their own values.

_____. 1976. The cultural dimension of competition: An ecological analysis. *National College Physical Education Association for Men, Proceedings* 79:68–74. Draws on 1974 article, "Basketball and the Culture-Change Process."

_____. 1976. Team sports and violence: An anthropological perspective. In *The Anthropological Study of Play: Problems and Prospects,* edited by David F. Lancy

and B. Allan Tindall, pp. 94–108. Cornwall, NY: Leisure Press. Draws on 1974 article, "Basketball and the Culture-Change Process."

Bonnie, Boniface, et al. 1975. *Navajo Corn Grinding and Shoe Game Songs.* Taos, NM: Indian House IH1507, 1:8-11, 2:1-9. Includes thirteen Moccasin Game songs recorded at Klagetoh in November 1974 with brief notes on the album jacket.

Bourke, John Gregory. 1936. Bourke on the Southwest. *New Mexico Historical Review* 11:77–122, 217–44. Mentions children's toys and play: tops, bows and arrows, slings, dolls with accessories, and Shinny. Describes "a game of arrows," Moccasin Game, and Stick Dice. Also mentions archery, Monte, Kan-Kan (Coon-Can), Seven Card Dice, Hoop and Pole, and comments about gambling. States that Navajos do not have stilts and do not play Fox and Geese (pp. 225–26).

Boyd, Susan H. 1978. This Indian is not an Indian: Labelling play in Indian powwowdom. In *Play: Anthropological Perspectives,* edited by Michael A. Salter, pp. 213–26. West Point, NY: Leisure. At an Upward Bound Program at the University of Montana, the Navajos felt it was important to know the stick game. However, they disagreed with the Plains Indians (tribes not specified) about the songs and rules for the game (pp. 220–21).

_____. 1979. Stick games/Hand games: The great divide. In *Forms of Play of Native North Americans,* edited by Edward Norbeck and Claire R. Farrer, pp. 209–226. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing. At the University of Montana Summer Upward Bound Program, Navajo leaders organized a stick game (Moccasin Game?) and felt the game was important to know. Disagreements (rules, songs, strategy) were resolved when Navajos took control of the teams.

Bullen, Adelaide Kendall. 1947. Archeological theory and anthropological fact. *American Antiquity* 13(2):128–34. Discusses the problem of determining whether clay figurines are fetishes or toys. States that Navajo children make clay toys of animals (horses, donkeys, dogs, sheep, cattle, chickens, goats, cats, buffalo, antelope, deer), people (women, men, babies), and domestic objects (cookware, dishware, saddles, doll carriages, pipes). Includes two photographs (see figure 7), one of which is reprinted in Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn (1971).

Chapin, Gretchen. 1940. A Navajo myth from the Chaco Canyon. *New Mexico Anthropologist* 5:63–67. Only one of the five potential informants approached was willing to partially tell "The Great Gambler" during the summer. Great Gambler plays Stick Dice, Hoop and Pole, Ball Game, and Seven Card Dice.

Cheska, Alyce T. 1979. Native American games as strategies of societal maintenance. In *Forms of Play of Native North Americanas,* edited by Edward Norbeck and Claire R. Farrer, pp. 227–47. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing. Refers to Matthews's study (1889a) on Moccasin Game (p. 237).

Cliff, Janet M. 1990a. Ludicity: A model for understanding play and game. Ph.D. dissertation. Folklore and Mythology Program, University of California, Los Angeles. Mentions the association of games with adults (p. 10), examines gambling in relation to games (pp. 80–86), and provides a more thorough discussion of the Fort Fauntleroy Massacre than found in Cliff 1990b (pp. 144–55).

_____. 1990b. Playing with games: Cheating in Navajo and Euro-American gaming. *Western Folklore* (in press). Examines the 1861 horse race between Navajos and Euro-American soldiers which resulted in the Fort Fauntleroy Massacre.

Coolidge, Dane and Mary Roberts. 1930. *The Navajo Indians.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Makes several references to The Great Gambler (pp. 71, 86, 111) and comments on gambling in general (pp. 70, 71, 258).

Coyote and the beavers. 1974. Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation. Color, animated, 16mm film, 6 minutes. Coyote plays Hoop and Pole with the beavers. However, this depiction of the game does not correspond with ethnographic information. In Navajo, winter use only.

Coyote and the lizard. 1974. Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation. Color, animated, 16mm film, 7 minutes. Coyote joins the lizards in rock sliding play. In Navajo, winter use only.

Culin, Stewart. 1893. Exhibit of games in the Columbian Exposition. *Journal of American Folklore* 6:205–227. Includes brief references to two Navajo games: *Kesitce* (Moccasin Game) and Stone Stick (Stick Dice), which is similar to the Arab game *Tab* (pp. 211, 216–17).

_____. 1898. American Indian games. *Journal of American Folklore* 11:245–52. States that the Navajo tribe is one of the sixty-one Indian tribes to play Stick Dice (p. 247).

_____. 1903. Games of the American Indians. *Outing* 42:222–29. Describes boys playing at archery and contrasts the Navajo Hoop and Pole game with those of other tribes (pp. 225–26).

_____. 1907. *Games of the North American Indians.* Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report 24. Washington, D.C. Includes fifty-seven pages of adult Navajo games with thirty-two illustrations. Describes sixteen games: Crossed-stick (*Ashbii*), Stick Dice (*Tsidil, Sitih, Tsittilc*), Seven Card Dice (*Taka-sost-siti, Dakha Tsostsedi, Dakatsostsedi*), Moccasin Game (*Kesitce*) with some contextual description, archery (*sasi oldo*), Hoop and Pole (*Naazhozh*), Shinny (*Ndashil-kal*), Ball Race (*Iddi, Iolis, Baaes*), Ball Game (*Tsol*), quoits/ring toss, bull-roarer, twenty-six examples of string figures (*na atlo, na-ash-klo*), tree push over (*Tsin-beedzil*), Baseball (see figure 5; *Aqejolyedi*) and races. Provides general introduction to Indian games and index.

Curtis, Edward S. 1970[1907]. *The North American Indian: Being a series of volumes picturing and describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska.* Vol. 1. New York: Johnson Reprint. In the Happiness Chant (Enemy Way narrative), suitors compete in an archery contest and a foot race (pp. 107–108). The hero gambles excessively in the Night Chant narrative (p. 111). On the ninth day of the Yei Bichei Dance, the people engage in horse races, foot races, and gambling (p. 122).

David, Kayah, et al. n.d. Moccasin game songs. On *Folk Music of the United States from the Archive of Folk Song: Navaho,* edited and recorded by Willard Rhodes, A:7. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Music Division AFS L41, LC 1850. Collected 1936–51.

Davis, Andrew McFarland. 1886. *Indian games.* Salem, MA: Salem Press. Mentions that the Navajos play a game similar to the Mojaves' Hoop and Pole (p. 39).

DeHuff, Elizabeth Willis. 1924. *Taytay's memories.* New York: Harcourt, Brace. Retells stories told by the grandchildren of Taytay (Pueblo, tribe unspecified). Includes two Navajo tales: "The Fox and the Skunk," in which the skunk challenges the fox to a race (pp. 175–77), and "The Fox's Eyes," in which crows and the fox use their eyes as marbles (pp. 180–82).

_____. 1932. Don't gamble. *New Mexico Magazine* 10(May):16–17. Presents "The Moccasin Game," including seventeen etiological motifs and three illustrations by Mah-pi-wi.

Dine Bahane: Coyote and skunk. 1972. Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation. Color, animated, 16 mm film, 9 minutes. Briefly shows the race between Coyote and Skunk. In Navajo, winter use only. [*Navajo coyote tales: From legend to tale* (1972, Blanding Indian Educational Curriculum Corporation, color, 16mm film, 18 minutes, in English) shows how *Dine Bahane: Coyote and Skunk* was made.]

Dine Bi'olta Association (Marjorie Thomas, Workshop Director). 1974. *Winter shoe game songs: Dine Bi'olta winter workshop 1973.* Ganado, AZ: Dine Bi'olta Association. Booklet and accompanying tape for the Moccasin Game. Booklet includes game rules, origin myth, and texts to thirteen songs (four translated into English). Winter use only.

Dine Bizaad. 1966–67. Chinle, AZ. A weekly newsletter that also included sport reports.

Downs, James F. 1964. *Animal husbandry in Navajo society and culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press. Briefly comments on horse racing (p. 54).

Dorsey, George Amos. 1976[1903]. *Indians of the Southwest.* New York: AMS. Includes photo, "Navaho Chicken Catching Contest" (Chicken Pull?), without comment in text. Also refers to Washington Matthews's (source unknown) statement that during preparations for ceremonies "others played cards or engaged in . . . *azilcil*" (Stick Dice, p. 170).

Dyk, Walter, recorder. 1938. *Son of Old Man Hat: A Navaho autobiography.* New York: Harcourt, Brace. Fieldwork conducted in 1934 with Left Handed (the son of Old Man Hat) who recalled events in his life from ca. 1868 to ca. 1888. Refers to children's play (pp. 5, 6, 7–8, 10–11, 45, 64), horses (p. 13), horse racing (pp. 141, 334), house (pp. 9–10), wrestling (pp. 142, 143, 151), Moccasin Game (p. 143), foot race (p. 151), string figures (pp. 213–14), and cards (pp. 247, 357).

Dyk, Walter, 1947. *A Navaho autobiography.* Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, vol. 8. New York. Fieldwork conducted in 1933 covering the years 1871–1919 with Old Mexican, who "seems to have lacked spontaneity, gaiety, humor and an interest in the lighter side of life" (i.e., game playing; p. 206, note 6). Mentions cards (p. 19), his idea of "sports" (p. 21), races (pp. 86, 113–14, 135, 138, 147), Moccasin Game (p. 136), and Chicken Pull (pp. 145–46).

Dyk, Walter and Ruth. 1980. *Left Handed: A Navaho autobiography.* New York: Columbia University Press. Good general description of card gambling during the 1880s (pp. 173–75, 197, 269–70, 278–81, 339–45). Relates the "new" card game of *Ni ldjahi,* including the rules in a footnote (p. 339).

Eaton, J. H. 1854. Description of the true state and character of the New Mexican tribes. In *Information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the*

Indian tribes of the United States, pt. 4, pp. 216–21. See Backus 1854. Reveals two different versions of "The Moccasin Game." One is a competition between diurnal and nocturnal animals (pp. 219–20). The other relates how Coyote steals fire during a Moccasin Game for the Navajo (pp. 218–19).

Erasmus, Charles John. 1971. Patolli, Pachisi, and the limitation of possibilities. In *The study of games,* edited by Elliott M. Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, pp. 109–129. New York: Wiley. Originally published in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6(1950):369–87. Refers to Stick Dice found in Culin 1907 (p. 118).

Eubank, Lisbeth. 1945. Legends of three Navaho games. *El Palacio* 52:138–40. Briefly provides versions of "The Moccasin Game" and "The Great Gambler." The (Pueblo) Gambler plays Thirteen Chips against the (Navajo) Rain-god and forty stones (Stick Dice) against the (Navajo) Gambler.

Evers, Larry, editor. 1984[1982]. *Between sacred mountains: Navajo stories and lessons from the land.* Sun Tracks, vol. 11. Tucson, AZ: Sun Tracks and the University of Arizona Press. Based on O'Bryan. Relates "The Great Gambler" (pp. 63–69), which includes eight games with descriptions: Seven Card Dice, Hoop and Pole (*Naazhoosh*), rainbow stick, Ball Game, Guessing Game, Kicked Stick, pull a stick, and a foot race. Includes six illustrations depicting story (see figure 2). Provides archeological evidence and questions regarding the Anasazi, of which Great Gambler was a member.

Fay, George E. 1950. A calendar of Indian ceremonies. *El Palacio* 57:166–72. Lists specific dates for various Indian fairs.

Fewkes, J. Walter. 1923. Clay figurines made by Navaho children. *American Anthropologist* 25:559–63. Presents twenty-seven clay toys mostly of animals and humans made by a four- or five-year-old girl. Argues that perhaps other figurines found by archeologists are not fetishes, but are children's toys. Six of these figurines are also in Witherspoon (1983).

Fishler, Stanley, A. 1953. *In the beginning: A Navaho creation myth.* University of Utah Anthropological Papers, 13. Based on a recording of Frank Goldtooth in 1950, this work provides a song used for gambling at cards (p. 63) and refers to Great Gambler after he has lost (p. 105). Relates "The Moccasin Game" (pp. 62–66).

Franciscan Fathers. 1968[1910]. *An ethnologic dictionary of the Navaho language.* St. Michaels, AZ: St. Michael's Press. Includes fifteen pages of Navajo games (pp. 154–55, 478–89, 495–97) with ten illustrations. Mentions five games—Monte, Coon Can, foot racing, tops, and marbles—and briefly discusses figurines. Describes eleven games: Seven Card Dice (*Dakha Tsostsedi*), *Ashbfi* (Crossed-stick, *Nezhi, Wozhi, Tqeli, Tsli*), Stick Dice (*Tsidil*), Hoop and Pole (*Naazhozh*), Ball Race (*Oolis, Idies*), Chicken Pull (*Nahoqai*), Baseball (*Aqaejolyedi*), Moccasin Game (*Kheshje*), Shinny (*Ndashdilkhal*), archery (*saziołdo*), horse racing (*li neiltqihi*); and names twenty-five string figures (*naatlo*). Provides limited general introduction to Navajo games.

Frazier, Gregory W. 1985. *The American Indian index: A directory of Indian Country, USA.* Denver: Arrowstar. Chapter 16, "Pow-Wows and Events," provides addresses and dates for Kayenta Pow-Wow, Navajo Nation Fair, as well as other powwows.

Frisbie, Charlotte Johnson. 1967. *Kinaalda': A study of the Navaho girl's puberty ceremony.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. Mentions that "Bouncing Stick Game Song" is for gambling (p. 212).

Gifford, E. W. 1940. Culture element distribution: 12 Apache-Pueblo. *Anthropological Records,* vol. 4 (1). Berkeley. Fieldwork conducted in 1935 with Haschinisusu (Small Man) and John Bowman. Includes Ball Race, foot race, Shinny, Hoop and Pole, Peon Game, Moccasin Game, Stick Dice, archery, string figures, and wrestling (pp. 142–49).

Gill, Sam D. 1983. Navajo views of their origin. In *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 502–505. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. Figure 2 (p. 504): two depictions of "The Moccasin Game." First is pen and ink illustration by Raymond John (reprint from R. Roessel 1971) and second is a painting by Robert Chee. Also shows counters used in the game, collected by Matthews in 1884.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1927[1913]. *Indians of the Southwest.* Revised 2d ed. New York: American Museum of Natural History. Navajos play a similar game to the Apache Hoop and Pole. Mentions a moccasin game and game with three split staves, without stating which tribe plays these games. Provides brief overview of game playing (pp. 171–72).

_____. 1933. *Navajo texts.* Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 34, pt. 1. New York. Provides text, literal translation (pp. 40–57), and free translation (pp. 140–46) of Sandoval's 1923–24 version of "The Great Gambler." Narrative includes eight games: Seven Card Dice, Measuring Worm, Push a Post, Ball Game, Kicked Stick, a foot race, Hoop and Pole, and Guessing Game. In "Game Story" (i.e., hunting), the hero gambles excessively at Hoop and Pole and Seven Card Dice (p. 161).

Haddon, A. C. 1903. A few American string figures and tricks. *American Anthropologist,* n. s., 5:213–23. Includes eighteen different Navajo string figures (*naash-klo;* pp. 219–23). Provides directions for making six figures, which were learned from "two old Navaho men who happened to be passing through" Chicago in October 1901 (p. 219). Includes five photos of the finished product.

Haddon, Kathleen. 1911. *Cat's cradles from many lands.* London: Longmans, Green. Introduces term "Navahoing" for a particular movement in string figures (p. 5). Includes same six figures from A. C. Haddon (with directions copied almost verbatim) and drawing of finished figure. Provides English and Navajo name (pp. 46–52). Also includes two "tricks" (pp. 80, 87).

_____. 1930. *Artists in string: String figures, their regional distribution and social significance.* New York: Dutton. Includes separate chapter on Navajo string figures (pp. 38–64). Mentions seventeen figures. For ten other figures, provides the English name of the figure; when possible the Navajo name; an illustration of the final figure; when necessary an illustration of the item represented in the figure; and directions. Includes limited analysis of figures and purposes. Except for one figure (Breast Bone and Ribs), all are excerpted from K. Haddon 1911 or Jayne (1906).

Haile, [Father] Berard. 1933. Navaho games of chance and taboo. *Primitive Man* 6:35–40. Written in response to Reagan's "Navajo Sports" (1932). Provides probable origins of the foot race, horse race, wrestling, and Chicken Pull, the

latter three not being indigenous activities. Provides evidence that games are not taboo, but often are played in connection with, or near, rituals and ceremonials. Mentions three games "founded on religious belief": Moccasin Game, Bounding Stick Game, and Hoop and Pole. Also mentions Push on the Wood and the card games Coon Can and Monte. Notes individuals are named for their gaming abilities. Provides brief context for Moccasin Game. Provides additional description of Hoop and Pole not give in Franciscan Fathers' *Ethnologic Dictionary* and gives possible reason for disappearance.

_____. 1938. *Origin legend of the Navaho Enemy Way: Text and translation.* Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 17. New Haven. Stars depict the Hard Flint Women's argument over Stick Dice (p. 67 with illustration; see Haile 1947). Archery is mentioned in connection with the Hard Flint Boys and the contest for winning two females (pp. 161, 167).

_____. 1947. *Starlore among the Navaho.* Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. Slim Curly's gourd rattle for Enemy Way depicts the argument that two women had over Stick Dice (p. 14). States the connection between earth people and sky people through games (p. 18).

_____. 1979. *Waterway.* American Tribal Religions, vol. 5. Museum of Northern Arizona Press. Briefly relates "The Notorious Gambler," which includes four games: Hoop and Pole, Seven Card Dice, Shinny, and foot race (pp. 48–51).

_____. 1981. *Women versus men, a conflict of Navajo emergence—the Curly To Aheedliinii version.* American Tribal Religions, 6. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Provides both the Navajo text and the English translation of "The Moccasin Game" recorded in 1932. The diurnal and nocturnal animals gamble for life and death (pp. 3, 63–68, 115–18).

_____. 1984. *Navajo coyote tales—the Curly To Aheedliinii version.* American Tribal Religions, 8. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Comments on the functions of Moccasin Game and string figures (pp. 20–21). Provides both the Navajo text and the English translation of "Coyote and Skunk" (race), "Beaver and Coyote" (Hoop and Pole), "Chickadee and Coyote" (eye juggling), "Gray Lizard and Coyote" (rock sliding), and "Porcupine, Elk, and Coyote" (jumping game).

Haile, [Father] Berard, and Mary Cabot Wheelwright. 1949. *Emergence myth according to the Hanelthnayhe or upward-reaching rite.* Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Navajo Religion Series, vol. 3. Santa Fe, NM. Mentions that when the people enter the Blue World, they play Hoop and Pole, three kinds of dice, and run foot races and Ball Race. Provides description and diagram for Ball Race (pp. 12–13). Gives various references to "The Moccasin Game," especially emphasizing the etiological motifs for sixteen animals (pp. 61–62, 64, 107).

Hartman, Russell P. and Jan Musial. 1987. *Navajo pottery: Traditions and innovations.* Flagstaff, AZ: Northland. Comments on toys made from mud (p. 99).

Hegemann, Elizabeth Compton. 1963. *Navaho trading days.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. In describing an Entah (Squaw Dance, pp. 88–110), includes cards, (six-sided) dice, Moccasin Game, stick games (unspecified), "competitive singing bouts," horse races (photos #84–88; see

figure 4), foot races (photo #91), and Chicken Pull (photos #89–90). Based on the author's experience as a trader from 1929–39.

Hill, W[illard] W. 1937. Navajo pottery manufacture. *The University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series,* vol. 2, no. 3. Albuquerque. States that dolls and animal clay figurines were sun-dried and used as toys (p. 10).

_____. 1938. *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians.* Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 18. New Haven. Moccasin Game could be played from October to March. However, in October it could be played only in conjunction with five- and nine-night ceremonies. Stick game (Stick Dice) and Hoop and Pole were also played during the winter (p. 16). Relates beliefs regarding connections between the playing of Shinny and the weather (pp. 56, 72). Stories of good luck at gambling assured a successful hunt (p. 103). Hunting jack rabbits "was entered more in the spirit of sport than seriously" (p. 171). Pollen from the nests of swallows, doves, and roadrunners made swift runners (humans and horses; pp. 175–76). Briefly discusses the relationship between rituals and sports (songs, gambling, cheating, racing; p. 180). Briefly relates a chantway narrative in which the hero gambles excessively (p. 100).

_____. 1943. *Navaho humor.* General Series in Anthropology, no. 9. Menasha, WI. Includes four examples of horse racing strategy (p. 11); also refers to cards (p. 10), *Cidil* (Stick Dice; p. 12), Hoop and Pole (p. 16), and wrestling (p. 22).

Hill, W. W. and Dorothy W. 1943. Two Navajo myths. *New Mexico Anthropologist* 6-7:111-14. The Late Little Smith's Son of Crown Point, New Mexico relates "Frog Races a Lewd Woman" (pp. 113–14). Collected 1934–35.

_____. 1945. Navaho coyote tales and their position in the southern Athabaskan group. *Journal of American Folklore* 58:317–43. Collected in 1933–35; relates the Late Little Smith's Son's "Coyote Imitates the Lizards" (rock sliding), "Coyote and Skunk Kill Game" (race), Slim Gambler's "Coyote Loses His Eyes" (eye juggling), and "Porcupine Tricks Coyote" (jumping game). Also includes abstract of Matthews's (1969[1897]) "Coyote and the Otters" (Hoop and Pole).

Hobler, Philip M. and Audrey E. 1967. Navajo racing circles. *Plateau* 40:45–50. Provides photos of three horse racing circles, although the literature states that Navajos race only in straight lines.

Hofsinde, Robert. 1957. *Indian Games and Crafts.* New York: William Morrow. A children's book that includes bull-roarer, explaining its original purposes, how it can be made with currently available materials, and how it can be played with today.

Hogner, Dorothy Childs. 1935. *Navajo Winter Nights: Folk Tales and Myths of the Navajo People.* New York: Thomas Nelson. Edited for "the modern child"; includes stories from Roan Horse and Yellow Man: "How Coyote Got Yellow Eyes" (pp. 116–19, eye juggling); "Coyote and the Rock Lizards" (pp. 120–24; rock sliding); "How Coyote's Fur Grew Rough" (pp. 125–28, Hoop and Pole); "White Butterfly Boy and Rain Boy" (129–32, race); and "The Scheme of Coyote and Skunk" (pp. 135–41, foot race); and "Porcupine, Elk, and Coyote" (pp. 147–54, jumping game).

James, George Wharton. 1901. Moki and Navaho Indian sports. *Outing* 39(October):10–15. Describes an actual Chicken Pull, including a photograph. Also relates aspects of horsemanship.

_____. 1903. *Indians of the Painted Desert region: Hopis, Navahoes, Wallapais, Havasupais.* Boston: Little Brown. Describes Hoop and Pole from actual play (p. 148). Explains one gambling amulet (p. 149).

Jayne, Caroline Furness. 1906. *String figures: A study of cat's cradle in many lands.* New York: Scribner. Reprinted 1962 as *String figures and how to make them.* New York: Dover. Includes eighty-six pages of Navajo string figures. A cross-cultural study, organizing materials by techniques used in creating figures. Implies possible purposes of figures. Includes twenty-two figures: five figures from A. C. Haddon (1903) and seventeen figures from Zah Tso and her sister, of Gallup, N.M., who attended the 1904 St. Louis Exposition. Portrait photo of Zah Tso included. Provides English name of figure; Navajo name when possible; illustration of final figure; when necessary, an illustration of the item represented in the figure; and both visual and written directions.

Kawano, Kenji. 1980. A portfolio. In *The south corner of time: hopi, navaho, papago, yaqui tribal literature,* edited by Larry Evers et al., pp. 71–76. Tucson, AZ: Sun Tracks. Includes photo of gambling at cards (p. 74; see figure 8).

Keleher, William A. 1952. *Turmoil in New Mexico: 1846–1868.* Santa Fe, NM: Rydal. Describes the horse race that caused the Fort Fauntleroy Massacre in 1861 (pp. 297–300).

Keur, Dorothy. 1944. A chapter in Navaho-Pueblo relations. *American Antiquity* 10:75–86. From archeological dig, found two dice, possibly from Stick Dice, and "an irregular disk with neatly smooth sides . . . (which) suggests a gaming piece" (p. 81).

Klah, Hasteen. Recorded by Mary C. Wheelwright. 1942. *Navajo creation myth: The story of the emergence.* Navajo Religion Series, vol. 1. Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. Includes a game with a stone on a foot, and briefly explains the children's game *Ahchineh-bah-jee-chin* (we won't give the children away; pp. 121–22).

Kluckhohn, Clyde. 1944. *Navaho witchcraft.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 22, no. 2. Cambridge, MA. Includes "The Great Gambler" as part of Prostitution Way narrative with Ball Game, Hoop and Pole, pushing the posts, and foot race (pp. 106–107).

_____. 1966. Expressive activities. In *People of Rimrock: The study of values in five cultures,* edited by Evon Z. Vogt and Ethel M. Albert, pp. 275–98. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Refers to Chicken Pull (p. 287). Compares Navajo, Zuni, Mormon, Texan, and Spanish-American sports and games (p. 289).

Kluckhohn, Clyde, W. W. Hill, and Lucy Wales Kluckhohn. 1971. *Navaho material culture.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Includes thirty-four continuous pages (pp. 375–408) of Navajo games and toys, including brief overview. Information is based on over two hundred informants. For each game, states how equipment is made, rites for preparing equipment (if known), who can play, where the game is played, how it is played—rules

and actuality—and scoring. Compares different versions. Presents nine games: Hoop and Pole (see figure 14; *Naazos*), Shinny (*Ndilkal*), archery (*yiskah*), Stick Race (*Nalzagi*), horse race (*libizadtah*), foot race, Moccasin Game (*Kesze*), Seven Cards (*Daka Cosced*), Stick Dice (*Cidil*), and Button Game. Presents six toys: figurines (see figure 10), tops (*ndostazi*), swings (*ndibal, niz dabal*), buzzer, and fourteen string figures. Includes twenty-five illustrations of games and toys.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Dorothea Leighton. 1974[1946]. *The Navaho.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Mentions that Navajos play Moccasin Game, Stick Dice, Arrow Game, "American" card games, foot and horse races (photo included), cowboy sports, Chicken Pull, and make string figures (p. 96). Mentions that most ceremonies include games and races (p. 96). There are priestly rites for gambling; however, excessive gambling is disapproved (pp. 222, 299). Relates explanation for game rules: "Because the Holy People did it that way in the first place" (p. 235).

Ladd, John. 1957. *The structure of a moral code: A philosophical analysis of ethical discourse applied to the ethics of the Navajo Indians.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Fieldwork conducted December 1951 through January 1952, and January 1954 with Bidaga, John Hawk (pseudonym), and Bill Begay (pseudonym) as informants. Briefly mentions gambling, Moccasin Game, and string figures (pp. 214, 232–33, 252, 335, 337).

Lavine, Sigmund A. 1974. *The games the Indians played.* New York: Dodd, Mead. A children's book which mentions that *Tsindi* (Stick Dice) was played while waiting for earth to dry after the emergence (p. 20); also mentions Shinny (p. 54), archery (p. 62), Hoop and Pole (pp. 70–71), and string figures (photo from A. C. Haddon 1903; p. 87). Refers to Nohoilpi (Great Gambler; pp. 22, 54), and relates "The Moccasin Game" (pp. 33–34, 36). Does not cite sources.

Lee, George P. 1987. *Silent courage: An Indian story.* Salt Lake City: Deseret. An autobiographical work that includes Lee's involvement with Football (pp. 140–42, 147, 182, 192–96) and Basketball (pp. 146–47, 172, 182, 271, 294, 325–26). Also mentions children's play (p. 22). Lee's paternal grandmother's name was Asdzaa Adika'i (Woman Playing Cards, p. 2).

Leighton, Alexander H. and Dorothea C. 1945. *The Navaho door: An introduction to Navaho life.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. General comments on gaming practices (pp. 17, 20, 31, 102).

Leighton, Dorothea, and Clyde Kluckhohn. 1948. *Children of the people.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Intermittently describes children's play activities (pp. 58, 60, 61, 66, 67, 169, 172, 186, 189, 192, 195). On pages 60–63 mentions tug-of-war, swings, figurines (also pp. 186, 224), string figures, cowboy sports (also p. 67), stone game, races (also p. 67), house, Shinny, archery, sling shots, and wrestling.

Macfarlan, Allan A. and Paulette. 1985[1958]. *Handbook of American Indian games.* New York: Dover. Children's book listing games by geographical region; two cited as being Navajo: string figures (p. 16) and blanket, basket, and ball (*ashbii*; pp. 125–27). The directions to the latter game have been modified so it will not be "too dangerous." Does not state what modifications were made. Explains how materials for the games can be made with currently available

materials and how they can be played today. Does not cite references or informants.

Malcolm, Roy L. 1939. Archaeological remains supposedly Navaho, from Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. *American Antiquity* 5:4–20. Discovery of two sets of dice from a burial site eight miles east of Chaco Canyon. The first set of six was of standard shape; the second set of seven had both the regular rectangular shape (male) and the unusual boat shape (female). "The dice were used in almost the same way as the familiar 'bouncing sticks' " (Stick Dice; p. 19).

Matthews, Washington. 1889a. Navajo gambling songs. *American Anthropologist* 2:1–19. Includes narrative, times when songs should be sung during the telling of the story, current rules (without stating how points are made and lost), and twenty-one song texts, without tunes, for *Kestice* (Moccasin Game).

_____. 1889b. Noqoilpi, the gambler: A Navajo myth. *Journal of American Folklore* 2:89–94. Relates "The Great Gambler" (*Noqoilpi*), which includes four games with brief descriptions: Thirteen Chips (*Takathadsata*), Hoop and Pole (*Nanzoz*), Push on the Wood (*Tsinbetsil*), and Ball Game (*Tsol*). This story is copied verbatim in Matthews's *Navaho Legends.*

_____. 1969[1897]. *Navaho legends.* American Folklore Society, Memoirs, vol. 5. New York. Relates the following myths which include games: "Early Events of the Fifth World"—Stick Dice (*Tsindi, Tsidil, Tsindil*) with brief description, *Dilkon, Atsa,* and *Aspin* (pp. 77, 219 n. 47); "He Who Wins Men (at play)" (pp. 82–86)—Thirteen Chips (*Takathadsata*), Hoop and Pole (*Nanzoz*), Push on the Wood (*Tsinbetsil*), and Ball Game (*Tsol*), all four including brief descriptions; "Eye Juggler" (p. 90)—eye juggling; "Coyote and the Birds" (p. 97)—rolling stone game; "Coyote and the Otters" (pp. 97–98)—*Nanzoz* (Hoop and Pole); "Adventures of Changing Woman's Sons" (pp. 106, 134)—race; "Growth of the Navaho Nation" (pp. 141, 240 n. 176, 226 n. 76)—*Nanzoz, Kesitse;* "Natinesthani" (p. 160)—excessive gambling; "Plume Way" (pp. 191, 193)—*Nanzoz;* "The Origin of Tribes" (p. 240 n. 176)—Moccasin Game (*Kesitse*) with description. Also mentions songs for gambling (p. 24) and a racing god (p. 254 n. 271). "He Who Wins Men" is copied verbatim from Matthews's "Noqoilpi, the Gambler: A Navajo Myth."

_____. 1902. The night chant, a Navaho ceremony. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* vol. 6. The god Hatdastsisi wears on his back a ring used in Hoop and Pole which "indicates that he is a great gambler in *nanzoz*" (p. 15). Hastseltsi (Red God) is a racing god and challenges others to foot races during the ceremony (p. 25).

McAllester, David P., and Douglas F. Mitchell. 1983. Navajo music. In *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 605–23. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian. Discusses restrictions, beliefs, and function of Moccasin Game songs (pp. 605–606). Includes text and tune from Reg Begay's recording (1969).

McNitt, Frank. 1972. *Navajo wars: Military campaigns, slave raids and reprisals.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. Refers to the horse race that sparked the Fort Fauntleroy Massacre in 1861 (pp. 422–27).

Millen, Nina. 1943. *Children's games from many lands.* New York: Friendship Press. Children's book including four Navajo games: bouncing sticks (Stick

Dice), the Coyote and the Father, ring and pin, and ring (Quoits). Explains how games can be played (pp. 168–71).

Mindeleff, Cosmos. 1899. Navajo Indian gamblers. *Scientific American* 81(July):27. Describes Moccasin Game, including actions of nonplayers, and refers to the card game Monte.

Mitchell, Emerson Blackhorse, and T. D. Allen. 1967. *Miracle Hill: The story of a Navaho boy.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Mentions potato pull (p. 57) and Mitchell's involvement in a horse race as a boy (pp. 63–72).

Mitchell, Frank. 1978. *Navajo Blessingway singer.* Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Demonstrates prevalence of gambling in one person's life. Mentions the card games Coon Can and Monte. Includes brief description of Don't Laugh game (p. 88).

NAMDC (Native American Materials Development Center). 1984. *Navajo children's literature.* Vols. 1–2. Albuquerque: Native American Materials Development Center. Volume 1 includes Navajo and English texts of "Coyote and Skunk" (foot race), "Coyote and the Lizards" (rock sliding), "*Jaak'ehi*" (horse and foot races), "Many Died" (gambling, cards), "Something Took Off with Me!" (sled). Volume 2 includes "The Emergence" (Hoop and Pole, archery, Shoe Game), "The Shoe Game," "Coyote and Skunk" (foot race), "Coyote, Porcupine, and Elk" (jumping game), and "How Coyote's Eyes Were Restored" (eye juggling). Series illustrated by William P. Yazzie, Billy Whitethorne, and Alice M. Rastetter. Some stories are restricted to winter use.

The Navajo adventure of Ash-ki and Vernon. 1972. Kayenta. Color, 16mm film, 22 minutes. Although many of the "conversations" between the boys are awkward, their play activities appear natural. The boys throw stones into water, toss a frisbee, and visit a rodeo.

Navajo Community College Newsletter. 1969–73. Chinle, AZ. Features also focused on awards won in sports (e.g., Basketball, Cross-Country).

Navajo Community College [News] Update. 1978?–80. Tsaile, AZ. Sports events were also covered.

Navajo Times [Today]. 1959+. Window Rock, AZ. Sports pages include such activities as rodeo, horse racing, Basketball, Baseball, Golf, Bowling, Volleyball, and Cross-Country.

NCC (Navaho Curriculum Council). 1972[1968]. *Coyote stories of the Navaho people.* Rough Rock, AZ: Dine. Includes five tales in which Coyote plays a game: "Coyote and the Skunk" (foot race), "Coyote, Porcupine, and Elk" (jumping game), "Coyote and the Lizards" (rock sliding), "Coyote and the Beaver People" (Hoop and Pole), and "Coyote Loses His Eyes" (eye juggling).

Newcomb, Franc Johnson. 1964. *Hosteen Klah, Navajo medicine man and sand painter.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. During breaks in ceremonies, people amuse themselves with running, jumping, archery, Stick Dice, cards, and horse racing (pp. 21, 129–31).

_____. 1966. *Navaho neighbors.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Briefly describes games at 1913 All-Indian Fair in Shiprock: Three-legged Race, Sack Race, tug-of-war, Blindfold Race, Wheelbarrow Race, and horse races (p. 25).

Mentions Guess the Number (p. 101), and that games are played during school field day (p. 134) and squaw dances (p. 161). Describes author's involvement while attending Moccasin Game (pp. 100–104).

Newcomb, Franc Johnson, Stanley Fishler, and Mary C. Wheelwright. 1956. A study of Navajo symbolism. Harvard University, *Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, papers* 32(3):1–108. States that no games can be held during Gahnji, the thirteenth month (October-November; p. 12).

Newcomb, Franc Johnson, and Gladys A. Reichard. 1937. *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant.* New York: Augustin. Contains redaction of "The Moccasin Game" (p. 31).

Newell, William W. 1890. Additional collection essential to correct theory in folklore and mythology. *Journal of American Folklore* 3:23–32. Focuses on the question of the role of "day and night" in games and how games begin, using Matthews's "Navaho Gambling Songs" as one example (pp. 30–31).

NNAC (National Native American Co-operative). 1982. *Native American directory: Alaska, Canada, United States.* San Carlos, AZ: National Native American Co-operative. Lists dates, addresses, and telephone numbers for various general events, powwows, and rodeos.

O'Bryan, Aileen. 1956. *The Dine: Origin myths of the Navajo Indians.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 163. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian. Based on fieldwork collected in 1928 from Sandoval, Hastin Tlotsi hee (Old Man Buffalo Grass). Relates five narratives which include games: "The Stick Race" (Ball Race, p. 36); "The Great Gambler" (Seven Sticks, Hoop and Pole, rainbow stick, Kicked Stick, Ball Game, Guessing Game, planted sticks, and a foot race; pp. 48–62); "The Moccasin Game" (pp. 63–70); a guessing game with corn husks (pp. 164–65); and hide and seek (pp. 175–76). Provides figures for five of the games in "The Great Gambler." Includes twenty-one songs and a figure for the arrangements for the Moccasin Game. Implies the Dead Spirit Ceremony originated from the Moccasin Game. The guessing game with corn husks is the basis for cures for skin diseases.

Office of Indian Affairs. 1911. *Social plays, games, marches, old folk dances, and rhythmic movements.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. Although this does not include Indian games, the games in this book were probably taught in reservation schools.

O'Rand, Barbara, and Audrey Collinson Small. 1975. String figures and the language arts. *Lore and Language* 2(2):23–29. States that string figure Witch's Broom is also known as Hogan. Includes one illustration of figure.

Oxendine, Joseph B. 1988. *American Indian sports heritage.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics. In a survey of "Sports and Games in Traditional Indian Life" and in "The Emergence of Indians in Modern Sports," cites Navajo references in Culin 1907 (foot race and Hoop and Pole), Baldwin 1969 (string figures), A. C. Haddon 1903 (string figures), Eubank 1945 (Moccasin Game), and Blanchard 1974 (Basketball). States that Harold Foster (Cross-Country) and Gordon House (Boxing) were inducted into the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame (pp. 286–89).

Parsons, Elsie Clews. 1923. Navaho folk tales. *Journal of American Folklore* 36:368–75. Racing in "Coyote Plays Dead" (p. 372) and "The Birds Race" (p. 373).

Pousma, Richard H. 1934. *He-Who-Always-Wins and other Navajo campfire stories.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans. In "The Story of Mister He-Who-Always-Wins" ("The Great Gambler"; pp. 57–69), Great Gambler and challenger wrestle, race, play seven cards game (Seven Card Dice?), and break trees. After Great Gambler is defeated, challenger plays guessing game with Great Gambler's wife. Includes episode from Mountain Way narrative, "The Abandoned Child Takes Revenge" (pp. 75–81). Hero's parents play games and Seven Card Dice at ceremonies/dances. Contains "The Contest Between Day and Night Animals" ("Moccasin Game"; pp. 89–92), birds playing in water (Hoop and Pole?; pp. 101–103), "Adventures of the Porcupine, the Elk, and the Coyote" (jumping game; pp. 109–110), "The Coyote and the Skunk" (race; pp. 126–27), and "How the Coyote Got His Yellow Eyes" (eye juggling; pp. 135–36). Also includes "The Coyote Loses His Beautiful Coat" ("Coyote and the Beavers/Otters"; pp. 139–42) without mentioning Hoop and Pole.

Ration, Tom. 1980. A Navajo life story. In *The south corner of time: hopi, navaho, papago, yaqui tribal literature,* pp. 63–70. See Kawano 1980. Originally published in *Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture,* edited by Broderick H. Johnson, pp. 316–18. Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College Press, 1977. Relates "One-Who-Wins-You"; however, the telling is incomplete, because he was not paid enough and because it takes two to three nights to tell it. Implies story is part of Prostitute Way. Mentions three games: Shinny, tree-breaking game, and foot race. Connects story to present world objects such as airplanes, golfballs, highways, and electric current.

Reagan, Albert B. 1932. Navajo sports. *Primitive Man* 5:68–71. Mentions three games Navajos used to play but which became "tabooed": Pole Game (*Nahezhosh*), Three-stick Dice (*Setdilth*), and Moccasin Game. Mentions current games played: Football, Baseball, and "various card games." Describes four current "native" games: horse race, foot race, wrestling match, and Chicken Pull.

Reichard, Gladys A. 1971[1939]. *Dezba, woman of the desert.* Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press. Includes thirteen continuous pages (pp. 80–92) and seven illustrations of one family's experience at the Indian Tribal Ceremony's rodeo in Gallup.

_____. 1944. *The story of the Navajo Hail Chant.* New York: Columbia University. Hail Chant narrative recited by tla'h (sic) of Newcomb, New Mexico in 1938 includes hero who gambles excessively (Hoop and Pole, dice, ball, kick-stick, *ne'ji',* straddlesticks, and racing; p. 3) and who races with Frog (pp. 15–17, 25–27). Includes both Navajo and English texts.

_____. 1974[1950]. *Navaho religion: A study in symbolism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Explains symbols that also have a relationship to certain games (Moccasin Game, pp. 40, 199–200, 287–88, 291; horse race, p. 142; unspecified game, p. 459). Refers to excessive gambling in Feather Chant narrative (p. 68 and racing (p. 242). Includes composite information on characters who engage in games (e.g., Gambler, Frog, Racing God, Monster Slayer).

Roberts, John M., Malcolm J. Arth, and Robert R. Bush. 1959. Games in culture. *American Anthropologist* 61:597–605. Navajos have games of physical skill and chance, but no games of strategy.

Robinson, Jacob S. 1932[1848]. *A journal of the Santa Fe expedition under Colonel Doniphan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Description of Hoop and Pole and Stick Dice, witnessed October 1846 (p. 47).

Roessel, Robert A., Jr. 1983. Navajo history, 1850–1923. In *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 506–23. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian. Outlines the Fort Fauntleroy Massacre (1861), including picture of horse racing (pp. 506–507, 510).

Roessel, Ruth, editor. 1971. *Navajo studies at Navajo Community College.* Many Farms, AZ: Navajo Community College Press. Briefly relates "The Moccasin Game." Includes Raymond Johnson's pen-and-ink drawing of the first Moccasin Game (pp. 14–15; see figure 2).

Sapir, Edward. 1942. *Navaho texts.* Iowa City: Linguistic Society of America. Includes Navajo and English texts collected during the summer of 1929 at Crystal, New Mexico. Coyote races in "Coyote Makes Rain" (p. 23), and children (p. 83) and Holy People (pp. 189, 513 n. 15:113) play.

The Shush. 1968+. Fort Wingate, NM. Fort Wingate High School's newspaper, often containing sports news.

Spencer, Katherine. 1947. *Reflection of social life in the Navaho origin myth.* University of New Mexico Publication in Anthropology, no. 3. Albuquerque. Includes five continuous pages (pp. 93–97) and one chart on games and gambling. Shows how games correspond to narratives and present lifestyle. Mentions Stick Dice, *Aspin, Atsa, Dilkon, Patole,* Moccasin Game (*Kesitse*), a game with stones, *Ahchineh-bah-jee-chin,* Thirteen Chips (*Takat Had-sata*), Hoop and Pole (*Nanzoa*), three ball games, Push on the Wood (*Tsi-nbetsil*), measuring worm or lightning, Seven Card Dice, guessing game, string figures, archery, cards, wrestling, Shinny, Chicken Pull, and races. Provides detailed references to published and unpublished materials.

_____. 1957. *Mythology and values: An analysis of Navaho Chantway myths.* American Folklore Society, Memoirs, vol. 48. Philadelphia. Comments on gaming motifs in narratives and attitudes about gaming, especially gambling (pp. 58–59). Provides synopsis and comparison of various narratives from published and unpublished sources. The following narratives include some aspect of gaming: Hail Way (excessive gambling at hoop and stick, dice, ball, kickstick, straddlestick, and racing with Frog/Toad, pp. 101–103); Waterway (contest with Great Gambler, pp. 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 116; Jicarilla Apache late because of gambling at Hoop and Pole, p. 114); Big Star Way (family plays games, p. 124); Prostitution Way (hero plays with children, p. 138; contest with Great Gambler, p. 147); Beautyway (rolling stone game, p. 153); Visionary/Night Way (excessive gambling, p. 156); Plume Way (excessive gambling, p. 167; Plains Indians play *Nanzoz,* p. 174); Navaho Wind Way (Holy People play tag, pp. 176, 178, and race with Toad/Frog, p. 180–81); and Enemy Way (archery, foot race, and Shinny, p. 216).

Stephen, Alexander M. 1930. Navajo origin legend. *Journal of American Folklore* 43:88–104. Relates "The Separation of Sexes," which is caused by Chief Great Wolf's wife's excessive gambling with three small sticks.

Stevenson, James. 1891. Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis and mythical sand painting of the Navajo Indians. *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 8:229–

85. States "gaming ring" (with illustration) is also used in curing ceremony (pp. 237-39). Culin (1907) believes this ring is from Hoop and Pole.

Stewart, Irene. 1980. *A voice in her tribe: A Navajo woman's own story.* Socorro, NM: Ballena Press. Born in 1907, Stewart mentions children's play on the reservation (pp. 15, 24, 43) and at school (pp. 17-18: merry-go-rounds, swings, follow-the-leader, somersault, jacks, jump rope, dolls, snowmen, snowballs, skating; Basketball, p. 30; Football, p. 31), and adult play (rodeo, pp. 6, 84; gambling, pp. 45, 79, 80; solitaire, p. 82).

Tanner, Clara Lee. 1973. *Southwest Indian painting: A changing art.* 2d ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. Includes three paintings of Navajos playing: Andy Tsihnahjinnie's *The Gamblers* (card games, pp. 314-15; see figure 9); Raymond Johnson's (Ne-Chah-He) *Card Game* (p. 392); and James Wayne Yazzie's *Lazy Day* (card games and Stick Dice, pp. 404-405; see figure 1).

Telford, Emma Paddock. 1902. Navajo field games. *Current Literature* 33:581-82. Newspaper report of the field games of 28 August 1902 at Volz's trading post. Especially focuses on Chicken Pull and the women's horse race. Also mentions other races.

_____. 1903. Navaho games and handicrafts. *Southern Workman* 32:369-75. Mentions Chicken Pull; provides overview of "annual games" (fair), specifically referring to foot races, horse races, and wrestling.

Ten Broeck, P. G. S. 1854. Manners and customs of the Moqui and Navajo tribes of New Mexico. In *Information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States,* pt. 4, pp. 72-91. See Backus 1854. Briefly mentions that the Navajo began playing *Patole* as soon as they came out of the earth (p. 89). Refers to Great Gambler without including any games (p. 91).

Ten thousand beads for Navaho Sam. 1971. Eccentric Circle. Color, 16mm film, 35 minutes. While visiting the Navajo Reservation, Sam plays pool.

Toelken, [J.] Barre. 1969. The "pretty language" of Yellowman: Genre, mode, and texture in Navaho coyote narratives. *Genre* 2:211-35. Includes "Coyote and the Skunk" (race, p. 218) and refers to Coyote's eye juggling (p. 222).

_____. 1979. *The Dynamics of Folklore.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Includes four pages (pp. 95-96, 101, 190) and eight photos (nos. 29-36; see figure 3) of string figures. Describes the importance of creating the figures in the proper manner. Relates Navajo perceptions of the purpose of string figures. Records context for actual session, including seven traditional figures and three spontaneous figures which depict the three fieldworkers. Records where the Navajo children learn the figures and why, according to the children, there are religious restrictions regarding the figures. Also includes an eye juggler narrative (pp. 96-100).

Toelken, [J.] Barre and Tacheeni Scott. 1981. Poetic retranslation and the "pretty languages" of Yellowman. In *Traditional literatures of the American Indian: Texts and interpretations,* edited by Karl Kroeber, pp. 65-116. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Includes two translations of "Coyote and the Skunk" (race, pp. 77-78, 101) and refers to Coyote's eye juggling (p. 81).

Tschopik, Harry, Jr. 1941. *Navaho Pottery Making: An Inquiry into the Affinities of Navaho Painted Pottery.* Paper of the Peabody Museum of American Ar-

chaeology and Ethnology, vol. 17, no. 1. Cambridge, MA. Briefly discusses children's clay figurines (*hasxis danee*), noting that they may be of animals, humans, or dishes, have a few incised lines for facial features, are not painted, and may or may not be fired (p. 13).

Van Vleet, T. Stanton. 1893. Legendary evolution of Navajo Indians. *American Naturalist* 27:69-79. Mentions that women and children began playing after reaching the (fourth) world (p. 71).

Von Maszewski, Wolfram Mateuz. 1964. An analysis of the Hoop-and-Pole game in North America. M.A. thesis: University of Texas. Implies that the use of "turkey feet" for scoring in Hoop and Pole is unique to the Navajo.

Wetherill, Lula Wade, and Byron Cummings. 1922. A Navaho folk tale of Pueblo Bonito. *Art and Archeology* 14:132-36. Relates an unusual version of "The Great Gambler," specifically mentioning Push-on-the-Wood.

Wheelwright, Mary C., recorder. 1946. *Hail Chant and Water Chant.* Navajo Religion Series, vol. 2. Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. "The Great Gambler" with a foot race collected from the brothers Klahzhin Begay and Klahzhin Betsilli in 1937 (p. 100). In Hasteen Klah's Hail Way narrative, the hero gambles excessively at Hoop and Pole (p. 3) and later races with Toad (pp. 34, 36-37).

_____, recorder. 1951. Myth of Mountain Chant and Beauty Chant. Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Bulletin no. 5. Santa Fe. Bear and Snake participate in archery contest and Shinny (p. 18) in Beautyway narrative told by Hasteen Gahni.

_____. 1957. Myth of Sontso Hatral (Big Star Chant). Revised ed. Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Bulletin no. 2 (original edition 1940). As a child, the hero disappears while his mother and family play games (pp. 1-2). Narrative from Yuinth-Nezi of Tachini clan.

Whitman, William III. 1925. *Navaho tales.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Taken from Matthews's *Navaho Legends* and modified for children. Includes "The Great Gambler" (pp. 103-117) and a narrative (Plume Way) in which the hero gambles excessively (p. 121).

Whitney, Alex. 1977. *Sports and games the Indians gave us.* New York: McKay. Refers to Navajo games: tossing (human) contest (pp. 17-18) and Moccasin Game (p. 49).

Witherspoon, Gary. 1983. Navajo social organization. In *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 524-35. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian. Figure 5: Raymond Johnson's (Ne-chah-He) painting, *Navajos at Play,* shows women playing Stick Dice, men and women playing cards, and children playing tag(?). Three stick dice collected by Edward Palmer in 1869 are shown. Figure 6: reprint of six children's clay figurines from Fewkes 1923.

Wyman, Leland C. 1952. *The sandpaintings of the Kayenta Navaho: An analysis of the Louisa Wade Wetherill collection.* University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, no. 7. Albuquerque. Heroes gamble excessively (Big Star Way narrative, pp. 40-41; Plume Way narrative, p. 88). No specific games mentioned.

_____. 1983. Navajo ceremonial system. In *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 10, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 536–57. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian. Excesses in gambling may be one of the disturbers of the normal balance, resulting in illness (p. 536).

Yazzie, Ethelou. 1982[1971]. *Navajo history.* Vol. 1. Cortez, CO: Navajo Curriculum Center. Includes "Moccasin Game" (pp. 24–27) with two illustrations (see figure 4). Provides detailed explanation of point system.

Zolbrod, Paul G. 1984. *Dine Bahane: The Navajo creation story.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. A retranslation of the Origin Myth primarily based on Matthews's text in *Navaho Legends.* Does not include any new information on games (Stick Dice, p. 82; Thirteen Chips, Hoop and Pole, Push-on-the-Wood, and Ball Game, pp. 103–104, 107–109; eye juggling, pp. 119–21; rock sliding, pp. 146–47; foot race, pp. 184–87; Hoop and Pole and Moccasin Game, p. 297; unspecified game, p. 300).