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CHILDREN OF COTTONWOOD

Piety and Ceremonialism in Hopi Indian Puppetry

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Michael Lomatuway'ma

Illustrations by
Warren Namingha
and Poul Nørbo

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THE HISTORY OF THE SA'LAKWMANAWYAT DOLLS

On the 12th of April, 1979, the caretaker of the dolls agreed to record their story on the condition that it be done in the privacy of my house. Her intention was to avoid being disturbed by her then, more or less, senile husband. As it turned out, he came along anyway. Therefore PU recorded this story by speaking in a low voice, often mumbling behind her hand. Even though her husband is hard of hearing she took the precaution of never once mentioning his name— in spite of his being one of the main characters of the story. As is normal with Hopi, the narrator uses demonstrative pronouns almost exclusively. These pronouns take the place of the non-existing 3rd person personal pronouns as documented by Malotki in his 1982 publication. This text contains an exceptional number of such pronouns. A translator is therefore confronted with a bewildering number of "this", "that", and "those" without the help of any names or other indications of person. We have translated by way of introducing personal pronouns wherever possible, throughout the text. We have, furthermore, added in parentheses the initials of persons wherever the pronouns alone were misleading.

TEXT 19A (PU)

1. We did not own them (the puppets). Evidently the Orayvi Rabbit Clan members owned and preserved them.[1] Then Tawakwaptiwa banished them to Walpi. And since this man, SA, owned them, he took them with him when he moved over to Walpi.[2]

2. Then they used to perform them there, but, because something happened to the Walpi people, they did not want them anymore. It was said that they would not perform anymore, and, therefore, they should not live (be housed) there. They would not pray to anything while they lived here, they told them. They did not know what to do with those poor ones. But they can live there; they must only live there. This is what SA said, and so he therefore wanted to give them to someone. And it is said

[1]Contrary to a statement made in my 1982 publication, page 182, the puppets were not constructed at Walpi, First Mesa. They were made at Orayvi, Third Mesa.

The Rabbit Clan, Tapngyam (from *taavo*, "cottontail rabbit"), is not specifically associated with puppets, and it was not as prominent a clan as were their clan relatives in Walpi. However, it is of the Tobacco-Rabbit Phratry, which is responsible for the communal rabbit hunts and for all ritual smoking activities. This phratry has a close working relationship with the Katsina-Parrot Phratry which controls the important Taatawkyam (Taw Society).

[2]Tawakwaptiwa was the Village Chief of Orayvi from ca. 1902-1960.

The Sa'lakwmanawyat at Walpi as pictured by a Hopi artist. Retouched from Fewkes 1897a, pl. XXVII by Poul Nørbo, 1986.

that they made them in the Orayvi Kwan Kiva, and that they delivered them (gave birth to them) and, therefore, he would try to give them to some kiva member there.[3] He looked among the Kwan initiates there in order to give them to someone. But he considered this one (NA), in particular. This is what he told QÖ.[4]

3. One time, some dance was held there, and while he (QÖ) was there to see the dance, SA invited him to eat and told him about this.[5] Then he said to him, "I want to give it to them, and so QÖ should tell

[3]The puppets are considered to be children who are born and who subsequently are kept in childbed for 20 days.

[4]QÖ was the Chief of the Kwaakwant (Kwan Society) at Hotvela at the time. He was also NA's ceremonial godfather. I believe that QÖ's son is the present chief of the Kwaakwant. This society will be discussed in Chapter Six.

[5]The dolls were kept at Walpi for a period of about six or seven years.

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this to him (NA). As soon as the Powamuy Ceremonial[6] is over, someone should fetch[7] them, since they are not to keep them there (at Walpi)." Then he added, "And because they both are still young and able to have children, I am thinking that I will give them to someone who is still able to have children— a Kwan man.[8] These (puppets) came from there; we brought them from there, and so I think that they should again go back there to the Kwan Kiva. So I have them in mind; *he* should come and get them. You ask everyone, if nobody speaks, if no one consents, then ask him if he will consent; if so, then tell him to come and get them."

4. And so, when he came home, after the Powamuy Ceremonial was over, he said to them "Alright, I have important news to tell you, and since we are all gathered here, I will tell you and search among you." Then he told them what SA had told him at Walpi. Then he asked them, "Does anyone wish to go get them?" But nobody said anything.

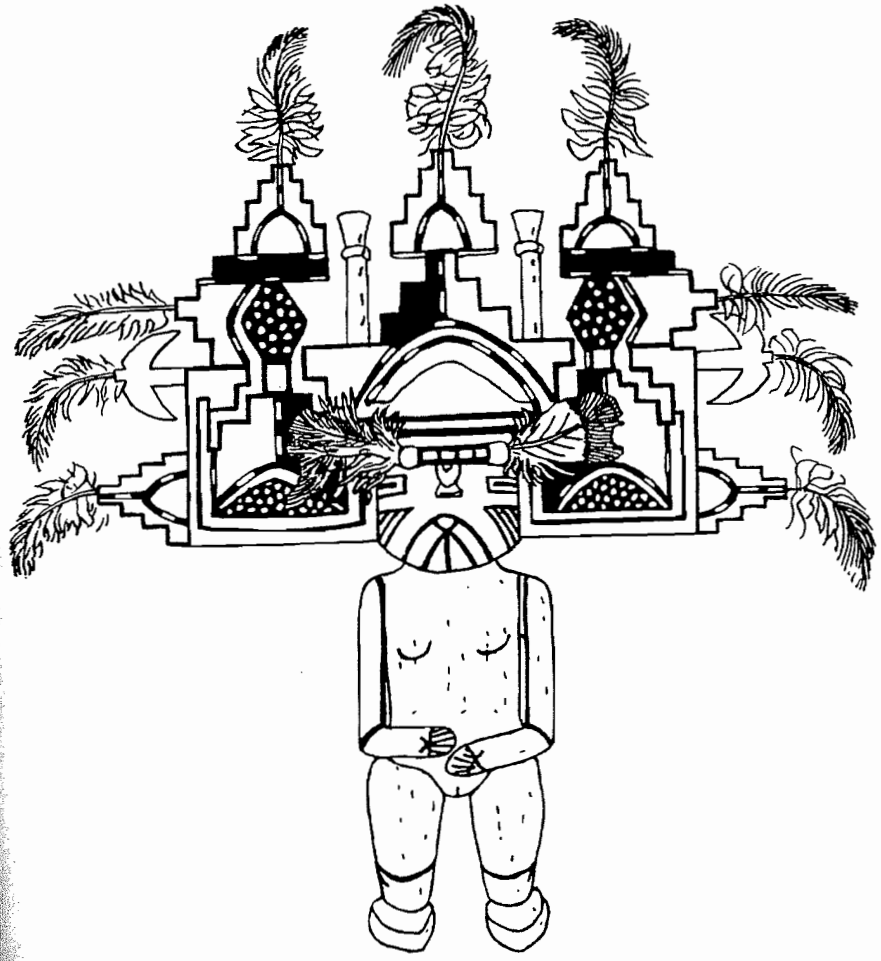
5. And the next day they gathered again (at the kiva), and he asked them once more, but, again, nobody said anything. "Then it will surely

[6]The Powamuy Ceremonial, in its extended form, is a 16-day festival. It is held in the Hopi lunar month of Powamuya (February) and is meant to stimulate the deities and processes of spring. Emphasis is therefore placed on sprouting and on the God of Germination, Muy'ingwa. Muy'ingwa is also a central figure in the initiation of children into the Powamuy and Katsina societies. This ceremonial is the first large-scale katsina activity of the ceremonial year. The Powamuy Ceremonial is followed by a period called Angktiwa during which Night Dances are held. It is during this period that the Puppet Ceremonials can be held. More on this later. The main agricultural event following these two ritual months is the planting of the vegetables and the early maize in late April and early May. A description of the Powamuy Ceremonial, held at Orayvi shortly before the turn of the century, can be found in Voth 1901. Titiev 1944a, 114-120, provides a summary of Voth's account supplemented by Titiev's own data which he elicited from members of the Powamuy Society. Bradfield 1973, II, 65-95, summarizes Voth and Titiev, and supplements his account with Earle and Kennard 1938, but he also introduces new interpretative material.

[7]The verb used here, *wikto,* is significant since it means "he is going to get something animate," as opposed to *kwisto,* "he is going to get something inanimate." (ML)

[8]I have pointed out the connection between the puppets and children in A. W. Geertz 1982, 181-188, a connection which will be amply documented in the following chapters. I wish to draw attention to the Hopi decision process as illustrated by paragraphs 3 through 12. I wish to draw attention to the fact that all direct quotations in Hopi speech are orally marked by beginning and ending the quotation with "he said." For example, the second sentence of paragraph 3 would read: Then he said to him, "I want to give it to them... since they are not to keep them there (at Walpi)," he said. Such repetitions have been removed from the translations in this book.

be he; he (SA) also mentioned him (NA); therefore, if you have the courage, go and fetch them (the puppets). 'If no one is willing, if no one says so, then you should go after them,' this is what he (SA) told me; so what do you say?" he asked him (NA).



Sa'lakwmana as a fertility image. Retouched from Fewkes, 1894, pl. IX by Poul Nørbo, 1986.

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6. "I must first wait for my wife's permission," he answered. So he brought the news to me from the kiva.[9] "I am to get the two Sa'lako Girls from there, those little grinders.[10] I have consented, but I wanted your permission first; and if you consent, then I think I will go get them," he said to me.

7. "If you bring them from there, will you all then make the 'Ensuing Dance'?" I asked him.[11]

[9]This is the first indication in the text that NA is the one being referred to. Since he is PU's husband, it is now absolutely clear that, in paragraph 5, SA speaks first to the kiva members and then directly to NA.

[10]It will become more clear later on, what these puppets are like. But it should be mentioned here that Sa'lako is a figure imported from Zuni. The Zuni Sa'lako consists of a group of giants who are impersonated by masked dancers. Their cult has been investigated by M. Stevenson 1904, 227-282, and R. Bunzel 1932. An abridged version of the Zuni Sa'lako was imported to Sitsom'ovi, sometime during the period 1853-1867 when the Hopi suffered from smallpox and drought and were forced to migrate to Zuni, Jemez, and elsewhere. Sitsom'ovi was almost abandoned, and Hano was decimated. Zuni pottery designs and the Sa'lako cult (among other things) were brought back to Hopiland (cf. Donaldson 1893, 28, 34; Bunzel 1932, 1946; and Parsons 1939, 972). According to Fred Kabotie's grandfather (1977, 66), he had taken part in the Hopi version of the Sa'lako Dance sometime before the early 1860's. According to J. W. Fewkes (1897, 296), the cult belonged to the Badger Clan at Sitsom'ovi. The importation of this cult is clearly reflected by the myth collected by A. M. Stephen (first quoted by Fewkes 1898, 666ff; the full version in Stephen 1929, 57-59). The Hopi version speaks of three figures: a man and his two sister-wives. The dance witnessed by Fewkes (1897a, 296ff), however, contained four figures. The dance which Kabotie sponsored during the 1930s had only two figures, both female (Kabotie 1977, 56). It seems that in general the Hopi Sa'lako symbolism does not correlate with that of the Zuni Sa'lako. Fewkes wrote (1903, 114-115) that two Sa'lakwmanawyat puppets were carved by a Hopi man named Totsi, from the Badger Clan at Sitsom'ovi, who was living at Zuni. It might well be, that the very first Sa'lakwmanawyat in Hopiland was introduced by this First Mesa man. A more detailed study will clarify these matters.

ML notes that the Zuni Sa'lako is not like the Third Mesa Sa'lako. They resemble very much those who perform at Songoopavi, Second Mesa, in the afternoon during the Niman Dance. There are also myths of these same Sa'lako accompanying the Aawatngyam (Bow Clan) upon their arrival at Orayvi. This was related to ML by his mother's brother, whose father was of the Aawatngyam. Connected with these events in mythical times is a site east of Orayvi called Sa'lakwhahaypi, "place where Sa'lako is hanged." This site is supposed to have a peg jutting out from the mesa wall. This information comes from ML's maternal grandfather.

[11]This refers to the Angktiwa period directly following the Powamuya. This period lasts from the appearance of the Ösömuya moon (March) until it wanes. The verb used here is *angklalwa,* "they are making the after (-following),"—from the root *angk* which means "after him" (Malotki 1979, 199). Compare with Voth 1899, 103, *angki,* "follow one behind one." As Titiev (1944a, 120-121) noted, the resumption of the Night Dances during the Angktiwa signals a transfer of ceremonial authority, and the passage of the mid-point of

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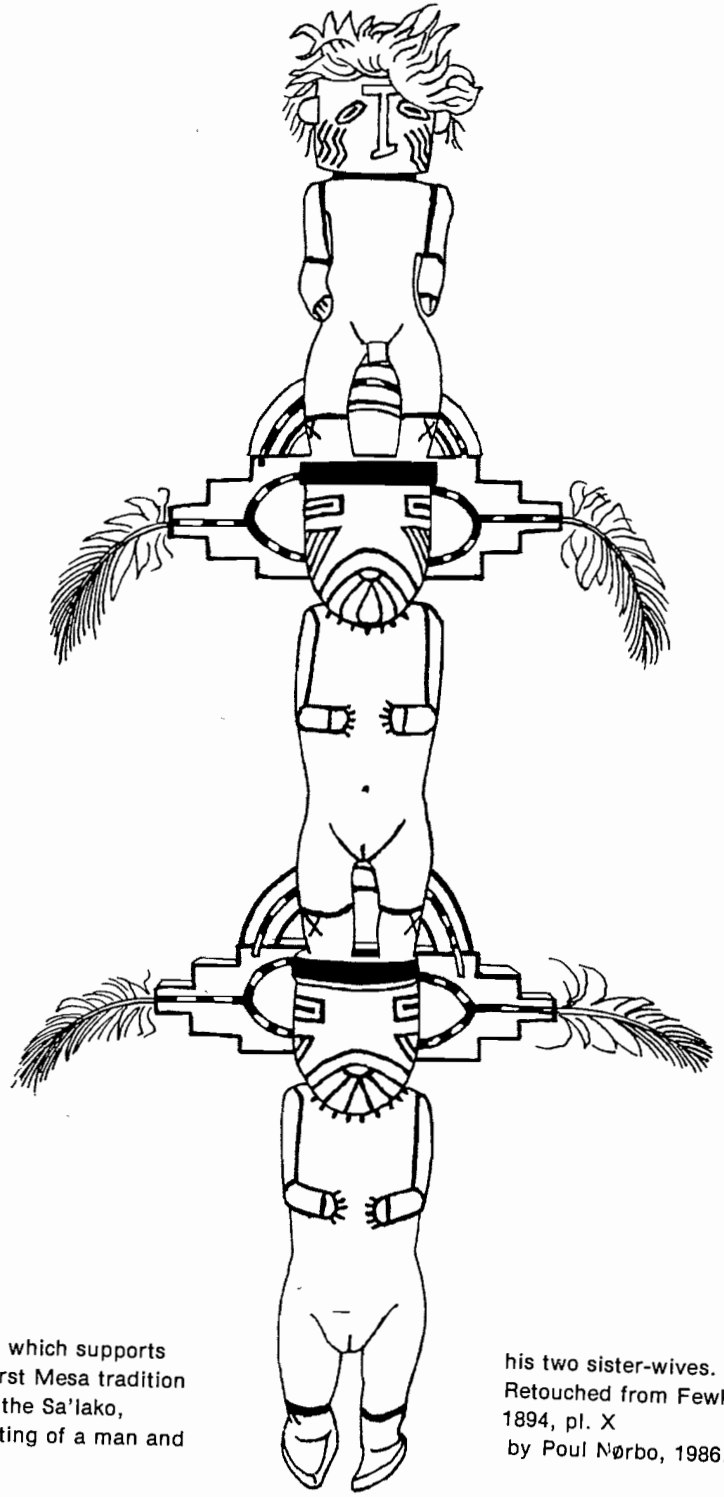

A doll which supports the First Mesa tradition about the Sa'lako, consisting of a man and his two sister-wives. Retouched from Fewkes 1894, pl. X by Poul Nørbo, 1986.

8. "Yes, we will surely do that," he answered.

9. "Alright then, you can go there; it is up to you, since you evidently are thinking of bringing them here. He gave them to you, so you should go get them," I told him.

10. "And when should I go there?" he asked.

11. "I wouldn't know when you should go; whenever you find someone who will go get them with you," I told him.

12. "I will go to your older brother; I'm thinking of going tomorrow, so we can go tomorrow evening," he told me.

13. So then he went over to our older brother, and told him about this matter, and he evidently consented, so he came back over to us that evening.[12] Then they went there to fetch them. It was very late in the evening when they returned, and they left them in the Kwan Kiva. He put them in there.

14. He said that he was going to sleep there. Someone could do something harmful to them at any time, so he went to sleep there. He probably did something with them and went to bed.[13] He spent the night there with them. And the following day they planted the bean sprouts for them (the puppets).[14]

the Katsina season. Badger control (which began with the Qööqöqlo performance) is transferred to the Katsina Clan at that time. This Period is called Angktiwa (Titiev called it Angkwati) because, according to Titiev, "the first dance in the post-Powamu series was supposedly a repetition of the Bean Dance," (121) a fact which my own informants consistently emphasized (A.W. Geertz 1982, 166, 169). But *angktiwa* does not mean a "repetition" of the Powamuy Ceremonial. It must be understood in relation to the privilege or right of the Parrot Clan (of the Katsina-Parrot Phratry) to sponsor the first Night Dance. The Following-Dance, or *angktiwa*, may be sponsored by anyone who may wish to do so, according to ML.

[12]PU's oldest brother is LLO. This entire exchange between PU and NA, with the result that PU's brother was sent after the dolls, has a significance which goes beyond the very interesting mechanics of matrimonial communication. The significance lies with the fact that the dolls will now be brought under the patronage of PU's clan. The fact that they were personally given to her, and not to the oldest clan female, seems to be fortuitous. And the fact that LLO accompanied NA seems to lie more in the circumstance that he happened to be the closest relative who had the necessary means of transportation. But since the men of the clan have ceremonial obligations to the clan's ritual objects, it is also correct that LLO was the one who was chosen to accompany NA and who, like NA, understood the importance of clan rights and the handling of sacred objects.

[13]Meaning that he fed them, smoked over them, and protected them.

[14]These and other references to the ritual preparations and to the mechanics of the ceremonial will be covered in more detail in chapters 3 to 5.

15. So, early the next day, he went around to all the kivas announcing the ceremonial. As soon as he made his announcement throughout the kivas, they began working on them (the puppets). Then they immediately sowed for them, and when they reached the date, they caused them to grind.[15]

16. And when they caused them to grind, he (NA) performed the one and SAKW the other. He is from Munqapi and is the son of a truant officer. When they were finished and were to take them away, SAKW said that he would take the one that was assigned to him and keep it at his house. Saying this, he took one of the two little girls to his house. The house is still over there. He took her there where he had a wife.

17. And this one (NA) brought the other one home to us. So they (the puppets) were both living separately at that time.

18. And it was not yet four days, it was about three days, when SAKW came to us. He told us that the little girl he had taken was constantly crying.[16] She would cry day after day; she would cry all night. He noticed this. He had thought of waiting at least four days before bringing it here. But he evidently could not last that long. Therefore, he wanted to bring her over. What he had experienced was not good. The poor thing was constantly crying! It is quite evident that they were not meant to be separated, and he should not have done that. "I will therefore bring her back here," he said.

19. "Yes, that is how they advised me, and so I told you about it. They should not be apart, they should live somewhere together. I am to keep them both, they told me. But I wanted to test you, so I let you have it.[17] Consequently, you will have to bring it back so that they can live together here," he answered.

20. So that evening, he brought her here, and we put her back in here. They are tucked in up there.[18]

21. This is what we did, and, as a result, we now keep them (at our home). We tend them very well.

[15]Grinding maize kernels is a central part of this performance, and therefore the term *ngumantoynaya*, "they caused them to grind," means that they performed with the dolls.

[16]Here we meet one of the many instances of a firm belief in the animation of the dolls. They are believed to be living and feeling beings.

[17]It is of interest that NA warned SAKW, but this did not prevent him from doing something which he knew was wrong. This situation is typically Hopi and conforms with the often heard phrases: *pi um pi* (paragraph 9 above), *pam pi pay uupe'e,* and *pi um'i* (text 27, par. 118), all of which are very close in meaning and can be translated "it is up to you." Another phrase, *pam pi pay hakiy epningwu,* "that is a person's prerogative," belongs to this category as well. (ML)

[18]Referring to the niche in the wall in the grinding room, where the dolls are hidden.

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The following two texts illustrate other aspects concerning the origin of these dolls. While the informant discusses themes here which will be pertinent later, the information generally concerns their origin. The narrator is PU's oldest son, WA.

TEXT 2G (WA)

1. So they performed them first at Orayvi, then a great thing happened (a conflict) to those who lived there, and as a result of the split, they did not want them (the puppets).[19] And the people did not want them about, and this person, YE's uncle, the one who made them, took them over there to Walpi.

2. And I guess, from then on they performed them over there at Walpi. But then, for an unknown reason, they did not want them (the puppets) around either. While they were living in a house somewhere, they constantly ground (corn) there, which was the cause of the house becoming cracked. For this reason, they did not want them around.

3. And the one who made them, over there at Walpi, KIY, wished to give them to the Kwan members here at Hotvela; so, someone was to get them from there.[20] Thus, NA went over there to get them. Because he always gets involved with such things, he got involved in this and went to fetch them. So he went to Walpi and brought them back here.

4. And according to us Hopis, fasting is usually done for artificial things like these (puppets).[21] And I guess the one who made them back there at Walpi said that anyone who performs it should fast at least four

[19]This does not refer to the split of 1906, according to WA.

[20]KIY was not mentioned by PU in Text 19A. It is conceivable that two men were involved in making the dolls. It is also possible that KIY carved the dolls in Walpi and gave them to SA in Orayvi. I have not been able to clear up this point.

[21]*Wutsi* is used to indicate something artificial. It is an adjective which means, according to Malotki 1979, 307, "false, fake" ("falsch, vortäuschend") and in 1978, xiii, "'false,' in the sense of 'make-believe' or 'not real.'" Voegelin and Voegelin 1957, B1.1 wrote "wícitama false teeth" and D4.2, "wící-lawɨ (--lal·wa) (1) he (they) put on puppet show, (2) fake, misrepresent; wicítihɨ puppet." Epp 1916 has "wútsi, something mysterious, wutsí-lawu, make mysterious things" and under the entry "idol, wútsi." ML disagrees with Epp: *wutsilawu* means (among other things) "he is putting on a puppet performance." I do not think that "make-believe" or "false" or "not real" gives the non-Hopi speaker a correct understanding of the use of this word, in this context. I am inclined to gloss it "artificial," since it is used in that manner in this text and elsewhere. The puppets are not "false," nor are they "not real." If we call them "make-believe" or "fake," then one must wonder who considers them so. They are, on the other hand, "artificial," constructed by the hand of an artist. False teeth, for example, are actually "artificial teeth."

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days. But Kwan members do not do it that way when they use them. And NA is a Kwan member and did not do it like that. He fasted for four days, but not on the Totokya.[22] Salt is eaten on the Totokya. He also abstained from the flesh (sexual intercourse). That is how it is done when taking part in it. They really criticized him at that time. This is how it should be, they said: One *must* fast for this puppet. And one *must* fast from salt, they said.

5. And the wise ones probably thought correctly about this. When the Kwan members make prayersticks, they do not fast and usually do eat salt. That is quite clear. When one deliberately eats salt, then one makes only an unattractive prayerstick. And one who does not eat salt and fasts, makes a beautiful blue-green one!

6. Those Kwan members usually make different colored prayersticks. But two of the ones that he makes are black and have a face of yellow clay and are usually drab. But the other kivas, in turn, make blue-green prayersticks which are very pretty. Therefore, the elders usually say, "We poor ones produce these unattractive prayersticks, and we envy the others who make those pretty ones."

7. And because it must represent something it tells us something. Because they eat salt, they do not make pretty prayersticks. Since then, they have really been criticized for this.[23]

[22]See Chapter Three for information concerning the ceremonial day-count.

[23]Paragraphs 4 through 7 anticipate the chapter below, on controversy. I will therefore restrict my comments at this point. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that a connection is made in the literature between fasting habits of the prayerstick makers and the type of prayersticks made. Stephen remarked in several places that the Kwan members make prayersticks with black butts. But he wrote that the reason for this is the fact that all the Cloud deities have black legs. The Kwaakwant, therefore, paint their prayerstick legs black (Parsons 1936, 333). Elsewhere he wrote that this black leg is called *heyapa'omaw,* the black storm cloud. Parsons considers it to be the cumulo-nimbus clouds (Ibid., 1216) and Fewkes concurs (Fewkes and Stephen 1892, 214 note 1). Voth 1899 has an entry, *hayapawomuwa,* "small hanging clouds, under rain clouds in the falling rain." ML clarified that the *heyapa'omaw* is the mist or the type of clouds that come very close to the ground. They are also called *heheyapawt* for short. The blue of the other prayersticks is called the Cloud of the southwest (Parsons 1936, 848). Stephen makes no mention of their fasting habits. The problem of "to fast or not to fast" is the core of the conflicts described below. But it should be noted here that this black prayerstick is associated with death, a very appropriate implement for the only brotherhood which is associated with the God of Death.

There are a number of prayerstick types. The term used here is *paaho.* A *paaho* is an object which Hopi worshippers offer to their gods and spirits. The best known and most widely used *paaho* type consists of one or two willow (or other type of wooden) sticks which are painted and to which are tied maizeleaf pouches of honey and cornmeal, as well as herb sprigs and a prayerfeather (*nakwakwusi*). This ritual object is rich in meaning and

TEXT 2I (WA)

1. And that is how they arrived here at Hotvela. From then on they lived there in the house of NA and his wife. And when one wants to perform it, they come there and ask him for them.

2. And many danced them there (at Hotvela). Therefore, they still live at Hotvela in the house of that couple. And this little Kooyemsi (is there) too.[24]

function. On the one hand it represents the Hopi territory, humanity (the sticks have faces and are "male" and "female" respectively), and maize plants as evidenced by the data in the literature. The maizeleaf packet is considered to be food for the gods on the one hand, but is also a symbol of fertility on the other. The feather serves as bearer of the worshipper's prayer, but it is also used by the gods to adorn themselves. O. Solberg (1906) was the first to investigate the many types of prayersticks in a comprehensive manner. Others who have attempted analyses of prayer-offerings in general are Fewkes 1897b; Bradfield 1973, II, 52-54, 188-196; and myself 1977, 183-199; 1986, Chapter II. Parsons (1939, 283, 291) abandoned any attempt to understand the meaning of these offerings because the evidence is so voluminous and contradictory. One might sum it all up by saying that prayer-offerings serve as objects of barter between man and god, as vehicles of mimesis within the cultural context, and as apotropaic powers in themselves. I have consistently translated *paaho* as "prayerstick" in this book. But the term evidently covers more than that. My field translators, HT and DO, consistently translated *paaho* as "prayerfeather." ML wrote that the term may also cover (1) a simple turkey feather to which cotton twine is attached, (2) a simple eagle down feather to which a cotton twine is attached, or (3) a row of turkey feathers attached to a willow stick by cotton twine. The first two are given to the katsinas before they leave for their home, and the third type is given to the dead at Soyalangw. *Nakwakwusi*, on the other hand, is similar to the second type. It can be tied to the hair, and when done so it is called *nakwa*. Together with these objects, the Hopi use cornmeal (*hooma*) in almost every ritual situation.

[24]The Kooyemsi is also an importation from Zuni. The name itself is Zuni. Among the Zuni are found ten Kooyemsi types. They are all characterized by their masks of knobbed cotton cloth which is stained with a pink clay. This clay is also used to color the torso, arms, and legs. The knobs of the masks are filled with cotton wool, seeds, and dust from the footprints of the villagers. They usually wear a black kilt, but are otherwise naked. According to Bunzel, they have cotton cord tied to their penis which makes erection impossible and thus symbolizes sexual impotence. Cushing noted that their myth emphasizes their childish asexuality. This is reflected in their cult behavior as well.

Of great interest for us is the fact that the Zuni Kooyemsi are closely associated with the Sa'lako cult. But they also assist at all Katsina dances. One never refuses a Kooyemsi anything—they are dangerous. Their main requirement is food. They are the foolish and simple attendants of the cult; yet, at the same time they are able to utter wise and prophetic words (Bunzel 1932, 946-958).

Among the Hopi we find that the Kooyemsi are very much like their Zuni cousins. They are costumed in the same way—including their having seeds in the knobs of their

3. And I guess all of the kivas have performed them. They also perform them over in the other villages. But it appears as if they also have manufactured some on their own, but I do not know how they perform the ceremonial. Maybe like the Orayvians do it, or maybe they did not go through the childbed ritual.

THE FIRST SA'LAKWMANAWYAT CEREMONIAL AT HOTVELA

In this section we find bits and pieces of the Sa'lakwmanawyat Ceremonial. More details follow in Chapters 3 through 5. Concerning Text 2, the entire text is a rambling account of just about every aspect of the puppet phenomenon. The statements are disjointed. A series of themes, which are taken up, are left off for something else and are then taken up again. Thus, this text required considerable editing. I have reorganized the text into related groups of subject matter. The entire text is found, as all the texts in this book, among the Hopi originals in Part II.

TEXT 2A (WA)

1. I recall how we used to perform these things, these two little girls. I know how it was done from its conception, and how it has always been done in that way only. Formerly, when people were living in Orayvi, the Kwan Kiva members who lived there made them.

2. The members of that kiva were planning to invent something that they would perform from then on. They mutually agreed upon the two little girls which they would make as dolls. It was tied together with cotton string, and it was said to have a heart filled with a quartz, seeds,

masks. They appear throughout the ceremonial year, acting as clowns. But also, in certain instances, they perform serious jobs such as drumming for a line of Katsina dancers. They also announce Katsina dances sometimes—or even announce the first performance of the Angktiwa Period (Titiev 1944a, 121). See Hieb 1972, 136-138 for a listing of some of the Kooyemsi activities. The Kooyemsi are also associated with the Paalölöqangw puppet performance and the Palhikw performance. According to Malotki 1978, 204, they sometimes blend with the personalities of other katsinas, as reflected in such hybrid Kooyemsi katsinas as Koyemoshote, Koyemos'angaktsina, and Koyemos'aya. needs explic

These so-called "Mudheads" are associated with an abundance of food and accompany the So'yoko monsters who collect food in forfeit of the flesh of naughty children (Titiev 1944a, 200, 220-221). See Hartmann 1978, 157-158, for a list of references concerning this everpresent and powerful figure.

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