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A Kachina by Any Other Name: Linguistically Contextualizing Native American Collections

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A KACHINA BY ANY OTHER NAME: LINGUISTICALLY CONTEXTUALIZING NATIVE

AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

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A Thesis

Presented to

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Master of Arts

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by

Rachel E. Maxson

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Advisor: Christina Kreps
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Abstract

Museums collect and care for material culture, and, increasingly, intangible

culture. This relatively new term for the folklore, music, dance, traditional practices, and

language belonging to a group of people is gaining importance in international heritage

management discourse. As one aspect of intangible cultural heritage, language is more

relevant in museums than one might realize. Incorporating native languages into museum

collections provides context and acts as appropriate museology, preserving indigenous

descriptions of objects. Hopi katsina tihu are outstanding examples of objects that

museums can re-contextualize with native terminology. Their deep connection to Hopi

belief and ritual as well as their diverse origins are part of the etymology of katsina

names, which can be inaccurate of simplified in museum catalogs. I consulted historic

ethnographies and the *Hopi Dictionary* to create a database of Hopi katsina tihu names,

demonstrating how museums might incorporate intangible heritage into their collections

through language and etymological context.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Denver Museum of Nature & Science Anthropology Department for their inspiration and support. Information from their collections and collaborators was vital to my research. Hopi cultural advisor Lee Wayne Lomayestewa and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Curator of Anthropology, both made important contributions to my project's early phases.

Many thanks to my committee members: Christina Kreps, Richard Clemmer-Smith, Chip-Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Jim LaVita, and Clark Davis. I would also like to thank Lee Magnusson for his technical assistance with the database.

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INTRODUCTION

Kachinas are familiar Native American art pieces and museum objects. They appear in art galleries and anthropology exhibits alike but they are often misrepresented and misidentified. The term *kachina*, an Anglicized spelling of the Hopi word *katsina,* did not originally refer to the wooden dolls we commonly identify as kachinas. Katsinam are supernatural beings from the spirit world that are central to traditional Hopi beliefs. Dancers become katsinam when they enter into ceremonies, don masks and take on the katsina character . The Hopi figures that line museum shelves and galleries are katsina *tihu*, traditionally made by men and given to children during katsina ceremonies. The term kachina has therefore undergone a linguistic shift; its meaning has changed to include objects to which it did not originally refer. Anthropologists, museums, collectors, and artists have reinterpreted katsina tihu over time and the term kachina is symbolic of this transformation. Kachina means something significantly different to those outside of pueblo cultures, especially those who learn about kachinas from museums, popular literature, or the media. Popular perception of katsinam has its roots in early anthropological literature that first recorded Hopi katsina names, symbolic meanings, and

ritual roles. Along with these founding ethnographies, evolving katsina tihu production by native artists has impacted their interpretation.

In museum collections, the nomenclature embedded in classificatory systems is especially important. The terms in a museum catalog come from scholarly discourse, and, occasionally consultation with stakeholders, and preserve the objects' symbolic meanings. It is therefore important that museum nomenclature adequately capture the knowledge and context encoded in the correct language. Hopi katsina tihu are one example of objects whose diverse range of names museums have not fully documented. These names have complex etymologies and can be descriptive or more subtly indicative of their origins within a Hopi clan or another indigenous group. They also carry the interpretations of anthropologists who first wrote the names down, capturing their sound on paper with orthography. As powerful symbols of Hopi culture, evoking the spirits they portray and the importance of those spirits to the Hopi, katsina tihu should have as much information as possible in their museum records. Including such information avoids disconnecting tihu from their original context. Historical and cultural context is traceable etymologically to the people each katsina came from, the role they played in that society, and how anthropologists have interpreted them throughout time.

It is crucial that museums implement etymological background of indigenous terminology in their collections because they are a primary source of material for cultural revitalization. Museums also interpret and present material to the larger public. They not only house objects, but also preserve knowledge and history in which those objects are embedded. For this reason, I connect Hopi Katsinam in the Denver Museum of Nature &

Science (DMNS) to their linguistic history by tracing their forms in Hopi ceremony, ethnography, and museums. One potential benefit of including this type of information from the indigenous language is a more diachronic perspective of the complex relationship between historical processes, cultural interaction, and beliefs that language change documents.

The entry point for my research on this topic was a small data entry project at the DMNS. There I was introduced to Hopi katsina tihu, museum databases, and many of the ethnographic sources I cite in this thesis. The *Hopi Dictionary* (Hill et al. 1998) was an important tool in that project, which involved looking up several hundred katsina names in the dictionary. I gained valuable experience with that volume and it became a central resource in my thesis. Impressed with the *Hopi Dictionary* and determined to bring my background in linguistics into my chosen field of museums, I explored intersections between these two areas of study. The similarities are startling and deserve further study.. Museums with material collections from indigenous people and linguists studying indigenous languages are both ideally concerned with preservation, cultural retention, or revitalization, and collaboration with Native people to optimize sensitivity and understanding. Also, what one lacks the other has in abundance. Linguists are primarily

concerned with intangible culture and museums hold the corresponding material culture, but both alone lack adequate context for the heritage they seek to understand and preserve. Combining language from lexical studies like the Hopi Dictionary Project with objects in museums would expand the meaning of these objects to include the diverse ontologies that words encode.

I draw from several fields in my research and analysis, several of which are not often combined. Linguistics and museum theory have mostly been applied to revitalization movements coupled with indigenous museums. Erickson's (2002) book on the Makah Cultural Resource Center is one such ethnography with language figuring prominently in the native group's stewardship of their heritage. Linguistically contextualized museum collections are extremely relevant in this domain but my analysis also applies to museums as a whole. Their role as storehouses for objects does not immediately lead to language as a critical lens. However, I show how indigenous languages in museum collections are potentially a useful resource for many and a vital aspect of interpretation for all. Consequently, the stakeholders and participants in my research topic are critical to my design and intended outcomes. My findings and analysis are primarily useful to the Hopi Nation and the Denver Museum of Nature & Science. This thesis could also be a model for all museums with material collections from indigenous people and to the people those collections represent.

My thesis is structured around several themes and arguments that build on each other. First, I address the importance of katsinam to the Hopi in their original cultural context. This includes the kinds of information that their names represent or contain.

These names' relevance to Hopi cultural heritage follows from their diverse and rich

etymologies. I highlight examples from the database I developed on the katsina tihu at the

DMNS and early Hopi ethnographies to point out etymological significance.

The right to maintain language as part of intangible cultural heritage, as Peter

Whiteley (2003) discusses, and the ways museums have already incorporated indigenous

languages into their collections links the importance of language to preservation sites. I

discuss heritage preservation in museums as well as language's current status in

collection nomenclature. Finally, I address the potential applications and outcomes of

incorporating linguistics into museums. These include orienting museums towards

preserving all aspects of heritage and making them a useful resource for language

revitalization. Linguistically contextualizing objects, such as kachinas, also impacts

scholarly discourse on those objects and the cultures they come from. Museums have the

power to perpetuate inaccurate, incomplete terminology, or change the way we speak and

think about objects.

Accurately and sensitively documenting and representing culture through material

collections is an ongoing process in museums. Today, anthropological discourse, museum

records, and the art market perpetuate simplified and often inaccurate interpretations of

katsinam and katsina tihu. In this thesis, I take this problem as its central concern and

demonstrate how museums can remedy this situation. At the core of my thesis is my

argument for expanded linguistic information in museum collections. This expanded

information includes terminological variety, etymologies, citations from scholarly

literature, indigenous interpretations, and up-to-date spellings based on how the language

is used today. My research is a preliminary exploration into linguistically contextualizing Native American collections. This paper addresses many supporting concepts, potential concerns, and workable methods for bringing attention to language in museums.

Benjamin Lee Whorf, Edward Sapir, and other linguists after them famously linked language and thought as interrelated aspects of cognition and culture. I cite this continually tested but generally accepted theory to argue that important aspects of Hopi culture are encoded in the language, whether in the words themselves, their pragmatic meaning, or their origin. Borrowed terms, altered forms, and evolving meanings exemplify Hopi cultural hybridity, an idea best emphasized in material collections that document linguistic etymology. An inventory of known katsina names names and corresponding etymological data provides information on cultural context and sacredness when coupled with consultation, allowing the museum to remain sensitive to issues of sacred knowledge and intellectual property and to serve as a resource for intangible heritage preservation. However, caring for indigenous languages as part of intangible cultural heritage is the branch of linguistics with the most compelling stake in museums. I explore the connection between the museum collections and language preservation through the field of lexicography, or dictionary making. Based on linguistic research and case studies like the Makah Cultural Resource Center, I argue that museum collections should be categorized in the objects' vernacular: Hopi objects should be called by their Hopi names and organized based on Hopi thought.

RESEARCH DESIGN

I encountered the inspiration for my research while volunteering at the Denver

Museum of Nature & Science. In January of 2008, the Curator of Anthropology, Chip

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, assigned me to a data entry project organizing and expanding

information about Hopi Katsina tihu in the museum collection. The museum had

consulted with a Hopi Cultural Advisor, 46-year-old Lee Wayne Lomayestewa[1], the

previous year. A Bear Clan member from Songòopavi, Mr. Lomayestewa reviewed each

Hopi katsina, giving his opinion on whether the museum catalogue had the correct name

and whether the katsina warranted special care as a sacred object. There were two levels

of sacredness. Mr. Lomayestewa said that some katsinam should not be displayed in the

museum and others should be kept in a special room as well. My job was to consolidate

Mr. Lomayestewa's contributions into a spreadsheet and add the spelling and definition of

each kachina name from the *Hopi Dictionary*. I quickly discovered that Mr. Lomayestewa

often disagreed with the museum's classifications. He offered the names he was familiar

with, pointed out katsinam that were Zuni rather than Hopi, and provided names for some

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[1] Lee Wayne Lomayestewa signed an informed consent form on November 5, 2007, which is on file at the DMNS.

katsinam that were unclassified in the catalogue. The modifications and input that Mr.

Lomayestewa contributed are summarized in Table 1.

	New Name (misclassified or unclassified)	Alternate Spelling	Alternate Name	Name Unknown	Not Hopi	Sacred/Do not Show
Number of occurances	30	6	6	6	10	27

Table 1: Lomayestewa modifications

The "Name Unknown" column represents instances where Mr. Lomayestewa was

unfamiliar with the name in the DMNS catalog and did not know what to call the katsina

himself. The "Sacred/Do not Show" column includes katsina tihu that Mr. Lomayestewa

did not consider sacred but requested the museum not display, such as a Tsaaveyo and an

unfinished Palhikwmana, as well as sacred figures that should be housed seperately. I was

not surprised that the museum catalogue was incorrect in so many instances. However, as

I began looking up katsina names in the dictionary and in Harold Colton's *Hopi Kachina*

Dolls, the quantity and variety of katsinam made me doubt whether any imposed

classificatory system could be accurate. With so many figures varying in minute physical

details, and multiple names for many of those figures, properly identifying and

interpreting each katsina seemed problematic.

The most challenging part of processing these data was finding the name from the catalogue or the name Mr. Lomayestewa provided in the *Hopi Dictionary*. The Anglicized spellings of words originally spoken but never written were often drastically different from the Third Mesa dialect spelling in the dictionary. Mr. Lomayestewa's Second Mesa Hopi also differed slightly from the dictionary variation. Kenneth Hill's Hopi Dictionary Project sought to capture Hopi pronunciations and nuanced meanings as accurately as possible. The dictionary is vast: including more of the lexicon than any other published work. It provides synonyms as well as etymology, when available, as Hopi borrowed many words from Zuni and other Puebloan languages. Based on my diffculty translating catalog spellings to dictionary spellings, I concluded that the key to pronounciation and orthography in the Hopi Dictionary should be provided to anyone adding information to the museum catalog and interviewing informants. The dictionary definitions were sometimes useful tools for understanding each katsina, when I located a name similar enough to Lee Wayne's. Sometimes it simply defined the term as "A Katsina." At least in those cases I was reassured that the name I looked up matched a known katsina name. I later learned that the definitions for these figures are intentionally vague in order to protect sacred and proprietary knowledge (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002). Colton's typology was just as unreliable. His classifications often described the katsina tihu physically and categorized each according to a non-Hopi typology. He does sometimes provide multiple names for the same katsina and indicates whether a katsina was originally from another group, such as Zuni. I wondered whether katsina tihu were

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difficult to identify accurately because of differences in appearance between the dancers and these small figures representing them.

Before continuing, let me first define several key terms that figure prominently in the thesis I began to develop.

Christina Kreps defines indigenous curation as "non-Western models of museums, curatorial methods, and concepts of cultural heritage preservation" (2008, 194). This term applies to the katsina names because indigenous language use in museum collections is a method for curation and collections management that incorporates the notion of intangible cultural heritage preservation.

As I discussed above, *e*tymology is a word or phrase's use history. This term encompasses a words origins, evolving meanings, and shifting use contexts. I refer to this lens for understanding an object through its name as a historical linguistic perspective.

The label I developed for the inventory of katsina names synthesized with their etymologies is expanded lexicon. This lexicon includes more names than the original museum database as well as an expanded amount of information about each name or name set.

Many questions came to mind as I searched the *Hopi Dictionary* and Colton's typology. Breakthroughs came when I translated a phonetically spelled, Anglicized name into the dictionary's representation of those sounds. This became easier as I familiarized myself with the dictionary's spelling system and applied my knowledge of the phonetic alphabet. As I reviewed the names, comparing Lee Wayne's identifications with the DMNS catalogue, the *Hopi Dictionary*, and Colton's typology it became apparent that the

Katsina names and interrelated identities were more numerous and diverse than any of

these sources depicted them. The museum catalogue did not capture the varied

nomenclature and pragmatic meanings associated with Katsina tihu. By recording

Anglicized spellings and relying on Colton's classificatory system, the museum distanced

the tihu from their symbolic meaning within Hopi belief and practice (Hein 2000). Lost

in translation from Hopi culture, through ethnographers, and into museum catalogues, the

Katsina names captured little of their indigenous meaning systems. Etymological

information such as what clan or Nation the katsina came from as well as the names

semantic and pragmatic meanings could potentially reveal and indigenous classificatory

system. This historical linguistic perspective is absent; as is the indigenous voice in the

Katsina collection at DMNS. Based on these observations, I began thinking about katsina

nomenclature in museums as an intersecting application for indigenous curation and

linguistics. I formulated several research questions:

1. What have been the results of other instances of indigenous language use in museum collections?
2. What are the variations of katsina names and terminology that anthropologists and others studying the Hopi have collected?
3. What do these variations reveal/capture about Hopi culture?
4. How can I incorporate historical linguistic knowledge into a museum collection in a useful way for Hopi language/culture revitalization?

With these questions, I first sought an established model for the aspect of

indigenous curation I wanted to investigate. Next, I researched the linguistic data that I

had identified as missing from the DMNS catalogue. I broadened my investigation to

include the aspects of Hopi culture and indigenous knowledge that katsina names contain.

For the applied portion of my project, I explored potential ways of incorporating my

findings and other similar expanded lexicons into museums. Incorporating indigenous knowledge and linguistic context into museums could prove useful for revitalization efforts and bolster intangible cultural preservation.

In order to answer my first research question, I turned to accounts of indigenous language use in museums such as at the Makah Cultural and Resource Center (Erikson 2002). There are very few published accounts of collections linguistic dimensions. Incorporating indigenous voices into curatorial practices has become increasingly popular in recent years but language is largely absent from this process. This is perhaps due to the predominantly oral nature of Native languages. Linguists compiling early lexicons and creating alphabets to write Native languages encountered the same problem. Writing down sounds and meanings that existed only in spoken words and thought challenges linguists' ability to accurately capture a language's complexities. The resulting lexicons, alphabets, and dictionaries must make sense to indigenous speakers in order to be user-friendly and relevant. The most successful projects of this type have been collaborative and therefore parallel co-curation, a practice that involves indigenous people with exhibit development and collections care in museums (Hinton 1993). Having consulted Kenneth Hill's account of compiling the *Hopi Dictionary* in *Making Dictionaries: Preserving Indigenous Languages of the Americas*, I am struck by the parallels between representing a diverse culture in a museum exhibit and representing a complex language in a dictionary. Dictionaries curate words like museums curate objects and context is important for both. I suspect that connecting the current form of the Hopi language back

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to objects will synthesize concepts formerly relegated to two separate collections: dictionaries and museums.

My investigation into indigenous language use in museums therefore expanded to include the similarities between curating words in a dictionary and curating objects in a museum. Theories behind both overlapped and presented a useful comparison for understanding intangible culture. Examining parallels between dictionary making and anthropological collections curation leads to and argument for recombining material culture with intangible culture. This process has already taken place in some museums, as James Clifford (1997:237) notices in the U'mista Cultural Centre's use as a traditional performance venue, and Richard Kurin (1991) describes in his account of the Smithsonian Festival of Indian Folklife exhibitions. It involves breaking down colonialist perspectives on Native peoples that dominated anthropology and museums throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Language, as a frame for understanding and interpreting the world, has slipped out of the "four field" approach to anthropology (Geertz 1991; Adams 1993; Parker 1993). Museums are an ideal interface for reintegrating language and material culture. They rely heavily on what is written, and increasingly spoken by indigenous consultants, about their collections for interpretation. Museums also classify and organize objects, changing their meanings as they inevitably decontextualize and re-contextualize them (Hein 2000). These classification systems may lack relevance for the people connected to the objects. Language can bring back some contextual relevance by structuring classification around encoded meanings and etymological context.

I argue that museums can help fill in the etymological gap for dictionaries by providing an inventory of objects with expanded lexicons that foreground the indigenous meaning system. In addition, linguists and lexicographers along with the native groups whose languages they study have worked hard to develop standard orthographies for traditionally oral languages. These orthographies allow the creation of dictionaries, language learning curriculae, and other indigenous language publications. When a professional works with tribal members to produce a writing system that works best for the tribal members and fits with traditional language use ideally others begin to use that writing system. The years of hard work spent creating the *Hopi Dictionary* should not be ignored by institutions that speak and write about Hopi culture, such as museums. I demonstrate that the standardized orthography and Hopi Dictionary are valuable resources for the DMNS and other museums as well as starting points for indigenizing collection nomenclature and thus incorporating intangible culture into the museum.

My second research question involved assembling this expanded lexicon for the katsina tihu at DMNS. Variations in katsina names could come from several sources and I had to decide which were most appropriate for my project. One potential source had already been tapped by the museum. Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, the Hopi advisor, provided knowledge about the katsina tihu as a member of the Hopi Nation and native speaker. I therefore had data from one indigenous informant. The prospect of gathering additional information from other Hopi consultants was problematic because I did not have the resources to conduct the extensive fieldwork necessary to capture a wide range of examples. Instead, I chose to integrate historic Hopi ethnographies and contemporary

work by indigenous scholars and non-Hopi anthropologists. This method allowed me to gather names from a large number of sources and address another important concept to my project: the history of discourse on katsinam within anthropology its relevance to museums. This discourse includes inventories of katsinam compiled by ethnographers over the last two centuries and the continued deployment of certain terms from these ethnographies. Several native scholars such as Emory Sekaquaptewa problematize these anthropological perspectives on their traditions (Whiteley 2001). However, various classificatory systems pervade katsina literature and museum documentation. Less common names and names for katsinam not typically represented in museum collections therefore fall out of use. These names are present in early ethnographies that attribute them to key informants. Anthropologists who integrated linguistics with their ethnographic work made a point of collecting the large variety of katsina names they encountered. They were simultaneously developing systems for writing the Hopi language. Common spellings for katsina names therefore originate with these collections.

I argue that gathering katsina names from past research is useful for expanding the lexicon because it provides variety and a historic perspective on how the current lexicon formed. Collaboration with Native consultants is still vital for museums with the resources to bring consultants into their collections. The data from Lee Wayne Lomayestewa is an example of how consultation can provide useful information on nomenclature and indigenous perspectives on curation.

I chose my sources for katsina names carefully. In order to capture a historical perspective and show the proliferation of established nomenclature into scholarly

discourse I gathered names from several early ethnographies, more contemporary works, and one museum collection in addition to the DMNS collection. I began with Jesse Walter Fewkes *Hopi Katcinas Drawn By Native Artists* (1903). Fewkes collected the kind of information that is absent from museum catalogues and most contemporary katsina scholarship. Fewkes' synthesized study of katsinam, ceremonial context, meaning, and origin according to oral tradition proved an invaluable resource.

Based on the information I collected at DMNS, Fewkes' material, and my research questions, I created a spreadsheet to organize data from each source. This spreadsheet includes a column for the katsina name, description, and the ceremony the katsina appeared in according to a particular source. Many katsinam appear in multiple ceremonies throughout the year. They may take slightly different forms with varying dress, markings, and behavior depending on the ceremony. There are therefore multiple entries for the same katsina with variations in the "Ceremony" field. The spreadsheet also lists the Hopi Dictionary name and definition for that katsina as well as the name in the DMNS catalogue. Lastly, it includes any clan or indigenous group association that the source refers to and the publication year for each source ethnography. The clan or group association was not always listed in the various sources so this field is blank for many katsinam.

Source Name	Source Definition	Dictionary Name	Dictionary Definition	DMNS Name	Ceremony	Clan/Group Association	Notes	Date
Pawik	Duck	Pawikkatsina	Duck kachina	Pawik kachina	Powamu			1903

Table 2: Spreadsheet headings

I filled in a spreadsheet for each source, starting with Fewkes and continuing with H.R. Voth, Alexander Stephen, and Barton Wright. These are my primary sources for katsina names and etymological information. I compare katsina names and contextual information from these primary sources to various other ethnographic accounts. Hopi scholars such as Alph Secakuku and Emory Sekaquaptewa provide contemporary, indigenous perspectives on katsina tradition so their views capture the transformative influences of clan migration, cultural exchange, and anthropological study that formed today's lexicon of katsina names. Barton Wright's prolific scholarship on Pueblo cultures and other mainstream anthropological texts on the Hopi also provide important context and perspectives. Incorporating a variety of Native and non-Native accounts of katsina tradition over time, is appropriate for my research questions because it accesses linguistic information from multiple sources, allowing me to pick up on important differences or similarities and outline the diffusion of katsinam throughout Pueblo communities.

My research began with a museum collection and my main intent is to consider indigenous nomenclature use in museums. Therefore, I chose to incorporate the inventory of kachina names from another museum collection into my analysis. The Smithsonian Museum of Natural History holds a large number of katsina tihu and their catalogue is

accessible online. I compare the list of katsina names from ethnographic sources with the Smithsonian inventory.

The Smithsonian catalog's awkward user interface presented a challenge for collecting katsina name data. Opening all 260 individual records to search for names and either copying and pasting that information into a spreadsheet or writing it down by hand was a very time consuming process. I tried noting names from the search results by hand for about fifty records before I decided it was not worth my time to continue and pursued a more constructive approach. I described my problem to my friend Lee and he offered to write a program to gather the data from my Smithsonian search results. A few hours later I had a spreadsheet with each catalog record detailed on a single line. Without the sub-pages to sort through I could see all the fields typically containing katsina names at the same time. I read through the records, noting the inventory of named katsina tihu in the catalog, and then imported the spreadsheet of search results into my expanding research database.

While the online catalog does not provide contextual or etymological information, it is a useful snapshot of the range of katsina tihu present in a large museum collection. The Smithsonian catalog also contains examples of many disrespectful and inaccurate terms applied to katsina tihu since ethnographers first began collecting them. The earlier tihu, collected by Frank Cushing and his cohorts, are simply referred to as dolls or idols. It is also worthwhile to consider the potential benefits of incorporating a standardized orthography from the *Hopi Dictionary* as well as etymological information into an online catalogue such as the Smithsonian's. Organizing a catalogue around the indigenous

language could bridge the gap between intangible culture in dictionaries and related material culture in museums.

Material from the Denver Museum of Nature & Science is the central reference point for my research. I compare the inventory of katsina names and etymologies from the sources listed above to the DMNS catalogue in order discover how much of this information the catalogue holds and how much it could hold. Given that the DMNS has 259 Hopi katsina tihu representing a variety of distinct katsinam, comparison to a diverse list of katsina names reveals the number of alternate names the catalogue could include as well as the etymological information associated with those names.

After collecting scores of katsina names from the sources described above, I created a searchable database with OpenOffice, a relatively simple open source program. Using this database, I ran queries to find matching names for the same katsinam in multiple sources. I seperated my findings into three tables from which I created queries and forms for processing the data. I created one table of all the names from the four ethnographers I consulted: Fewkes, Stephen, Voth, and Wright. Another table held the original data from the DMNS catalog, including dictionary entries and Colton's typological numbers. I later added a third table containing the information from the Smithsonian Ethnology collection online database. This method of organizing my findings allowed me to easily view all the katsinam from a given source, the different permutations of a katsina name across sources, and the katsinam most often listed and defined in ethnographies and the *Hopi Dictionary*. Names sometimes differ only in spelling. In other instances, multiple names for the same katsina are orthographically and

semantically different. In some of these cases, I attempted to discover the etymology of these alternate names in order to piece together the katsina's story and complex meaning in Hopi belief. The investigations I undertook organizating and processing my data tested the usefullness and potential contribution of this kind of detailed nomenclature to a museum catalog. I was interested in the possibility of a simple, external database supplementing the main catalogue. This external database would allow users to search the katsina tihu collection based on a diverse selection of names. It would also link related terms and perhaps provide etymological information when available. Information from the katsina name database could eventually be integrated into the main catalogue if lexicon controls permitted, or it could remain separate and thus available only to users with permission. Another advantage of a small, seperate database is that it would be easier to make it available online. Those interested specifically in katsina tihu, Hopi language, or both could access the tihu catalogue and associated name inventory from anywhere. While my simple database could be expanded to many applications and levels of access, I did not choose to pursue these steps for my current project. Rather, I carried out the first few steps towards an expanded lexicon of katsina names in order to demonstrate one potential arena for intangible linguistic knowledge in a museum.

Finding corresponding names was often difficult because each source reference uses a different orthography. The older ethnographies with more thorough katsina inventories, such as Stephen's journal, identify so many katsinam that it was challenging to sort through them all. Many alternate names or katsinam themselves disappear from publication and perhaps from ceremonial use as well by the time Colton, Wright, and my

two sample museums recorded katsina names. I therefore examine the temporal

dimension of name usage by noting names that disappear and names that persist. The

meanings, identities, and histories associated with persisting names are perpetuated

through their active use. This trend leads to the question of whether those meanings,

identities, and histories represent the Hopi people as they see themselves or if the lost

names are equally important. I propose that indigenous people such as the Hopi should

control the aspects of their intangible culture that museums and scholars preserve rather

than these outsiders deciding what is worth remembering and what can be left out or

glossed over.

HOPI CULTURE AND KATSINAM

I draw on three areas of literature as background and primary material for my project. The first covers Hopi culture, specifically the katsina religion (Adams 1991:235). It includes the cultural context described in the ethnographic sources I tap for katsina terminology. The other bodies of knowledge my research surveys are the Puebloan people's languages, their historical interrelatedness, their present form and their survival status. Reviewing linguistic theory and analyses of Hopi is critical to understanding the derivation of katsina names and provides insight into how they were understood by the people who named them. This domain overlaps with the one previously mentioned in that ethnographic accounts document the Hopi language and what anthropologists learned about katsina names.

In order to apply what I learn from linguistic and Hopi Katsina literature I make us of museum theory pertaining to collaboration and co-curation. There are specific examples of indigenous language use in museum collections as well as more general writing on the reasons behind, benefits from and difficulties with orienting museums towards serving and representing living cultures. I also draw theoretical and practical

parallels between museum collection curation and dictionary writing in order to argue for synthesized linguistic and tangible heritage preservation.

Hopi Culture

Katsina dolls, or *tihu,* and the living spirits they represent have fascinated outsiders since the Pueblo people were first studied. Ethnographic literature on katsinam dates back to the turn of the century when anthropologists such as Alexander Stephen entered the Hopi First Mesa world (Stephen 1936). Since then, katsina tihu have become tourist memorabilia and popular art pieces. Hopi and non-Hopi artists alike create tihu that bear little resemblance to the original figures carved for children during katsina ceremonies. Katsinam visit the Hopi Mesas between winter solstice and midsummer. Other, non-katsina ceremonies including rites for the women's and men's soceities fill the rest of the year (Wright 2001).

The history of Hopi settlement and migration, outlined by Peter Whiteley, clearly shows the effects of interaction with nearby groups on Hopi katsina practices. In Hopi myth as well as historical accounts, clans and villages from all over the Colorado Plateau and beyond brought their ceremonies and katsinam to the larger Hopi settlements on the three Mesas. Environmental and colonial pressures caused their coalescence (Whiteley 2001). As a result, the repertoire of katsinam at the Hopi Mesas represents hundreds of years of cultural exchange, a history that the katsina names encodes and that the three concepts known by that term preserve. Ancestor spirits, clouds, and dancers embodying those spirits are all katsina for Hopi. The carved wooden figures traditionally given to

young girls during ceremonies are known as tihu, meaning doll, or katsintihu (Whiteley 2001). Nevertheless, the dolls that westerners have collected and re-labeled kachinas are sacred representations of spirits that play a valuable role in Hopi religion. It is thought that they teach children to recognize the katsinam, reinforcing the importance of these spirits to Hopi culture (Adams 1991:235). Benevolent katsinam bring rain and fertility to the earth, allowing the Hopi to subsist on maize, beans, and other agricultural products, a livelihood given to them by Maasaw, the guardian of the Fourth World (Whiteley 2001). When dancers don masks, embodying katsina spirits to perform ceremonies celebrating the Hopi connection to the earth they embody the spirit beings of each katsina chief, runner, warrior, or other type (Whiteley 2001). Many Hopi villages still practice these ceremonies, with the complete cycle performed at Songoopavi and Mishongnovi (Whiteley 2001). Whiteley cites language loss as a major factor in the decline of Hopi culture, affirming the vital link between speaking, understanding, and living a culture.

Adams argues that katsina cult activities and concepts are so closely tied to Hopi culture and that the Katsintihu are so recognized by outsiders that they symbolize the Hopi (Adams 1991:235). He speculates that the esoteric knowledge associated with katsinam and only available to cult initiates serves to differentiate between Hopi and others. I take this into consideration when consulting the *Hopi Dictionary* and other sources whose information comes directly from tribal members. A lack of detailed information may mean that knowledge about that particular katsinam or ritual is sacred and therefore not available to outsiders.

Traditional knowledge about migration is a critical tenet of Hopi identity (Bernardini 2005). Traditional knowledge commonly includes songs, stories, and ceremonies. Language is also often included in traditional knowledge, as it encodes indigenous thought processes and perceptions of the world. Because many Hopi katsinam derive their names from clan totems and came to the Mesas by group resettlement, it is important to understand Hopi oral traditions describing clan migrations. Katsina names stand for the identities clans formed as they moved through the Southwest as well as the unique, individual histories of each clan. These individual histories form a group identity just as individual, clan associated or pervasive katsinam come together for shared katsina ritual. They are part of the process-related information from oral histories that is useful for reconstructing migration-based identities (Bernardini 2005:7).

Hopi History: Emergence, Migration, and Settlement

The current physical and temporal world is the Fourth World, according Hopi accounts of their history. They emerged into this world through the Sipaapuni in the Grand Canyon after passing through three previous phases (Whiteley 2001:22). This origin account, along with the overall Hopi perspective on time and existence, are based on "a continuous emergence-into-presence" (Whiteley 2001:22). While everything that exists and will exist is pre-determined to a certain extent, living beings' actions and thoughts shape the world. Without written accounts of their history, Hopi understandings of their past are based on narrative structures that outline cultural values and identities. In the emergence story, the first person to encounter mortality and die in the Fourth World

goes back down to the Third World, thus making the Third World an emergence place and destination at the end of life (Whiteley 2001:23).

Upon entering the Fourth World, the Hopi encountered Maasaw, this world's guardian. He instructed the Hopi leaders, or momngwit, to divide into groups and travel to the four corners of the earth before returning to a central place. Maasaw also gave the Hopi the tools and philosophy for life in the Fourth World: maize seeds, a jug of water, a stick for planting, and the ideals of modesty, caution, cooperation, environmental care, and determination (Whiteley 2001:23). The migrating groups formed clans and established villages as they moved through the landscape. Eventually, with signs pointing them in the right direction, the first clan arrived at the destined central point. Honngyam, the Bear Clan, established the village of Old Songoopavi at the base of Second Mesa and accepted other clans as they arrived. Groups came from all directions and traced their paths through previous settlements such as Homol'ovi and the Tsegi Canyon area. New villages were established as clans arrived or groups split (Whiteley 2001:24). Each clan had to prove its worth to the kikimongwi, the supreme leader from the Bear Clan, by demonstrating a ceremony or useful skill that they would contribute. Clans contributed many katsinam, forming an elaborate system of calendrical ceremonies supporting Hopi life. Katsinam are spiritual guardians and embodiments of harmonious life in the Hopi world. They bring rain and fertility to crops. A "triune concept," the term katsina signifies the spirits of the dead, clouds, and spiritual beings personated by dancers in ceremonies (Whiteley 2001:25).

All Hopi people are initiated into the Katsina or Powamuy order, both of which organize katsina ceremonies (Whiteley 2001:25). From December through July, these ceremonies monopolize Hopi religious life. Katsinam appear in various dances and throughout the pueblos. Hopi men personate these spiritual beings, becoming katsinam to perform rituals (Whiteley 2001:26). Katsinam often represent people, animals, or spiritual beings that clans encountered in their travels to the earth center. They may be named after the clan that brought them or they may retain names in the language of another native group from which Hopi clans acquired them, making katsina name etymologies logs of clan migrations.

Katsina Tihu

As representations of the spiritual beings central to Hopi belief, katsina tihu are "physical extensions of the spirit beings" and play an important role in katsina ceremonies (Spencer 2001:170). Their role has often confused outsiders. Tihu are given to female children by male relatives to teach them about the extensive katsina repertoire and each being's significance (Spencer 2001). When Euro-American explorers and ethnographers first entered Hopi pueblos in the nineteenth century, they encountered walls and ceilings adorned with tihu as well as children playing with what appeared to be dolls (Bol 2001). Unsure whether the images were playthings or idols for worship, outsiders were nonetheless fascinated and compelled to collect tihu. James Stevenson gathered the first known collection of Hopi tihu while exploring Southwest cultures for the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1879 (Bol 2001). He called them statuettes and noted their varied forms.

Alexander M. Stephen made more detailed observations of katsina tihu as part of his extensive ethnographic work among the Hopi at Walpi on First Mesa. He notes that tihu figured in four Hopi ceremonies: Powamuy, Nimaniw, the kiva dance of the Barter Katsina, and the rite of the eagle sacrifice (Stephen 1936). Bol (2001:134) observes that the instances where tihu appear are always associated with the female, fertility, and increase. They are sometimes given to pregnant mothers and woman trade cooking for tihu from Hu-hi-yan, the Barter Katsina. In both cases, tihu are prayer emblems representing fertility. Only men carve tihu. The practice of young girls playing with their tihu gifts like dolls made observers like Fewkes think the idols were simply playthings. However, Bol interprets tihu as prayers for girls to become good mothers. The Hopi believe that treating the idols as a mother would treat a baby makes the katsina spirits happy and these spirits will therefore grant fertility to the girl (Bol 2001:134). Tihu are also associated with bean sprouts and corn during Powamuy and Nimanw, connecting them to bountiful harvests for the entire village. The fourth ceremony in which katsina tihu appear is the eagle sacrifice. Eagles captured for their feathers are kept on rooftops and given toys, including flat tihu, to play with. When the eagles are killed following Nimanw, people place a tihu on each grave and pray that the eagles will hatch more young the following year (Voth 1905). Stephen observed this practice at Walpi and Voth recorded the same event at Orayvi. This is yet another example of tihu being associated with the young and reproduction.

Fertile crops and people are profoundly important to Hopi survival and continued harmony with the earth. The strong connection between katsina tihu and these concepts

makes the carved idols symbolically significant and often profoundly sacred in Hopi culture. As prayer emblems with intricate belief systems attached, tihu must retain their meaning through the name of the katsina they represent. Even if certain katsinam no longer appear on the Hopi Mesas, tihu depicting them can teach us about these spirits, their origins, and their importance just as they taught young girls.

Military and exploratory expeditions collected tihu in the late 1800's, often noting their disheveled appearance and apparent dual function as idols and playthings (Wright 2001). As outsiders became increasingly determined to purchase tihu, often for museums keen on building their collections, the Hopi reluctantly gave in to the idea of selling their prayer symbols (Wright 2001). Desirable trade goods outweighed the spiritual taboo of selling tihu for enough Hopi craftsmen to create a market. As money from selling tihu went towards non-traditional paints the tihu's appearance began to change in order to make them more sellable. Popularity with outsiders varied for Hopi tihu throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Little changed in tihu production until after World War II, when the action doll appeared on the scene (Wright 2001). Carvers created tihu with arms and legs poised in motion, a departure from traditional linear, flat-footed dolls with arms bent at their bellies.

The 1960s brought radical changes and increased popularity of kachina dolls in the outside market. Artists began adding bases to the dolls, no longer actual tihu since they served a commercial rather than a spiritual purpose, and experimented with modern paints and craft materials. Large dolls, some more than five feet high, entered the market (Wright 2001). Southwestern art became extremely popular in the 1970s and kachina

carvers continued to move kachina dolls farther from traditional tihu. Realism became popular, as did castings of kachina figures in various materials. In 1974, a federal law made use of migratory bird feathers on commercially available items illegal (Wright 2001). Hopi continued to use traditional feathers on tihu made for ceremonies but kachina dolls in the art market were either denuded of their original feathers or produced with wooden or legal bird feathers. Eventually, non-Hopi artists began producing kachina dolls. Some Hopi women also took up doll carving, a serious offense to tradition (Secakuku 2001; Wright 2001).

Throughout these decades of change and commercialization, Hopis continued to carve tihu for their customary use on the mesas. While the tihu male relatives give to girls are distinctly different from commercial kachina dolls and sculptures, they too have evolved over the decades. Their spiritual essence remains but contemporary tihu can resemble 1960s commercial dolls (Wright 2001:156).

While katsina tihu become increasingly inauthentic tourist paraphernalia, traditional tihu still exist and the concepts behind them are encoded in their names. Alph Secakuku identifies four types of katsina dolls that the Hopi carve today. These are Old Style Katsina dolls, Traditional Katsina dolls, One-Piece Katsina dolls, and Sculptures (Secakuku 2001:164). Each type has a function in contemporary Hopi culture, ranging from traditional use to art pieces for sale to outsiders. Dolls carved by women and outsiders' approximations of katsina dolls blatantly violate Hopi religion (Secakuku 2001). Mislabeling and glossing over intricate meanings is also disrespectful to katsina tihu's traditional significance. Efforts to document and preserve the diversity of katsina

names should therefore be closely tied to tihu, as they have been actively collected and continue to connect traditional Hopi practices to outsider's perceptions of the Hopi. The practice of carving and giving tihu may change, but they will remain in Hopi homes, the art market, and museums as representations of the evolving art form and dynamic culture.

The Ethnographers

Fewkes (Fewkes 1903), Stephen (Stephen 1936), and Voth (Voth 1905) all provide detailed ethnographic accounts of Hopi ritual and daily life. More recent research and publications on the Hopi is rooted in these early ethnographies. As observers and sometime participants despite strong Hopi objections, the first anthropologists to study Hopi culture recorded practices that have since disappeared or are inaccessible to outsiders (Brown 2004). A thorough review of each of their ethnographies is important for understanding how each katsina name is situated within the cultural context and the researcher's biases.

Jesse Walter Fewkes

Jesse Walter Fewkes began studying the Hopi at Walpi on First Mesa in the late 19th century. He observed ceremonies and gathered traditions from informants as well as his own studies as an anthropologist and linguist. In *Hopi Katcinas Drawn by Native Artists* he classifies katsinam according to the ceremonies in which they appear and provides detailed descriptions of those ceremonies, related beliefs, and the katsinam's role (Fewkes 1903). Fewkes (1903:15-16) asked three Hopi men to draw pictures of katsinam. Kutcahonauû, Homovi, and Winuta produced pictures of the gods the anthropologist requested as well as additional personages he had never seen before. Fewkes describes

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each katsina as it is personated in calendrical ceremonies and discusses meaning, origin, and relationship to other katsinam when that information is available. He also speculates about appropriate methods for categorizing katsinam and identifies the relationship between Hopi language, history, and the katsina inventory as expressed in katsina names (Fewkes 1903:19). The vast number of katsinam does not escape Fewkes. He acknowledges that his inventory only captures a small number of the katsinam that have existed in Hopi belief and practice (Fewkes 1903:19). The multiplicity of origins the names demonstrate "is but a reflection of the Hopi language, which is a mosaic of many different linguistic stocks" (Fewkes 1903:20). He attributes the large quantity and transient nature of these figures to their origins in various migrating clans and nearby Nations such as the Zuni and Tewa-speaking pueblos, whose rituals also include katsinam.

The main ceremonies and festivals Fewkes describes in *Hopi Katcinas Drawn by Native Artists* are Pamũrti, Powamû, Palülükoñti (Añkwañti), and Sumaikoli. He also discusses many smaller ritual events and the katsinam that appear in them. Large and small ceremonies include certain specific katsinam every year, with other appearing depending on the katsina mask owner's inclination or certain rites that do not take place on a yearly basis. Katsinam also fall out of use when clans go extinct, according to Fewkes (1903:19). He identifies katsinam that the Hopi have created within a decade of his arrival and notes that new figures are constantly being imported from other mesas and other native groups (1903:19).

While Fewkes was extremely thorough and synthesized a wealth of information on the Hopi, his position within their culture and relationship to his subjects was not spotless. Jesse Walter Fewkes had a rough beginning as an ethnographer. Augustus Hemenway appointed Fewkes head of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological expedition in 1889 after Frank Hamilton Cushing left the expedition (Fowler 2000:161). He had a Ph.D in zoology from Harvard but his friendship with the Hemenways outweighed his qualifications. With no anthropological training, Fewkes first encounters with Southwest culture were awkward and unproductive. He spent two months at Zuni before moving to Walpi on the Hopi First Mesa but did not speak the language or have any way to interpret Zuni culture. At Walpi Fewkes met his mentor for ethnographic studies: Alexander M. Stephen. Stephen had been living at Walpi with his Navajo wife, making occasional contributions to passing anthropologists and traders, but lacked the resources to publish his own detailed research. Fewkes learned about the Hopi from Stephen and gained admittance to ceremonies. He was eventually initiated into the Antelope and Flute Societies, allowing him access to privileged information. Especially early in his career before he gained his footing as an ethnographer, Fewkes published Stephen's work under his own name (Fowler 2000). He paid Stephen for this service between 1882 and 1884. As Fewkes became more skilled at observation and description, he published profusely on his Hopi research. After the Bureau of American Ethnography hired him, Fewkes expanded his work to include archaeology and travelled the Southwest tracing Hopi migration paths from the stories he had gathered. His fascination with clan histories led him to produce an account of each group's origins and the ceremonies and

ideas they brought with them to the Hopi Mesas. Based on oral traditions and archaeology, Fewkes paper "Tusayan Migration Traditions" (1900) synthesizes indigenous and scientific data in a manner well before its time (Fowler 2000:166).

While he has been criticized for basing his interpretations too literally on Hopi accounts (Eggan 1950), Fewkes attention to the indigenous perspective is telling. As focused as he was on the scientific process and professionalizing anthropology, Fewkes recognized the importance of oral traditions and Hopi interpretations of their own culture (Hinsley 1983). His work on Hopi katsinam exemplify this approach. Asking Hopi men to draw pictures of their spiritual beings, on which other tribal members then gave input, infused Fewkes katsina studies with a Hopi voice. This voice only comes from a tiny fraction of the population with knowledge of a small portion of katsina ritual because each Hopi village practices katsina ceremonies differently and with different katsinam. Rather than seeing this as a weakness in Fewkes research, I acknowledge his biases and juxtapose his data with that of other ethnographers. This creates a more complete picture of Hopi katsinam and applies Fewkes' scientific yet indigenously informed work ethic.

TELAVAI

UWA ANU MANA

Illustration 1: Plate XX in Fewkes (1903:82): Talavaykatsina (above) and Owa katsina with katsinamanas (below) draw by Hopi artists.

Alexander McGregor Stephen

Alexander M. Stephen, a Scottish immigrant and Union Army veteran, came to Keams Canyon, a trading post and gateway to the Hopi world near First Mesa, in 1881. Stephen married a Navajo woman, and although he had no formal training as an anthropologist, his knack for languages and home on First Mesa brought his close to Hopi culture (Fowler 2000:139). He worked for Thomas Keam occasionally and peddled his ethnographic work to the Smithsonian Institution through various visiting anthropologists. While Fewkes sometimes gave Stephen credit for the extensive contributions he made to Fewkes' work, Stephen went largely unnoticed as a Hopi ethnographer until his journal was published in 1936. Edited by Elsie Clews Parsons, herself a respected scholar on Southwestern cultural history and religion, Stephens journal is a thorough, detailed collection of daily observations, ceremony descriptions, kinship systems, and Hopi terminology (Stephen 1936).

Since Fewkes' and Stephen's work is difficult to distinguish and based on Hopi culture in the same village – Walpi on First Mesa - similarities and differences that they demonstrate have different significance than between other ethnographers. However, Fewkes undertook his katsina research later in his career when he was relying in Stephen so heavily for insight. Also, Stephen did not make a concerted effort to inventory katsinam as Fewkes did for his book specifically on Hopi katsinam. Stephen's references to katsinam are scattered throughout his journal and are closely connected to his data on clan associations and the Hopi kinship system. This gives Stephen's work a slightly different slant on katsina terminology. He spoke Hopi and diligently recorded Hopi

words, phrases, and names in his journal. Stephen's work is therefore a better source for linguistic information than Fewkes' publications.

While little is known about Stephen's background or motivations for his ethnographic work, he was not driven by religion to convert the Hopi nor by wealthy benefactors and research institutions pushing for scientific material. According to Fowler (2000:163), Stephen did want to share and receive recognition for his knowledge. Whether through Fewkes publications or his own, Stephen did make a weighty contribution to Hopi anthropological studies and, allowing for some overlap with Fewkes, his work offers useful insights into katsina nomenclature and cultural context.

Heinrich Richert Voth

H.R. Voth founded the Mennonite mission at Oraibi on Third Mesa in the late 1800s. A German-speaking immigrant and missionary from the Ukraine fluent in the Hopi language, Voth preached against traditional Hopi religious practices but also recored these practices in great detail. Voth collected ethnographic objects which eventually made their way to the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. He worked with Field Museum anthropologist Stanley McCormick on his Hopi Expedition in 1900. As a missionary studying Hopi culture for the purposes of ousting traditional beliefs, Voth's relationship to his subjects was fraught with issues that compromise the integrity of his research. The type of information he gathered on ceremonies and beliefs was potentially proprietary, sacred knowledge that he obtained unethically (Brown 2004; Nequatewa 1967:3). However, as with Fewkes, I conclude that katsina names are less problematic than other aspects of Voth's ethnographies. He would have encountered katsinam in dances and

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ceremonies held openly in Hopi villages. Also, Voth's ability to speak and understand Hopi bolster his work's value and authenticity. He is also one of the only Hopi ethnographers to work outside First Mesa in the early twentieth century. One reason I include Voth is that an overview of katsinam should include data from multiple Hopi Mesas in order to demonstrate the full diversity and variability of traditional culture among Hopi settlements.

Harold S. Colton

Harold S. Colton settled near Flagstaff, Arizona in 1925-26 (Fowler 2000:371). Along with his wife, Mary-Russell Colton, and several other local residents, had a lasting impact on the archeology and preservation in the Southwest. Colton, formerly a professor of zoology at the University of Pennsylvania, became the first director of the Museum of Northern Arizona when he and his wife established the museum in 1928. He conducted archeology in the region, focussing on potsherds and chronology (Fowler 2000:372). Colton published the first edition of *Hopi Kachina Dolls* in 1949 and produced a revised and corrected second addition ten years later due to the popularity of the first (Colton 1959). He provides a key to identifying kachinas and tihu, dividing them into several categories and assigning each kachina a number for ease of classification. Colton's numbers are still in use today as shorthand classifications for katsina tihu in museum collections, such as at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science.

Barton Wright

Barton Wright has been studying Puebloan cultures and authoring both popular and academic books on them for decades. He worked alongside Harold Colton at the

Museum of Northern Arizona. Wright contributed to Colton's 1959 revised addition of Hopi Kachina Dolls by creating new illustrations for the book (Colton 1959). His most recent publication is the text for a photography book, *Classic Hopi and Zuni Kachina Figures* (Portago and Wright 2006).

The Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History

The Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History houses collections from all over the world. During its formative years, a substantial amount of material came to the museum from archaeologists and anthropologists scouring the Native North American cultures. Jesse Walter Fewkes and Frank Hamilton Cushing both conducted ethnograhies and collected material for the Smithsonian and the Bureau of American Ethnology that it subsumed (Fowler 2000).

Smithsonian anthropology and ethnology collections are searchable online through a database covering 97% of the catalogued objects. Information in the database comes from catalog cards, donor records, accession papers, and various staff contributions over the course of 150 years. The database includes digital images of more than 34,000 objects as well as scanned catalog cards for most records. Terminology is an acknowledged difficulty, as with all databases. The Anthropology collection database website explains that culture terms and object names came from the donors or original cataloguers and may not be up-to-date or politically correct. The website also explains that its creators developed index terms to streamline searching and standardize spelling. While the explanatory statement asserts that these terms provide no additional

information or typological classification, they are derived from the original object names and thus reflect the collectors', donors', and cataloguers' interpretations.

The index term for katsina tihu in the Smithsonian collection database is "kachina doll." A search for this term and the culture "Hopi" brings up 248 records displayed in a spreadsheet showing Catalog Number, Division, Index Term, Object Name, Culture, Country, State/Province, and sometimes an image. The object names vary greatly, including terms such as "Figurine *tihu,*" "Image *tihu,*" "wooden idol," "Hopi indian doll kachina," or a specific katsina's name. The index term "kachina doll" was therefore very useful, as it would be difficult to pull up all katsina tihu in the collection by name or as "tihu." When not given as the object name, the "notes" section of the database record sometimes lists a specific kachina name from the original catalog card. Therefore, if one wants to see the katsina name, one must click on each individual record. There is no way to search for a term in the "Notes" field. It would be almost impossible to search for a specific katsina, since spelling is not standardized and is often extremely different from one source to the next, as I have discussed. Records also list donor name, accession date, culture and place of origin. While these records do not provide definitions or explanatory information as do ethnographic katsina inventories, they are representative of the type of information and organization present in museum katsina tihu collections. This makes the Smithsonian database useful for understanding what museums are including or failing to capture about katsinam and how their nomenclature compares to that of ethnographers. Some tihu in the collection came from private collectors while others were obtained by anthropologists working for the Bureau of American Ethnology or the Smithsonian. This

means the tihu entered the collection with a wide variety of terms attached, some from academic sources and others from mainstream artists, traders, and collectors.

LINGUISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS

One of the aspects of my research that makes it a unique examination of museum

collections is the incorporation of linguistics into my theoretical background. Language is

considered intangible cultural heritage and some argue that retaining one's native

language is a human right (UNESCO - Intangible Heritage Section). The United Nations

Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the *Convention*

on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. This convention defines

intangible cultural heritage as:

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as
> instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that
> communities, groups and in some cases individuals recognize as part of their
> cultural heritage. This intangibe cultural heritage, transmitted form generation
> to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response
> to their environment, their interraction with nature and their history, and
> provides them with a sense of identity and continuity thus promoting respect
> for cultural diversity and human creativity. (Article 2.1, Definitions)

As part of oral culture, language both transmits and embodies intangible heritage.

The 1970 *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import,*

Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and 1972 *Convention concerning*

the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage were groundbreaking

precursers to the 2003 convention. They established guidelines for ratifying nations to safeguard tangible culture by designating world heritage sites and combat illicit trade in cultural property. UNESCO sponsors projects worldwide that promote peace through education, biological and cultural diversity, and cooperation among nations. UNESCO considers language to be part of intangible heritage and thus directs a program to protect it. The UNESCO Endangered Languages Programme involves international collaboration on preserving the more than half of the world's 6,700 spoken languages that are in jeopardy. This program has created three editions of the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (UNESCO - Intangible Heritage Section), the most current of which was published in 2009. The *Atlas* is available as an interactive online map and database as well as in print. The Endangered Languages Programme's other activities include providing guidelines for good practices in language preservation and examples of programs worldwide that seem to be succeeding.

Like UNESCO, the missions of most museums is to preserve, educate, and inspire diversity. Museums can foster cooperation and respect through understanding other cultures. Spectacular buildings, objects of cultural patrimony, intangible traditions, and languages are all part of cultural diversity according to UNESCO. Museums, too, are increasingly including the intangible in their collections, exhibits, and programs. Oral histories and traditional song and dance as live performances or recordings are widely accepted museum features (Gurian 2006; Ames 1993; Kurin 1997). This type of content is only part of the puzzle, however. As Kreps insists, museums must focus on their curatorial methods in addition to what they collect and display (2008b:194). Fully

integrating intangible cultural hertiage into museums involves "a shift in museological thinking and practice from a focus on objects and material culture to a focus on people and the sociocultural practices, processes, and interractions associated with their cultural expressions" (Kreps 2008b:194). Language is one such cultural expression.

Given the state of the world's languages, it is appropriate for museums to take the same measures to preserve indigenous languages tied to their collections as they do to preserve material culture. The nature of language and its relationship to culture also make language an important dimension of museum collections. I base this argument on Benjamin Lee Whorf's hypothesis on language and thought, a theory that linguists have been testing and building on for decades. In addition to considering Whorf, it is important to grasp the historical linguistics of Hopi and surrounding languages in the Southwest United States. Therefore, the linguistic theory behind my research is made up of historical linguistic and Whorfian background as well as a discussion of the Hopi Dictionary Project and language as intangible cultural heritage. All of these elements form the basis of language's role in museums.

Pondering Benjamin Lee Whorf's hypothesis on the deterministic relationship between language and thought inevitably leads to Hopi (Whorf 1956). Whorf studied Hopi for his famous theory on language as the basis for thought. If language lays out how one can think about the world, then a deep understanding of a culture can be gained by studying its words, syntax and, semantics. However, the connection between language and thought is not so simple. One must ask if our cognition could determine the structure of our language, or if language determines how we think. After decades of debate, many

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linguists have settled on an explanation falling somewhere in between: How we think is biologically and structurally linked to our dominant language but there is no straightforward cause and effect in either relationship (Jane H. Hill and Mannheim 1992; Kay and Kempton 1984; Sherzer 1987)

Nevertheless, Whorfian theory supports the rationale behind using indigenous language in collections. In the Makah Cultural and Resource Center in Neah Bay, Washington, one case study that inspired my project, curators incorporated the Makah language into their collections, organizing objects based on the meanings of morphemes in their nomenclature (Erikson 2002:264). The collection was thus arranged in Makah conceptual categories, organizing the material culture and "stimulating reflection on Makah worldviews codified in their language" (Erikson 2002:264). Makah and non-Makah museum staff designed the new collections management system collaboratively, creating a way to access the collection that connected conceptual information from language with associated material culture. A similar rubric can apply in any museum with an anthropology collection.

Key Ideas

There are a few key concepts from historical linguistics that I will define and explain as they pertain to my research. Lyle Campbell employs Bright and Sherzer's definition of a linguistic area as "a geographical area in which, due to borrowing, languages of different genetic origins have come to share certain borrowed features" (1997:330). Keresan, Tanoan, Zuni, and Hopi make up the Pueblo Linguistic Area (Campbell 1997), meaning these languages have several common characteristics that they

did not inherit from a common ancestor language and that other neighboring languages do not have. Campbell (1997:330) notes that the Pueblo region is also considered a culture area, with the kachina cult as a shared practice. The interrelatedness of these Pueblo groups' languages and practices makes information about both useful for contextualizing material culture, such as tihu, in museums. In fact, linguistic and culture areas have influenced the organization of museum collections and exhibitions as far back as Franz Boas and John Wesley Powell. When Boas urged Otis T. Mason not to organize the Smithsonian institution's displays evolutionarily, Mason turned to Powell's language families as a rubric, and eventually to culture areas (Campbell 1997:59).

More abstract concepts from historical linguistics are also relevant. Etymology, which I define as a "word's use history" is more precisely explained by R.L. Trask as "the study of the origins and histories of individual words" as well as "the history of a particular word" (1996:345). Thorough dictionaries, such as *The Oxford English Dictionary* contain etymologies for many word entries.

Trask (1996:350) also describes *onamastics*, the etymological study of proper names. Kachina names fall into this special branch of etymology which involves detailed study of multiple sources to reconstruct a name's origin and evolution through time.

Because it pertains to names for specific people, places, or things, onamastics is especially relevant to history and identity. One approach to etymology and onomastics connects linguistic and non-linguistic information to reveal information from the history of the word's society of origin. This method is called the Wörter und Sachen approach (German for 'words and things') and it was introduced by Jacob Grimm (Trask 1996:349). This method is prevalent among Indo-Europeanists but it can be applied to any language and society. Practitioners base conclusions about the existence of material or concepts in a culture based on the existence of words for those things. For example, in a language with words for various kin relationships one can conclude that the society that speaks that language as well as ancestral speakers, recognized those relationships. When past cultures are the subject, this type of study is called linguistic palaeontology (Trask 1996:354). We can draw some tentative conclusions about past people based on lexical evidence from their language. This lexical data, or word inventory, comes from historic writing, oral traditions, and elements of ancestral languages preserved in their descendant languages.

Lexicostatistics and, later, Morris Swadesh's (1955) glottochronology apply statistical methods to dating language relatedness and ancestry. However, these methods assume that the languages in question are related and that cognate words have been accurately identified (Trask 1996:363). Many linguists have tested and refined glottochronology and lexicostatistics or employed these methods to determine the degree of relatedness between languages as well as when they may have split from an ancestral language (Greenberg 1956; Swadesh 1955; Lees 1953). Results vary wildly and are typically off by at least 200 years (Trask 1996:364). Such empirical approaches to

language analysis are highly disputed by linguists favoring the comparative method for historic reconstruction and by anthropologists (Campbell 1991; Trask 1996).

My study of Hopi kachina names shares characteristics with all of the historical linguistic fields mentioned above. I did not work directly with Hopi speakers, since that level of consultation was not within my research scope. While I do not speak Hopi myself, I sought out as much linguistic information as possible in both historic ethnographies and the *Hopi Dictionary*. This led me to consider the array of approaches to studying kachina names made available by increasing the lexical depth of museum collection catalogues. Onamastics and linguistic palaeontology are a few of the relevant methods that would not necessarily be tied to museum collections without an etymological bridge connecting linguistics to material culture. I explore the connection between museums and language preservation through the field of lexicography, or dictionary making.

Dictionaries and Museums

Linguistic information on Hopi language is readily available – the most recent literature of interest relates to the Hopi Dictionary Project, which produced the *Hopi Dictionary*. Kenneth Hill collaborated with linguists and members of the Hopi Nation to assemble a linguistic corpus of terms and definitions. The resulting dictionary, along with language analysis by its multiple authors, are primary sources for information on katsina terminology. I first approached the dictionary as a source but soon recognized the striking parallels between dictionary making and museum collection curation.

It took Kenneth Hill and other researchers years to complie the vast corpus of linguistic and cultural data for the Hopi Dictionary Project. Collaboration was sometimes strained and publishing the end result was extremely controversial, as Kenneth Hill (2002) discusses in *Making Dictionaries: Preserving Indigenous Languages of the Americas*. The insights this book provides on making dictionaries and preserving indigenous languages in general is excellent background for the Hopi Dictionary Project and my thesis. In the introduction, Frawley, Hill, and Munro (2002:1) outline ten issues representative of the challenges unique to American Indian lexicography. While cultural context of indigenous languages is not one of the specifically listed issues, the authors point out throughout each essay that cultural issues are prevalent (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:2). Choosing which forms will appear as headword entries, the role of linguistic theory in the dictionary, orthography choice and literacy are some of the issues the authors discuss. All of these correspond to similar issues in museums. Collections organization and exhibit design share characteristics with choosing headwords and orthography. Museum staff must develop an organizational system that is largely artificial and superimposed on the objects they document, display, and maintain in storage. Everything from taxonomical classifications to how expressing relationships among objects is as problematic as organizing a lexicon. Museums also struggle with prioritizing science and research versus visitor needs in the same way lexicographers are torn by theory-driven dictionaries and dictionaries that satisfy social needs. However, the most compelling parallels between dictionary making and museum curation are the role of the source community, history, and technology.

The source community for indigenous language lexicography is analogous to the source community for a co-curated museum exhibit (Phillips 2003). Lexicographers must choose consultants from the speech community carefully to ensure they have access to linguistic information from both young and old speakers, as they will have different opinions on which word forms the dictionary includes. The very idea that the community for whom the dictionary is being written is profoundly invested in the product is unique to indigenous language dictionary projects. Some consultants favor different word forms over others depending on their priorities and interests. They may consider preservation of traditional speech a higher priority than language revitalization and continued relevance, thus preferring simple, traditional forms to diverse and evolving ones (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:13). Working with consultants follows the same model as working with co-curators or consultants in museums (Phillips 2003). Consistent communication and respect among scholars and community members is vital. Any technology that facillitates consultation and continual revision, such as electronic dictionaries, makes this process easier but does raise ethical and practical issues such as proprietary knowledge access and resource affordability. There are also echoes of colonialism when consultants are treated more as sources than collaborators (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:13). Overall, as "guides to the mind, world, and behavior of a group of people" dictionaries and exhibits on indigenous people would not work without the valuable information from consultants (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:13). The community is the source and the audience. As the audience, Native American groups often receive dictionaries with pride tempered by a critical perspective. The issue of cultural property surfaces here and

complicates the relationship between lexicographers and the source community (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:14).

Historical context is as important for words as it is for material culture and the same dilemmas complicate the preservation of both. Frawley, Hill, and Munro wonder whether words are "like fossils, things that cannot be understood without essential reference to their history? Or are they found objects, things that can be perfectly well understood and explained in the clothes they appear in" (2002:14)? Scholars are constantly debating the same question about museum objects (Gurian 2006; Hein 2000; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). In the case of Native American material culture, the answer leans towards the important role of historical context. Franz Boas was an early proponent of historical context, advocating artifact arrangment by native group rather than along evolutionary lines (1887). His historical particularist approach emphasized the temporal and cultural context that created an object. Boas drew from all available anthropological data from language to physical specimens. He worked towards organizing ethnology collections in the American Museum of Natural history according to historical context with attention to indigenous groups.

Time has proven Boas' approach appropriate and meaningful among museums, especially when applied to collections from indigenous groups. The same is true of Native American dictionaries. While etymology, the historical context and mutation of words, fades from mainstream English language dictionaries it retains its importance in Native American lexicography. History is vital on several levels in this niche field. First, historical reconstruction contributes greatly to indigenous American language studies.

The origins and relationships between these languages remain controversial so evidence is constantly being reexamined. This scholarship is very influential in dictionary writing as including words that reflect historic forms can aid future reconstruction. Old audio recordings from past linguistic research are also a consideration. They are often the best record of actual speech, but transcribed recordings can feature cryptic phonetic orthography unique to the transcriber.

Second, history is vital to Native American dictionaries because of the urgent need for preservation. In many cases, a dictionary is extremely helpful for saving and even revitalizing an endangered language (Hinton 1993; Hinton and Weigel 2002; Kroskrity 2002). They keep the traditional language for new speakers to learn and provide for development of new words as the language expands to suit contemporary use. The dictionary is both a lexical storehouse of the past and a seed for future learning and maintained indigenous identity.

Organization, interactivity, and portability exemplify the improvements technology has brought to lexicography (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002; Canger 2002). Access to a digital corpus, or list of words in use contexts, aids in the linguistic groundwork and searchable databases facilitates organizing dictionary content (Canger 2002). Making dictionaries more interactive through digital volumes and online content increases access and usefulness as a learning tool. Portability also contributes to accessability and learning. Museums make use of technology for many of the same reasons, setting up online collection databases to increase access and encourage research as well as interacting with visitors in new ways. Technology has significant potential for

intangible heritage preservation (Graham 2009). As I mentioned earlier, the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History has an online collections database as well as online exhibits. Other institutions, such as the Cambridge University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (MAA) have established internet interfaces for collaborating with source communities (Srinivasan et al.).

Indigenous language dictionaries and museums have been developing along parallel paths over the past decade with collaboration, contextualization, and connectedness to the source community as central themes. The indigenous communities themselves have helped guide development in both fields. They have been outspoken about the need for language preservation and revitalization and called for more accurate representation in museums (Hinton 1993; Rosoff 1998). However, I do not think these two fields have fully realized their connectedness and what they stand to learn from each other. Museums can ignore lexicographers' hard work to document Native American languages or they can incorporate them into their collections of Native American material culture by updating database nomenclature. Dictionary projects like Kenneth Hill's work with Hopi can infuse museums like the Denver Museum of Nature & Science with the intangible culture of language. I offer a close examination of the Hopi Dictionary Project and the museum theory pertaining to indigenous language and material culture before presenting my contributions to this interchange.

The Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA) at the University of Arizona initiated the Hopi Dictionary Project in 1985 (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:301). The project's underlying goal was to inspire a resurgence of interest in their native language

among Hopis. A legitimate dictionary, the Project founders thought, would call attention to Hopi as a complex language worthy of study and comparable to the other written languages of the world. Hopi has never been a written language and publishing it as such made the dictionary controversial (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:306). Before controversy arose, however, the Hopi Dictionary Project functioned as a collaborative, thorough effort to record and organize the language. Kenneth Hill, a linguist with expertise in Uto-Aztecan Languages, the family Hopi falls under, was recruited by BARA to obtain grant funding for the project from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). When the NEH granted funding in 1986, a team of scholars coalesced and began work. This team included Emory Sekaquaptewa, Mary E. Black, Ekkehart Malotki, and the late Michael Lomatuway'ma and his wife Lorena (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:301). University professors, native Hopi speakers, librarians, and linguists, this group of experts formed the core of the Hopi Dictionary Project. They pooled their knowledge, resources, and corpuses to create a dictionary that was organized and designed like a scholarly volume rather than the scant texts like most American Indian dictionaries (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:302).

Eventually the project organized a usage panel of elder Hopi men, selected through Sekaquaptewa's connections in the Hopi Nation (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:303). This group reviewed the words, usage sentences, and other information that went into the dictionary. They made sure nothing violated religious beliefs or revealed sacred knowledge as well as commenting on the proper usage, meaning, and pronunciation of words. According to Hill (2002:303), the project took every measure to make sure cultural values were not violated. Similarly, BARA announced that any proceeds from

dictionary sales would go to the Hopi Foundation, a charitable organization offering educational support to the tribal members. This effort to clarify that the dictionary makers did not undertake the project for monetary gain did not prevent complications around this issue later in the process.

Hopi Dictionary Project staff worked closely and cooperatively with the Hopi Nation, including the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO) and several other tribal institutions. However, as work drew to a close and printing began, problems surfaced surrounding intellectual property rights that almost prevented the dictionary from being published. Controversy about teaching Hopi in public high schools and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act seemed to contribute to the sudden discord over the dictionary. The Hopi tribal government became concerned about cultural property as well as intellectual property rights and Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, sent a letter to Hill regarding the dictionary (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:306). Kuwanwisiwma addressed several issues in this letter and later in meetings with Hopi Dictionary Project staff. He thought the Hopi Nation should have at least shared the copyright for the dictionary and was opposed to what he saw as exploitative actions selling the Hopi language and cutting the tribe out of the royalties (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:306). Kuwanwisiwma was also provoked by the apparent lack of informed consent for project consultants, such as usage panel members. These consultants had in fact signed contracts with the University of Arizona for their work but the HCPO did not feel this adequately informed them of their intellectual property rights (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:307-308).

The most crippling blow to publication was the HCPO's objection to the dictionary's availability to non-Hopi. They felt this compromised their rights to the language as intellectual property and revealed undue amounts of information to the public (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:308). Despite these seemingly unresolvable differences, the Hopi Dictionary Project eventually reached an agreement with the Hopi Nation. The project handed copyright privileges over to the Hopi Nation and provided 23 free copies and 500 half-price copies of the dictionary to the tribal government. However, copies were still available to fill outside orders for the long-awaited dictionary and various other scholars had copies reserved for them (Kenneth C. Hill 2002:310). This agreement settled the discord over the Hopi Dictionary Project. Hill (2002:310) states that he has not heard and further complaints since publication. Trying as this experience was for the dictionary compilers, it calls attention to a few key issues that are becoming more and more contentious among those who collect, study, and care for cultural property. Intellectual property rights, intangible cultural heritage, and access to sacred material are increasingly important considerations for dictionary makers and museums alike.

Textualizing a purely oral language and containing it within a lexical reference book is not always seen as beneficial for that language and people (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:449). Performative and culturally sensitive material must be addressed appropriately or excluded when making dictionaries and adding indigenous languages to museum collections. Such issues that Hill and other project participants encountered are therefore as relevant to my project as the linguistic data they compiled. The main barrier to publication was the belief held by some tribal members that the Hopi language should

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not be available to outsiders. For many, it represents Hopi culture and selling it to non-Hopis de-sanctifies the concepts it represents. Under that view, according to Hill, the language "comes out of a unique history of the Hopi clans and is part of their privileged clan inheritance" (2002:449). In this respect, the *Dictionary* and language encode esoteric knowledge separating the tribal members from outsiders just as the katsina cult has.

Peter Whiteley dissects some of the above issues in his 2003 article *Do "Language Rights" Serve Indigenous Interests? Some Hopi and Other Queries*. He notes that the ideology behind language revitalization movements does not correspond to indigenous, small-scale linguistic communities' traditional attitudes towards language (Whiteley 2003:712). These communities, such as the Hopi Nation, regard language as integral to private, performative cultural practices. According to Whitely, restoring a language requires the speech community to reflexivize, secularize, and commodify the language. The language becomes disconnected from its cultural context and speakers of various abilities employ it in public settings to display their indigenous identity (Whiteley 2003:715). Whitely compares these displays to contemporary Hopi Kachina dances that do not necessarily have the ritual significance they once had.

For Hopi specifically, Whiteley (2003:716) asserts that preservation is only possible if the language is separated from cultural beliefs and rituals and turned into something that can be written down, studied, and taught. Museums' well-intentioned preservation efforts decontextualize and essentialize objects in a similar manner (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). This is partly due to their history of zealous collecting and partly because they simply cannot capture an artifact's entire cultural context. According

to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects become ethnographic by virtue of being defined, segmented, detached, and carried away by ethnographers" (1991:387). This decontextualization process can be reversed, as James Clifford (1991) observed in potlatch material's re-situated meaning in Northwest coast museums. The masks in the U'mista Cultural Center have new meanings and identities for their owners after being taken from the community and then returned (Clifford 1991). An endagered language that is being studied and gaining speakers after a century of disuse undergoes a similar change. The language becomes analagous to a museum object that is reintroduced to the descendant community to help reestablish identity. The Hopi Dictionary Project worked in this direction. Whiteley enumerates the various dilemmas the language transformation brought on by the dictionary presented for Hopi people. As Frawley discussed, Hopis worried that the dictionary would allow outsiders access to their language and culture. They were also opposed to a text solidifying the language's sounds and meanings in orthographic form. Finally, First and Second Mesa Hopis felt the dictionary favored the Orayvi dialect (Whiteley 2003:717). Whether or not these concerns were well-founded, the Hopi Dictionary Project did textualize and commodify a formerly oral language with elements of power and magic connected to religious ceremonies (Whiteley 2003). Meanings change and undergo "semiotic depletion," as with the words k*atsina* and *tihu*, which merged under the English term kachina and took on a simplified meaning (Whiteley 2003:718). After questioning the straightforwardness of language revitalization and rights, noting that saving an endangered language does not always fit with sociolinguistic ideologies, Whiteley points out that right to maintain ones language must

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find a place other among universal human rights. Despite this somewhat negative stance, he concludes by stating that languages and cultures are objective forms and identifying them as such for the purposes of study and preservation is not inherently bad (Whiteley 2003:720). It is, however, a problematic endeavor that should not be taken lightly.

MUSEUMS: TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURE

If language is interwoven with human thought, structuring how we express ourselves and describe our world, then language must also be crucial to documenting, categorizing, and preserving material culture. The latter tasks fall to museums and indigenous forms of curation (Kreps 2003; Kreps 2008a). In recent years, museums have increased efforts to bring indigenous perspectives and cultural sensitivity into curation and display techniques. Incorporating the language of communities that are the source or descendants of the source of museum collections is an obvious step. However, examples of this are sparse. One case of indigenous language use in a Native American collection is the Makah Cultural and Resource Center. Examining this case study is an excellent entry point for the museum theory that supports my thesis. These ideas join logically and progressively, each one coupling with the next to lead to more specific concepts. First, I have already discussed how language is defined as intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO and in practice in museums and communities. I have also touched on Whorfian language and thought theory. I will elaborate on this further as it pertains to museums and as it has been implemented in the Makah case study. After demonstrating the importance of language to thought and therefore to preserving culture I will highlight the particular

relevance of this connection for indigenous languages such as those of Native Americans and draw parallels between preserving these languages in dictionaries and preserving objects in museums. I will then discuss some of the potential benefits and complications of integrating intangible and tangible cultural preservation as well as the dilemmas common to lexicographers and curators. Object theory, intangible culture, and appropriate museology will figure prominently in this discussion.

Language and Culture

Benjamin Lee Whorf studied and wrote about Native American languages in the first half of the twentieth century. He was mainly concerned with philosophical queries surrounding the intersection of thought to language and communication. In many of his papers, including the famous "An American Indian Model of the Universe," Whorf described the relationship between language and culture in Hopi society using his own adaptation of Standard Average European, or English, discourse (Ridington 1987; Whorf 1956). Whorf employed a metalinguistic style, or language used in studying linguistics, in his discussion of Hopi. While generations of linguists attempted to test Whorf's hypotheses scientifically (Kay and Kempton 1984), Ridington (1987:16) argues that they misinterpreted Whorf's language. According to Ridington, Whorf approached his Native American studies from a comparative anthropological perspective and wrote his essays on language and thought according to the metaphors and paradigms of the culture in question. Thus, Whorf was demonstrating his ideas by artfully employing words to translate the Hopi conception of the universe into English. As Ridington describes it,

> Whorf's work is like that of a poet, a critic, or a generalizing historian. He outlines complex patterns of relationship, not simple hypotheses that can be easily tested operationally. If we read Whorf's work for its philosophical and symbolic value, rather than its flawed science, we may be able to articulate the hunch we have always had about its value. (1987:20)

Whorf uses words better equated with indigenous philosophy and tradition than with scientific empiricism. He therefore creates "a resonance with the language and thought of Native Americans" (Ridington 1987:23). Not only are Whorf's teachings valuable to understanding and preserving culture, but his method for conveying his ideas is a model for tangible and intangible cultural care and interpretation. Museums, revitalization programs, and dictionaries alike can provide more culturally sensitive and complete programs by operating in the linguistic and philosophical poetics of source communities.

In his introduction to *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, Michael Ames (1992) describes one element of critical museum theory as the now prevalent notion that museums should include the perspectives of the indigenous peoples whose cultures they curate and interpret. This is often done through collaborative exhibit curation and, as Ames advocates, through people acting as "informants *on* their own culture rather than as representatives *of* their cultures" (1992:12). Including indigenous terminology and linguistic information such as etymologies is one way of ensuring the indigenous perspective informs cultural preservation.

Different cultures use a variety of languages to describe the world. The morphemes, or smallest units of meaning, phonemes, or sound units, and the structural rules that govern how these units go together create unique meanings in

each language. While languages are related through ancestral lineages and families the individuality of each makes language an important aspect of cultural identity. As the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis asserts, we think with our language's sphere of concepts and terms (Whorf 1956; Sherzer 1987; Kay and Kempton 1984). Where language influences how we think about the world or how we think about the world shapes our language, worldview, beliefs, and cultural practices make the most sense in their source tongue. Therefore, as museums work towards expanding cultural context available for interpreting collections, language is one avenue that deserves pursuit. The unique state of museums objects invites museums to describe and document them using the language of the source community.

Object Theory

When archaeologists and collectors remove an object from its original situation and place it in a museum they decontextualize that object. The collector may try to preserve as much context as possible through notes and photographs but no amount of documentation will capture the object's orientation within society and peoples' attitudes towards it. One factor that contributes to this loss of context is the translation from the source community's language to the collectors language. Because the object's creators spoke and thought about it in their native language, describing the object in terms from that language will preserve as much of the source culture's perspective as possible. Many people, for example, preserve their heritage through oral tradition rather than written histories. In order

to remain faithful to these cultures anthropologists, archaeologists, and museums should therefore incorporate oral traditions into their collections and exhibits. This practice has indeed become prevalent in museums and anthropological research (Dongoske, Aldenderfer, and Doehner 2000; Rosoff 1998).

In "Metaphors of Meaning" Hopi scholar Emory Sekaquaptewa and Dorothy K. Washburn present key metaphors from Hopi belief as they appear in paintings, pottery, and songs (2006). Sekaquaptewa and Washburn analyze murals from Awat'ovi, a centuries-old pueblo settlement, in terms of katsina songs still sung today. These songs and murals illustrate the importance of corn and rain and the metaphorical connections that weave Hopi belief around these concepts. For example, katsina songs admonish the Hopi for straying from the "good life," a life of hard work in the fields to feed their families (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006:30). This life revolves around corn production, which relies on rain. The Hopi therefore pray for rain through ceremonies such as smoking to produce smoke clouds metaphorically standing for rain clouds. The cornmeal from a bountiful harvest is also metaphorically linked to rain in images and compound words found in songs (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006:31-32). Tihu, the carved katsina figures I specifically address, metaphorically link corn production with human reproduction. The authors describe tihu as being "literally, one's offspring," given to girls from infancy (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006:42). The tihu become more elaborate and life-like as the girl grows up, thus acting as symbols for reproduction and growth. This theme is central to Hopi belief and

ritual, tying human fertility to the earth's fertility. As symbolic objects embedded

in this vital metaphor, museums must treat katsina tihu as complex, spiritually

charged, and often sacred objects.

Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett's (1991) use of metonymy and mimesis lends

insight on curating objects that are highly symbolic of their culture of origin, as with

Hopi katsina tihu. Her use of these terms is especially appropriate where language is

involved, as they are commonly used in linguistic theory on pragmatic meaning. She

defines metonymy as the idea that "the object is a part that stands in a contiguous relation

to an absent whole" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991:388). The tihu metonymically stand for

the whole of Hopi katsina culture because of their symbolic connection to significant

rituals. Katsinam have also become evocative of Hopi to outsiders, for whom katsinam

are market-appropriated commodities. I argue that connecting language etymology to

museum objects will "enlarge the ethnographic object by expanding its boundaries to

include more of what was left behind," what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991:389) refers to

as mimesis or in-situ representation. Without conceptual context provided by language

and oral tradition, katsinam lose some of their meaning when they become part of a

museum object classificatory system. As Hilde Hein states, regardless of museum

taxonomy, "objects inhabit systematic frameworks that relate them both to subjects that

construct meaning and to other objects that are part of meaning systems" (2000:52). Hein

goes on to postulate that museum objects are important symbols of the meaning systems

they represent, but when removed from these systems they acquire new meanings in the

museum. In this way, museums contribute to upholding object systems through the items

they include and how these items are represented. This responsibility is a significant consideration when developing classificatory terminology and categories. Hopi katsinam are metonymically symbolic of Hopi meaning systems but scholars have also organized and named them in academic contexts, inevitably flattening some of their rich referential value. The more indigenous knowledge museums connect to such objects, the more meaning they will maintain in reference to that knowledge.

Laura Graham (2009) also uses the concept of metonymy in her discussion of technology use for documenting intangible culture. She observes decontextualization in the process of recording language and notes that this process strips performances of many meaningful aspects. Thus, recordings are metonyms for the event they capture (Graham 2009:188). Intangible culture is subject to the same meaning reduction through decontextualization as material culture. With objects and language both metonymically standing for their original context, their frames of reference overlap. The katsina tihu are part of the missing context for their names and the inventory of names is lacking in a sparsely documented tihu collection. Graham asks us to consider "What practices are appropriate, and not appropriate, to safeguarding intangible expressive forms for specific cultures or social groups?" (2009:185). For the Hopi, whose katsina carvings are found in museums around the world, connecting intangible culture to these objects in an appropriate way would expand the meaning of tihu collections for the museums and the Hopi Nation.

Paul Zolbrod recognizes the connection between artifacts and words. He examines Navajo tapestries and sandpaintings in comparison to poetic storytelling (Zolbrod 1987).

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While sandpaintings are temporary, ceremonial pieces, weavings made by women depict the same images that are deeply embedded in poetic narrative tradition (Zolbrod 1987:13-14). These weavings are present in many museum collections, including the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Poetry like that of the Navajo healing ceremony is not well documented or preserved in such museums. It remains disconnected from illustrative weavings in collections and analysis. Zolbrod (1987:15-16) argues that the woven images and sandpaintings augment our understanding and appreciation of Navajo ceremonial poetry. This is similar to my hypothesis about Hopi katsina tihu and their linguistic context. Tihu are collectible representations of katsinam but collectors have removed them from the poetic context created by Hopi words. Assembling the various pieces, whether they are Navajo sandpaintings, weavings, and poetry or Hopi katsinam, tihu, and their names will completing our picture of these entwined elements of tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Deepening meaning in Native American collections is an important endeavor, according to Patrick T. Houlihan (Houlihan 1991). In his piece "The Poetic Image and Native American Art", he proposes that museums achieve this through poetic images rather than attempting to create context and meaning for an object from a different culture by relating it to our own. Houlihan identifies three tenets of poetic exhibits. First, that museums exhibit what is important to the culture the exhibit covers. Second, that the contextual material needed to create a poetic display should come from the exhibited culture. Finally, that "a failure to understand indigenous languages can lead to serious distortions of indigenous cultures" and should therefore be especially avoided in

museums (Houlihan 1991:210). This final note is especially relevant to my discussion, as I argue for increased linguistic information connected to indigenous collections. This information, such as the correct terms for the spiritual beings and dancers in Hopi ritual (katsinam) and the carved figures representing these beings (tihu) can prevent the cultural distortions Houlihan admonishes in exhibits. It is important to implant this linguistic understanding at the collections level so that exhibits and research have access to correct, detailed information. Houlihan's discussion of poetics is also relevant, especially in light of Sekaquaptewa's work on Hopi metaphor. Exhibiting katsina tihu using poetic images is the most effective display method if museums are to honor these objects metaphorical context and meaning.

Regardless of display methods, objects in museums are subject to reinterpretation in collections organization. Naming, categorizing, and sorting in catalogs or databases and on shelves transforms material into museum objects and separates it from its original meaning (Hein 2000). However, organization and documentation is vital to collections care. The vast amount of information stored in collections databases requires rigorous organization and structure. One important element of databases is terminology control (American Association of Museums 1998). Museum databases must restrict the terms that can be entered in various catalog fields such as Classification, Object Name, and Medium (American Association of Museums 1998). This is necessary because synonyms and homonyms easily cause confusion for database searchers. An authority list, lexicon, or thesaurus provides a list of preferred terms and perhaps alternate terms that cross-reference the preferred ones (American Association of Museums 1998). In the DMNS,

for example, "kachina doll" is listed in the catalog lexicon of terms for a database field. A more specific object name field includes some individual kachina names but by no means all of them. Designating a tihu as a "kachina doll" and limiting the selection of specific names one can assign creates an inaccurate representation of that object. The following case study is an example of how a tribal museum remedied nomenclature issues.

The Makah Cultural and Resource Center

The Makah Cultural and Resource Center (MCRC) is one prominent institution that has emerged from the Native American museum movement. Founded in 1979 to house artifacts from the Ozette village site, the MCRC grew into a center for cultural preservation and exploration of Makah identity (Erikson 2002). The Makah people indigenized the Euro-American museum model for their tribal center and their alterations have fostered changes in anthropology and museums beyond their own (Erikson 2002:170). These changes include increased awareness of curatorial voice in Native American exhibits, culturally sensitive collections management, and an expansion of the cultural elements museums handle. I am specifically interested in the MCRC as a model for language preservation in museums. The Makah Language Program works with the Center to document various aspects of the Makah language and implement language acquisition programs (Erikson 2002). As Erikson describes it, "the Makah Language Program has devoted itself to bringing back the right and ability to think and speak in

q$^\text{w}$iq$^\text{w}$idiččaq" (Erikson 2002:171). This statement acknowledges the connection between language and thought in indigenous heritage, a recurring theme throughout

Erikson's ethnography of the MCRC. Language and oral history preservation are major elements of the Center that contribute to the living Makah culture (Erikson 2002).

In addition to the Makah Language Program, language figures prominently in collections care and exhibit labels at the museum. The MCRC collections manager, Jeffrey Mauger, collaborated with Makah staff to develop "culturally appropriate collections management systems" (Erikson 2002:182). One indigenizing step he took was to incorporate the Makah language into their collections, organizing objects based on the meanings of morphemes in their nomenclature (Erikson 2002:182). The collection was thus arranged in Makah conceptual categories, organizing the material culture and "stimulating reflection on Makah worldviews codified in their language" (Erikson 2002:184). In one exemplary case, Mauger, linguist Ann Renker, and Makah cultural specialist Helma Ward linked objects sharing a particular prefix in their names (Erikson 2002:182-183). This prefix (represented by "barred lambda a" in the International Phonetic Alphabet) applies to seemingly unrelated items such as canoe paddles, adzes, and chissels. The MCRC team compared these objects and discovered that their working surfaces are oriented perpendicularly to their tasks. They also discovered that "metal" shares the same prefix because many of these perpendicular tools were made of metal (Erikson 2002:183). Makah and non-Makah museum staff designed the new collections management system collaboratively, creating a way to access the collection that connected conceptual information from language with associated material culture. This is consistent with the MCRC planning committee's assertion that feelings, traditions, and memories be preserved alongside the objects from the Ozette village. The Center is

concerned with preserving the living culture as well as the artifacts and therefore aligns collections management procedures with traditional and continuing values (Erikson 2002:184).

MCRC staff also address sacred objects and intellectual property rights in their curation practices, acknowledging that "conventional views of objects as strictly artifacts or perhaps works of art does not capture the full range of meanings attributed to them by the Makah people" (Erikson 2002:187). The Makah conception of property includes intangible heritage and protects individual's cultural knowledge as a personal possession. Thus, collections access is strictly regulated. One fascinating byproduct of the research restrictions and the indigenized collection organization scheme is that researchers are introduced to knowledge systems that impart contextual information they would not typically experience (Erikson 2002:188). Finally, language provides similar contextual information to museum visitors through bilingual Makah-English object labels. Erikson (2002:194) states that the Center includes language wherever possible in order to present the Makah world with "intellectual dimensions". Mainstream museums can learn from the MCRC model and indigenize their curatorial practices by incorporating language's intellectual dimensions.

Intangible Heritage and Appropriate Museology

Opinions on the 2003 International Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage vary. Richard Kurin (2004), who helped draft the Convention, considers it vague, unrealistic, and inadequate to preserving intangible culture . However, he, along with many other scholars and professionals, believe this Convention is a step in

the right direction and better than inaction (Kurin 2004). Kreps (2008a) sees the 2003 Convention as a tool for raising awareness and a first step towards safeguarding intangible culture such as indigenous curation. To date, museums have gathered material culture, although often without respect for peoples' beliefs, thus preserving tangible cultural heritage within their walls and plucking it out of its original use context . Tying intangible culture to material heritage in museum collections could go beyond the UNESCO Convention World Heritage List of natural and cultural properties and the Urgent Safeguarding List of intangible cultural heritage to maintain a greater portion cultural phenomena. That is, one can reassemble the decontextualized objects and their cultural context, rather than holding each in isolation, to preserve both the tangible and documented intangible parts of the whole system.

Indigenous knowledge, such as nuanced language, falls under the term intangible cultural heritage as described by UNESCO. Preserving such knowledge calls for appropriate museology, "an approach to museum development and training that adapts museum practices and strategies for cultural heritage preservation to local cultural contexts and socioeconomic conditions" (Kreps 2008b:23-41). Therefore, adapting museum nomenclature to preserve the complex meaning system behind Hopi katsinam will hopefully be culturally appropriate and sensitive. Incorporating Hopi terms, spellings, and meanings brings collections management closer to indigenous curation, which Kreps defines as "non-Western models of museums, curatorial methods, and concepts of cultural heritage preservation" (2003, 3).

The tihu production and giving practice carried out by Hopi men for centuries is intended to preserve and transmit culture over generations. Girls receive tihu both to learn about the spirit beings that govern life giving rain and metaphorically connect the girls to crop fertility and prosperity. This practice therefore connects them to the Hopi belief system from a young age, creates a physical representation of their reproductive role in this system, and passes on knowledge of individual katsinam (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006). As a practice for teaching and preserving the Hopi way of life, tihu-giving can be considered a form of indigenous curation and therefore a form of intangible cultural heritage and a means of safeguarding it (Kreps 2008a). However, since the tihu I am concerned with are already in museums and their diverse names are the intangible cultural heritage my research covers, I will not focus on tihu-giving as indigenous curation. Instead, I wish to demonstrate how museums can incorporate elements of this practice into their curatorial methods by including intangible cultural heritage in the form of language.

Naming katsina tihu with as many of their original, Hopi names in spellings that accurately capture pronunciation aligns with indigenous heritage preservation concepts and curatorial methods. Also, treating the tihu with respect appropriate for symbolic ethnographic objects and often sacred objects is compatible with indigenous curation. Elaine Heuman Gurian, in her discussion of NAGPRA, acknowledges objects' importance to descendant communities that understand their "original uses and meanings" when these descendants want to "reestablish a sense of historical continuity and reconnect with their culture's spiritual life" (Gurian 2006:195). As museums have

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collected millions of meaningful objects from indigenous cultures, it falls on them to care for these objects and make them available to descendant communities.

Tribal museums such as the U'mista Cultural Centre reclaim objects to tell their own stories and invert the established power relations in mainstream museums. James Clifford (1991:236) describes the "oppositional note" that resonates throughout the U'mista Cultural Centre. He notes that the Centre asserts "the power to reclaim and re-contextualize texts and objects 'collected' by outside authorities" (Clifford 1991:236). "Salvage anthropology is repatriated" through the Centre's use of creation stories from Boas and Hunt's *Kwakiutl Texts*. The historic Hopi ethnographies I turn to for information on katsinam can also be repatriated as resources for indigenous terminology

In another essay, Gurian (2006:35) also asserts that objects are "necessary but not sufficient" in museums. Objects are important because of the stories connected to them and because of their role in making meaning and memories for various stakeholders (Gurian 2006:35). Adding intangible elements to material culture that may contribute to these stories, preserve meaning, and trigger memories therefore bolsters stakeholders' connection to the object. This is only museologically appropriate when the descendant community, whether through official representatives or a majority consensus, approves of the information being preserved and possibly made available to museum visitors or researchers. Cultural sensitivity must be a consideration. Extensive consultation is a necessary step in expanding the katsina name inventory in order to remain sensitive to issues of sacred knowledge and intellectual property.

Even before NAGPRA, Native American groups were concerned with sacred artifacts and other sensitive material in museums. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh articulates the attitudes of Southwestern Native American groups towards objects in museums.

> Values for things are rooted in oral histories that chronicle ancient life, as well as traditions that do not view artifacts as simply static or inconsequential. These beliefs provide an alternative means of understanding museums as sites of remembrance – places which contain things that have real power and intimate meaning in the present as they recall and link people to the past. (2004:39)

Caring for artifacts with respect for their power and meaning is one of the most important aspects of a museum's relationship to an indigenous descendant community. Collaborative museum work and curation that leans towards indigenous rights and interests are important elements of my project. The conclusions and database products of my research should serve indigenous goals of language and culture revitalization, sensitize collections management to issues of sacredness, and facilitate context-rich exhibitions. Katsinam displayed as meaning-rich metonyms for the conglomerate of Hopi culture can be part of a more complete narrative of ongoing Hopi history.

FINDINGS

After consulting four ethnographic sources of katsina names, comparing them to entries in the *Hopi Dictionary*, collections at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science and the Smithsonian, and consulting Harold S. Colton's typology my hypothesis about katsina names was confirmed. Ethnographers recorded more katsinam than are represented by katsina tihu in museum collections. There are also multiple names or at least variable spelling of the same name for most katsinam. A simple survey of historic Hopi ethnographies reveals fascinating etymological information connected to katsina inventories. This information reflects cultural context, clan, and neighboring group relationships and language change. My thesis is not heavily based on the data I gathered, as none of it is new information. However, the new perspective I offer is based on the wealth of information I gathered and its potential to link intangible culture in Native American language dictionaries and material culture in museums. I therefore present my findings as a whole to demonstrate a potential contribution to museum catalogues and the benefits of linguistically contextualizing material culture. I also highlight cases where I discovered interesting etymological background cultural elements reflected in the language of katsina nomenclature.

With so many katsinam present in ceremonies throughout the Hopi Mesas I was interested in the number of shared versus unique figures described in historic sources. As I suspected, a few katsinam appeared in all or most of the ethnographies I consulted and almost all of these also show up as tihu in the DMNS and the Smithsonian as well as in the *Hopi Dictionary*. These sources do not agree on how to spell the names of their common katsinam. However, the historic ethnographies include intriguing information about the rest of the katsina inventory and greater Hopi culture when they name and describe katsinam. Reading a few paragraphs from each source about the same katsina provides concise but revealing contextual information including the originating clan or nearby group through the name's linguistic origin, the katsina's ceremonial role, and interesting patterns in katsina naming.

I found a varying number of katsinam mentioned in each ethnography, ranging from 81 in Voth's account to 149 in Stephen's journal. Totals do not include katsinam listed multiple times for each ceremony in which they make unique appearances. Out of the 556 total katsina names, 92 appeared in two or more scholarly sources, meaning many of the 556 are repeats and the total number somewhat smaller. Eleven were named by Fewkes, Stephen, Voth, and Wright. Three of those appearing in all four sources are also in the museum catalogues I consulted, the DMNS and the Smithsonian, and ten are in the DMNS but not the Smithsonian. All of the katsinam named in multiple sources were categorized in Colton's typology except two and all but 14 appeared in the Hopi Dictionary. Table 3 lists the number of katsinam in each inventory and the number in multiple inventories.

	Fewkes	Stephen	Voth	Wright	In 2 or more Sources	In 4 Sources
Number of Katsinam	128	149	81	198	84	11

Table 3: Number of Kachina names in sources

There are several explanations for the abundance of a few katsinam in ethnographies and collections. Various tihu were more popular subjects for carvers at different times (Pearlstone 2001). This led to ethnographers collecting more of those carvings. Collectors also requested tihu representing specific katsinam. I also suspect that collectors and museums assigned names inaccurately on occasion by choosing a name they were familiar with rather than seeking out the correct one. Typologies for popular collecting such as Colton's offer an extensive list for katsina classification but are still contain a limited number of names (Colton 1959; Wright 1977). Katsinam fall out of use and are replaced by new figures (Whiteley 2001). Their names remain in people's memories but the meaning may be lost, as Fewkes, Voth, and Stephan documented. They often stated that their informants did not know the meaning of a katsina's name or that a particular katsina no longer appears in ceremonies at a particular mesa (Fewkes 1903:109-112; Wright 1977:40,127). Now that more information is available about the Hopi language, the meaning of these archaic names is discoverable through morphemic analysis. The *Hopi Dictionary* includes a morphological analysis of complex forms (Hill et al. 1998). This provides a literal meaning of katsina names when the dictionary offers no pragmatic definition, as is often the case. Still, some names I encountered in historic

ethnographies are not in the dictionary. I believe these are obscure katsinam that are no longer part of the Hopi ceremonial repertoire and had perhaps ceased to be represented at the time the ethnographers made their inventories. The dictionary writers may have also left out names for sacred katsinam based on guidance from their Hopi members. It is also possible that the names' forms are so radicaly different in the ethnographies, the DMNS, and the dictionary that I cannot locate the dictionary entry based on the other forms. Table 4 below shows the most pervasive katsinam in my ethnographic and museum sources as well as the dictionary. Names I could not locate in the dictionary are italicized. Their spellings come most often from Wright and occasionally from Fewkes when Wright did not include that particular katsina. Note that the Smithsonian contains very few different types of katsinam compared to other sources.

Name (appearing in 3 or more sources)	Dictionary	DMNS	Smithsonian	Colton Typology Number
Ahöla	X	X	X	2
Áhooli	X	X		8
Angaktsina	X	X	X	127
Angwusnasomtaqa	X	X		12
Angwushahay'i	X	X		13
Atosle				28
Ewtoto	X	X		7
Avatshoya / Qa'ökatsina	X	X	X	122
Hano mana	X			264
Hee'e'e	X	X		21
Hakto	X	X		153
Hahay'iwùuti	X	X	X	44
Hehey'katsina/Hehey'a	X	X	X	34
Hiilili	X	X		185
Hòo'e	X	X		40
Honànkatsina	X	X	X	89
Honkatsina	X	X		87
Hospowikatsina	X			207
Hotooto	X			186
Hu'katsina	X	X		14
Huuhuwa	X	X		125
Hemiskatsina/ Nimànkatsina	X	X	X	132/131
Hömsona	X	X		51
Katsinmana	X	X	X	133
Kiisa	X	X		72
Kokopol	X	X	X	65
Kokopolmana	X	X		66

Kokosori	X	X	X	9
Kòokyangwso'wùuti	X			D9
Kooninkatsina	X	X	X	143
Korowista/ Korowitse	X			173
Kowaakokatsina	X	X		82
Kooyemsi	X	X	X	59
Kumbi Nataska				29
Kwaakatsina	X	X		71
Lemowa				195
Loiica				177
Lölöqangwkatsina	X			
Ma'lo	X	X	X	130
Masawkatsina	X	X		123
Màasaw	X	X		D2
Mastopkatsina	X			6
Maswikkatsina	X			115
Momokatsina/Momo	X			67
Mongwu	X	X		78
Mong wùuti	X	X		79
Mosayurkatsina	X	X		93
Muy'ingwkatsina	X			D4
Nakyatsopkatsina	X	X		46
Nata'aska	X	X		29
Nuvakatsinmana	X	X	X	100
Owanga-Zrozro				198
Ōsõökatsina	X	X		43
Plakwaykatsina	X	X		73
Pawikkatsina	X	X	X	75
Pawtiwa	X	X	X	150
Paalölöqangw	X			233
Pohaha				218

Pongoktsina	X			D29
Qöqlö/*Akush/Kököle*	X	X		5
Salab Monwu				81
Sa'lako	X	X	X	117
Siikyàatsantaqa	X			55
Si'ohemiskatsina	X	X	X	155
Si'osa'lako	X	X		158
Sipikne		X		152
Söhönasomtaqa	X			189
So'wùuti	X	X		24
Soyál katcína	X			1
Soyok kachina	X			24
So'yokmana	X			27
Sootukwnangw	X	X	X	D1
Sumaikoli				D33
Suyang'ephoya	X	X		95
Talavaykatsina	X	X		108
Tasapkatsina	X	X	X	137, 139, 249
Tòotsa	X	X		76
Tsa'kwayna	X	X	X	160
Tsaveyo	X	X		37
Tsöpkatsina	X	X		90
Tohòokatsina	X			85
Tsitoto				45
Tukwunàgwkatsina	X	X		237
Turposkwa	X	X		74
Tumas	X		X	12
Wukoqàlkatsina	X	X		201
Wupa'alkatsina	X	X		96
Wupamo'katsina / Wuyaqqötö	X	X		41
Wuwuyomo				

Woe				40
Yàapa	X	X		77
Yohozro wuqti				101
Yowe		X		255

Table 4: Names in multiple sources

I was surprised to find that the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History Anthropology collection database was not a good source of katsina names. While there are more than 200 katsina tihu listed in the online database, more than half of these do not have specific names. The rest represent a relatively small number of distinct katsinam, as there are multiples of many figures. However, the Smithsonian database contains a fascinating repertoire of anglicized and inaccurate names. This collection of tihu and names was assembled largely by early anthropologists working in the Southwest, including some of those whose work I include in my research. There are therefore similarities between the names and spellings in the Smithsonian and those in my ethnographic sources. The Smithsonian names are few enough that I have listed them below. These 49 names come from a total of 251 records for katsina tihu in the online database. Six non-tihu records that came up when I searched for "Hopi kachina." Some of these names appeared multiple times. A few, such as variations of Salako Mana, appear extremely often. This list of names therefore represents a little more than half of the tihu in the database. One hunderd-six records do not include names.

Smithsonian Names (both columns)

Salako Mana / Shalako Mana / Salako Maiden / Sha-i-ko fem / Sacred Doll Salako Mana	Sio Avate Hoya
Saa Laako Kachina/ Doll Sha-Lak-Tihu-Sha-La-Ko O-Ho-Le	Anya Kachina
O-Ho-Le / O-Ho-Le Lightning Sha-La-Ko	Laquan or Squirrel Kachina
Malo / Mau La / Maalo	Zuni Warrior Kachina
Cotokinunwu	Butterfly Kachina
Hochani	Doll-Kachina Rattlesnake / Rattlesnake
Mudhead	Owa
Kok-Le	Tumas Mana
Clown	He-Hea
Corn Kachina	Kachina Mana
Ko-Ko-Pel-E	Wolf
Tacab	Pa-La-Pik-In
Ko-Ho-Nin-O	Hopi Doll – Kachina Warrior
Doll	Sio Humis
Ah-Bals-Hues-Ya-Ti-Hu	Ho-Ho Mana
Ta-Shap. Owa. Means Navajo Kachina of water	Mother
Twin War Gods	Nuvak Kachina Snow Caehnia
Star	Antelope
Glutton (Kachina)	Cross Clown
Pa-Lal-Pik-In	Ahul / Kachina god or Idol Ahul
Early Morning, Televi	Kachina of Springs Malo
Pautiwa	Badger Kachina Ho-Nan-Ka-Chuma
Tcakwaina / Chukwaina	Pa-Wik-Tihu

| Po-Ta-Kani. Tacab | Indian Kachina Ko-Nine-Ti-Hur |
| Cho-Ka-Ti-Hu | |

Table 5: Smithsonian names

Tihu are often referred to as dolls, idols, kachinas, and a variety of other inaccurate, non-indigenous terms. Some of the most bizzarre and blatantly wrong names are "Earthen Doll Slave of Ka-Chiw-Na" and "Ceremonial Doll." Most names are spelled out phonetically with capitalization as in the table above. These names appear in either the Object Name or Notes columns of the Smithsonian database.

Orthographic and spelling variations are the most noticable difference among source names. Since the International Phonetic Association (IPA) did not set the standard form for recording language until 1888 and there have been several significant revisions, the early ethnographies of Fewkes, Stephen, and Voth use different forms of notation (MacMahon 1996). Without a standard Hopi orthography, non-linguist scholars continued to use their forbearers spelling for cultural terms. Fewkes describes the alphabet he used in his work at the end of *Hopi Katcinas* (1903:190). I summarize his spelling system below. The symbol he uses is followed by a pronunciation guide in the next column, then sometimes by related symbols and sounds.

Table 6: Vowels

a	father						
e	they	ĕ (or _CC)	met				
i	pique	ĭ (or _CC)	hit				
o	go						
u	TRUE	ŭ (or _CC)	put	û	but	ü	Varies from French (eu) to (u)
au	cow						
ai	aisle						

Table 7: Consonants

p, b, f, v	Same as English values but difficult to distinguish
t, d	Same as English values but difficult to distinguish
c	shed
j	azure (French j)
tc	chew
dj	jaw
g	get
ñ	sing
q	German "ich"
r	Never rolled

Voth and Stephen do not explain their spelling or Hopi pronounciation in the volumes I read. They conducted their research on different Hopi mesas; Fewkes and Stephen concentrating on First Mesa and Voth working on Third Mesa. Wright and Colton synthesized information from throughout the Hopi world for a broader picture of katsina practices. The katsinam these five ethnographers encountered and listed are therefore slightly different because different selections of katsinam appear in ceremonies in each village. The language also varies throughout the mesas. There are distinct

varieties on First Mesa, Third Mesa, and two dialects on Second Mesa. Many speakers consider these to be dialects. However, because they are mutually intelligible they are not technically dialects (Hill et al. 1998:xvi). The *Hopi Dictionary* includes mainly the Third Mesa variety of Hopi.

When I first began looking up katsina tihu names from the DMNS catalog in the *Hopi Dictionary* I had to learn to translate the phonetically-spelled catalog entries into the dictionary orthography. The *Hopi Dictionary* has a helpful spelling and pronounciation guide in the front of the volume. This guide lists each letter or series of letters used to represent each sound, the IPA equivalent, the English, Spanish, or French equivalent and an example Hopi word (Hill et al. 1998:863). Spellings in the museum catalog were similar to spellings in the ethnographies I also began to consult. The most noticeable translations from museum and ethnographic spelling to dictionary spelling are /c/, /ch/, and /tc/ to /s/ and /ts/. Fewkes uses /c/ where others, including the dictionary, use /s/. Most of the inventories I searched use /ch/ where the dictionary uses /ts/ as in Chakwaina and Tsa'kwayna. Fewkes employs /tc/ here for Tcakwaina. This is a significant spelling difference because it means the term is located in a different section of the dictionary, under "T" rather than "C." Other major orthographic variations are doubled vowels in the dictionary where they are single vowels in other locations. For example, Stephen's Koyimsi is Kooyemsi in the dictionary. Vowel changes like this one from /i/ to /e/ are also common from one orthography to the next. Each author uses diacritics to varying degrees, some preferring phonetic spellings with more letters rather than accent marks. Voth is an exception, perhaps because he spoke Hopi fluently and may therefore have the

most accurate transcriptions. His Hopi writing contains a large amount of diacritics. There are often several on each letter. One diacritic that prevails in the dictionary is the glottal stop, represented by an apostrophe /'/. This is the most common symbol present in dictionary katsina name spellings but not in other examples. For instance, Sa'lako does not contain a /'/ in either of the museum catalogs or in most of the ethnographic sources I consulted. Stephen is the only one to transcribe a glottal stop in Sha'lako and Sa'lako, spelling this particular katsina name the same way it is spelled in the dictionary. Overall, the *Hopi Dictionary* captures much more phonological complexity than the ethnography or museum catalogue orthographies. Minute differences in articulation such as the /t.s/ in hisat.sinom, (pronounced [ts] with the /t/ at the end of one syllable and the /s/ at the begginning of the next syllable) are present in the dictionary orthography. They are not necessarily discernable in other spellings. This is one reason the IPA develped a standard phonetic alphabet, to provide scholars with a universal method for documenting as much phonetic depth as possible. Native American Nations work with linguists to write alphabets for their languages for a different but related reason: to be able to write and teach their language while remaining true to traditional speech forms (Hinton 1993).

In addition to major orthographic inconsistancy, I also found, as I expected, that many katsinam have mutiple names. Most sources, especially museum catalogs, contain only one name for a given katsina. However, others list several names and sometimes explain the different meanings and origins of these names. The most interesting cases group names from different mesas or neighboring groups as well as names referring to different physical characteristics or spiritual significance. Below in Table 6 are the

inventories of names referring to indiviual katsinam that demonstrate the complex

meanings I sought in my research.

Dictionary Name	Alternate Names	Dictionary Definition	Other Definitions (from Fewkes, Voth, Stephen, and Wright)
Ahöla	*Mongkatsinam*, Ahul, Mong kachina, Ahü'l	Sometimes referred to as Mongkatsinam, Chief kachina, esp. at formal appearance in Powamuy ceremony	Germ God or Chief kachina; Sun kachina; Personated by war chief; similar to Zuni Pautiwa; Sun God katsina
Hemiskatsina	*Nimànkatsina*, Hüm'is, Humis	A kachina that appears only as a Nimànkatsina in certain villages	Zuni supernatural; corn flower kachina; Zuñi Heme'shikwĕ
Kokosori	*Kokosorhoya, Sólàwitsi*	A kachina; the plural refers to entire kachina group of "Zuni-type kachina" that accompany the Shalako	Steals children
Nivakatsinmana	*Qötsamana*, kwecha'mana, Nūva Katcína	a kachina; [snow-kachina-maiden]	White maiden; Snow kachina
Ma'lo	*Maama'lot, Maama'lom*	A kachina	Cloud kachina; Telavai kachina
Tukwunàgwkatsina	O'mauwû, Tukwinong, Tukwunang katcína	Thunderhead kachina	Cloud kachina
No dictionary entry found	O'mauüh wuhti, Nükü'sh wuhti, Tukwinong Mana	No dictionary definition	Cloud woman; Dilapidated kachina woman
No dictionary entry found	Sipikne, Talamopaiyakya, Mopaiyakya, Talaimochovi, Salimbiye, Salimopia, Salimopaiyakya, Sikya Cipikne, CakwaCipikne	No dictionary definition	Zuni Warrior kachina: name is gradually becoming more "Hopi"; name comes from original Zuni name Salimopaiyakya and physical characteristic of long snout (Talaimochovi); Green Bear kachina, come in many colors; Yellow Cipikne
Pòoko	Po'pkotü, Pokkachina, Pokwuhti, Po'ko	Dog	Dog kachina
Nata'aska	*So'yoko*, Cóoyoko,	"Black ogre" kachina;	child of Hahai'yiwuqti

	Nata'shka, Nataska	a kachina; admonishes bad children; often referred to as ogre kachina	and Cha'veyo; killed and ate children
Hu'katsina	Hu kachina, Tungwup kachina, Tüñwüb, Tüñwüp, Tunwup tatakti	Any of several whipper/warrior kachinas	Whipper kachina; sons of Tü'mash; 2 child floggers, men

Table 8: Some instances of multiple names; See Appendix 1 for detailed source references

The italicized terms under Alternate Names are from the *Hopi Dictionary*. Most alternate names are simply spelling variants. Others represent different categorizations or levels of classification. The Hemiskatsina or Nimànkatsina is one such case. The Hopi Dictionary lists these terms as related entries. Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, the Hopi Cultural Advisor who reviewed katsina tihu names in the DMNS catalog, also demonstrated these names' relatedness. He added the term "Niman" to a Hemiskatsina twice and changed two Hemiskatsinam to Niman. He left the other two Hemiskatsinam with their standing designation. This immediately indicated to me that Hemiskatsinam and Nimànkatsinan are somehow related but not completely interchangeable. Mr. Lomayestewa called one Nimànkatsina a "Home Dancer." Nimàn is the Home Coming ceremony on the Hopi mesas (Fewkes 1903). Nimànkatsinan are therefore "home coming" katsinam and Hemiskatsinan are a type of Nimànkatsinam. I will discuss the significance of the extensive and diverse list of overlapping katsina names I gathered in the Data Analysis section to follow.

The most striking offense to appropriate terminology I noticed in museum catalogs, ethnographies, and popular collecting guides is the persistant use of English

names for Hopi katsinam. One widely used but not necessarily well known example is the term kachina itself. This term is commonly used to refer to both the ceremonial dancers in Hopi rituals as well as the carved figures in museum collections, art galleries, and souvenir shops. Not only is kachina an anglicized spelling of the Hopi word katsina, it also does not accurately describe traditional carvings. The carvings are katsina tihu, or katsintihu, not "dolls" as they are often called. Many Hopi consider it offensive to call tihu dolls (Whiteley 2001). The word kachina is therefore a non-Hopi term that dominates the discourse on katsintihu and katsinam (plural of katsina) alike. Other English names in katsina nomeclature are literal English words that may or may not be accurate translations of katsina names. I found that these terms often reflect larger categories, whether they are traditionally Hopi or superimposed by outsiders. They are descripitve terms referring to a katsina's physical characteristics, time of appearance, or behaivior.

English Name	Hopi Names
Mudhead	Kooyemsi, Kuwan Powamu Koyemsi, Tehabi, Toson Koyemsi, Ta'chûktü, Tatashuktimûh
Clown	Tehabi
Ogre	So'yoko, Nata'aska, Owanga-Zrozro, Toson Koyemsi, Wiharu
(Early) Morning kachina	Talavaykatsina, Nakaichop, Akush
Whipper kachina	Hiilili, Powak-china, Hu kachina, Tungwup kachina, Sakwa Hu, Sio Hemis Hu
Buffalo Maiden, Kachina Maiden, Kokopelli Maiden, Corn Maidens	Katcina mana, Kokopelli mana, Nivakatsinmana, Qötsamana, Qötcá-Awats-Mana, Mucaias mana, Müshai'zrü
Runner kachina	Hömsona [hair-craver], Wawarus, Kiisa

Table 9: English names for Hopi katsinam; See Appendix 1 for detailed source references

Mudhead, Clown, Ogre, and Whipper are common terms applied to a variety of

figures because they reflect categories of katsinam that take on particular roles in

ceremonies and oral tradition. However, these English terms are superimposed based on

outside interpretations of katsina activities. The Hopi Dictionary entry for the

Wawarkatsina describes it as "any kachina (of various types) who customarily comes in

the spring to challenge males to races in the plaza" (pg. 730). Thus this katsina is

described in terms of its customary activities. It can be referred to as a Wawarkatsina or

as a specific type. Both designations are accurate. Stephen (1936:1150) , who lists

Wawarkatsinam in his account, states that wasiki means "to run," connecting this term to

Stephen's version of the runner kachina, Wa'wash. There is therefore linguistic basis in

Hopi for calling Wawarkatsinam runner kachinas in English. Mudheads indeed have

mud-coated heads and clowns engage in "clown-like" revelry. Whipper katsinam carry

and use whips and runner katsinam run in races included in annual ceremonies. However, these types do not translate to Hopi conceptions of katsinam and they gloss over the vast diversity of figures subsumed by categorization. Colton and Wright both break their katsina inventories down into categories and types. I included Colton's typological number in my data because his inventory is extensive and relatively user-friendly for those seeking katsina tihu designations. These typologies will figure prominantly in my data analysis.

One question to be answered by surveying katsina inventories was how many katsina names document that katsina's origin with another group. Information on outside-Hopi origins was more readily available than I expected and the *Hopi Dictionary* provided helpful references to loanwords and etymology. Neighboring pueblos and linguistic groups such as Zuni, Tewa and Laguna share the katsina tradition with the Hopi. Their contributions to the collection of Hopi katsinam are preserved in the names that remain in the source's language. There are also terms from Navajo among katsina nomenclature as well as katsinam representing other Southwestern groups, such as the Havasupai and Comanche. These names reflect the intense interraction among Southwestern people throughout history. Below is a list of the katsina names that sources cited as of non-hopi origin. The name itself may be a Hopi word or a word from the source language. I will discuss the linguistic aspects of these borrowed katsina names in the next section of my paper.

Name	Associated Group or Language	Language or Name Origin (according to source)	Source(s)
Ahöla	*Similar to* Zuni Pautiwa	Hopi	Stephen 1936:1137
Angaktsina, Angak'china	Kokokshi of Zuñi; appears in almost all pueblos; Variants: Katoch Angak'china (Barefoot), Hokyan Angak'china (Bounding), Tasap Angak'china (Navajo), Tewa Angak'china (Tewa, Red-Bearded), Talawipik' Angak'china (Lightning)		Wright 1977:86
Atocle	Zuni	Zuni	Fewkes 1903:89
Cho'sbushi, Cho'sboshaikai	Yuman	Hopi (chosbushi = turquoise, refers to nose ornament)	Fewkes 1903:109
Hakto	Zuni	Yamuhakto in Zuni in last century	Wright 1977:89
Hano ma'na	Hano		Stephen 1936:1140, Wright 1977:71
Hehey'akatsina, Hehey'a	Hopi/Tewa	Mųkwæte inTewa (in house of Bear Clan)	Stephen 1936:1140
Hemiskatsina	Zuni	Hopi Zuñi Heme'shikwě or Hemacikwi	Fewkes, Stephen 1936:1141
Heoto kachina	Inspired by Zuni		Wright 1977:40
Hiilili, Powak-china	From Acoma or Laguna to Zuni and then Hopi	Heleleka in originating pueblos; first known as Powak	Wright 1977:43, Stephen 1936:1140
Hoho Mana	Imported from Zuni		Wright 1977:57
Horo Mana, Masan Wuhti, Yohozro Wuhti	Tewa		Wright 1977:57
Hututu	Zuni (There is a Zuni being of same name that looks different)	Zuni (From "Hu-tu-tu!" cry in Zuni language)	Fewkes 1903:63

Kawàyka'a	Laguna Pueblo (or, by extension, Acoma or other Keresan person)	Learned at Zuni	Stephen 1936:1142
Kawikoli	Zuni	Name Probably derived from Zuni; also personated at Zuni	Fewkes 1903:131
Kiisa	Tewa		Stephen 1936:1142
Kokosorhoya	Zuni	Hopi	Dictionary
Komantsi / Kumantsi, Komanchi, Komanchi Kachin' Mana	Inspired by Comanche		Wright 1977:70
Kooninkatsina, Kohonino, Konin Taha-um, Konin Kachina, Kalampa	Havasupai	Hopi	Fewkes 1903:109, Wright 1977:68
Kooyemsi, Kómayawsi, Koyemsi	Zuni	Appear in chorus and sing in Zuñi on 1st Mesa	Wright 1977:82
Koro'sta; Korowista / Korowitse, syn. Kwa'ytaqa	Zuni, or: Keresan from Rio Grande Pueblos, called Akorosta there	Hopi Keres Sh'oro'ka	Stephen 1936:1142, Wright 1977:89
Koshari, Paiyakyamu, hano Chukuwai-upkia	Appears in most pueblos		Wright 1977:82
Loiica	Tewa (Asa Clan)		Fewkes 1903:63
Ma'lo	Zuni	Borrowed from Zuni, suggests "salt old woman" - Malokätsik – but very different meaning in Hopi	Stephen 1936:1143
Marao Kachina	Said to be from Zuñi but looks Navajo	Wears headgear of Mamzrau, women's society (origin of name)	Wright 1977:127
Mösa Kachina	Old Style Navajo Kachina (representing Navajo); originally based on Navajo messenger and called Old Navajo Kachina; borrowed by Zuñi, then borrowed back and called Cat Kachina		Wright 1977:126

Navaho Anya katcina and katcina mana (Angatsina)	Navajo	Hopi	Fewkes 1903:115
Nucak	Hano		Fewkes 1903:105
Ōsõökatsina, Üshĕ	Tewa; Navajo have similar figure; may have come from Navajo	Hopi Navajo call Chaschĭn' yeĭ or Hush yeĭ chaschĭn	Stephen 1936:1151, Wright 1977:88
Pautiwa	Zuni	Hopi	Fewkes 1903:61
Payik' ala, Pahaila	Zuni (some Hopi dispute this)		Wright 1977:89
Poha'ha Tewa	Tewa		Stephen 1936:1146
Poli Sio Hemis Kachina	Jemez rather than Zuñi		Wright 1977:86
Powa'müri, Pa'mü'iya kachina	Zuni	Called Haha'uh by Zuni	Stephen 1936:1146
Saiastasana or Saiastasa	Borrowed from Zuñi along with other Zuñi Shalako; came with Asa clan when they started Sichomovi		Wright 1977:88
Samo'a wu'htaka	Tewa	Tewa kachina adopted by Hopi; pertains to Owa'kûlhiwĭmkya	Stephen 1936:1147
Sha'lako	Zuni	Hopi	Voth 1905:24
Shumaikoli	Tewa (curing society)		Stephen 1936:1149
Sio Aña'kchina	Zuni		Stephen 1936:1148
Si'o'avatshoya, Sio Avachhoya	Zuni	Nawisa in Zuni	Wright 1977:108
Si'ohemiskatsina	Zuni, Jemez Pueblo; Zuñi form of Hemis as interpreted by Hopi	Hemishikwe Kachina in Zuñi	Fewkes 1903:69, Stephen 1936:1148, Wright 1977:89
Sio Hemis Hu	Zuni	Hopi	Wright 1977:50
Sio Pawi'kkachina	Zuni		Stephen 1936:1148
Sio Powa'mû	Zuni		Stephen 1936:1148
Si'osa'lako, Sio Shalako	Zuni; Adapted from Zuñi kachina but now seperate personage	Hopi	Stephen 1936:1148, Wright 1977:65
Sipikne, Talamopaiyakya,	Zuni	Gradually becoming more "Hopi"; name	Wright 1977:42

Mopaiyakya, Talaimochovi, Salimbiye, Salimopia, Salimopaiyakya		comes from original Zuni name Salimopaiyakya and physical characteristic of long snout (Talaimochovi)	
Si'toto	Hopi/Tewa	Po'pinki in Tewa	Stephen 1936:1148
So'lawichi (Shulawitsi)	Zuni	Equated to Avatshoya/Qa'ökatsina at Hopi	Stephen 1936:1149
Tacab, Tacab Naactadji, Tacab Tenebidji, Tacab Yebitcai	Navajo		Fewkes 1903:134
Tasapkatsina	Navajo		Stephen 1936:1150
Tasavu	Navajo Clown		Wright 1977:80
Tĭbie'la^n or Poh okowa	Tewa	Tewa	Stephen 1936:1150
Tsa'kwayna or Tsa'kwaynam	Zuni (according to Wright); Hano (Tewa)	Hopi Asa/Tcakwaina clan (tewan); represented in Zuni by descendants of women who stayed while others went to Tusayan (Fewkes)	Fewkes 1903:64, Stephen 1936:1138, Wright 1977:34
Tümash	Tewa		Stephen 1936:1150
Türwi (Santa Domingo kachina)	Zuni		Stephen 1936:1151
Útsaamu	Apache		Voth 1905:59
U'wa	Navajo		Stephen 1936:1151
Wakas Kachina	Introduced by Hano Man around turn of century	Name comes from Spanish "vacas," cows	Wright 1977:100
Wawarkatsina	Hopi/Tewa	Tĭbie'lan and Wane'ni in Tewa	Stephen 1936:1151
Wü'rwü'ryomo, Wü'rwü'ryom, Wü'rwiyomo, Wü'rwĭyomo, Wü'ryo, Wöwöyom, Wü'rwü'rwiyomo	Zuni	Corresponds to Zuñi Sayatasha	Stephen 1936:1152
Ye, Ye' bĭchai	Navajo		Stephen 1936:1152

Yohozro wuqti	Hano		Fewkes 1903:106

Table 10: Katsinam borrowed from or associated with other native groups

The associated native groups are either cited as the source of that particular

katsina, that group's version of the katsina, or the people represented by a Hopi katsina.

The Si'ohemiskatsina, for example, is a Zuni version of the Hemiskatsina, which Fewkes

also describes as a Zuni supernatural being (Fewkes 1903:69). Türwi is the Santo

Domingo katsina, a kachina representing the Santo Domingo puebloan people, but the

Hopi learned it from Zuni. Kawàyka'a is a similar case of a katsina representing one

neighboring group but acquired from another. Sipikne is an example of a name behaving

like many borrowed words. Wright (1977:42-43) asserts that this particular katsina

originally bore the Zuni name Salimopaiyakya and was also called Talaimochovi for its

long snout. Since the Hopi adopted this katsina, its name has gradually become more

"Hopi," according to Wright (1977). The two original Zuni names now have forms with

morphological features from the Hopi language. Sipikne and Talamopaiyakya, the most

recent incarnations of this borrowed katsina's names, also blend the two original names.

Talamopaiyakya includes morphemes from Salimopaiyakya and Talaimochovi. Most of

the other names in the chart above do not have such a clear linguistic lineage. Tidbits of

information such as katsinam that share names but not physical appearance accross

cultures, or a potentially related word in the originating people's language are sometimes

available. However, ethnographers often state that a katsinam came from Zuni, Tewa, or

another group without supporting evidence. Analysis by a linguist specializing in

Southwestern Native American languages in collaboration with Hopi's knowedgable about katsinam would provide more information on the subject.

Without assistance from a linguist I could not definitively determine the language of the above names. I only listed a language in the third column above if the source assigned one or the name in question is in the *Hopi Dictionary* without borrowed term designation. In all other cases, the form given by an ethnographic source or the dictionary may still contain traits from the originating language or it might be a completely Hopi word. This brings up an interesting phenomenon that I will discuss in the chapter to follow: katsinam are not intrinsically, inseparably linked to their names and the figures and names do not have a one-to-one relationship. When they are "borrowed" from another group, various combinations of the physical and spiritual katsina being, and its name or names transfer to the borrowing group.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

I knew when I began my research that I was only scratching the surface of Hopi katsina scholarship as well as Hopi linguistics. I chose a narrow focus on katsina tihu names, the Hopi dictionary, and a few ethnographic sources. By targetting a previously neglected dimensions of these figures and widely available resources addressing them, I hope to make a meaningful impact on how museums identify Native American material culture. When I began, I thought I might discover some kind of pattern in the katsina names that would demonstrate a fascinating linguistic phenomenon and reveal the Hopi way of thinking about katsinam encoded in their language. However, the research process proved more fruitful than the results. I did not produce a definitive list of katsina names, their linguistic relationships, or a complete etymological profile spanning all katsina studies. I did discover that if one wanted to accomplish those things, the state of the available resources needs improvement. Museums can contribute to Hopi cultural and linguistic studies by integrating and improving resources on katsina tihu. These same measures are excellent first steps towards indigenizing curation of Native American collections and incorporating intangible cultural context into museums. In this chapter, I will dissect and analyze my findings in terms of my research questions and the

background theory from earlier chapters. My analysis breaks down into four sections and answers my last three research questions, the first question having been addressed in my background discussion. First, I present an examination of the katsina name variations and diversity I found followed by a linguistic perspective on katsina names in order to answer research question number two and three, listed below. Next, I address my final research question with a comparison of the sources I consulted and their varying usefulness, and finally my conclusions regarding the database I employed and how my findings can be incorporated into a museum collection. Recall the research questions I stated earlier:

1. What have been the results of other instances of indigenous language use in museum collections?
2. What are the variations of katsina names and terminology that anthropologists and others studying the Hopi have collected?
3. What do these variations reveal/capture about Hopi culture?
4. How can I incorporate historical linguistic knowledge into a museum collection in a useful way for Hopi language/culture revitalization?

Diversity and Variations

The tables in the previous chapter are only a snapshot of the katsina names I inventoried. My spreadsheets expanded exponentially as I opened new volumes on Hopi culture and katsina collecting. Every time I scanned the *Hopi Dictionary* for a particular katsina name I came across others, which I started to recognize as I became familiar with my growing list and the orthographic patterns within it. What seemed early on like simply a massive list became a tangled web of relationships, overlapping meanings, cross-referenced terms, and lost permutations of jumbled, mismatched orthography. I began to understand why so many scholars have tried to organize Hopi katsinam into types and classes but I also doubted whether those classes really exist in Hopi culture.

From this typological web I distilled a few key findings that demonstrate patterns of variation within the diversity of katsinam. These patterns may seem obvious and they have certainly been noted before. They are simple clues to understanding katsinam within Hopi culture the way language is a clue to understanding any aspect of culture.

Another figure in the history of Hopi studies, novelist Frank Waters, based *The Book of the Hopi* (1977) on collaboration with only a hand full of Oraibi elders. However, he uses the Oraibi dialect for Hopi words in his writing and describes katsina ceremonies in detail. Waters (1977:165) offers a translation of the word kachina as *ka* (respect), and *china* (spirit). He refutes or confirms his forbearers' assertions about the Hopi and their katsinam, often referring to Fewkes and Voth. While much of his information came directly from tribal informants, its accuracy is not above dispute. Waters did, however, pay thorough attention to language in his accounts of Hopi belief, which is why I reference him here. He presents katsinam in their spiritual and ceremonial context rather than as a list. Waters also notes the great number and complex significance of katsinam, mentioning those as old as Kókopilau (Kokopol), whose song he says is in a language so removed it is undecipherable to his Hopi informants (Waters 1977:168). As an account of Hopi belief with indigenous input, *The Book of the Hopi* is a helpful reference for understanding what katsinam and their names capture from their cultural context.

Within these data and across the sources I consulted, a few ways of naming katsinam emerged. The Hopi named these spiritual beings based on what was important to them in their environment and to stand for their beliefs about how they interact with that environment. There are many katsinam representing corn, for instance, and the Hopi

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regard corn as a sacred manifestation of both male and female elements of creation (Waters 1977:135). This trend is evident in Barton Wright's (1977) guide to Hopi Katsinam. He presents katsina tihu in groups based on what they represent or their ceremonial role. For example, one chapter lists "Animals or Popkot" while another lists "Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinam" (Wright 1977:98, 104). He admits in an explanatory statement that separating katsinam into classes is a tool for studying and presenting them but does not stem from any Hopi organizational system or hierarchy (Wright 1977:27). He does, however, assert that Hopi identify katsinam based on their function and invokes Colton's partly function-based classes. Colton's (1959:7)divides katsinam into Chiefs, Clowns, Runners, Powamu or Mixed Dance katsinam, Katsinam accompanied by manas, Women katsinam, and Deities, which he considers separate from the other classes. He also refers to sub-classes that Hopi informants recognize. These are Kwivi, or "proud and sporty" katsinam that may also be highly ornamented, Kuwan katsinam, which are exceptionally colorful, and Rügan, or rasping katsinam (Colton 1959:8). Colton uses Hopi terms and translations of indigenous descriptions to delineate these sub-classes. Following his precedent, Wright (1977:28)presents his katsina inventory in the same classes, adding a few of his own and admitting that his categorization is partly Hopi and partly arbitrary. His reminder that these classes are superimposed on a system where katsinam can belong to many different types is significant. Since the Hopi recognize functional or descriptive groupings, katsinam fit into as many groups as it takes to describe their appearance, religious significance, and

ceremonial role. Their multi-layered meaning is therefore present in their various names stemming from particular groupings.

I came across many examples of this trend, some of which the sources identified and others I was able to pick out on my own. Early in my research at the DMNS I noticed that Lee Wayne Lomayestewa often changed Hemiskatsinam to Nimànkatsinam in the catalogue. Further investigation proved that a Nimànkatsina is a katsina that appears in the Nimàn or Home coming ceremony. The Hemiskatsina plays this role most often in some villages (Wright 1977) Thus one name identifies this figure by the ceremony it appears in while the other denotes its inspiration as Jemez Pueblo. Another, more elaborate example is Nuvakatsinmana, or Snow Kachina Maiden. She is present in several of the ethnographies I consulted but was sometimes difficult to identify because of her alternate name, Qötsamana. Wright (1977:54) lists both names, translating Köcha Kachina' Mana as White Kachina Girl and Nuvak'chin' Mana as Snow Kachina Girl. According to Wright, she appears most often in the Nimàn ceremony and is also a Rügan katsina. She is therefore named for her color, the natural element she represents, and can also be described in terms of her rasp-playing function as well as the ceremony in which she takes part. Adding another layer of complexity, her "brother," as Wright (1977:54) identifies him, is Navuk'china or Prickly Pear Leaf Kachina. The *Hopi Dictionary*, however, translates Nuvaktsina as snow-kachina.

It is straightforward to identify different ways of naming an individual katsina once one knows what to look for and where to look. Wright is an excellent source of information on name variations and their origins. With his contribution as a starting point,

other ethnographies and the *Hopi Dictionary* are easier to decipher, as they sometimes do not take as broad a perspective as does Wright. Hólolo, for example, appears in Wright's (1977) *Hopi Kachinas*, Colton's (1959) typology, and the DMNS but not in Fewkes, Stephen, or Voth. According to Wright (1977:40), Hólolo is a name that applies to two very different katsinam with their own individual names. Hólolo describes the song these katsinam sing. Their other names, Wupa Nakava Kachina or Big Ears Kachina and Muyau Kachina or Moon Kachina correspond to their appearance and a natural feature respectively. Colton (1959:44, 80)lists Muyau as Mu-yao, a diety, and Hólolo but does not connect the two.

Nakyatsopkatsina is a fascinating conglomeration of naming categories describing his characteristics and sometimes contradicting each other. Fewkes, Stephen, Voth, and Wright include him in their inventories, although I did not come across this name in Voth. Wright (1977:43) translates his names, Nakaichop and Akush, as Silent Warrior and Shalako Warrior. He also speculates that this katsina is a "Dawn or Morning Kachina", the most prominent of which, the Talavaykatsina, closely resembles the Nakyatsopkatsina (Wright 1977:43). Fewkes (1903) also notes the similarity between these two katsinam . Stephen (1936:1144) translates *nakya'cho* as "silent," also dubbing Nakyatsopkatsina the Silent Kachina . The *Hopi Dictionary* entry, defines Nakyatsopkatsina as "Copulate kachina," a meaning that is absent from other accounts. An interesting contradiction is Wright's (1977:124)use of the name Silent katsina synonymously with Morning kachina, or Talavaykatsina, as their ceremonial role is to sing in the early morning. Frank Waters (1977:137)documents a word related to this katsina in his description of the Wúwichim

ceremony. He lists the three phases of dawn as Qöyangnoptu, Sikangnuqa and Tálawva. This final phase, the glowing red sunrise, exhibits morphological and conceptual similarities to the Morning or Dawn katsina's Hopi name, Talavaykatsina.

Sa'lako is a Zuni katsina so Akush, the Sa'lako warrior connects this katsina to Zuni and helps explain the tihu called "Zuni warrior kachina" in the Smithsonian collection. Wright and Colton also connect Nakyatsopkatsina with Satki katsinam from the Ladder Dance, a spectacle from the distant past which is no longer performed on the Hopi Mesas (Wright 1977:43; Colton 1959:32). This contextual information for an individual katsina is comparable to pragmatic definitions and usage in dictionaries and lexical studies. This katsina, along with many others, has a different role and name depending on the context; it appears as Nakyatsopkatsina or Akush in Pamuya and the Talavaykatsina during the Bean Dance (Wright 1977:43).

The phenomenon I describe above often led me to combine katsina names into one database entry or cross reference definitions to one another. In one instance, I was unable to find a *Hopi Dictionary* definition for Akush, listed in Wright and Stephen. When I consulted Colton's typology I found Akush cross-listed with Qöqlö, defined as a Second Mesa kachina in the *Hopi Dictionary*. One possilbe explanation is that Qöqlö is the Second Mesa name for Akush, since Wright's description of Akush as a Talavaykatsina and Colton's profile of Qöqlö are compatible with each other. Both describe their katsina as appearing in pairs the morning before the Bean Dance (Colton 1959:21; Wright 1977:124). It is also propbable that Akush is a Zuni word, since this Sa'lako warrior came from Zuni.

Other katsina naming methods are less complex and more easily recognizable in museum catalogues and literature. Colors and kinship terms stand out among descriptive additions to name roots as useful for identifying katsina and katsina tihu. These modifiers also inject name inventories with slices of cultural context and an idea of how many katsinam have existed over the centuries. Wright translates kuwan as colored, a form variant taken by many katsinam. His inventory includes Kuwan Heheya, Kuwan Kokopelli, and Kuwan Powamu Koyemsi. Nata'aska or So'yoko ogres display the wide variety of possible colors assigned to katsinam. Fewkes (1903:82) identifies Kumbi, or black, Natackas and Kutca, or white, Natackas. Stephen (1936:1144) also records black and white Nata'shkyamu, Nata'shkyamu Kwümbi meaning Black Nata'aska Father and Nata'shkyamu Küĕcha' meaning White Nata'aska Father. Kücha' Aña'kchina, the White Angaktsina also figures in Stephen's account. Examples of other colors include Wright's (1977:44) Sakwa Hú, the Blue Whipper Katsina, and Fewkes (1903) Cakwahonaû, the Green Bear Katsina. This pair also presents an apparent disparity in terms for green. Sakwa and Cakwa are the same word according to Wright and Fewkes' orthographic equivalents but translate to different colors. Wright (1977:44), however, states that Sakwa Hú is supposedly a very old katsina and speculates that its appearance has changed while its name has stayed the same. Perhaps an originally green katsina became blue but Hopi continued to refer to it by its "inaccurate" name.

Knowing the words for various popular katsina colors allows one to identify root names and the descriptive terms attached to them. This information is also useful for verifying that a tihu corresponds to some extent with its assigned name in a museum

catalogue. A katsina with kumbi in its name should be black and this can be checked easily while other aspects of tihu appearance are more difficult to correlate with a katsina name.

The kinship terms touched on earlier with the Nata'aska fathers are the tip of a familial and clan-based naming iceberg. The Nata'aska appear in several forms corresponding to kin relationships and playing different roles depending on their familial designation. The spellings in the table below are from Fewkes and therefore differ from the Hopi dictionary Nata'aska spelling. There is also a difference between some these forms and Fewkes' base form which I discuss below.

Name	Translation
Nanatacka tataki	Natacka males
Nanatacka civaamû	Their sisters
Natacka wüqti	Natacka mother
Natacka naamû	Their father

Table 11: Nata'aska forms

The Nanatacka civaamû are known individually as Natacka mana or Soyok mana, according to Fewkes (1903:85). Natacka wüqti is likewise also called Soyok wüqti. I will return to the explanation of these synonyms later. Colton (1959) and Wright (1977) also list a mana and wüqti version of the Nata'aska or Soyok ogre. Colton (1959:28) includes Tahaum Soyoko, The Black Ogre's Uncle. There are other ogres such as Atocle, a Zuni monster, Awatobi soyok taka, and Awatobi soyok wüqti. The latter two originated at Awat'ovi pueblo and came to Walpi with massacre survivors (Fewkes 1903:86). The core Nata'aska family groups circulate in the pueblos to procure food from households during

Powamû (Fewkes 1903:41). Hahay'iwùuti accompanies them and voices the demands. Although Natacka wüqti or So'yokwùuti is called the Nata'aska mother in several sources, such as Fewkes (1903:41) , Hahay'iwùuti is the ogres' real mother according to Hopi oral tradition and she appears with them as such in Powamû (Stephen 1936:1139). Chaveyo, or Tsaveyo, fathered the Nata'aska group with Hahay'iwùuti. Hahay'iwùuti is also paired with Ewtoto, a chief katsina referred to as the father of the katsinam and the Sun Chief, to spawn various offspring. The Pòoko or dog katsinam as well as the four Si'osa'lako brothers are their children (Wright 1977:56).

Other kin relationships present in katsina figures also reflect Hopi clan history. Fewkes seemed to be as intrigued as I am by the Tsa'kwaynam, a group of katsinam that retain their connection to the clan for which they are named. Fewkes (1903:19) identifies clan migration as the primary manner for katsina introduction at the various pueblos. To explain the great number of katsinam on the Hopi Mesas he asserts that "each clan as it joined the Hopi population brought its own gods, and, as the clans came from distant pueblos, where environmental conditions differed, each had a mythologic system in some respects characteristic" (Fewkes 1903:19). Festivals and ceremonies, such as Powamû, Pamürti, Soyaluña, and Nimàn celebrate the advent, arrival, and departure of katsinam or clan ancients (Fewkes 1903:18). Kindred clans keep the katsina masks from extinct clans but these figures may fall out of use and become known as "ancient." according to Fewkes (1903:19). He describes katsina names as totemistic, meaning they are the same as their originating clan name. However, Fewkes (1903:46-47)acknowledges that many names do not correspond to clan names, either because the clan is no longer present,

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because the katsina was adopted from other Puebloan people, or because someone introduced the katsina recently. The Tsa'kwayna katsinam are one of relatively few katsina groups that whose clan association is still intact (1903:47).

The Tsa'kwayna katsina is the wuya, or wisdom-bearing spirit, of the Asa, Tsa'kwayna, or Mustard Clan, depending on the source. According to Wright (1977:34) , the Asa or Tansy Mustard Clan brought Tsa'kwayna to First Mesa from Zuni. This katsina is the Asa Clan's wuya. Wright (1977:34) also speculates that Tsa'kwayna may represent Esteban the Moor, who figured in Spanish conquest of the area and is said to have been killed at Zuni. Tsa'kwayna is also present at Keresan and Tanoan pueblos (Wright 1977:34). Stephen also includes this intriguing katsina in his inventory, linking what he defines as a woman warrior to the Mustard clan. He attributes its origin to Tewa (Stephen 1936:1144). Fewkes presents the most detailed examination of this katsina group. As he repeatedly asserts the importance of katsina names to understanding their origins and roles, Fewkes (1903:47) describes the Tsa'kwayna versions and clan connections in detail. Below is his inventory of these personages.

Fewkes' Name	Dictionary Name (if found)	Fewkes' Description
Tcatcakwaina taamû		Tcakwainas, their uncle
Tcatcakwaina tatakti		Tcakwainas, males (brothers)
Tcatcakwaina kokaimû	Tsa'kwaynamuy Qööqu'am	Tcakwainas, their elder sister
Tcatcakwaina mamatû (= manas)		Tcakwainas, maids (sisters)
Tcatcakwaina yuamû	Tsa'kwaynamuy Yu'um	Tcakwainas, their mother

Table 12: Tsa'kwayna forms

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The general *Hopi Dictionary* entry defines Tsa'kwayna or Tsa'kwaynam simply as a kachina, with no morphological analysis breakdown. For Fewkes the most important point is that the katsina name is the same as the name of the clan, which he calls the Tcakwaina or Asa Clan. He also notes that the katsina personages correspond to the mother, her children, and their uncle, who are all members of the same clan in the matriarchal clan system (Fewkes 1903:47). The father and relatives in his line are not depicted as clan ancients in the form of katsinam because they are not considered part of the matriarchal clan (Fewkes 1903:47). Tsa'kwayna also preserves the matrilineal connection to the Asa Clan's origins. Tsa'kwayna appears in the Hopi Pamürti, the katsina return festival for the Asa or Tsa'kwayna Clan. Descendants of the Asa women who stayed at Zuni while the rest of their clan went to Tusayan, or the Hopi Mesas, represent their clan in the Zuni Pamürti (Fewkes 1903:64). This is an excellent example of the type of etymological information I found for many katsina names. Clan relations, migration history, and other contextual knowledge related to Hopi culture is intertwined with Hopi language and therefore with katsina names. This information is readily available in both historic ethnographies and more recent katsina tihu collecting guides, such as Wright's. These sources are readily available and can prove useful for museums that wish to expand their collection to include intangible culture. One complication is the difficulty I faced in connecting one katsina name across sources due to orthographic differences and name variations. I believe the *Hopi Dictionary* is the solution to this problem, providing the standardization necessary to connect etymological knowledge, cultural context, and indigenous perspectives to Hopi katsina tihu in museums.

The Tsa'kwayna katsinam also demonstrate a characteristic of Hopi language that a collection database augmented with linguistic information would include. Fewkes and the other sources I consulted do not address this linguistic feature but I noticed it when I first encountered the Tsa'kwayna names. Referring back to the table above, the forms in the far left column are morphologically different from the forms in the other column in several ways, one of which is easily identifiable as orthographic differences between the *Hopi Dictionary* and Fewkes' spelling. Another difference is the reduplication of the first syllable in the left column forms. I suggest that this is the plural form of Tcakwaina, as Fewkes transcribes it. The Sketch of Hopi Grammer in the *Hopi Dictionary* confirms this suggestion. In the section describing nouns, the dictionary's summary outlines ways for marking number. One way number is marked in Hopi is reduplication, copying a consonant and vowel at the beginning of a syllable (Hill et al. 1998:870). The noun stem may undergo changes such as vowel shortening as well. Below is the Tsa'kwayna reduplication in Fewkes (1903:47) spelling with the copied syllable in bold.

Tcakwaina (singular)   Tca**tca**kwaina (plural)

According to the Hopi Dictionary, there are four categories of number distinction marked on nouns: singular, dual, plural, and distributive. The dual form, almost always marked on only animate nouns, adds a *-t* at the end of the word. The dictionary adds an interesting and important piece of linguistic knowledge here, stating that things that appear to move by themselves, such as clouds, as well as sacred things and developing

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ears of corn are treated grammatically as animate objects (Hill et al. 1998:870). Katsinam and tihu therefore fall into the animate object category and, according to the dictionary grammar sketch, plurals of this type may be formed reduplicatively or with a lengthened vowel in the stem. Since Fewkes (1903:47, 64) translates Tcatcakwaina as "Tcakwainas," it appears that the plural of this katsina name is marked with reduplication of the first syllable.

Waters (1977:137) records the same reduplicated pluralization while explaining a significant Hopi ceremony. He frequently interjects morphological analysis into his discussions of Hopi traditions. With regard to the Wúwuchim ceremony, Waters (1977:137) asserts that Wuchim, the singular form derives from *wu*, to germinate, and *chim*, to manifest. Wuchim are members of a religious society of the same name. The plural, Wúwuchim, is therefore "a ceremonial supplication by the Wuchim and other participating societies at this first dawn of Creation for the germination of all forms of life on earth" (Waters 1977:137). Pluralization duplicates the first syllable, *wu*, the same way it duplicates *tca* in Tcatcakwaina.

This is the kind of grammatical feature that is preserved through use. Speaking about Tsa'kwayna katsinam and employing the reduplicated plural form maintains knowledge of Hopi grammar. Without intentional preservation and use, anglicizations such as *kachina* and *kachinas* instead of katsina and katsinam become prevalent. An example such as the plural forms of the various Tsa'kwayna katsinam can be an important teaching tool for a grammatical feature, matriarchal clan traditions, and katsina name etymology. As a capsule of intangible cultural heritage, this bundle of information is

invaluable. The problem of orthography persists, however. Wright and Stephen spell Tsa'kwayna with a *Ch-* rather than a *Tc-* or *Ts-* as in Fewkes and the Hopi Dictionary.

The most readily available linguistic information included in these data is references to katsina origins from outside Hopi. The Hopi imported katsinam from nearby groups and created katsinam based on their neighbors. As a result, katsina inventories are conglomerations of many different languages and cultures. The ethnographies and collecting guides I consulted included more information on katsinam and their names that came from other groups. Wright (1977:66-71) presents "Indian Kachinas or Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum" in their own chapter of his collecting guide. This katsinam are inspired by other Southwestern groups rather than imported from them. Wright (1977:66) explains that ethnologists believe the Hopi try to capture traits and powers from various people by introducing representative katsinam. Whether this is a valid explanation or not, the figures created by the Hopi to represent their neighbors offer insight into their perceptions of and relations with those neighbors. The Kooninkatsina, which Wright (1977:70) calls the Konin or Supai Kachina, represents the Havasupai Nation. Wright speculates that this figure's face is colored in a style the Havasupai used in the past and says the Kooninkatsina wears Havasupai-style buckskins.

Another fascinating katsina that illustrates the kind of information I hoped to find when I began my research is a variant of the Kooninkatsina Wright includes in his inventory. He describes the Konin Taha-um, Konin Kachina, or Kalampa as "characteristic of the development of kachinas" (Wright 1977:70). As a relatively recent katsina, common in the 1950s, the Hopi assigned this figure multiple names and

associated it with many different people (Wright 1977:70) These included the Apache, Ute, Paiute, and Havasupai, the last of which it was typically associated with when Wright (1977:70) wrote *Hopi Kachinas*. The tihu reflect this katsina's multi-tribal identity (Wright 1977:70).

Fewkes, Stephen, Voth, and Colton all include "foreign" kachinas in their accounts, although they do not distinguish between those inspired by other native groups and those imported from other tribes. It is appropriate that they all use the term "borrowed" to describe these figures, as the same term applies to words from one language incorporated into another. Based on observations of the examples I gathered, the names of borrowed or imported katsinam behave in one of two ways when they become part of the Hopi inventory. The name either takes on Hopi language characteristics, gradually becoming more Hopi, or the Hopi assign the borrowed katsina a completely new name, perhaps retaining some form of the original name as well. Thus both processes can act in the same katsina, producing multiple names with varying degrees of relatedness to the originating people. Examples of this abound in my database, providing an excellent starting place for a more detailed analysis of borrowed terms, and language change. Unfortunately, without a more significant background in Southwestern Native American linguistics, I am not qualified to undertake that level of analysis. This is, however, the type of study that a katsina name database supplementing museum catalogues of katsina tihu would facilitate.

I was not surprised to find that early ethnographers had a working knowledge of the Hopi language that allowed them to make observations on the meanings and origins

of katsina names. Fewkes, Stephen, and Voth all lived in Hopi villages for extended

periods (Fewkes 1903; Stephen 1936; Voth 1905). While none of them were formally

trained as anthropologists, the discipline embraced a broader area of study in its earlier

days, with many anthropologists bringing all four fields of ethnology, archaeology,

physical anthropology, and linguistics into their work (Adams 1993; Parker 1993) . Their

command of the Hopi language varied. Voth and Stephen were fluent but Fewkes,

Stephen, Voth, and Wright all emphasize the importance of language at some point in

their katsina studies. Fewkes seemed especially preoccupied by the insight names could

provide on Katsina origins and inspiration. In fact, the passage in *Hopi Katcinas Drawn*

by Native Artists where Fewkes' (1903) fascination shines through helped inspire my

study. His words express the interconnectedness of language, katsinam, and Hopi culture

so well that I will let him speak for himself:

> The classification of katcinas by names leads to important results, but the
> nomenclature, for many reasons, is often deceptive. The same god may
> have several attribual or clan names which have survived from the
> different languages spoken originally by component clans of the tribe.
> Certain peculiarities of song or step by the personator, or a marked or
> striking symbol on his paraphernalia, may have given a name having no
> relation to the spirit personated. Keeping this fact in mind, and
> remembering the permanency of symbols and the changeability of
> nomenclature, we are able to discover the identity of personages bearing
> wildly different names. (Fewkes 1903:20)

Fewkes (1903:20) describes the character of katsinam and their names eloquently

and insightfully. He goes on to emphasize the influence of other Puebloan groups on

Hopi katsinam, as their names reflect.

> An important aspect of the study of these pictures is the light their names
> often throws on their derivation. We find some of them called by Zuñian,

others by Keresan, Tanoan, Piman, and Yuman names, according to their derivation. Others have names which are distinctly Hopi. This composite nomenclature of their gods is but a reflection of the Hopi language, which is a mosaic of many different linguistic stocks.

Clearly, Fewkes recognized the same diversity and interconnectedness I found with my much less extensive research. While other ethnographers did not necessary emphasize this property of katsinam so strongly or describe it so eloquently, they did include morphological analyses in their work and attributed katsina names to other indigenous groups, sometimes offering equivalent names for katsinam in other languages. Stephen (1936:1144) offers a breakdown of Chaveyo, the giant katsina and father to the Nata'aska katsinam. He relates this name to *chachaiyûmû*, meaning "children" and *ve'yo*, meaning "hunter." He dubs the result an obsolete term meaning children hunter and says this katsina is called Tsabiyo in Eastern pueblos (Stephen 1936:1145). Stephen could consider this term obsolete because the Hopi may no longer define the name Chaveyo as meaning "children hunter."

The early and more recent ethnographers I covered in my research also note the supposed reasons katsinam are named as they are. Hiilili, for instance, was named for his call according to Stephen (1936:1146). Wright (1977:103) claims that the name for the horse katsina, Kawàykatsina, is based on the Spanish word *caballo*. This makes sense considering the Spanish introduced the horse to North America and the Hopi would have learned the word for this previously unknown creature from the Spanish. Fewkes and Stephen frequently offer Hopi words from which katsina names are derived. Stephen (1936:1153) relates Shi'phikini, a katsina named for the flower design on his mask, to the

Hopi verb Si'fhìkni meaning "is spread out in the form of flowers." Stephen (1936:1154-55) calls two other figures flower katsinam: Si'hü and Si'toto; he translates Si'hü as "flower blossoms of all vegetation." This corresponds to Sìikatsina which, according to the *Hopi Dictionary*, breaks down morphologically to "flower-kachina" (Hill et al. 1998).

Abundant references to name sources, alternate names, and names in other languages give accounts of Hopi katsinam linguistic depth. We can trace language change through comparative reconstruction and borrowing to find out more about how people spoke and therefore how they lived in the past and the present. Most importantly, for this information to have the greatest impact on our interpretation of Hopi culture, care for their sacred objects in museums, and the survival of traditional knowledge museums must integrate it into their collections. Ethnographers paid attention to more than just collecting tihu during their time with the Hopi over the past century. Practices and beliefs related to katsinam are present in even the tiniest linguistic detail of their names and the sphere of cultural context surrounding them. My research demonstrates that this information is not difficult to come by; it is, however, difficult to sort though and make sense of due to orthographic inconsistencies as well as the sheer abundance and complexity of katsina nomenclature. In order for it to be practical for museums to re-contextualize katsina material culture with intangible culture, the intangible culture must be easily organized and concise. As Peter Whiteley expresses in his discussion on Hopi language rights, sometimes we must objectify and dissect a language or other abstract, performative cultural element in order to preserve it. This is why language is the perfect medium for conveying and preserving complex knowledge systems that are more

extensive than the words themselves. Language is already entwined in every thought and action of the people who use it. Institutions like museums have only to put language back in the same room as cultural objects for both to be more contextualized than they were alone. The *Hopi Dictionary* provides an opportunity for katsina tihu to undergo this kind of re-contextualization.

Implications for Museum Collections

Currently filed away in storage cabinets by the thousands, with perhaps an anglicized or arbitrarily spelled name in the museum catalog, tihu hold greater potential for study than many give them credit for. As the art of tihu carving evolved, anthropologists relegated them to tourist kitsch and non-traditional Native art (Whiteley 2001). This trend is evident in the literature on Hopi katsina tihu, which has been dominated by collecting guides and children's books in recent times. A few volumes, such as Pearlstone and Babcock's *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals* (2001) and Barton Wright's *Classic Hopi and Zuni Kachina Figures* (2006), do justice to their depth and complexity. Historic ethnographies of the Hopi include a wealth of information on katsinam. These, along with more recent examinations of the contemporary Hopi katsina, can be used to inject museums with intangible knowledge in the form of language and indigenous ways of thinking about katsinam. I undertook a small case study to investigate the feasibility of a museum taking this step to make their collections management more appropriate and useful. After finding that the kind of information I sought is widely available, I developed a solution for organizing it

in such a way that museums could integrate it into their data management systems and magnify their tihu collection's value as a resource and storehouse for knowledge.

I did not devise a plan for organizing the katsina names and other information I gathered until I began analyzing the data. Overwhelmed by the amount of data I had to work with, I was not sure how to begin. Moving my original spreadsheets into a database was the first step. This made the data more searchable and allowed me to group them into manageable slices that I could work with. My main task was to match names from the ethnographic and museums sources and look up dictionary versions of as many names as possible. I wanted to know how many katsinam appeared in multiple sources, which names were actually alternate names for the same katsinam, and how many of these spiritual beings had entries in the *Hopi Dictionary*.

The alternate spellings and varying orthographies that came from each source constituted an obstacle as well as an element of interest. I had already become relatively familiar with each source's orthographic style and could translate relatively well between Fewkes, Wright, and Colton especially. Voth and Stephen did not record Hopi words as phonetically as the other authors, meaning their spellings were either very close to the *Hopi Dictionary* spelling or different in unpredictable ways. The dictionary itself provides a breakdown of its orthography, using the International Phonetic Alphabet to describe the sounds that make up Hopi words. However, detail in which each author's spelling captures Hopi sounds varied greatly and usually much less precisely than the dictionary. Vowels could be doubled or changed completely, glottal stops inserted, or the first letter of a word could be different. Sometimes I found dictionary entries right away

but sometimes I spent half-an-hour flipping and scanning pages without locating the name I sought. Katsina names from ethnographic sources were somewhat easier to match up once they were in the database. With these names displayed in one table and alphabetized I could compare those that at least started with the same few letters. It was immediately obvious that some names were the same but matching others was like a memory game. I read though each entry on katsinam names, descriptions, clan and ceremonial associations, and any extra notes multiple times. Each time I connected more names with each other based on source descriptions, spelling similarities, or references to synonymous and related katsina names.

The original inventory of katsinam tihu from the DMNS catalog was also part of the database and aided name matching. I had already filled fields with the DMNS Name, LWL Name, Dictionary Name, and Dictionary Definition for katsina names from ethnographic sources that corresponded to tihu in the DMNS collection. My research began with a dictionary search for all the DMNS names and alternates supplied by Lee Wayne Lomayestewa. I gradually matched these pre-defined tihu with corresponding katsinam in the ethnographies. While that process took care of many entries, it left plenty of names that came from multiple ethnographies without a dictionary spelling and definition. There were also names that I suspected of referring to the same figure or of being related but could not definitively tie together. I therefore returned to the *Hopi Dictionary* to look up more names, finding synonyms, and linking even more entries to each other in the process. I prioritized the names I looked up by their frequency of appearance in other sources. I set out to find all the names appearing in two or more of

the inventories I drew from but could not locate all of these in the dictionary. While scanning the pages for a specific entry I often came across katsina names that I was not looking for. They usually turned up in my composite inventory but from only one source.

One thing became clear as I sifted through these data: it is next to impossible to look up a word that one does not know how to spell. When I finally had dictionary names for a significant number katsina entries from all four scholarly sources, analysis suddenly became easier. For example, I wanted to know how many of my sources included Hahay'iwùuti. The database program offers several ways of answering that question relatively quickly. I could open the master table that contains all the entries from all four ethnographic sources and search for Hahay'iwùuti. Before doing that I would probably have to find one appearance of her name to copy and paste into the search box since I cannot usually remember the spelling. An alternative, which I find easier, is to open the master table and change the sort option to arrange the entries alphabetically by Dictionary Name. I can then scroll down to the Hs and see all four instances of Hahay'iwùuti and the sources she appears in. Even more streamlined is the query option. A query selects data based on the limitations one chooses and then displays that data or certain fields from it. For example, to find each instance of Hahay'iwùuti relatively quickly, I would create a query to display only the Dictionary Name and Source fields. I would then organize the results alphabetically by Dictionary Name. This is easy to do with a drop down sort menu in the Open Office database program. The data then appears in two columns, fitting easily on the screen. I can immediately scroll to the Hs and see all four Hahay'iwùuti records and their sources.

The system I propose makes it possible to search for a given katsina tihu by name in a museum collection. When all the tihu in the collection are accurately named and one knows the standard, *Hopi Dictionary* spelling of those names, it is possible to find all relevant records with one search. Searching for a tihu in a museum catalog without knowing how to spell its name is similar to looking up a word in the dictionary without knowing how to spell it. It is a frustrating process that leaves one wondering if something spelled unexpectedly slipped through the cracks. Standardized spelling in a database of katsina names rectifies this problem. There is, however, one more element that would improve a katsina database immensely.

Colton (1959) incorporated this detail into his katsina inventory. When searching for certain names in the index, one finds references to other names and a typological number corresponding to both or all of these terms. Qöqlö, for example, is cross referenced with Akush in Colton's index as katsina number five. I did not connect these two names until I looked one up in Colton's guide. It would be easy to pass over synonymous or similar katsinam in a searchable database if one was not looking for that information. It would therefore be ideal if different names for the same katsina or related katsinam cross referenced each other in the database. Searching for Qöqlö would bring up entries for Akush as well. In my database the entry for each katsina name includes references to synonyms, similar figures, and those with close ties to that particular katsina. However, it is necessary to read all of the fields to find that information and this is not necessarily an ideal set up. Organizing the data so that synonyms appear

prominently in a field adjacent to the name would help. This can be accomplished

through form design in the Open Office database program, as in the form below.

Illustration 2: Form for entering and viewing data

Given the difficulty I had finding katsina names for tihu in the Smithsonian

Anthropology online catalog, a database that includes standardized name spellings would

be extremely helpful. The first step in creating such a database for an institution like the

Smithsonian or the Denver Museum of Nature & Science is accurately assigning a name

to each katsina tihu. This task should draw from Hopi collaborators such as Lee Wayne

Lomayestewa at the DMNS as well as scholarly resources like those I consulted. While

the resulting list of names will not have uniform spelling or orthography, it will accurately capture at least one name for each tihu in the collection. This step will also capture contextual information recorded in historic ethnographies and indigenous knowledge from a Hopi advisor. As I discussed above, scholarly sources provide information on katsina origins, the meaning and source of their names, alternate names, and ways of designating katsinam by types or groups.

The next step in organizing data on katsina tihu is finding the katsina names obtained in the previous step in the *Hopi Dictionary*. Not all of them will have dictionary entries, as I found. This is probably because katsinam have fallen out of use and completely out of the remembered inventory. It is also probable that some figures were left out of the dictionary due to their sacred nature, a measure the *Hopi Dictionary* creators took to respect Hopi culture and proprietary knowledge (Hill 2002). In any case, with dictionary spellings for as many museum tihu as possible, those tihu will have standardized terms linked to a wealth of contextual and linguistic data.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the museum must decide how to incorporate this new database into the existing collection management system as well as to whom this information will be available. The latter should be done in consultation with the Hopi Nation. The museum must respect their intellectual property rights and avoid situations like Kenneth Hill and his colleagues encountered when publishing the Hopi Dictionary. As to incorporating the database into museum collection management, this is no easy task. Museum catalog databases are already convoluted with lexicon restrictions, program variations, and inconsistent updating (American Association of Museums 1998).

In light of these issues, the best solution is to keep a separate database of katsina names for the Hopi tihu in the museum collection. I demonstrated that a simple database program, available as open source software online or with the standard Microsoft Office package, is sufficient for the data management needed to organize katsina information.

Museums could share this information with each other. I plan to make my research results and the database I produced available to the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, since I specifically address their collection and began the project as a volunteer at the DMNS. It will also be available electronically through the University of Denver. The inventory of names I compiled can therefore serve as a starting point for similar projects with other Hopi katsina tihu collections. It is also straightforward to start from scratch, as the ethnographies, collecting guides, and the *Hopi Dictionary* are accessible almost everywhere. The *Hopi Dictionary* is more difficult to obtain than the early ethnographies and more recent katsina inventories I consulted. The relevant works by Fewkes, Wright, Colton and Voth were all available in the Rhode Island public library system, where I finished my research. I also obtained many relevant books at the University of Rhode Island, where I was surprised to find a copy of the Hopi Dictionary. The University of Denver holds all of these volumes as well as Stephen's journal and the Hopi Dictionary. It is therefore probable that other public and academic libraries have many of these resources. The DMNS has a copy of the Hopi Dictionary in addition to a library well stocked with the works I reference. Museums interested in acquiring the Hopi Dictionary for themselves may have some difficulty. The volume is out of print and sells

for upwards of $500 online (Amazon). It may be possible to place orders directly with the publisher.

The design I just described took shape as I processed and analyzed these data. I drew inspiration from my sources and the original DMNS Hopi tihu project. My database can serve as a basis for katsina tihu databases in museums but it is not the main product of my research. This case study explored the process of augmenting a museum collection with cultural information encoded in language. In short, the method and tools I developed for analysis are the "how" and "why" to the question of museums incorporating linguistic information into their collections. I conclude by addressing how this endeavor supports culture and language revitalization as well as indigenous curation.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Katsina tihu have fascinated outsiders to Hopi culture for centuries. This

fascination is evident in early explorers' accounts, historic ethnographies, and extensive

private and museum collections. While much has changed for the Hopi since European

contact, their traditional relationship to the earth still manifests in katsina ceremonies and

other rites. Tihu production has changed in response to their popularity in the art and

souvenir markets. Despite this change, Hopi men still carve traditional cottonwood root

tihu as prayers for fertility (Wright 1977:162). Less traditional tihu also play a role in

continuing crafts and traditions, as they can be artistic expressions of Hopi belief

(Whiteley 2001). While their popularity has detached katsinam from their original

cultural context, often redeploying their image in inappropriate ways, katsinam remain

sacred to the Hopi people. This is why their misused and misunderstood image, as well as

Hopi and non-Hopi who commodify katsinam, are so offensive to Hopi who cultivate

traditional beliefs and ceremonialism.

Preserving indigenous knowledge about katsinam is one way to combat their

commodification and cultivate Hopi culture in all areas tied to these spiritual and

ceremonial figures. Language and naming etymology is the main cultural element of

concern in this paper. As intangible culture, it is an abstract branch of cultural heritage whose preservation UNESCO mandates. My research on Hopi katsina names and the potential to attach a database of these names to museum tihu collections proposes a step towards preserving such intangible cultural heritage. Injecting this type of information into tihu collections also helps combat the spread of misinformation on katsinam and reconnect them to their original Hopi context.

Ethnographies from anthropology's early days in the American Southwest grounded my research in studies that predated the katsina tihu collecting frenzy of the middle twentieth century. Jesse W. Fewkes, Henry R. Voth, and Alexander M. Stephen may have been outsiders on the Hopi Mesas, but their dedication to anthropology and their thorough, multidisciplinary approach made their work a solid foundation for future Hopi studies. Their consultation with Native informants demonstrates their interest in understanding the Hopi perspective and their willingness to learn from those they studied. In many ways, these early ethnographers were ahead of their time in this respect. Fewkes, for example, assembled a ground breaking collection of indigenous art produced at his request. The color drawings in *Hopi Katcinas Drawn by Native Artists* offer Hopi visions of their katsina figures. The accompanying ethnographic information has been cited by generations of scholars ever since.

Early ethnographers as well as later ones like Harold S. Colton and Barton Wright bring a surprising amount of linguistic information into their accounts. They recognized language's importance as a spoken expression of Hopi cultural values. Since the Hopi language varies among villages, anthropologists working in different locations captured

some of these differences by paying attention to pronunciation. They had no indigenously produced written words to compare or on which to base their renderings of Hopi language. Orthographic differences therefore make comparison among these accounts difficult. It is also apparent when one anthropologist bases his katsina name spellings on a predecessor's work, as Barton Wright does with Colton. Orthography aside, linguistic variation is evident in Hopi katsina names as well as names imported from other pueblos in their respective languages. These names are snapshots of Hopi belief, tribal interaction, and cultural change versus continuity.

The Hopi Dictionary Project made a seminal contribution to Hopi language and culture studies. This intricate language has transitioned from purely spoken, through inconsistently written, to somewhat standardized and recorded. An objectification process is a necessary but conflicted part of revitalization for many Native American languages. In order to understand, learn, and teach these intangible expressions of cultural individuality, Hopi people and scholars must engage in this process. For the Hopi this means deciding what information they can and cannot share through their language and way of life. The right to maintain ones native language is an inerrant human right according to UNESCO but indigenous people must still fight for it in many cases, considering the startling number of endangered languages in the world. It also becomes more difficult to protect sacred and proprietary knowledge as we strive to pull languages back from the brink of extinction.

As a collaborative project involving linguists, Hopi scholars, and tribal elders, the Hopi Dictionary Project balanced language documentation with protecting proprietary

knowledge. The standardized Third Mesa dialect dictionary that the project produced presents an indigenous language at the level of established language dictionaries. While the project encountered some tribal opposition to publishing the Hopi Dictionary, it was contribution well received by Hopi education and government institutions (Frawley, Munro, and Hill 2002:310). What remains is to implement the collaboratively created lexicon and orthography as a standard for the Hopi language in education, scholarship, literature, and museums. I discussed the revealing parallels between dictionary making and museum curation. Dictionaries collect and display language while museums do so with corresponding material culture. Common problems and goals make these two collecting entities partners in preservation and interpretation. As such, they should work together more closely and take advantage of their respective resources' complementary nature. This type of cooperation can feed language revitalization and increase cultural sensitivity by indigenizing the discourse on Hopi culture, material or otherwise. Employing Hopi dictionary spellings of katsina names in museum tihu collections is one potential arena for broadening the dictionary's application and further strengthening the language's chance for survival.

I have discussed linguistic contextualization as a method for indigenizing museum curation practices. As such, it is both a form of intangible cultural heritage and a means for protecting it (Kreps, 2008). Terminology and classification are often overlooked or allowed to remain outdated and inaccurate in museums, as with the Hopi tihu from the Smithsonian Anthropology Collection. However, tribal museums such as the Makah Cultural and Resource Center and the joint Cambridge University Museum of

Anthropology and Archaeology (MAA) and Zuni A"shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center (AAMHC) program are incorporating indigenous knowledge and classification systems into their collections organization. When a collection is labeled and organized according to indigenous terms and ways of thinking, traditional knowledge rejoins material culture to create a more complete object. The object gains context that a diorama cannot imitate. An object with its authentic, original name is infused with meaning from its Native language.

According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991), these objects of ethnography are by definition detached from the reality they came from. They are ethnographic because ethnographers, such as Fewkes and Stephen in the case of katsina tihu, cut them out of the context for display as autonomous entities (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991:387). Tihu are extremely metonymic objects in that ethnographers and museums collected them in great numbers to create collections of fragmentary objects that invoke their detached wholes. Museums can recontextualize tihu on a level that surpasses the recreated context of mimetic display. This is because ethnographers and museums create a reconstruction or expanded cultural context around an ethnographic object by choosing what to include and spinning the display based on their perceptions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991:289). Language is not as vulnerable to an outsider's subjectivity, especially when it comes form a standard, collaboratively assembled lexicon and, in the case of Hopi, very few outsiders speak it.

The katsina names, historical linguistic information, and contextual references I collected lent themselves to organization in a database. Using the database I created, I

found some broad naming patterns and many enticing examples confirming that my exploration was worthwhile. The most important result is the potential use this database or similar ones can serve. Every piece of information from an ethnography or collecting guide that expands katsina tihu beyond the ethnographic fragment is a potential spark for further research, reignited traditions, or remembered cultural identity. The information is available in trusted volumes on many museum and library shelves. A database that organizes katsina names around standardized Hopi dictionary spellings and ties these names to ethnographic information, coalesces resources into a valuable tool. In addition to metonymically evoking intangible cultural context, this tool can serve as a research interface for katsinam as well as the Hopi language. Given access through specific museums with a tihu collection and corresponding database, the Hopi community could take advantage of this resource for language and cultural revitalization and provide invaluable feedback on its accuracy and appropriateness. By accurately referring to objects in the language of their creators, museums can implement appropriate museology and aspects of indigenous curation not formerly possible. Museums could even reorganize their tihu collections through consultation with the Hopi on the name types and categories present in the database.

In order for my research to have an impact on the museum and Hopi communities, I will distribute my findings in several ways. First, I will give a copy of my paper as well as an electronic copy of my database to the Denver Museum of Nature & Science. As the springboard for my katsina research, the DMNS is entitled to the information I gathered, especially as it pertains to the tihu in their collection. The portion of this project that I

carried out as a volunteer at the museum is in fact the DMNS' property. The database on katsina names and related information is particularly tailored to this museum's collection since the DMNS tihu names and corresponding dictionary names are included in the database. The Smithsonian Anthropology Collection tihu are also included for reference and comparison. In addition to providing copies of my thesis and database to the museum, I will also make copies available to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. These will most likely pass through the DMNS Anthropology department to the Hopi consultants they work with and on to the tribe's Cultural Preservation Office. This is the best way to deliver my research to the Hopi Nation since the DMNS Curator of Anthropology, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, has an established relationship with tribal leaders. As far as museum applications for my research are concerned, I hope that the DMNS will be a test site for the katsina database. I have already entered the *Hopi Dictionary* names I gathered as a volunteer into ARGUS, the collections database at the DMNS. The curators and collections manager there can provide feedback on its usefulness and any ideas they have for integrating the database into their collection catalog. Based on the results at DMNS and input from the Hopi, I will consider publishing a journal article to make the findings available to other museum and linguist professionals. The online catalog solution proposed by the Cambridge MAA/Zuni AAMHC project is also a potential direction for my database. The DMNS has joined the Cambridge MAA and Zuni AAMHC to create a collaborative online catalog linking participating museums to the Zuni tribe. The DMNS could potentially set up a similar system with the Hopi community, allowing multivocal input on katsina tihu.

Intangible cultural preservation is a new field for museums and anthropologists. Collecting, classifying, and displaying objects has been a central practice for ethnographers and archaeologists for as long as these professions have existed. Capturing and conveying the context for these objects of ethnography is more complicated. Intangible elements such as language encode deep meanings and values that are connected to material culture in situ. The way indigenous people speak and think about the objects they create is as worthy of preservation and important to interpretation as the object's physical characteristics. Words are also important for appropriate object classification and care, as they help us accurately describe a tihu or mask while respecting indigenous beliefs about that object. Linguistic accuracy and etymological context therefore contributes to the cultural appropriateness of museum practices. Attention to language also makes collections more accessible by standardizing search terms and connecting a maximum of related records. Museums have a great deal to learn from indigenous language dictionaries in this area and in other aspects of collaborative knowledge curation.

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APPENDIX 1: HOPI KATSINA NAMES FROM PRIMARY DATABASE

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Áha Katcína (oraíbi=Kuruwá)				Voth				1905		0
Ahola, Ahul kachina or Mong kachina	Ahola	Ahöla	Sometimes referred to as Mongkatsinam Chief kachina, esp. at formal appearance in Powamuy ceremony	Wright	Germ god or Chief kachina; Sun kachina		Sostice or Return kachian for 1st and 2nd mesas	1977	represents Alosaka, one of the Germ gods	401
Ahola Mana		Ahölat Maana'at	A kachina; Ahola's maiden	Wright				1977		403
Aholi	Aholi	Áhooli	A kachina who appears with Ewtoto at Patsavu, a part of the Powamuy ceremony. He wears a conical	Wright	kachina chief's lieutenant	wuya of Pikyas or young corn clan	Powamu, 3rd mesa only	1977	accompanies Eototo	394

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
			cap and cape that is supposed to resemble certain Roman Catholic vestments							
Ahöli Katcína	Aholi	Áhooli	A kachina who appears with Ewtoto at Patsavu, a part of the Powamuy ceremony. He wears a conical cap and cape that is supposed to resemble certain Roman Catholic vestments	Voth	an old man	Bear clan katcína		1905		1
Ahote				Wright	No English translation	plains tribe	Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	often confused with Ho-ote in name; long feather headdress	600
Ahü'l	Ahola	Ahöla	Sometimes referred to as Mongkatsinam Chief kachina, esp. at formal appearance in Powamuy ceremony	Stephen	Personated by war chief; similar to Zuni Pautiwa	Kachina (Parrot)	Powa'mû	1893	leads early kachina clan migration; represents the sun; not at Oraibi	234
Ahul	Ahola	Ahöla	Sometimes referred to has Mongkatsina,	Fewkes	Sun god katsina		Powamu	1903		137

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Ahulani / Kä-e			Chief kachina, esp. at formal appearance in Powamuy ceremony	Wright	First Mesa Solstice Kachina and Corn; only a carving			1977	any kachina head on ear of corn	624
Akush				Wright				1977		404
Aküsh kachina				Stephen	Warrior with Sa'lako k. in Powa'mû			1893		254
Alo Mana				Wright	No English Translation; appears with Koroasta Kachinas, Kahaila etc.	Eastern pueblos		1977	kachinas it appears with are also from eastern pueblos	514
Alosaka		Aaloosaka	Diety associated with Al Society; related in form to Muy'ingwa, Germination Spirit	Wright				1977		405
Aña'kachina	Ang-ak-china	Angaktsina	Long Hair kachina	Stephen	Long haired kachina		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	REVISIT	255
Angak'china	Ang-ak-china	Angaktsina	Long Hair kachina	Wright	Long-Haired Kachina	Kokokshi of Zuñi; appears in almost all pueblos	Occasionally used for the Numan Ceremony on First Mesa	1977	variants: Katoch Angak'china (Barefoot), Hokyan Angak'china (Bounding),	558

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Angwushahai-i	Nata-aska	Angwushahay'i	A kachina considdered a tokotswùuti, wildcat woman, because she encourages the whipper kachinas; she is whiper kachinas' mother; differs from Crow Mother in having eyes	Wright				1977	Tasap Angak'china (Navajo), Tewa Angak'china (Tewa, Red-Bearded), Talawipik' Angak'china (Lightning)	406
Angwúshnaco mtaka	Angwusnasomt aqa	Angwusnasomt aqa	Crow mother kachina	Voth	a Katcína			1905		3
Angwúshngönt aka	Angwusnasomt aqa	Angwusnasomt aqa	Crow mother kachina	Voth	The one with the crow feathers around the neck	brought to Oraíbi by bear clan		1905		4
Angwus Kachina				Wright	Crow Kachina; warrior against clowns		Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977		574
Angwusnasomt aka, Tumas	Angwusnasomt aqa	Angwusnasomt aqa	Crow mother kachina	Wright	Crow mother, man with crow wings tied to		Powamu	1977	Angwushahai-I, or Crow Bride, on Third Mesa; mother of whipper kachinas or all	392

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Anwuci	Nata-aska	Angwushahay'i	A kachina considdered a tokotswùuti, wildcat woman, because she encourages the whipper kachinas; she is whiper kachinas' mother; differs from Crow Mother in having eyes	Fewkes			Mucaiasti (buffalo dance)	1903	kachinas *maybe Angwusi - crow	136
Anya katcina	Ang-ak-china	Angkatsina	long hair kachina	Fewkes	part of ceremonial corn grind	resembles Zuni Kokokei; both could derive from Patki clans	Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		209
Anya katcina mana				Fewkes	Part of ceremonial corn grind	hair whorls resemble Zuni girl personations more than Hopi	Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		210
Āototo	Eototo	Ewtoto	A chief kachina, counterpart of village chief who appears in major ritual of powamuy ceremony	Voth		brought to Oraíbi by bear clan		1905		5
Āototo Natácka				Voth				1905	informant did not know meanings of these names	6
Atocle				Fewkes	monster with	Zuni	Powamu	1903		157

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Atosle				Wright	Zuni name; old woman personated by man			1977		495
Au'halani				Stephen	youth appearing in Winter Solstice ceremony; called return kachina	Patki		1893	name from opening phrase of song; none on third mesa; Shoya'l kachina; facial features linked to non-kachina ceremony occurring in a given year.	232
Au'halani's sisters				Stephen	Blue corn girl and Yellow corn girl	Patki/ Tobacco		1893		233
Ava'chhoya	Avachhoya / Qa-o	Avatshoya / Qa'ökatsina	[speckled:corn-kachina]/corn kachina	Stephen	Speckled Boy		appears with Hüm'is in Nima'n; Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	Younger brother to Hüm'is kachina; equated with So'lawichi (Shulawitsi) of Zuñi	256
Ava'chkaü	Avachhoya / Qa-o	Avatshoya / Qa'ökatsina	[speckled:corn-kachina]/corn kachina	Stephen	Speckled Corn kachina			1893	male/female couple with above for kachina return	257
Avachhoya	Avachhoya / Qa-o	Avatshoya / Qa'ökatsina	[speckled:corn-kachina]/corn kachina	Wright	Speckled Corn Kachina; several styles		Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977	"younger brother" of Hemis Kachina	590
Avatc hoya	Avachhoya / Qa-o	Avatshoya / Qa'ökatsina	[speckled:corn-kachina]/Corn kachina	Fewkes	Little Spotted Ones		Pamurti	1903		131

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Awatobi Soyok taka				Fewkes	Walpi Soyok derived from Awatobi pueblo massacre		Powamu	1903		149
Awatovi Soyok'taka				Wright	Awatovi ogre man	came from Awatovi	Powamu	1977	varient of Wiharu or White Nataska	493
Awatovi Soyok' Wuhti				Wright				1977		496
Aya Kachina				Wright	Rattle Runner		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		536
Bálölöokong				Voth	a monster			1905		8
Bĕteji				Stephen	in Duck kachina			1893		258
Caiastacana				Fewkes	long horn		Pamurti	1903		127
Cakwahonaû				Fewkes	Green Bear katcina		Palülükoñti	1903	come in yellow, green, red and white as do many	625
Cakwálānvi				Voth		Blue flute		1905		10
Cha'kwaină / Cha'chakwaina mû	Chakwaina	Tsa'kwayna or Tsa'kwaynam	a kachina	Stephen	woman warrior	Mustard	Powa'mû by Tewa	1893	brought by Hano (tewa)	247
Cha'vaiyo, Chaveyo	Chaveyo	Tsaveyo	a kachina; variation "tseeveyo"	Stephen	monster slain by war gods; father of the Nata'shka		Powa'mû; Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	Chachaiyûmû = children, ve'yo = hunter, obsolete term > children hunter; Tsabiyo of eastern pueblos	259
Chakwaina	Chakwaina	Tsa'kwayna or Tsa'kwaynam	a kachina	Wright	No english translation	brought to first mesa from Zuni by Asa of Tansy		1977	also grandmother, mother, sister	396

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
						Mustard clan, wuya of that clan, also at Keresan and Tanoan pueblos			and uncle; said to be Esteban the Moor, reportedly killed at Zuni	
Chaveyo	Chaveyo	Tsaveyo	a kachina; variation "tseeveyo"	Wright	The Giant kachina		any time in spring	1977	Found throughout pueblos	486
Chilítoshmokta ka				Voth	The one with the ground spanish pepper wrapped up			1905		11
Chimon Mana				Wright				1977		408
Chiwap				Wright				1977		409
Cho'sbushi, Cho'sboshaikai				Stephen	ear pedant kachina; Shoyo'hïm kachina			1893	REVISIT – Fewkes: chosbushi = turquoise, refers to nose ornament; a Yuman kachina	260
Chöp Kachina	Chof / Sowi-ing kachina	Tsöpkatsina	Antelope kachina	Wright	Antelope Kachina		Plaza Dances; Animals or Popkot	1977	Herbivores like this are accompanied by Wolf as side dancer	581
Chórzh-n*amu				Voth		Bluebird clan		1905		13
Choshürhürwa, Choshürhüwa	Choshohuwa	Huhuwa	A kachina; he is cross legged with bushy hair	Stephen	bluebird snare kachina; Shoyo'hïm kachina		Powa'mû	1893	Horsehair or yucca fiber with 2-3 running loops = hürhürwa	261
Chüb	Chof / Sowi-ing kachina	Tsöpkatsina	Antelope kachina	Stephen	Antelope		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		262

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Chusona				Wright	Snake Dancer; society personage, not kachina		Non-kachinas; Snake Dance	1977	Very popular and therefore carved a lot	552
Cipikne	Sip-ikne	none found	none found	Fewkes	Zuni katcina, come in many colors	resemble Zuni Salamopias	Pamurti, Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		117
Citoto				Fewkes			Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		228
Ciwikoli				Fewkes		Zuni personation [-koli] is eastern pueblo termination	Palulukonti; Sumaikoli ceremony	1903		231
Cóoyoko		So'yoko	a kachina; admonishes bad children; often referred to as ogre kachina	Voth	killed and ate kids			1905		15
Cóoyoko Táhaam				Voth				1905	informant did not know meanings of these names	16
Cóoyoko Wuhti				Voth	wife of above			1905	informant did not know meanings of these names	17
Cóoyok Wuhti				Voth	Cóoyoko's wife			1905		14
Corn maidens				Fewkes	marionette puppets		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		207
Coto				Fewkes	Star katcina		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		212
Cótukvnangwuu	Sotuqnang-u	Sootukwnangw	A kachina who appears in the	Voth	Star Cloud Diety			1905		18

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Danik'china			Powamuy ceremony procession; has a lightning frame and a bullroarer	Wright	Cloud Guard Kachina; 4 appear with Hopi Shalako pair as uncles		Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977		517
Eo'toto (Nima'n)	Eototo	Ewtoto		Stephen			Nima'n	1893	mask on alter	240
Eo'toto (Powa'mû)	Eototo	Ewtoto	A chief kachina; counterpart of village chief who appears in ritual or Powamuy ceremony	Stephen	Father of kachina	Cedarwood-Coyote	Powa'mû	1893	at Orabi "came up" with Bear clan; equated with Chowi'lüña (Voth Chowilawu); compare also to Āototo	238
Eo'toto (Sha'lako)	Eototo	Ewtoto		Stephen		Cedarwood	Sha'lako celebration	1893		239
Eototo	Eototo	Ewtoto	A chief kachina; counterpart ot village chief who appears in Powamuy	Wright	chief kachina; "father" of the kachinas; spiritual counterpart of village chief	Bear clan - traditional village chiefs	All ceremonies	1977	said to be husband of Hahai-I Wuhti	397
Eototo	Eototo	Ewtoto	A chief kachina; counterpart ot village chief who appears in Powamuy	Fewkes	god from Sikyatki pueblo		Powamu	1903		161
Ewiro				Wright	Warrior kachina		3rd mesa; Powamu and Pachavu guard	1977	resembles Chakwaina's sister on 2nd	460

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
									mesa; formerly guarded men doing chores like cleaning the spring	
Gyarz				Stephen	parrot; Hu'hiyan kachina			1893		263
Hā*āā Katcína	He'e e	Hee'e'e	Mother kachina that leads the Powamuy ceremony kachina procession	Voth				1905		505
Hā*āā Katcína	He'e e	Hee'e'e	Mother kachina that leads the Powamuy ceremony kachina procession	Voth				1905		19
Hahai'yiwuhti or wuqti, Hahhai'i, Hahai', Hahai'wuqti	Hahai-i wuuti	Hahay'iwùuti	A female kachina who represents the ideal characteristics of womanhood; the first kachina doll a girl receives is of Hahay'i	Stephen	mother of dog kachina, or all kachina; mother in Nata'shka group		Powa'mû; Water Serpent Celebration; Sha'lako celebration	1893	gives children seeds and traps to be redeemed for corn and game; makes shrill falsetto and hoots; suckles horned water serpents (her children); Zuñi Hemokyätsik called Ahe'a from her cry, also suckles water serpent	264
Hahai-i Wuhti	Hahai-i wuuti	Hahay'iwùuti	A female kachina who represents the	Wright	Pour Water Woman, Kachina		Hopi Shalako, Water Serpent, Powamu	1977	Flat dolls given to babies and baby eagles	511

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
			ideal characteristics of womanhood; the first kachina doll a girl receives is of Hahay'i		Mother, Kachina Grandmother; mother in duty only, also mother of dogs, real mother of Nataskas with Chaveyo, also "married" to Eototo					
Haháii Wuhti	Hahai-i Wuhti	Hahay'iwùuti	A female kachina who represents the ideal characteristics of womanhood; the first kachina doll a girl receives is of Hahay'i	Voth				1905		20
Hahai Wuqti	Hahai-i Wuuti	Hahay'iwùuti	A female kachina who represents the ideal characteristics of womanhood; the first kachina doll that a girl receives is of Hahay'i	Fewkes			Powamu	1903		138
Hakto	Hakto	Hakto	One of the warrior kachinas in the Shalako Kachina line as performed at Hopi. He carries deer	Wright	Wood Carrying Kachina	from Zuñi as Yamuhakto in last century	Mixed Dances or with Sio Shalako	1977		565

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
			horns in each hand.							
Hakto	Hakto	Hakto	One of the warrior kachinas in the Shalako Kachina line as performed at Hopi. He carries deer horns in each hand.	Fewkes		Zuni; name close to Zunian	Pamurti	1903		119
Hania Kachina				Wright	Bear Kachina; hunter version of bear		3d mesa only at current time; Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	said to be old but no tihu in old collections	599
Hano ma'na		Hano mana	A Kachina [Tewa-maiden]	Stephen	Hano maid; substitutes as drummer		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		265
Hano Mana		Hano mana	A Kachina [Tewa Maiden]	Wright	Tewa Girl	Tewa	Bean Dance as sister to Eastern derived kachinas like Hokyang Anak'china	1977	tihu given to Tewa girls same as Hahai-i Wuhti	533
Hapo'ta				Stephen	drummer with Hokya Aña'kchina			1893	named for his cry	266
He'ee, He'ewuqti	He'e e	Hee'e'e	Mother kachina that leads the Powamuy ceremony kachina procession	Stephen		Kachina clan	Powa'mû	1893		267

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
He-e-e or He Wuhti	He'e e	Hee'e'e	Mother kachina that leads the Powamuy ceremony kachina procession	Wright	Warrior Woman; very powerful warrior		Pachavu and other ceremonies	1977	man dressed in womans clothes or woman with men's weapons - based on story	453
Hehe'ya	Lightning kachina	Hehey'akatsina, Hehey'a	a kachina	Stephen	pretends to copulate with women		kachina return; Nima'n; Powa'mû; Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	Mųkwæte at Tewa in house of Bear clan; at Oraibi dance with So'yôko or Nata'shka and scrutinize cornmeal presents (thus called Hehe'ato'sisona – Hehe's sweet corn meal seeking	268
Hehea	Heheya	Hehey'katsina/ Hehey'a	A kachina	Fewkes	Ancient katcina tied to corn maids and Natackas		Powamu	1903		154
Hehéa Katcína	Lightning kachina / Heheyah (farmer)	Hehey'akatsina / Hehey'a	A kachina	Voth	hoeing w/ wíka (hoe)			1905		21
Hehea mana				Fewkes	Hehea's sister; accompanies Natacka group		Powamu	1903		155
Hehee	He'e e	Hee'e'e	Mother kachina leads Powamuy ceremony procession	Fewkes	Warrior maid similar to Tcakwaina mana		Powamu	1903		156

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Hemis Kachina	Hemis Kachina	Hemiskatsina/ Nimànkatsina	A kachina that appears only as a Nimankatsina in certain villages	Wright	Jemez Kachina		Niman or Home-Going Ceremony	1977		559
Hemsona, Homica	Hemsona	Hömsona	A runner kachina [hair-craver]	Wright	"He Cuts your Hair", "Hair Hungry"	played part in fued between Sityatki and Walpi; kachina slit throught of Sityatki chief	Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977	led to destruction of Sityatki	539
Heoto kachina				Wright	No english translation; related to Chakwaina and comparatively recent	probably inspired by Zuni	Guard in Bean Dance Parade and Pachavu Ceremony	1977		449
Hi'shab	Hishab kachina / rattle			Stephen	mask in Goat Kiva		Powa'mû	1893		270
Hi'shat kachina	Hishab kachina / rattle			Stephen	figurine			1893	REVIST	271
Hili'i	Hilili	Hiilili	Whipper kachina	Stephen	a laguna kachina		Powa'mû	1893	named from his call	269
Hilili, Powak-china	Hilili	Hiilili	Whipper kachina	Wright	no english translation, Witch kachina	Came from Acoma or Laguna to Zuni and then Hopi	Powamu; Kiva and Plaza dances	1977	Heleleka in originating pueblos; first known as Powak and very fearsome; variety of appearances	458
Hö*msontaka Katcína	Hemsona	Hömsona	A runner kachina [hair-craver]	Voth	a racer Katcína; the one with the hair tied up			1905		22

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Ho-e	Ho-e	Hòo'e	A kachina	Wright	No English translation		Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas; Bean Dance on 1st and 2nd Mesas	1977		547
Hóhe Katcína	Ho-e	Hòo'e	A kachina	Voth	a Katcína			1905		23
Hoho Mana				Wright	Zuñi Kachina Girl; accompanies Sio Hemis	Imported from Zuñi		1977	Dances like man and woman alternately	513
Hokya' Aña'kchina				Stephen	Legged-long-haired kachina; from bounding hop movement		Water Serpent Celebration	1893		272
Hokyana				Fewkes	Distinguished from Anya by dance step		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		224
Hokyan mana				Fewkes	Hokyana's sister		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		225
Holi				Wright				1977		464
Hölö*kop Wuhti				Voth	Watermelon-rind woman			1905		24
Hólolo	Hololo			Wright	name allies to both below because of sound of their song	Third mesa Hopi claim it came from here	Plaza Dances, Kiva dances; Bean Dance Procession	1977		450
Honankachina	Honan kachina	Honànkatsina	Badger kachina	Stephen	Badger kachina; carries small spruce		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		273

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Honan Kachina	Honan kachina	Honànkatsina	Badger kachina	Wright	Badger Kachina; 2 forms		Chief Kachina on 2nd Mesa, Pwamu and Pachavu; Animals or Popkot	1977		584
Honán Wuhtaka	Honan kachina	Honànkatsina	Badger kachina	Voth	badger old man			1905		27
Hon Kachina	Hon kachina	Honkatsina	Bear kachina	Wright	Bear Kachina; many different kinds	Ketowa Bisena is Bear personage of Bear Clan at Tewa	Soyohim or Mixed Dances; Animals or Popkot	1977	Come in various colors and forms; Ursisimo is extinct	579
Hon katcína	Hon kachina	Honkatsina	Bear kachina	Voth	Bear katcína			1905		26
Ho-ote				Wright				1977		465
Hopak				Fewkes	from hopoko=eastern)		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		213
Hopak mana/civaadta				Fewkes	His sister or sister of Puukon katcina		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		214
Hopi Avatc Hoya				Fewkes	Accompanies Humis K.		Powamu	1903		187
Hopi Shalako Mana				Wright	Hopi Shalako Girl; looks almost the same as male counterpart, Shalako Taka		Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	appearance very rare	519
Hopi Shalako Taka				Wright	Hopi Shalako Male; resembles Zuñi Shalako; represents all cloud people		Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	Confused with Zuñi Shalako in early writings; appearance very rare	518

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Horned water serpent images (Walpi)				Stephen				1921		251
Horo Mana, Masan Wuhti, Yohozro Wuhti				Wright	Comb Hair Upwards Girl, Motioning Woman, Cold-Bringing Woman	Tewa	First Mesa Powamu	1977	Brings cold like Nuvak'chin Mana, alternate for Köcha Kachin' Mana	516
Hospoa		Hospowikatsina	A Kachina [roadrunner-kachina]	Fewkes	Road Runner		Powamu	1903		173
Hospoa Kachina		Hospowikatsina	A Kachina [roadrunner-kachina]	Wright	Road Runner Kachina		Kiva and Mixed Dances; Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977		575
Hototo		Hotooto	The 2 kachinas that accompany Hee'e'e in Powamu Ceremony Procession; always come in a pair [Zuni Huututu]	Wright		also Sikyahotooto, Sakwahoototo		1977		466
Hotóto Katcína		Hotooto	The 2 kachinas that accompany Hee'e'e in Powamu Ceremony Procession; always come in a pair [Zuni Huututu]	Voth	A kachina	also Sikyahotooto, Sakwahototo		1905		28

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Hotsko	Hotsko	Hotsko	A Kachina	Fewkes	owl-like figure		Powamu	1903	*Lee changed to Mongwu	170
Hotsko	Hotsko	Hotsko	A Kachina	Fewkes	owl		Soyaluna	1903	*Lee changed to Mongwu	109
Hu'hiyan				Stephen	Barter kachina		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	term applies to any figurine giving kachina, such as Parrot kachina or So'lawichi; SEE FEWKES?	274
Hü'iki kachina				Stephen	growling dog kachina		kachina return	1893	Hüĭkita = to growl	276
Huhuan				Fewkes	distribute gifts		Powamu	1903		188
Huhuwa	Huhuwa	Huuhuwa	a kachina; he is crosslegged with bushy hair	Wright	Cross-Legged Kachina; Crippled Mishongnovi man made into a kachina because he was kind		Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas	1977		553
Hühüwa	Huhuwa	Huuhuwa	a kachina; he is crosslegged with bushy hair	Stephen	Po'pkotü ta'haamü = dogs, their uncle			1893		275
Huik				Fewkes			Pamurti	1903		120
Hu kachina, Tungwup kachina	Hu kachina	Hu'katsina	Any of several whipper/warrior kachinas	Wright	Whipper kachina		before Bean Dance Parade	1977	accompany Crow mother and whip children for initiation into Kachina cult	400
Hū katcína	Hu kachina	Hu'katsina	Any of several whipper/warrior kachinas	Voth		brought by bear clan		1905		29

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Hüm'is	Hemis kachina	Hemiskatsina/ Nimànkatsina	A kachina that appears only as a Niman kachina a certain villages	Stephen	corn flower kachina		kachina return; Nima'n	1893	Zuñi Heme'shikwĕ; at Walpi, Müsho'ñïnovi, Sichomovi; Ava'choya is younger brother; see also Sio Hüm'is	277
Hüm'somp	Hemsona	Hömsona	A runner kachina; [hair-craver]	Stephen	cue kachina; cuts off runner's cue			1893		278
Humis	Hemis kachina	Nimànkatsina/ Hemiskatsina	A kachina that appears only as a Nimankatsina in certain villages	Fewkes		Jemez Pueblo; Zuni	Powamu	1903	*Lee often changes to Niman katsina	186
Humis K.	Hemis kachina	Nimànkatsina/ Hemiskatsina	A kachina that appears only as a Niman kachina at certain villages	Fewkes	Zuni supernatural		Pamurti	1903	*Lee often changes to Niman katsina	129
Huni				Fewkes	Telavai katcina		Powamu	1903		184
Huruing Wuhti		Huru'ingwùuti	Hard Objects Woman; actually 2 sisters, one in SE one in NW, sun travels between them [shell-woman]	Wright				1977		413
Hututu				Fewkes	name probably derived from hu-tu-tu! Cry in Zuni lang.	there is a Zuni being of same name that looks different	Pamurti	1903		121

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I'she Kachina				Wright	Mustard Greens Kachina; 2 distinct varieties		Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977	one variety for mustard, other for spinach	593
Kachin' Mana		Katsinmana	Kachina Maiden; maiden counterpart to Hemis kachina; Kachina Maiden of any type	Wright	Kachina Girl, Yellow Corn Girl; changes name to that of kachina she dances with, often called Hemis Kachin' Mana			1977	appears often with Hemis kachina; appearance does not change	515
Kachinwuhti				Stephen	Kachina woman		kachina return	1893		279
Kahaila, Kwasus Alektaka		Káhayla	A kachina, also Káhayle ;syn. Maakkatsina, Palanavantaqa	Wright	Hunter Kachina or Man with Two Erect Feathers	eastern pueblos	Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	says not a "Mad Kachina" as sometimes listed; similar to turtle	596
Kakash Kachina				Wright	Quail Kachina		Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977	recently revived older kachina	572
Kalavai				Wright				1977		414
Kaletaka				Wright				1977		467
Kál-ñamu				Voth		Forehead clan		1905		33
Kaloma				Stephen	"their uncle" with Shoyo'hĭm		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		280
Kana-a Kachina				Wright	Sunset Crater Kachina			1977	lives in Sunset Crater which has folktale about it, (Wright p.124)	616

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Kaö	Qa-o	Qa'ökatsina	Corn kachina	Voth	corn ear			1905		34
Katcina mana	Kachin-mana	Katsinmana	The maiden counterpart of Hemis kachina; or kachina maiden of any type	Fewkes	femal bean distributor		Powamu	1903		144
Katcína Táha	uncle	Taaha'am	uncle	Voth	Katcína uncle			1905		36
Katcín-mana	Kachina-mana	Katsinmana	Kachina maiden; the maiden counterpart of the Hemis kachina; can also be kachina maiden of any type	Voth	old man's sister			1905		35
Kawai'ka	Kawaika kachina	Kawàyka'a	Laguna Pueblo, or, by extension, Acoma or other Keresan person	Stephen	laguna kachina	learned at Zuni	Powa'mû	1893	Sha'lako; Shoyo'hĭm	281
Kawai-i Kachina		Kawàykatsina	A kachina [horse-kachina]	Wright	Horse Kachina		Mixed Dances; Animals or Popkot	1977	Name comes from Spanish "caballo"	583
Kawikoli		Kawiikoli	A kachina	Fewkes	mask displayed with Sumaikoli	Also personated at Zuni; name probably derives from Zuni pueblo	Palulukonti; Sumaikoli ceremony	1903		230
Keca	Kisa	Kiisa	Chicken Hawk; A runner kachina	Fewkes	Kite		Powamu	1903		164

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Keca	Kisa	Kiisa	Chicken Hawk; A runner kachina	Fewkes	hawk		Soyaluna	1903		106
Ke-ë Kachina				Wright	Corn Dancer; many varieties		Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977	Keme (Laguna), Yehoho, most Rügan Kachinas are also Corn Dancers	591
Kerwan				Fewkes	male bean distributor		Powamu	1903		143
Ketowa Bisena				Wright				1977		416
Kipok				Wright				1977		468
Kipok Koyemsi				Wright	Warrior Mudhead; clown hunter		Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	tihu not in older collections; formerly called Powak Koyemsi; sign that not around for long	595
Kisa Kachina	Kisa	Kiisa	Chicken Hawk; A runner kachina	Wright	Prairie Falcon Kachina		Runner in Soyohim Dances; Chiro Kachinum (bird kachins)	1977		567
Kisha	Kisa	Kiisa	Chicken Hawk; A runner kachina	Stephen	Hawk kachina			1893	Tewa running kachina	282
Kisha	Kisa	Kiisa	Chicken Hawk; A runner kachina	Voth	hawk			1905		38
Kish Taka				Voth	Hawk man			1905		37

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Ko'honino		Kooninkatsina	Havasupai kachina	Stephen			Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	Grotesque in celebration	283
Ko'kopelï	Kokopelli / Kokopelli mana	Kokopöl / Kokopölmana	Robber fly [maiden] kachina	Stephen	Hunchback with large penis			1893	named for humpack insect that copulates persistantly; blankets and seeds in hump, gives these to girls, sews with them	284
Kochaf				Wright				1977		417
Köcha Mosairu				Wright	White Buffalo Dancer		Social Dancer; Non-kachinas; 2nd Mesa in January	1977	Now popular with carvers	551
Kohonino		Kooninkatsina	Havasupai kachina	Fewkes	Derived from Havasupai (Kohonino) tribe		Powamu	1903		193
Kóhtang Wuhti		Kòokyangwso'wùuti	Old Spider Woman, associated with water and air; sister to Huru'ing.wùuti	Voth	Spider woman			1905		39
Kokle	koklo kachina (Lee)	Qöqlö	Second Mesa Kachina	Fewkes			Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		227
Kököle	koklo kachina (Lee)	Qöqlö	Second Mesa Kachina	Wright	No English Translation; a chief kachina		look very different on all the mesas	1977		618
Kokopell' Mana	Kokopelmana	Kokopolmana	Robber fly maiden kachina	Wright	Assasin Fly Girl		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		542

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Kokopelli	Kokopelli	Kokopol	Robber fly kachina	Wright	Assasin Fly Kachina or Humpbacked Flute Player		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	steals flute from Lenang, the Flute Kachina, also "humped and ithyphallic"	611
Kokopelli	Kokopelli	Kokopol	Robber fly kachina	Fewkes	hump-backed insect		Powamu	1903		197
Kokopelli mana	Kokopelmana	Kokopolmana	Robber fly maiden kachina	Fewkes	female Kokopelli		Powamu	1903		198
Kokóshori Katcína	Cholawitze / Kokosori	Kokosori	A kachina; syn. Kokosorhoya; Sólàwitsi; the plural refers to entire kachina group of "Zuni-type kachina" that accompany the Shalako	Voth	steals children			1905		40
Kokosori	Cholawitze / Kokosori	Kokosori	A kachina; syn. Kokosorhoya; Sólàwitsi; the plural refers to entire kachina group of "Zuni-type kachina" that accompany the Shalako	Wright				1977		419
Kokyang Wuhti		Kòokyangwso'wùuti	Old Spider Woman, associated with water and air; sister to Huru'ing.wùuti	Wright				1977		420

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Kokyan wuqti		Kòokyangwso'wùuti	Old Spider Woman, associated with water and air; sister to Huru'ing.wùuti	Fewkes	Spider woman; granddaughter to So wuqti		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		215
Komanchi		Komantsi / Kumantsi	A kachina; Comanche social dancers' var. Kumantsi	Wright				1977		469
Komanchi Kachin' Mana		Komantsi / Kumantsi	A kachina; Comanche social dancers' var. Kumantsi	Wright	Comanche Kachina Girl	Comanche	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977	one of social dance figures portrayed as kachina; along with Konin and Poli Mana etc. have unmasked form and masked kachina form	530
Kona				Wright	Chipmunk		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		543
Konin Kachina, Supai Kachina / Konin Kachin' Mana, Supai Kachin' Mana		Kooninkatsina	Havasupai kachina	Wright	Cohonino Kachina/ Cohonino Kachina Girl	Havasupai	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977		529
Konin Taha-um, Konin Kachina, Kalampa		Kooninkatsina	Havasupai kachina	Wright	Supai Kachina, Havasupai Uncle, Havasupai Side Dancer (another form of Havasupai Kachina)	Assigned to Apache, Ute, Paiute and Havasupai	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977	assigned more names as it became popular in 1950's	531

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Koro'sta		Korowista / Korowitse	A Kachina, from Zuni; syn. Kwa'ytaqa	Stephen			Powa'mû	1893	A Zuñi kachina; Keres Sh'oro'ka	285
Koroasta, Korosta		Korowista / Korowitse	A Kachina, from Zuni; syn. Kwa'ytaqa	Wright	No English translation	Keresan from Rio Grande Pueblos, called Akorosta there		1977	related to Kwasai Taka, chief kachina on Third Mesa: same function, different costume	562
Koshari, Paiyakyamu, hano Chukuwai-upkia				Wright	Hano Clown, Glutton; sacred and profane, ultimate in excess	multiple names indicate origin	Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas	1977	some version found in most pueblos	549
Kowako	Kowaka	Kowaakokatsina	Chicken kachina	Stephen	chicken kachina		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	ta'ka kowako = cock; ma'na kowako = hen	286
Kowako	Kowako	Kowaakokatsina	Chicken kachina	Fewkes	Chicken		Powamu	1903		178
Kowako	Kowako	Kowaakokatsina	Chicken kachina	Fewkes	Chicken		Soyaluna	1903		107
Kowako Kachina, Takawe-e Kachina	Kowako	Kowaakokatsina	Chicken kachina	Wright	Chicken Kachina, Rooster Kachina		Kiva, Repeat and Mixed Dances; Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977	More recent addition	571
Koyemsi	Koyemsi	Kooyemsi	"Mudhead" kachina; syn Kómayawsi	Wright	Mud Head	From Zuñi; appear in chorus and sing in Zuñi on 1st Mesa	Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas; almost every Hopi dance	1977		550
Koyĭ'mse	Koyemsi	Kooyemsi	"Mudhead" kachina; syn Kómayawsi	Stephen			Sha'lako celebration	1893	aka. Ta'chûktĭ	287

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Koyimsi (Ta'chûktĭ)	Koyemsi	Kooyemsi	"Mudhead" kachina; syn Kómayawsi	Stephen				1893		248
Koyona				Fewkes	Turkey		Powamu	1903		175
Koyona taka/mana				Fewkes	cock/hen		Powamu	1903		177
Kóyrmsi	Koyemsi	Kooyemsi	"Mudhead" kachina; syn Kómayawsi	Voth	a Katcína			1905		41
Kücha' Aña'kchina				Stephen			kachina return	1893		288
Küküïle kachina	Koklo	Qöqlö	Second Mesa kachina	Stephen	rabbit distributors		Naash'naiya	1893		289
Kumbi Natacka				Fewkes	black Natacka		Powamu	1903		152
Kumbi Nataska				Wright				1977		497
Kürwan'				Stephen		Patki clan	Winter Solstice	1893		290
Kutca Natacka				Fewkes	white Natacka		Powamu	1903		153
Kuwan Heheya				Wright	Colored Heheya; accompanied by uncle Heheya Taha-um; also Sikya Heheya form		Line Dancer, sometimes Niman Kachina instead of Hemis	1977		617
Kuwan Kokopelli				Wright	Colored Assasin Fly Kachina		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977		609
Kuwan Powamu Koyemsi				Wright	The colored bean dance mudhead		Powamu	1977	more or less the same as Toson Koyemsi; this form accompanies	491

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
									ogres warning village to make them food	
Kwa'hü	Kwa kachina	Kwaakatsina	Eagle kachina	Stephen	Eagle		Powa'mû, Nasha'bki	1893		292
Kwabü'hkwiya				Stephen			Sha'lako procession	1893		291
Kwahu	Kwa Kachina	Kwaakatsina	eagle kachina	Fewkes	eagle katcina		Powamu	1903		162
Kwahu	Kwa Kachina	Kwaakatsina	Eagle kachina	Fewkes	eagle katcina		Soyaluna	1903		105
Kwahu Kachina	Kwa Kachina	Kwaakatsina	Eagle kachina	Wright	Eagle Kachina		Kiva or Repeat Dances; Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977		566
Kwániita				Voth	Big horn on head-dress			1905		42
Kwánitaka				Voth				1905		43
Kwasai Taka				Wright				1977		421
Kwayo	Kisa	Kiisa	Chicken Hawk; A runner kachina	Fewkes	hawk		Soyaluna	1903		114
Kwe'wüüh	Wolf kachina	Kwèwkatsina	Wolf kachina	Stephen	Wolf		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		294
Kwecha'mana	Nuvakchin-mana	Nuvakatsinmana	a kachina; [snow-kachina-maiden] syn. Qötsamana	Stephen	White maiden			1893	One of six sisters in duck kachina	293
Kweo Kachina	Wolf kachina	Kwèwkatsina	Wolf kachina	Wright	Wolf Kachina		Side Dancer in Soyohim Dances; Animals or Popkot	1977		576

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Kwikwilyaka		Kwikwilyaqa	A kachina; role of an imitator [striped-nose]; syn. (nickname) Lápuqtö	Wright	Mocking Kachina		Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas; Bean Dance	1977		546
Kwinác wuhtaka				Voth	north old man			1905		44
Kwitanonoa		Kwitanono'a	A kachina [excrement-RDP-hand:over]	Wright	Dung Carrier		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		541
Kyash Kachina				Wright	Parrot Kachina		Danced in Water Serpant on 1st Mesa at turn of century, then in Line Dance on 2nd in 1965	Wright	looked different in two appearances; Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	569
Lā*nang Katcína				Voth				1905		45
Lapukti				Fewkes			Powamu	1903		199
Le'na				Stephen	flute kachina		Powa'mû	1893		296
Le'totobĭ				Stephen	dragonfly kachina			1893	wet running kachina pretending to gouge out eyes of overtaken	297
Lemo'wa kachina				Stephen	hail kachina	supernatural patron of Agave Society	Winter Solstice	1893		295
Lemowa				Wright				1977		422
Loi'sa				Stephen	named from his song			1893	in Shoyo'him kachina REVISIT	298

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Loiica				Fewkes		Asa clan (tewan)	Pamurti	1903		122
Lölökong Kachina		Lölöqangwkatsina	A kachina [bullsnake-kachina]	Wright	Racer Snake Kachina		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977		614
Lölöokong		Lölöqangwkatsina	A kachina [bullsnake-kachina]	Voth	Bull-snake			1905		47
Ma'lo	Malo kachina	Ma'lo	A kachina; syn. Maama'lot or Maama'lom	Stephen	cloud kachina		Powa'mû, Nima'n	1893	borrowed from Zuni, suggests "salt old woman" - Malokätsik – but very different meaning in Hopi	299
Machak Wuhti				Voth	Toad Woman			1905		48
Macibol				Fewkes	Another name for Calako, the sun god. Masked men; carry effigies of Great Serpent		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		205
Macikwayo				Fewkes	drab hawk		Pamurti	1903		128
Malo	Malo K.	Ma'lo	a kachina; syn. maama'lot / maama'lom	Fewkes	Telavai katcina		Powamu	1903		183
Malo k.	Malo kachina	Ma'lo	A Kachina; syn. Maama'lot or Maama'lom	Fewkes			Mucaiasti (buffalo dance)	1903		135

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Marao Kachina				Wright	No English translation	1920, said to be from Zuñi but looks Navajo		1977	wears headgear of Mamzrau, women's society (origin of name)	622
Másahwuu	Masao	Masawkatsina / Màasaw	A spirit being, lord of the fourth world, god of life and death; totem of the kookop clan; personifies the dead living in the spirit world	Voth	skeleton			1905		51
Masau'u	Masao	Masawkatsina / Màasaw	A spirit being, lord of the fourth world, god of life and death; totem of the kookop clan; personifies the dead living in the spirit world	Wright	Earth god - surface and underworld	wuya of Masau'u clan	may appear off season	1977	opposite of all living things - may do things in reverse	395
Masau'u Kachin-Mana				Wright	Death Kachina Girl; accompanies Masau'u as rasping kachina			1977		510
Masau'wû, Masau'	Masao	Masawkatsina / Màasawkatsina	A spirit being, lord of the Fourth World, god of life and death, totem of the kookop clan,	Stephen			Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	dances through fires and cooking pits; may appear outside kachina season at Oraibi	300

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
			personifies the dead living in the spirit world							
Masauu	Masao	Masawkatsina/ Máásaw		Fewkes	god from Sikyatki pueblo		Powamu	1903		159
Masha'n, Mashankachina, Masha'nta, Masha'ntaka				Stephen	Hokya' Aña'kchina, Ta'hamû – their uncle		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		301
Mastop		Mastopkatsina	A kachina Màasaw-fly-kachina]	Wright	Death fly kachina		Soyol ceremony, 3rd mesa only	1977	female fertility	393
Mastop		Mastopkatsina	A kachina Màasaw-fly-kachina]	Stephen			Winter Solstice	1893	Third Mesa, not on First	302
Maswik		Maswikkatsina	A kachina [Màasaw-bring:along-kachina]	Wright				1977		423
Maswik katcinas		Maswikkatsina	A kachina [Màasaw-bring:along-kachina]	Fewkes	Masauu-bringing katcinas			1903		160
Más Wuhti				Voth	Skeleton Woman (grandmother to Skeleton			1905		50
Matya, Malatsmo, Malachpeta, Matyso, Sivu-i-kil Taka		Matyawkatsina	A kachina [place:hands:on-kachina]; syn. Sivu'ikwiwtaqa	Wright	Hand Kachina, Hand Mark Kachina, Pot-Carrier Man Kachina		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977	Matya is runner form of Sivu-i-kil Taka	545
Mo'mo, Mo'mona		Momokatsina / Momo	A kachina [bee-kachina]	Stephen	Bee kachina		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		303

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Momo		Momokatsina / Momo	A kachina [bee-kachina]	Fewkes	Bee		Powamu	1903		179
Moñ, Salab'moñ	Mongwa	Mongwu	Great-horned owl kachina	Stephen	Owl or Spruce owl kachina		Powa'mû; Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	"during Duck kachina, from Shipau'lovi" REVISIT	304
Mong' Wuhti		Mong Wùuti	A Second Mesa kachina [owl-woman]	Wright	Great Horned Owl Woman		Powamu night ceremonies; Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	sings hunting songs	602
Mongwu Kachina	Mongwa	Mongwu	Great-horned owl kachina	Wright	Great Horned Owl Kachina; warrior disciplines clowns		Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977		570
Monongya				Wright				1977		471
Monwu	Mongwa	Mongwu	Great-horned owl kachina	Fewkes	Owl		Powamu	1903	*Lee also said Mongwa	167
Monwu	Mongwa	Mongwu	Great-horned owl kachina	Fewkes	Owl		Soyaluna	1903	*Lee also said Mongwa	113
Monwu wuqti	Mongwa Wuuti	Mong wùuti	A Second Mesa kachina; owl woman	Fewkes	Owl woman		Powamu	1903		168
Mosairu Kachina		Mosayurkatsina	A kachina [buffalo-kachina]	Wright	Buffalo Kachina		Plaza Dance with Mixed Kachinas; Animals or Popkot	1977	not to be confused with White Buffalo social dancer	578
Mösa Kachina				Wright	Cat Kachina or Old Style Navajo Kachina; sometimes called Black	originally based on Navajo messenger and called Old Navajo Kachina;		1977		620

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
					Cat Kachina	borrowed by Zuñi the borrowed back and called Cat Kachina				
Motsin		Mots'inkatsina	A kachina [dicheveled:hair-kachina]	Wright	The dishevelled kachina			1977	guard	490
Mū*yingwa		Muy'ingwkatsina	A kachina [germination:spirit-kachina]; syn. Taatawkyaskatsina	Voth	a Katcína; god of growth and germination			1905		52
Mucaias mana				Fewkes	Buffalo maid		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		223
Mucaias taka				Fewkes	Buffalo youth		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		222
Müishiwa'ata				Stephen	one of sixi sisters in Duck kachina			1893		305
Müpi'sona, Mapi'sona				Stephen			Powa'mû	1893	of the Nata'sh kyamû	306
Müshai'zrü	Buffalo maiden (related) Mosairu	Mosayurmana Mosayurkatsina	Buffalo dance girl (performer in the Hopi Buffalo social dance) A kachina; [buffalo-kachina]	Stephen	buffalo kachina		kachina return	1893		307
Muyao kachina				Wright	Moon kachina			1977		452

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Muyingwa		Muy'ingwkatsina	A kachina [germination:spirit-kachina]; syn. Taatawkyaskatsina	Wright				1977		424
Muzribi Kachina				Wright	Bean Kachina; a Rügan Kachina		With Mana as Line Dancer or alone in Mixed Dances; Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977		592
Naho'ïle'chiwa				Stephen				1893	in Shoyo'him kachina	308
Nakaichop, Akush	Nakaichop Kachina	Nakyatsopkatsina	Copulate kachina	Wright	The silent warrior, Shalako warrior (probably belongs to generic Dawn or Morning kachinas - almost identical to Talavai-i)		Pamuya as Akush	1977	reportedly Ladder Dance, or Sakti kachina from past times: climbed poles and swung from trees	457
Nakaitcop	Nakaichop Kachina	Nakyatsopkatsina	Copulate kachina	Fewkes	resembles Dawn K.		Powamu	1903		196
Nakya'cho	Nakaichop Kachina	Nakyatsopkatsina	Copulate kachina	Stephen	silent kachina	badger clan		1893	Nakya'cho = silent REVISIT	309
Nanatacka civaamu / Natacka mana / Soyok mana	Nata-aska (??) Na-uikuitaqua (??)	Nata'aska	"black ogre" kachina	Fewkes	Their sisters	Soyok: Keresan word Hopi apply to Natackas	Powamu	1903		146
Nanatacka tatakti				Fewkes	male Soyokos monsters	Natacka: eastern pueblos, Zuni	Powamu	1903		145

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Nangasohu Kachina				Wright	Chasing Star or Meteor Kachina			1977	say it represents planet or meteor called Chasing Star	621
Nata'shka	Chaveyo	Nata'aska	"black ogre" kachina	Stephen	child of Hahai'yiwuqti and Cha'veyo	Tewa, Sichomovi and Walpi groups	Powa'mû, Nasha'bki, Horned water serpent celebration	1893	So'yokma'na = Nata'shka ma'na; Soyo'kwu'qti = grandmother; Na'amû = "their father"	310
Nata'shkyamu	Chaveyo	Nata'aska	"black ogre" kachina	Stephen	Na'amû Kwümbi, Na'amû Küĕcha', Kwünbi, Müpi'sona, Hehe'ya			1893	their father, black; their father, white	311
Natacka naamu	Chaveyo	Nata'aska	"black ogre" kachina	Fewkes	father		Powamu	1903		148
Natacka wuqti / Soyok wuqti				Fewkes	mother		Powamu	1903		147
Nataska	Chaveyo	Nata'aska	"black ogre" kachina	Wright				1977		426
Na-ui-kui Taka				Wright	Peeping Out Man (A Corn Kachina)	1940's on 3d mesa from Santo Domingo Harvest Dancers	PLaza and Kiva Dances	1977	name comes from pattern on mask	623
Navaho Anya katcina (+mana)	Ang-ak-china	Angaktsina	long hair kachina	Fewkes	He and his sister dress like Navajo; grind corn		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		208

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Navuk'china				Wright	Prickly Pear Leaf Kachina		Mixed Dances; Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977	sister Navuk'chin' Mana	587
Nayā*ngap Wuhti				Voth	his sister			1905		54
Nayaiya Taka				Wright	Swaying Man, a corn kachina	recent import from Rio Grande	Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977		585
Novantsi-tsiloaka				Wright	"He Strips You"		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		544
Nucak				Fewkes	Snow katcina; from Hano		Powamu	1903		189
Ñüi'tiwa				Stephen	Thrower kachina		in wet running kachina	1893		312
Ñüi'tüya'ni				Stephen	descriptive verb for maidens chasing personator		kachina return at Sichomovi	1893	catch him and wrestle object he carries from his hand; group includes Hehe'ya	313
Nükü'sh wuhti				Stephen	Dilapidated kachina woman		kachina return	1893	O'mauüh wuhti	314
Nuvak'chin' Mana, Köcha Kachin' Mana	Nuvakchin-mana	Nuvakatsinmana	A kachina [snow-kachina-maiden] syn. Qötsamana	Wright	Snow Kachina Girl, White Kachina Girl		Niman	1977	Also a rasping or Rügan Kachina	507
Nuvak'china		Nuvaktsina	A kachina [snow-kachina]	Wright	Snow Kachina		Sosoyohim Kachinum; in many ceremonies	1977	Lives on top of San Francisco Mountains; replenishes springs with snow	523

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Nūva Katcína		Nuvaktsina	A kachina [snow-kachina]	Voth	Snow Katcína			1905		55
O'mauüh wuhti				Stephen	cloud woman		kachina return, from Wikwa'lobi	1893	aka. Nükü'sh kachina wuhti, dilapidated kachina woman	316
O'mauwû				Stephen	cloud kachina		Water Serpent Celebration; Shoyo'hĭm	1893	drums for thunder, carries lightning sticks; drenches clowns	315
Omau-u Kachina				Wright	Cloud Kachina; represents clouds in general		Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	fallen out of use, now virtually unknown	522
Ongchomo	Tukwunag, Omgchoma	Tukwunàgwkatsina	Thunderhead kachina	Wright				1977		427
Owa				Fewkes	Telavai katcina		Powamu	1903		182
Owa'ñazrozro				Stephen	Stone devouring kachina		Powa'mû	1893		318
Owaka				Stephen	make coal and fire in mountains		account of them appearing infrequently for special circumstances	1893	Owa kachina: usually harmless but can cause serious problems like small pox and fire when angry; dried yucca worn as girdle said to make pottery fires hot.	317

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Owanga-Zrozro				Wright	The mad or stone eater kachina		Powamu	1977	Not a Sosoyok't ogre	487
Ownozrozro				Fewkes	Beats on people's doors		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		211
Pa'müiya				Stephen				1893	see Powa'müri kachina	320
Pa'shiwawash				Stephen	Wet running kachina		summer ceremony at Acoma; celebrated at Sichomovi	1893	Pashïñpü = wet	322
Pachavu hu				Wright				1977		428
Pachavuin Mana				Wright	Harvest Girl; society woman who brings food to shrine		Pachavu, or tribal initiation rites	1977	married or single, NOT A KACHINA	509
Pachok'china				Wright	Cocklebur Kachina; 2 varieties, runner and dancer		Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977		594
Paihi'shato Hopi				Stephen	Very ancient Hopi			1893	Grotesque in Shoyo'him kachina	319
Palákway Katcína	Poli kachina	Plakwaykatsina	A kachina [red-hawk-kachina]	Voth	Red Hawk Katcína			1905		56
Palakwayo	Poli kachina	Plakwaykatsina	A kachina [red-hawk-kachina]	Wright	Red-Tailed Hawk; Chief Kachina		Pachavu on 2nd and 3d mesas; Hunter Kachina and warrior	1977		597
Palakwayo	Poli kachina	Plakwaykatsina	A kachina [red-hawk-kachina]	Fewkes	Red Hawk		Powamu	1903		163

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Palavitkuna				Wright	Red Kilt Runner		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977	has several variations	540
Palhik' Mana, Shalako Mana, Poli Mana				Wright	Water Drinking Girl (Butterfly Kachina Girl), Shalako Girl, Butterfly Girl		Mamzrau Initiation Dance	1977	Palhik often confused with other two; first because they look the same as tihu; second because of butterfly association; says Hopi treat Shalako and Palhik' manas syn.	508
Palölökong		Paalölöqangw	Water Serpent; Deity of water [water-bullsnake]	Wright	Water Serpent or Plumed Serpent Kachina		ceremonial form in kivas, kachina form in Mixed and Kiva Dances; Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	not often carved as tihu	605
Palulukon		Paalölöqangw	Water Serpent; Deity of water [water-bullsnake]	Fewkes	Great Sperpent		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		206
Paluna hoya				Fewkes	Twin brother to Puukon hoya		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		218
Pash kachina				Stephen	Field kachina		Powa'mû	1893		321
Patszro				Fewkes	Quail		Powamu	1903		176
Patszro				Fewkes	Snipe		Powamu	1903		174
Patszro				Fewkes	snipe		Soyaluna	1903		108

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Patü'shüñüla kachina				Stephen	ice kachina	horn society	Winter Solstice	1893	lives in ice caves in San Francisco Mountains	323
Patung Kachina		Paatangkatsina	A kachina [cucurbit-kachina]	Wright	Squash Kachina; Chief or wuya for Pumpkin Clan		First Mesa Runner; Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977		589
Pautiwa		Pawtiwa	a kachina; Zuni Pawtiwa	Stephen				1893		246
Pautiwa		Pawtiwa	a kachina; Zuni Pawtiwa	Fewkes	Zuni sun god	Zuni; same name	Pamurti	1903		115
Paváyoyk*ashi				Voth	a rain deity			1905		58
Pawi'kkachina, Pa'wikachina	Pawik kachina	Pawikkatsina	Duck kachina	Stephen	Duck kachina		Powa'mû; Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	Pa'wikya = duck; uncle of all kachina REVISIT	324
Pawik	Pawik kachina	Pawikkatsina	Duck kachina	Fewkes	Duck		Powamu	1903		165
Pawik	Pawik kachina	Pawikkatsina	Duck kachina	Fewkes	duck		Soyaluna	1903		112
Pawik'china	Pawik kachina	Pawikkatsina	Duck kachina	Wright	Duck Kachina		Chiro Kachinum (bird kachins); appears in group dance or alone	1977	3 forms: Hopi duck, Zuñi duck and Wukokötö (resmbles Tasap)	568
Payik' ala, Pahaila				Wright	Three-Horned Kachina	Zuñi although some Hopi say it is theirs	Mixed Dances on First Mesa	1977		564
Payü'ta				Stephen			Powa'mû	1893	mask in Horn kiva	325
Pesru'm				Stephen			Powa'mû	1893	figurine in Goat kiva	326

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Picho'ti				Stephen	Pig kachina, a Hehe'ya kachina		in Shoyo'hïm kachina	1893		327
Piptuka				Wright	Caricature; not kachina; ad-lib humor on current topics		Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas	1977	have been called grotesques, clowns and comics; also Piptu Wuhti	555
piqösha				Voth	straps			1905		60
Po'komat kachina, Po'koma				Stephen	pets kachina		painted on Nima'n alter cloth	1893	represented at dog but stands for all domesticated animals	329
Po'pkotü, Pokkachina, Pokwuhti, Po'ko	Poko	Pòoko	Dog	Stephen	dog kachina		kachina return, in Shoyo'hïm kachina	1893	Hühüwa kachina their uncle, Sun chief father, Hahai'yiwuhti mother	330
Poha'ha				Stephen		Kachina (Tewa)		1893		249
Poha'ha Tewa				Stephen	one of 3 warrior women of early Tewa	she belonged to Kachina clan		1893		328
Pohaha				Wright				1977		430
Poli Mana		Polìit	Butterfly dancers	Wright	Butterfly Girl; female in Butterfly Social Dance		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	not Pahlik Mana although look similar, names ifalsely combined to make Polik Mana	606

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Poli Sio Hemis Kachina				Wright	Zuñi Ripened Corn Butterfly Kachina or Zuñi Hemis Butterfly Kachina	Jemez rather than Zuñi	Plaza Dances	1977	Hopi relate it more to butterfly and ripened corn than Jemez pueblo	556
Poli Taka		Polìit	Butterfly dancers	Wright	Butterfly Man, man in Butterfly Social Dance		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977		607
Pong Kachina		Pongoktsina	A kachina [form:circle-kachina]	Wright	Mountain Sheep Kachina		Line Dance or Mixed Dance; Animals or Popkot	1977		582
Póngo Katcína		Pongoktsina	A kachina [form:circle-kachina]	Voth	Ciricle Katcína			1905		62
Pookonghoya		Pöqangwhoya	Ref. to both Pöqangwhoya and his brother Palöngawhoya	Wright				1977		432
Powa'mo		Powamuykatsina	A kachina type [Powamuy-kachina]	Stephen				1893	see Wupa'mo	331
Powa'müri kachina				Stephen			Powa'mû	1893	called Pa'mü'iya kachina; called Haha'uh by Zuni	332
Powamu		Powamuykatsina	A kachina type [Powamuy-kachina]	Fewkes	unmasked men from last day of powamu		Powamu	1903		191

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Pówul	Polik mana / Poli taka	Polimana / Polìikatsina	Maiden who dances in the butterfly dance / A kachina [butterfly-kachina]	Voth	butterfly			1905		64
Pü'ükoñ		Pöqàngwkatsina	A kachina [Pööqangw-kachina]	Stephen			during Duck kachina	1893		333
Puchkofmok' Taka				Wright	Scorpion Kachina, aka. Throwing Stick Man, a runner		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	there is another kachina with same name but nothing in common	612
Puckkofmok Taka				Wright	Throwing Stick Man		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		538
Puukon hoya		Pöqangwhoya	Ref. to both Pöqangwhoya and his brother Palöngawhoya	Fewkes			Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		217
Puukon katcina		Pöqàngwkatsina	A kachina [Pööqangw-kachina]	Fewkes			Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		216
Qöoqöqlöm	koklo kachina (Lee)	Qöqlö	Second Mesa kachina	Voth	a Katcína (carrying food)			1905		65
Qötcá-Awats-Mana				Voth	White Corn Ear Maiden			1905		66
Saiastasana or Saiastasa				Wright	Zuñi Rain Priest of the North	Borrowed from Zuñi along with other Zuñi Shalako; came with Asa clan when they started	Pamuya dances on First Mesa	1977		560

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Sakwa Hu				Wright	Blue Whipper kachina	Sichomovi	Powamu guard on 3rd mesa	1977	reportedly very old, although Wright says not in old collections - thinks appearance changed and name continued	459
Salab'moñ				Stephen				1893	see Moñ	334
Salab Monwu	Mongwa	Mongwu		Fewkes	Owl		Powamu	1903		169
Samo'a wu'htaka				Stephen	Yucca old man		Powa'mû, in Shoyo'hĭm kachina	1893	Tewa kachina adopted by Hopi; pertains to Owa'kûlhiwĭmkya; lives in yucca, whips with willow and yucca	335
Saviki				Wright				1977		431
Saviki, Chanu Kachina				Wright	No English translation; snake kachina; chief kachina on 1st mesa	wuya of Snake Clan	Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977		608
Sha'lako, Sa'lako, Salakkachina	Shalako	Sa'lako	Shalako, a kind of kachina [from Zuni Sha'lako}	Stephen	Hopi Sha'lako		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893	brother and sister Na'wisa, lives at Kishyu'ba	337
Sháalako katcína	Shalako	Sa'lako	Shalako, a kind of kachina [from Zuni Sha'lako}	Voth		Bow clan; Oraíbi	Wūwūchim	1905		67

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Shai'ashtasha		Siikyàatsantaqa	a kachina; [intestine-hold:in:mouth]	Stephen			only at Sha'lako	1893	Zuñi personage	336
Shalako Mana	Shalako	Sa'lako	Shalako, a kind of kachina [from Zuni Sha'lako}	Wright				1977		434
Shalako Taka	Shalako	Sa'lako	Shalako, a kind of kachina [from Zuni Sha'lako}	Wright				1977		433
Sháwiki katcína				Voth		Bow clan; Oraíbi	Wūwūchim	1905		68
Shi'phikini	Sip-ikne	none found		Stephen	named for flower design on side of mask		Sha'lako celebration	1893	Si'fhìkni = v. is spread out in the form of flowers; aassociated with Salymobia of Zuñi	338
Shiwa'ata				Stephen	one of six sisters in Duck kachina			1893		339
Sho'tokwinûñüh, Sho'tokünûñwû	Sotuqnang-u	Sootukwnangw	A kachina who appears in the Powamuy ceremony procession; has a lightning frame and bullroarer	Stephen	War star kachina		Water Serpent Celebration, Nasha'bki	1893	identified with Shotok To'konaka; Diety according to Colton	340
Shoya'l kachina		Soyàlkatsina	a kachina; solstice kachina	Stephen	youth and maiden who dance outside on last day of Winter Solstice ceremony		Winter Solstice	1893	ta'ka Shoya'l kachina and Shoya'l kachinama'na = two who dance on fourth night;	341

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Shoyo'hĭm, Soyo'hĭm		Soyohimkatsin(am)	all kinds/mixed kachinas	Stephen	all kinds kachina, living at 4 world quarters		Kachina return, Horned water serpent celebration, in Nima'n	1893	see Au'halani REVISIT	342
Shumaikoli (Tewa)				Stephen		Bear		1921		253
Shumaikoli (Walpi)				Stephen		Reed		1921		252
Shüya'ñevü	Suy-ang-e-vif	Suyang'ephoya	Left-handed kachina	Stephen	left handed kachina		in Shoyo'hĭm kachina	1893		343
Si'hü		Sìikatsina	A kachina [flower-kachina]	Stephen	flower kachina			1893	see Masha'n	344
Si'toto		Sìikatsina	A kachina [flower-kachina]	Stephen	flower kachina	belongs to Tobacco clan	in Shoyo'hĭm kachina	1893	Si'hü = flower blossoms of all vegetation; Po'pinki in Tewa; his refrain is "si'toto to'to	350
Sik*ápku				Voth	The one with the yellow painted face			1905		69
Sikyachan'Taka		Siikyàatsantaqa	A kachina [intestine-hold:in:mouth]	Wright				1977		476
Sikya Cipikne	Sip-ikne	none found	none found	Fewkes	yello Cipikne		Pamurti	1903		118
Sikya Heheya				Wright	Yellow Heheya		2nd mesa	1977	main oger helpers	488
Sio Aña'kchina		Si'o'angaktsina	A kachina [Zuni-long:hair-kachina]	Stephen				1893	see Aña'kchina	345

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Sio Avachhoya		Si'o'avatshoya	A kachina [Zuni-speckled:corn]	Wright	Zuñi Speckled Corn Kachina	Zuñni name Nawisa, often called this	First Mesa Pamuya; Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977	probably came at same time as other Zuñi kachinas	588
Sio Hemis	Sio Hemis Kachina	Si'ohemiskatsina	Zuni Hemis kachina	Wright	Zuñi Hemis	Zuñi form of Hemis as interpreted by Hopi; Hemishikwe Kachina in Zuñi	Sometimes in Niman	1977		563
Sio Hemis Hu		Si'ohu'katsina	A kachina [Zuni-Hu'-kachina]	Wright	Zuni hemis Whipper - uncle, or side dancer, to Sio Hemis		Bean Dance procession or mixed kachina dance	1977	appears with Sosoyok't rarely	492
Sio Hemis Taha-um		Si'ohemistaha'am	A kachina [Zuni-Hemis-maternal:uncle-thier]	Wright				1977		477
Sio Hüm'is	Sio Hemis Kachina	Si'ohemiskatsina	Zuni Hemis kachina	Stephen	Zuñi Hum'is kachina		Powa'mû, from Sichomovi, from Tewa, Horned water serpent celebration	1893		346
Siok'china		Si'oktsina	A kachina [Zuni-kachina]	Wright	Zuñi Kachina; represents Zuñi people, not from them	Zuñi	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977	tihu confused with Tasap or Hornet Kachinas	534
Sio Pawi'kkachina				Stephen	Zuñi Duck kachina			1893		347
Sio Powa'mû				Stephen	Zuñi Powa'mû kachina		Powa'mû, from Nasha'bki	1893		348

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Sio Sha'lako	Sio Shalako	Si'osa'lako	A kachina; Zuni Shalako	Stephen	consists of 4 brothers		Powa'mû, Sha'lako celebration	1893	Badger clansman brought from Zuñi; Hahai'yiwuhti and Eo'toto are their mother and father; like at Ha'tikyaiya; as Zuñi Nima'm kachina	349
Sio Shalako	Sio Shalako	Si'osa'lako	A kachina; Zuni Shalako	Wright	Zuñi Shalako	Adapted from Zuñi kachina but now seperate personage	Pamuya and others on all mesas	1977	came as group of 4 kachinas around 1850, very Zuni-like, became more Hopi	525
Sipikne, Talamopaiyakya, Mopaiyakya, Talaimochovi, Salimbiye, Salimopia, Salimopaiyakya	Sip-ikne	none found		Wright	Zuni Warrior kachina	Zuni		1977	Gradually becoming more "Hopi"; name comes from original Zuni name Salimopaiyakya and physical characteristic of long snout (Talaimochovi)	506
Siyangephoya	Suy-ang-e-vif	Suyang-ephoya	Left-handed kachina	Wright	Left-Handed Kachina	derived from Hualapai or Chemehuevi	Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	hunting gear is reversed	598
So'lawichi		Sólàawitsi	A kachina; The plural refers to all "Zuni type kachinas" that accompany the Shalako; syn.	Stephen				1893	see Ava'chhoya, Hu'hiyan	351

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So'owuqti or Yo'hozrûkwu'qti		So'wùuti	Kokosori, Kokosorhoya old woman; short for Kòokyangwso' wùuti, old spider woman [grandmother-woman]	Stephen			Powa'mû	1893		352
So'yokma'na, Soyo'kma'na		So'yokmana	a kachina	Stephen	Soyok maid		Powa'mû	1893		354
Söhö*ncomtaka Katcína		Söhönasomtaqa	A kachina	Voth				1905		72
Sohonasomtaka		Söhönasomtaqa	A kachina	Wright				1977		435
Sohu				Wright				1977		479
Sotuknangu	Sotuqnang-u	Sootukwnangw	A kachina who appears in the Powamuy ceremony procession; has a lightning frame and bullroarer	Wright	Heart of the Sky God; controls sky, warrior; sumbol is morning star		Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	Deity form personated by religious elders; kachian form in mixed dances; Christianized Hopi equate with God	526
Sotung Taka				Wright	Laguna Corn Kachina; 2 varieties	Santo Domingo or Laguna	Plaza Dances; Plant Kachinas or Tusak Kachinum	1977	One form sometimes called Laguna Gambler	586
Sowi-ing Kachina				Wright	Deer Kachina		Animals or Popkot	1977		580

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
So Wuhti		So'wùuti	old woman; short for Kòokyangwso'wùuti, old spider woman [grandmother-woman]	Voth	old woman, grandmother			1905		70
Só Wuhti		So'wùuti	old woman; short for Kòokyangwso'wùuti, old spider woman [grandmother-woman]	Voth	Spider woman			1905		71
So wuqti		So'wùuti	old woman; short for Kòokyangwso'wùuti, old spider woman [grandmother-woman]	Fewkes	grandmother woman; Hehea's grandmother		Powamu	1903		158
Soyal K./Ahulani		Soyàlkatsina	a kachina; solstice kachina	Fewkes	Sun god katsina		Soyaluna	1903		104
Soyal kachina		Soyàlkatsina	a kachina; solstice kachina	Wright	Solstice or Return kachina	a wuya of Bear clan	first to return in late December; 3rd mesa only (other solstice kachinas elsewhere)	1977	had not beento third mesa in over 70 years	399
Soyál katcína		Soyàlkatsina	a kachina; solstice kachina	Voth		brought to Oraíbi by bear clan		1905		73

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Soyál katcína		Soyàlkatsina	a kachina; solstice kachina	Voth		brought by Bátki and Sand clans		1905	Lizard and snake names apply to sand clan because come from sand	74
Soyan ep	Suy-ang-e-vif	Suyang-ephoya	Left-handed kachina	Fewkes	fencing with Tcosbuci		Powamu	1903		195
Soyo'kwu'qti				Stephen	Soyo'k woman		Powa'mû	1893	Grandmother to Nata'shka; named for drawn out wail soyoko'-u-u-u	355
Soyok' Mana		So'yokmana	a kachina	Wright				1977		502
Soyok kachina		So'yoko	a kachina; admonishes bad children; often referred to as ogre kachina	Stephen			Powa'mû	1893	Nata'shka Sho'yoko of Tewa	353
Soyoko or Soyok'wuhti		So'yoko	a kachina; admonishes bad children; often referred to as ogre kachina	Wright	Ogre woman		Powamu; 1st mesa	1977	Demands food or children to eat on first mesa, stands by while Soyok'Mana does this on 2nd mesa; Atosle (related) more similar to Soyok-wuhti on 2nd mesa than on first mesa.	494
Soyok wuqti		So'yokwùuti	A kachina [So'yoko-woman]	Fewkes	Soyok derived from Awatobi		Powamu	1903		150

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Sumai'koli, Somai'kol				Stephen	blind	Associated with Tewa curing society	Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		356
Sumaikoli				Fewkes	show similarities to Masauu and sun gods		Palulukonti; Sumaikoli ceremony	1903		229
Susöpa Kachina				Wright	Cricket Kachina		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	Colton said runner but Wright's sources say kiva dancer; maybe mesa difference	613
Ta'chûktü, Ta'chûktĭ, Ta'tachûktĭ (pl.), Tatashuktimûh				Stephen	mud heads	Hopi term for Zuñi Koye'mshi	Winter Solstice, kachina return, Powa'mû, Horned water serpent celebration, in Sha'lako, etc.	1893	see Koyï'mse	358
Ta'shab	Tasaf kachina	Tasapkatsina	grandfather role of Navajo kachinas (he dances on the side during performance, making iconic gestures for the song message)	Stephen	Navajo kachina	adopted from Navajo;	in kachina return, at Powa'mû, horned water serpent celebration, during duch kachina	1893		360
Ta'tûñaiya	Tatangaya	Taatangaya	Yellowjacket kachina	Stephen		danced by Tewa at Oraibi	Powa'mû	1893		361
taamu		Taaha'am		Fewkes	their uncle		Pamurti	1903		130
Tab kachina				Stephen	rabbit kachina		In Shoyo'hĭm	1893		357
Tacab				Fewkes	Telavai katcina		Powamu	1903		185

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Tacab k.				Fewkes			Mucaiasti (buffalo dance)	1903		133
Taha-um Soyoko				Wright	Black Ogre's Uncle		accompanies other Soyoko; Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977		604
Táho				Voth	Racer			1905		76
Takursh Mana, Angak'chin' Mana				Wright	Yello Girl, Long-Haired Kachina Girl			1977	Also rasping or Rügan kachina	512
Tala'vaiyi	Talavai kachina	Talavaykatsina	Morning kachina	Stephen	dawn kachina		in Shoyo'hïm kachina	1893		359
Talavai Kachina	Talavai kachina	Talavaykatsina	Morning kachina	Wright	Early Morning Singer Kachina, aka. silent kachina		Bean Dance dressed like other morning kachinas	1977		615
Tálwipiki		Talwip'angaktsina	A kachina of Zuni origin that has lightning sticks on head [lightning-long:hair-kachina]	Voth	lightening			1905		77
Táo				Voth	singers			1905		78
Tasap Kachina		Tasapkatsina	grandfather role of Navajo kachinas (he dances on the side during performance, making iconic gestures for the song message)	Wright	Navajo Kachina; epitomization of Navajo; also Tasap Yebichai, Tasap Naastadji, Mösa, Nihiyo etc.	Navajo	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977	name spelled with "p" on 3d mesa and "f" on 2nd mesa (dialectical difference)	527

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Tasap Kachina' Mana		Tasapkatsinmana	A kachina that accompanies the Navajo kachinas [Navajo-kachina-maiden]	Wright	Navajo Kachina Girl; performs mannerisms of Navajo woman	Navajo	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977		528
Tasap Yeibichai Kwa-um				Wright	Navajo Talking God Grandfather	Navajo Yeibichai Ceremony		1977	Humorous rather than serious	557
Tasavu				Wright	Navajo Clown		Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas	1977		548
Tatangya Kachina				Wright	Hornet Kachina; 2 varieties		Insect and Reptile Kachinas or Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	one form resembles Tasap and found on 2nd and 3d mesas, other form on 1st	610
Tátaok*am				Voth	singers			1905		79
Tatciqtö				Voth	Ball head-a Katcína			1905		80
Tawa Kachina				Wright	Sun Kachina; a diety		Mixed Dance	1977	important diety but not special kachina	619
Tcabaiyo				Fewkes	unknown Soyok		Powamu	1903		151
Tcakwaina	Chakwaina	Tsa'kwayna or Tsaatsa'kwaynam	a kachina	Fewkes	male	Asa/Tcakwaina clan (tewan); represented in Zuni by descendants of women who stayed while others went to		1903		123

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Tcakwaina mana				Fewkes	female	Tusayan (see. Pg.64)		1903		124
Tcakwaina taamu			Taaha'am	Fewkes	their uncle			1903		126
Tcakwaina yuadta	Chakwaina	Tsa'kwaynamuy Yu'um	Ysa'kwayna's mother	Fewkes	his mother	matriarchal clan system		1903		125
Tcanau				Fewkes	instructive personage	Pakab clan	Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		220
Tcatcakwaina kokoiamu	Chakwaina	Tsa'kwaynamuy Qööqu'am	Tsa'kwayna's older sister	Fewkes	Tcakwainas, their elder sister	see pg. 47	Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		202
Tcatcakwaina mamantu (=manas)	Chakwaina			Fewkes	Tcakwainas, maids (sisters)		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		203
Tcatcakwaina taamu	Chakwaina			Fewkes	Tcakwainas, their uncle	Tcakwaina/Asa clan; katcinas are clan ancients	Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		200
Tcatcakwaina tataki	Chakwaina			Fewkes	Tcakwainas, males (brothers)	Father not personated because not of their clan	Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		201
Tcatcakwaina yuamu	Chakwaina	Tsa'kwaynamuy Yu'um	Ysa'kwayna's mother	Fewkes	Tcakwainas, their mother		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		204
Tcolawitze	Cholawitze			Fewkes	fire god		Pamurti	1903		116
Tcosbuci				Fewkes	Derived from Yuman tribe, Walapai		Powamu	1903		194
Tcūa	Snake kachina	Tsuu'a	Rattlesnake	Voth	rattlesnake			1905		81
Tcukubot				Fewkes	one of many horned katcinas		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		219

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Tehabi				Fewkes	mudhead clown in tunwup group		Powamu	1903		142
Telavai	Talavai kachina	Talavaykatsina	Morning kachina	Fewkes	katcinas who distribute sprouts at dawn		Powamu	1903		181
Tetanaya				Fewkes	Wasp		Powamu	1903		180
Tĭbie'lan or Poh okowa				Stephen	Hair kachina	Tewa for shearer kachina	in Running (Wawash) kachina	1893		362
Tiwenu				Wright	Laguna / Santo Domingo	represents or derived from Eastern pueblos	Sosoyohim Yotam Kachinum	1977		532
Tocha Kachina	To-cha	Tòotsa	Hummingbird	Wright	Hummingbird Kachina		Kiva and Soyohim Dances, or as a runner; Chiro Kachinum (bird kachinas)	1977		573
Tóhcha	To-cha	Tòotsa	Hummingbird	Voth	hummingbird			1905		82
Toho		Tohòokatsina	A kachina [mountain:lion-kachina]	Wright	Mountain Lion kachina		Line dances, Pachavu as occasional guard	1977	now popular doll	456
Toho'		Tohòokatsina	A kachina [mountain:lion-kachina]	Stephen	Parrot kachina		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		363
Tokoch		Tokotskatsina	A kachina [wildcat-kachina]	Wright				1977		438
Tongík katcína				Voth		Bow clan; Oraíbi	Wūwūchim	1905		83

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Toson Koyemsi				Wright	Sweet cornmeal tasting mudhead or Mudhead ogre		Powamu	1977	taste cornmeal; also deliver bean sprouts and presents to children at end of Powamu - falling into Dawn kachina cat egory	489
Totca	Tawa Koyung Kachina/ To-Cha	Tòotsa	Hummingbird kachina	Fewkes	Hummingbird		Powamu	1903		166
Totca	Tawa Koyung Kachina/To-Cha	Tòotsa	Hummingbird kachina	Fewkes	hummingbird		Soyaluna	1903		111
Töváchochyanik*am				Voth	fire jumpers			1905		84
Tsil Kachina				Wright	Chili Kachina		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		535
Tsitoto				Wright				1977		439
Tsuku				Wright	Hopi Clown; very ritualized play/performace		Chuchkut (Clowns) or Non-kachinas	1977		554
Tü'wakchina				Stephen	Sand or Earth kachina, spirit of sweet corn; female counterpart of Müriyĭñwû			1893	glossary: pit'küĭna	371
Tū*chvo	Turposkwa	Tuposkwa	Canyon Wren	Voth	wren			1905		85
Tū*walahka				Voth	the watcher			1905		86

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Tuhavi and Koyemsi				Wright	Paralyzed Kachina and the Mudhead		act out folktale about blind man and paralyzed man in Mixed Dance; Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977		603
Tukwinong	Tukwunag	Tukwunàgwkatsina	Thunderhead kachina	Wright	Cumulus Cloud Kachina; represents deluges of rain		Sosoyohim Kachinum / Soyohim dances	1977	appearance varies slightly among mesas; may be another aspect of Sotuknangu	520
Tukwinong Mana				Wright	Cumulus Cloud Kachina Girl; sister of Tukwinong		Sosoyohim Kachinum; Hopi Shalako ceremony only	1977		521
Tukwunang katcína	Tukwunag	Tukwunàgwkatsina	Thunderhead kachina	Voth		Bow clan; Oraíbi	Wūwūchim	1905		89
Tüma'ü				Stephen			Powa'mû	1893		365
Tumas				Fewkes	Tunwup's mother		Powamu	1903		139
Tümash				Stephen		danced by Tewa at Oraibi	Tewa O'lopau'ki, Powa'mû	1893		364
Tumoala				Wright				1977		442
Tungwup Taha-um				Wright				1977		481
Tüñwüb, Tüñwüp				Stephen			Winter Solstice, Powa'mü	1893	sons of Tü'mash; (App. 5)	366
Tunwup taamu				Fewkes	Their uncle		Powamu	1903		141

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Tunwup tatakti				Fewkes	2 child floggers; men		Powamu	1903		140
Turpockwa	Turposkwa	Tuposkwa	Canyon wren	Fewkes			Soyaluna	1903		110
Turpockwa	Turposkwa	Turposkwa	Canyon Wren	Fewkes	bird		Powamu	1903		171
Türwi				Stephen	Santa Domingo kachina	introduced from Zuñi	In Sha'lako	1893		367
Tuskaipaya Kachina				Wright	Crazy Rattle Kachina; varient of Sikyachantaka (flowers or guts in the snow)		Hunter Kachinas or Mahk Kachinum	1977	began when man killed cow to save village from famine during Spanish times	601
Tuskaipaya Kachina				Wright	Crazy Rattle Kachina		Wawash Kachinum, runner kachina	1977		537
Tütüm'bisha				Stephen	War chief of Powa'mü			1893		368
Tüuqti	Heheya's Uncle	Hehey'amuy Taaha'am	A kachina who takes the role of maternal uncle of the Kuwanhehey'a kachinas, dancing in the front of the line and along the side	Stephen	named by his call		in Nima'n	1893	also meas unmarried youth; uncle of Heheya kachina	369
Tüvo'kĭnpibush				Stephen	square painted eyes			1893	REVISIT, pg.1026	370
Tuwá-Tcua				Voth	Sand Rattlesnake			1905		90
U'wa				Stephen	named from cry; "typical Navajo kachins hoot"		Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		373

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Umtoinaka	Umtoinaqua	Tukwunàgwkatsina	Thunderhead kachina	Wright	Making-Thunder Kachina		Sosoyohim Kachinum	1977	functionally related to Möna Kachina of Third Mesa	524
umū*kpi	Umtoinaqua	Tukwunàgwkatsina	Thunderhead kachina	Voth	thunder			1905		91
Ursisimu				Wright				1977		443
Üshe	Osokchina	Ōsõökatsina	A kachina; Ōsõö = cholla cactus	Wright	Hano Cactus Kachina	Tewa; appears with Koyemsi / clowns at Hano		1977	Navajo have similar figure: Hush-yei or Chaschin-yei; may have come from Navajo	561
Üshĕ	Osokchina	Ōsõökatsina	A kachina; Ōsõö = cholla cactus	Stephen	Cactus kachina		in Tewa Running kachina	1893	Navajo call Chaschĭn' yeĭ or Hush yeĭ chaschĭn	372
Útsaamu				Voth	Apache			1905		92
Wa'wash	Wawarus	Wawarkatsina	Any kachina (of various types) who customarily comes in the spring to challenge males to races in the plaza	Stephen	running kachina		in Sha'lako, during Nima'n	1893	Wasiki = to run; Tewa Tĭbie'lan and Wane'ni	374
Wakas Kachina				Wright	Cow Kachina	Introduced by Hano Man around turn of century	Animals or Popkot	1977	Name comes from Spanish "vacas", cows	577
We-u-u				Wright				1977		444
Wicóko				Voth	buzzard			1905		93

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Wiharu				Wright	White Ogre or white Nataska		Powamu, 1st and 2nd mesas	1977	Also a black version and a blue mast still exists	485
Wo'he kachina				Stephen			In kachina return, at Powa'mû	1893		375
Woe k.				Fewkes			Mucaiasti (buffalo dance)	1903		134
Wokómáauwuu				Voth	Big skeleton			1905		97
Wopákal Katcína	Wupa-ala	Wupa'alkatsina	Long-horned kachina	Voth	Big horn Katcína			1905		98
Wü'rwü'ryomo, Wü'rwü'ryom, Wü'rwiyomo, Wü'rwĭyomo, Wü'ryo, Wöwöyom, Wü'rwü'rwiyomo				Stephen	Badger clan kachina	badger clan	in Powa'mü, in Sha'lako	1893	correspond to Zuñi Sayatasha	382
Wu'yak kü'ĭta	Wuyak-ku-ita	Wuyaqqötö	a kachina with a large head	Stephen	broad head kachina		in Powa'mü, in Horned water serpent celebration	1893		384
Wu'yak taiowa				Stephen	broad face		in Powa'mü	1893	on belt, engraving (Wu'yaka taiowaadta	385
Wuhtak kachina				Stephen	old man kachina		in kachina return	1893		376
Wuko'ktyükkachina				Stephen	variety of duck kachina	at Shüño'povĭ		1893		378

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Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Wuko'küĭt kachina	Wokoqala	Wukoqàlkatsina	Big forehead kachina	Stephen	big head kachina		at Powa'mü, in Pen'dete, in Horned Water Serpent Celebration	1893		379
Wuko kachina	Wukoqoto			Stephen	big kachina		at Powa'mü, in Pen'dete	1893	see Wuko'küĭtkachina, Wupa'mo	377
Wukokala	Wokoqala	Wukoqàlkatsina	Big forehead kachina	Wright				1977		445
Wukokokti	Wuyak-ku-ita	Wuyaqqötö		Fewkes	Big Head		Powamu	1903		192
Wupa'mo or Powa'mo kachina	Wupomo kachina	Wupamo'katsina; syn. Wuyaqqötö	a kachina; [long-mouth-kachina]; syn. Wuyaqqötö	Stephen	Long mouth		in Powa'mü, in Pen'dete, in Horned water serpent celebration, in Shoyo'him kachina	1893	Wu'pa = long, Mo'ata = mouth; chief of all kachina	381
Wupa-ala	Wupa-ala	Wupa'alkatsina	Long-horned kachina	Wright				1977		446
Wupak'kachina	Wupa-ala	Wupa'alkatsina	Long-horned kachina	Stephen	Jemez kachina		in Powa'mü	1893		380
Wupamau	Wupamo kachina	Wupamo'katsina; syn. Wuyaqqötö	a kachina; [long-mouth-kachina]; syn. Wuyaqqötö	Fewkes	Big High Sky (sun) god		Palulukonti (Ankwanti)	1903		221
Wupamo	Wupamo kachina	Wupamo'katsina; syn. Wuyaqqötö	a kachina; [long-mouth-kachina]; syn. Wuyaqqötö	Wright	Long-billed kachina; both guard and chief			1977	cures by striking people with whip	398
Wupa Nakava kachina				Wright	Big Ears kachina			1977		451
Würwüryomo				Stephen				1893		242
Wuti' kachina				Stephen	see kachinwuhti			1893		383

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
Wuwuyomo				Fewkes	older sun god mask		Pamurti	1903		132
Wuyak-kuita	Wuyak-ku-ita	Wuyaqqötö; syn. Wupamo'katsina	A kachina with a large head	Wright	Broad-faced kachina		Bean Dance, with Soyoko at Powamu on First mesa, water serpent ceremony on 3rd mesa	1977	Most typical guard	454
Wuyákqötö	Wuyak-ku-ita	Wuyaqqötö; syn. Wupamo'katsina	A kachina with a large head	Voth	Big Head			1905		99
Yáhpa	Yapa	Yàapa	Mockingbird kachina	Voth	mockingbird			1905		100
Yáhponcha				Voth	resembles skeleton			1905		101
Yaupa	Yapa	Yàapa	Mockingbird kachina	Fewkes	Mocking Bird		Powamu	1903		172
Ye, Ye' bĭchai				Stephen	Navajo kachina		in Horned water serpent celebration	1893	their grandfather with Tewa Ta'shab (p.381)	386
Yo'hozrûkwu'qti		So'wùuti	old woman; short for Kòokyangwso'wùuti, old spider woman [grandmother-woman]	Stephen	see Soyo'kwu'qti			1893		387
Yo'we kachina	Yo-we / priest killer			Stephen	kachina war chief at Oraibi			1893		388
Yohozro wuqti		So'wùuti	old woman; short for Kòokyangwso'wùuti, old	Fewkes	snow-bringing woman; Hano supernatural	Hano	Powamu	1903		190

Source name	DMNS name	Dictionary name	Dictionary definition	Source	Source definition	Clan/Tribe association	Ceremony	Date	notes	id
			spider woman [grandmother-woman]							
Yowe	Yo-we / priest killer			Wright				1977		448
Yü'che, To'che kachina				Stephen	Apache kachina		In kachina return, in Powa'mû, in Horned water serpent celebtration	1893		389
Zöoqöqlöm kachina				Stephen		on third mesa, does not appear on first mesa	in Winter solstice ceremony	1893		390
Zrü'ztiomochoboo				Stephen				1893	goes with Ta'chûktü but is not of them	391