

Cultural Aspects of Place Names: New Mexico

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Abstract

Place names are assigned to phenomena which may outlast the culture which named them, and in that persistence through time the names become artifact remains of social patterns not otherwise visible. In northern New Mexico where Native American, Spanish and Anglo cultures have been in contact over the past 400 years, 13,879 place names were collected and an exploratory analysis was made of their cultural origins. In one sub-region it was possible to perceive how one culture named places already named by another: Spanish tended to impose new terms, whereas Anglo tended more to alter pre-existing names. When existing place names were corrupted by another culture, Anglo tended to combine an Anglo word with one from the other culture; Spanish tended more toward transliteration. Native American practices differed from Spanish and Anglo. The findings suggest differences in cultural modes of symbolization. Insights about modes of symbolization in naming places may be transferable to other symbolizing situations, — the perceptions of social dominance, for example. Further study is needed.

Aspectos Culturales de Nombres de Lugares: Nuevo México

Los nombres de lugares se relacionan con el fenómeno que puede sobrevivir la cultura cuyos nombres persisten al través del tiempo, convirtiéndose en artefactos remanentes de patrones sociales que no serían visibles de otra forma.

En el norte de Nuevo-Mexico donde las culturas: americana-nativa, española, e inglesa han estado en contacto en los 400 años pasados, 13,879 nombres de lugares han sido coleccionados y un análisis exploratorio fue hecho sobre sus orígenes culturales.

En una sub-región fue posible percibir como una cultura daba nombres a lugares que ya habían sido nombrados por otra: la española tendía a imponer nuevos términos, mientras que la inglesa tendía más a cambiar los nombres pre-existentes.

Cuando los nombres de lugares existentes estaban corrompidos por otra cultura, la inglesa tendía a combinar una palabra inglesa con una de la otra cultura; la española tendía más a la traducción.

Las prácticas de la cultura americana-nativa difería de la española e inglesa.

Los descubrimientos sugieren diferencias culturales en las formas de simbolización. Conocimientos profundos sobre las formas de simbolización al dar nombre a lugares puede ser transferible a otras situaciones de simbolización.

Las percepciones de dominación social, por ejemplo.

Un estudio más amplio es necesario.

PLACE NAMES AS ARTIFACTS

One way social scientists may undertake the study of names is to consider them as cultural artifacts. Just as potsherds, projectile points, and other material artifacts from an earlier age may be used by archeologists to make reasoned inferences about cultural items and patterns no longer visible, so the social scientist may use names as artifacts and by

their analysis gain understandings and make inferences about cultural patterns which are of larger interest and which otherwise would be elusive. The study reported below relies on the notion that names, particularly place names, are cultural artifacts.

The force of the idea lies less in the literal and denotative meaning of the word artifact than in its metaphorical use as an object for research. Literally, artifact simply refers to something made by human beings; its root appears in artifice, artificial, and article. Certainly, to name an object is as much a human creative act as to form that object or to transform it by its use. But as a metaphor borrowed from archeology, artifact suggests that the thing created has persisted through time, and has even persisted when other things created with it (as well as those who created it) have died, decayed, moved away, or are at least no longer present. That which we call an artifact still exists and is relatively unchanged, therefore it is available for scrutiny and analysis in our attempts to reconstruct a greater understanding of the processes of social change.

Etymology is the study of derivations and changes in all kinds of words. In considering words as artifacts, however, one is more likely to be limiting such analysis to *names*, and that is the case here. The presumption is that when a word becomes a name it has established thereby a connection with that which it names. Further, it is presumed that those normal pressures and dynamics in the social nature of language (which cause changes in the meanings of words) are limited, in the case of a name, by what is happening to its referent. So long as that referent is recognized as unchanged through time, its name tends to stick with it in that persistence. Thus, long after the culture and the language of the people who named it have ceased to be living entities, the name and the mountain *Vesuvius* persist. The word persists because a culture attached it as a name to the mountain, a referent which outlasted the culture.

Not only places in nature are given names, of course, but the general proposition may still hold: the persistence of the referent adds to the persistence of the name. The example of a named mountain could be misleading; a referent that is unstable may lend instability to the word chosen for its name. Artifacts are like that, variable in their ability to withstand the effects of time. Archeologists are not likely to find items woven of organic fibers listed among the artifacts of an archaic culture in warm, humid climates but they have occasionally found such items remaining from an archaic culture in the southwestern U. S. The difference is not that a woven object is an artifact in one place and not in the other, of course; it is their ability to persist through time that is variable. With names, the variation may be related to the durability of its referent.

“Hula hoop” is no less a name-artifact than “Parthenon” although it may have a much shorter life; the degree to which the name persists is related to the degree to which its referent persists.

Now, to shift the focus slightly: when it is recognized that places are not the only items given names and that items which are less empirically grounded than mountains may nevertheless display considerable persistence through time, then it is immediately recognized that place names and object names are not the only names to be considered. Social activities, for example, also are given names and the persistence of such names is related to the persistence of their referents. The *charivari* (shivaree) has perhaps already ceased to persist in northern Kansas, in the region of my youth, except as an item in historical records, because the specific activity it named is no longer performed.

Another aspect of the study of names as artifacts is represented by this example. The Americanization of *charivari*, the word *shivaree*, was just beginning to enter common usage as the accepted form of the printed name, when the referent ceased to exist and the reason for using the name in either form diminished. In contrast, the word *market* denoted a place where goods were exchanged but now it refers to a business activity which is independent from any particular place.

Changes in name-words should not distract us. If *charivari* becomes *shivaree*, or if *market* at one point in time contained place referents it doesn't now, so what? This change in form, shape, and usage of a name is part of the problem to be investigated in the analysis of names as artifacts. Such changes don't negate the artifact-nature of names. Pottery does not cease to be an artifact of value to the archeologist simply because in one time or in one culture pottery is “black-on-white” but in another time or culture it is “polished red,” or in one culture the pottery designs became complex when earlier they were simple or absent, or in one location the pottery seems to have been used for storage and in another it was mainly decorative. Indeed, it is in the learning about such variations that the analysis of pottery becomes useful. So with names.

Cultural patterns or expectations are named (the Spartan way); explanations are named (quantum theory); aspirations are named (Utopia), as are their opposites (hell). One could continue to classify referents which are given names, and if successful that classification itself would surely be named. But the point of these last few paragraphs is much more simple than to begin a classification scheme; it is merely to make a point that in an artifact sense, names may sometimes outlast their original referents. Persons who never have participated in a *charivari* (shivaree), and who know of no one who has, may nevertheless recognize or come to know the

name and even understand its referent. No one reading this paragraph ever lived in ancient Sparta but one need not have done so in order to recognize the word as it was used above, as a pattern of life. Names may well gain their degree of persistence from certain qualities of their referent, as argued above, but their greatest value *as artifacts* lies in their ability to last, to persist through time, sometimes more successfully than even their referents.

Indeed, it is this combined trait of names that draws my interest; they are intimately connected with identifiable referents and therefore have a "groundedness" not found in other words, and they have a persistence through time which sometimes becomes independent not only of their creators but of the continued existence of their referent. By such traits names may be a valuable source of information as artifact remains of social phenomena not otherwise visible.

It is not the etymology of the names which is of primary interest in this report, although obviously linguistic analysis will inform me and a neglect of such matters could be perilous to my aims. To return to the metaphor from archeology: the archeologist should not ignore the chemical aspects of the dyes and clays which make up the potsherds being examined because such chemical analysis may sometimes be crucial and always informative; but the main interest is not really chemical. Similarly, my interest here in the analysis of a collection of place names is not very much linguistic but more "archeological." I'm interested in their original context, their degree of persistence, and their present condition of use or disuse, not so much because I'm interested in the words themselves but because such information may help me better to understand the processes of social change, culture contact, such phenomena as dominance and autonomy in inter-group relations, and syncretism as a process in religious belief-systems. In short, there are mysteries about the processes of cultural and social change which interest me, and I think that attention to the analysis of names as artifacts will be enlightening and helpful.

One more important idea, this time a caveat, is brought to this research enterprise along with the metaphor. Archeologists have learned that sometimes when artifacts are found in surprising contexts or in unexpected associations, there may be reasons to doubt that the information will lead to new understandings. For example, if one finds an iron tool in a site where other evidence suggests a stone-age culture, one must be careful about revising the other evidence on the basis of this one iron artifact. There may be geological or sociological explanations of the anomaly which falsify what might at first appear to be evidence of great impor-

tance. Geologically, there may have been movements of the earth caused by stratigraphic pressures and slippage (or perhaps small animals' burrowing caused or enabled such movement), so that an item or two deposited on the earth's surface a number of centuries ago "moves" to a location dominated by deposits made some centuries before. Such things happened often enough so that the process whereby it occurs has received a special name, *solifluction*. Sociologically, it may be that some early iron-age people found a hole in the ground, or dug a hole for some reason (to deposit garbage, give a firmer location for a foundation post, etc.) and this hole extended into strata where stone-age deposits had been made at an earlier time. An iron tool or fragment thereof, is cast into or falls into such a hole; time and nature fill the hole or cave in its sides and our archeologists, digging much later, discover iron- and stone-age artifacts in unusual association. *Culs-de-sac*, as such events are known, must be attended to as carefully as solifluctions lest their evidence be misinterpreted.

Similarly, in the analysis of names as artifacts, unusual appearances or unexpected correlations of names with other evidence must be carefully investigated so that misinterpretation does not occur. For one example, a teacher of Spanish once chided me for the way I pronounced the name of the Jemez mountain range in northern New Mexico. I referred to it as "hay mes" because that was the way I had heard it pronounced when I was in that region. He pointed out certain rules of Spanish as indicating that it *should* be pronounced "hay mayth"; he suggested that I had been misled either by local dialect or by people whose knowledge of Spanish was faulty. Since I had some curiosity about which of his explanations of my mistake was correct (I did not doubt that his knowledge of the language was superior to mine), I looked into the matter in terms of the history of the name itself. I discovered that it didn't really matter whether the "correct" Spanish rules of pronunciation were followed, because it was not originally a Spanish name. The earlier place name was a Native American word, the Tanoan *hay mish*, which translates as "people." When the Spanish first moved into the region, they tried to spell the Tanoan name using Spanish rules since the Tano language had no written form; they could do little else if their notes were to utilize local place names as guides for use by later explorers and settlers. Thus, in the first half of the 16th century the spelling by Spaniards was Xe'mez; in the second half the same century, the spelling was Jemes (with, apparently, Xemes occurring in between) which persisted through the next century and after 1800. Its present spelling, then, looks Spanish with good reason, but the current pronunciation preserves the fact that the mountain range was named by the Native Americans of the area, not by the Spanish.

(Pearce, 1965, p. 76; Beck and Haase, 1969, maps #13, 17, 20.) But of course, local dialects and faulty use of a language do exist and might have been the explanation as my teacher-friend had supposed. In fact, some insist that a better, (i.e., more true to the Tanoan) pronunciation than “*hay mes*” would be “*hay mish*.” The point is that logical inference should be checked with empirical data whenever that is available.

Solifluctions and culs-de-sac do not cause the archeologists to cease their archeological work with artifacts, however, and neither should these and other caveats about working with names prevent us from attending to names as cultural artifacts and considering them as evidence. We simply must proceed from such evidence cautiously and constantly be alert to other confirming or disconfirming data.

AN EXAMPLE OF PLACE NAMES IN CULTURE CONTACT.

In the following report, offered as an illustration of place names as cultural artifacts, the development of the data is very limited; it is the first stage upon which further research can be based. However the findings may have intrinsic interest for some readers.

The setting of the study, northern New Mexico, is characterized by significant contact between cultures over a 400-year period, and place names have a particular usefulness in such a setting. Of all names, place names may be expected to be quite resistant to change because places have a tangible and material nature and do not appear to change easily. Also, in contact between cultures, members of an invading culture do not always come with ready-made names for the specific places they encounter, and therefore the likelihood is greater for adopting or adapting names originating in the host culture. Changes in place names, then, are likely to occur more slowly in such settings and are likely to have strong and lasting associations with the known and recorded events of culture contact relating to the place. Both of these features make the observation and analysis of place names easier than for other names.

Whenever a group of people decide or feel the need to name a place when they know they are in the presence of others who have already named it, then a situation exists which is critical for our understanding of the relationships existing between that group and the others. It is an opportunity for learning about the perceived and desired patterns of dominance which exist between the groups. Are pre-existing names known or sought out for consideration? If so, is there an inclination to adopt them, corrupt (change) them, or ignore them? If and when new terms are imposed as place names (either as new inventions, or as synthetic terms) what response does this elicit from the other culture or group: —

resistance, acceptance as an alternative, full acceptance in place of the old name, or is it simply ignored? Further, it is important to understand the cultural, structural, and other constraints which may exist in the situation to inhibit, allow, or encourage such patterns of resistance, syncretism, or acculturation. Obviously, language is one such constraint, but also important are other social and material factors. Finally, the processes we may observe in such naming activities may be used to guide us in understanding other activities which are equally social (i.e., interactive between cultures) but less language-specific than the choice of a place name. That is, we may by a study of the place-naming process in situations of culture contact obtain evidence of something like interactional "style" as it affects intercultural history.

There are some difficult problems and ambitious expectations in the previous paragraph. The present study does not demonstrate them all; it simply reports what seems a good beginning.

PLACE NAMES IN A TRI-CULTURE SETTING.

The collection of 13,879 place names used in the analysis which follows was made in the winter and spring of 1977 as part of my sabbatical leave program. The setting is New Mexico, particularly the Espanola Valley of the northern Rio Grande. Espanola, a few miles north of Santa Fe, is also central to what has been called the Tewa Basin. My primary research interest was to learn more about the multi-cultural history and structure of this region, and the study of place names was a useful portion of the project.

New Mexico is a state which, over the past 400 years, has a fairly well-documented history of several types of culture contact involving three major cultural groupings of population with seven identifiable languages. Five of these languages are often linked together as Native American (or "Indian"). In the Tewa Basin region, the three major languages are Tewa (a sub-type of Tanoan), Spanish, and Anglo (a term used to include English, all non-Spanish and non-Indian derived terms). Anglo is also the local term for non-Spanish European-American culture. The events of contact between the Spanish and Native American cultures in this area are well-documented for 1540, and documentation of Anglo intrusion into the area dates from the period of the Mexican-American War, although there were French and American traders and trappers in the region before that. Spanish settlement in this region dates from 1598. Anglo settlement of any significant size came only in the present century, although commercial interests were Anglo-dominated by the 1890's (with the coming of the railroads) and political rule over the territory by the American government

dates from the Mexican-American War (1846-48). In all of these events and changes the Tewa Basin, from Santa Fe to Taos, was centrally involved. (See Spicer, 1962, for an excellent overview.)

My work with place names was organized as an exploratory venture rather than being closely organized by hypotheses. As a very general proposition, I did expect that there would be discernible variations in the culture-based origins of place names as indicated by the languages from which the name was selected. Figure 1 shows that the three cultures did differ in the extent of their use as the origins for place names. This figure also enables the reader to perceive the variety of sources used in this research.

The data from Santa Fe and Albuquerque are for street names only; the names were collected from street maps for these cities (Arrow, n.d.). The data for Cities and Towns (Road Map of New Mexico, 1973) and for Ghost Towns (File, 1964) are for town names only. These four sets of data

Table 1: Cultural Origins of Place Names in New Mexico

	N	%
Singles (one culture):		
Anglo	6,120	58.7%
Spanish	3,744	35.9
Native American	552	5.3
Compounds:		
Spanish-Anglo	2,615	81.3%
Native American-Anglo	435	13.5
Native American-Spanish	166	5.1
Blends:		
Spanish-Anglo	77	24.8%
Native American-Anglo	15	4.8
Native American-Spanish	218	70.3
Singles	10,416	75%
Compounds	2,947	21
Blends	309	2
Other, Unknown	207	1
Total Names	13,879	100%
Combined Categories (Singles, Compounds, Blends):		
Anglo	9,289	52.9%
Spanish	6,847	39.0
Native America	1,413	8.0

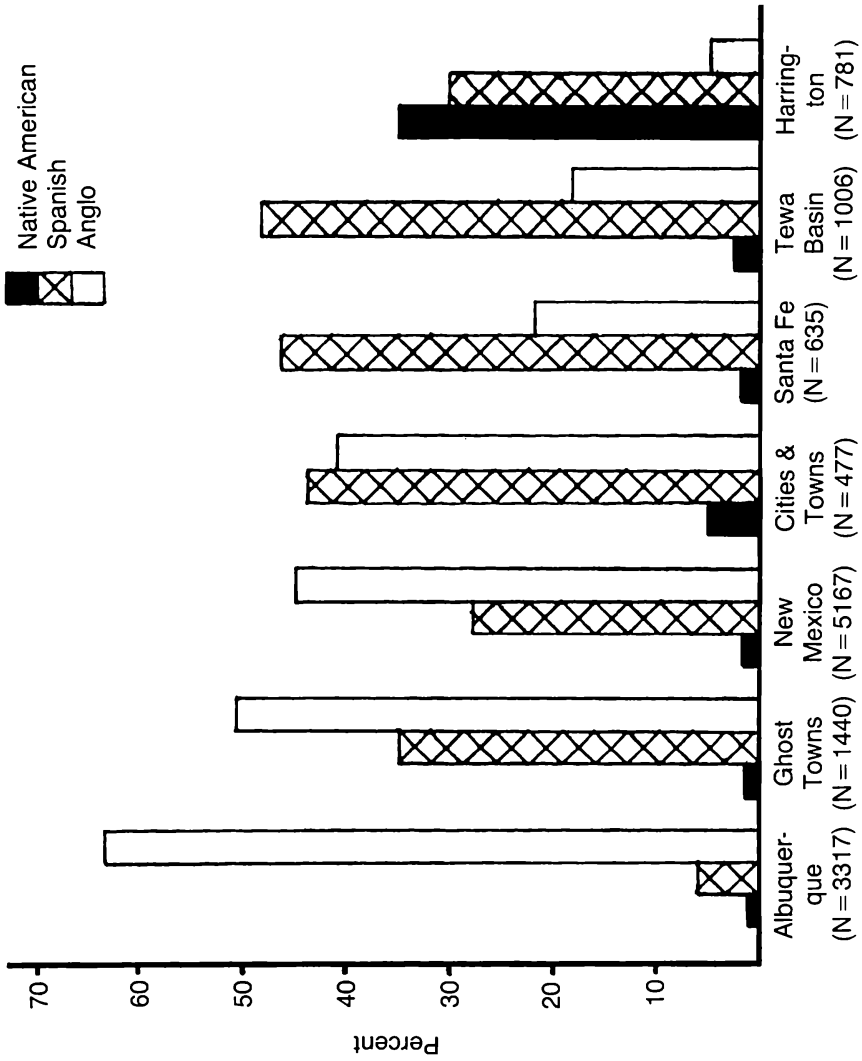


Figure 1: Cultural Origins of Place Names, New Mexico

were drawn from maps one could buy at a newsstand or similar retail outlet. The data for Tewa Basin and New Mexico are contemporary names for places (other than streets), both geological and geopolitical in feature. Easily obtained geological survey maps from the New Mexico State Highway Department were the sources for the data from the Tewa Basin, and a place-name dictionary (Pearce, 1965) was the source for the data labeled New Mexico. The entry *Harrington* refers to a region which overlaps with the Tewa Basin both in area and features which are covered, but the data are from an ethnogeography produced in 1910 by an anthropologist whose main interest was in the Tewa language (Harrington, 1916); I used his name to identify these data.

It is obvious from these sources that the percentage of terms which are from Anglo culture varies widely. The percentage of terms which are Spanish in origin also varies widely but within a smaller range, unless the Harrington data are omitted on the grounds of being less contemporary (then the range is wider for Spanish names). Besides being less contemporary, Harrington's research problem biases his data in ways favorable to a larger percentage of Native American terms. There is some variation among the contemporary sources in the percentage of names which are Native American in origin although the range is small.

It is apparent that Albuquerque and Santa Fe differ widely in their use of Spanish and Anglo terms for naming streets, but are similar in their low use of Native American terms. The cultural origins for town names for Ghost Towns have a different distribution from that for contemporary Cities and Towns, with Ghost Towns using Anglo culture more and Spanish culture less. However, the data for Ghost Town names are somewhat similar in its distribution with that for New Mexico, which includes many place names other than towns. It is interesting to note that the closest distributional similarity is that between the list of street names in Santa Fe and the list of places in the Tewa Basin, which included no street names. These two lists are both contemporary, but given the range of variation existing between all these sources, the similarity between the cultural origins distributions for Santa Fe street names and the wider variety of place names in the Tewa Basin is striking. I have no explanation to offer.

I quickly learned, as I began collecting these data, that many of the place names were not clearly identifiable as simply Anglo, or Spanish, or Native American. Those terms which were from only one of these cultures I came to call *Singles*, to distinguish them from corrupted terms. Only Singles are used in Figure 1. Some terms used as place names were what I came to call *Compounds*, when two or more words from more than

one cultural origin were combined to name a place. Examples of compounds are:

- Rio Nambe* (Spanish - Native American) for *Nambe River*;
Truchas Peak (Spanish - Anglo) for *Trout Peak*;
Tewa Lounge (Native American - Anglo);
Nambe Mesa Falls (Native American - Spanish - Anglo).

In this list the term *Nambe* is a Native American community named for a round hill; *Tewa* is the name of the Native American language in the region.

Another variation of considerable frequency was what I called Blends, when in a name of one word there exist corruptions or mixtures of terms from more than one culture. Hispanicizations and Anglicizations would also be classified as “blends” if they go beyond transliterations, such as in the mixture of opposed spelling rules. Examples of Blends are:

- Glenrio* (Anglo - Spanish) for Glen river;
Camillo (Anglo - Spanish) an Anglicization probably of *Camilla* for cat or litter;
Chimayo (Spanish - Native American) corruption of *tse mayo*, a Native American holy hill;
Sandiateqwa (Spanish - Native American) Spanish word for *melon* applied to a region and Native American *teqwa* meaning house;
Bakamaeng (Native American - Anglo) Native American corruption of an Anglo family name. Buckman.

Within my collection sources I found variations for these types of place names as well as for the Singles. A view of the total distribution by these categories is presented in Table 1. Occasionally there were Compounds involving terms from all three cultures (*Nambe Mesa Falls*, see above) and there were a few cases in which one term of a compound was itself a Blend (*Bakaman pakwi*, see below); these instances are few, but they explain why the totals for these categories do not match exactly. There were found a few (14) redundancies, e.g., El Paso Gap, which are here included with the Unknown category.

One might be tempted to conclude, from the presentation in Table 1, that the use of Singles in assigning place names is dominated by the most recent culture in the area, historically speaking. Recent dominance probably is a factor, but a check again with Figure 1 shows that this is not true for the naming of Cities and Towns, Santa Fe streets, nor the geo-features of the Tewa Basin, —all of which are contemporary lists but in which Spanish origins exceed Anglo origins for the place names. Also, we need to keep in mind that Native American languages are only just now becoming literate, and the lack of a written language placed them at a disadvantage when members of literate cultures determined place names for mapping purposes. Also important to remember is that Anglo dominance in the region is not only more recent, but of shorter life (less than 150 years politically, less than 80 in settlement), while Spanish dominance existed politically for about 250 years before the Mexican-Ameri-

can War, and Spanish cultural settlement is now approaching 400 years. Given these facts, the persistence of Native American terms to the extent shown is perhaps the more remarkable feature to explain. It certainly is a point of considerable support for the consideration of place name persistence as a valuable artifact. To assume that the variable of most-recent dominance is sufficient to explain variations in the distribution of the cultural origins of place names is an overly simple assumption and should not be relied upon.

In two of my sources (Pearce, 1965; Harrington, 1916), the place names were presented in such a manner so that for a total of 633 instances I could determine something about what happened to the place name originally given by one culture when another culture began to refer to that place. I consider this the analysis of *direction*. Some inferences can be drawn from the data already presented because we know that the Native American populations resided in the area we call New Mexico before the Spanish; the Anglos came still later. However, for these 633 places, more historical evidence exists concerning the changes occurring in specific names for specific places. These changes are instances of *directional shift* because we can be more sure of the direction of the change which has evidently taken place. That is, for example, we can determine whether the change was Tewa to Spanish, or from Spanish to Tewa.

Allow me to illustrate the problem by a fictional account. Let us pretend that there is a small lake in the area known by two names: "Bakamanpakwi" and also as "Buckman's Laguna." Until and unless we have more evidence than just the two names, we cannot be sure whether the Native American term is the more original and the Anglo-Spanish compound is a later name, or whether the Anglo-Spanish term is the earlier and the Native American term is a blend-transliteration of it. Knowing that the Native Americans resided in the general region first, and being fairly certain that the lake also preceded both the Spanish and Anglo populations, we might infer the former interpretation. But we'd be wrong. Historical records would show that Buckman was an Anglo settler in the region of the lake, coming with the Anglo construction of the railroad, and it was then that the Native-Americans began to refer to the pakwi nearby as the Bakamanpakwi (a blend of the Tewa word for lake, *pakwi*, and their corruption of the Anglo settler's name). The Spanish who were unconcerned with that lake until the railroad was built nearby, also began calling the lake by the settler's name, but used the Spanish "laguna" instead of the Tewa term and adopted the Anglo name without corruption. In the Tewa usage, then, we see that the directional shift was from Tewa to an Anglo-Tewa blend; in the Spanish usage the adoption of

the Anglo-Spanish compound did not represent a directional shift since they had no name for the lake before. Given my interest in syncretism and in changes in language as a means for observing that process, I am much more fascinated by the study of changing place names when the directional shift is evident and can be determined with some confidence. These data are of great interest.

The kind of analysis of a number of place names offered by Pearce and Harrington enables a determination of directional shift for 633 different places' names. Table 2 shows these data by type of shift: translation, corruption (blends, compounds, or transliterations), or by superimposing a new term upon the place. This table also shows us these data by the cultural direction of the shift. Given the history of cultural dominance, it is not surprising that the most frequent patterns are shifts from the earlier culture to the recent culture (Native American to Spanish; Spanish to Anglo). Some may be surprised that the chronological pattern can be skipped (e.g., over 8% of these shifts were from a Native American name to an Anglo name), or that it may even be reversed as in the case of over 12% of the names which shifted from a Spanish name to a Native American name.

Table 3 combines the data of Table 2 so that we can see that the cultures making these changes in place names differ in their modal patterns. That

Table 2: Cultural Directional Shift of Place Names in New Mexico

Type of Shift:

	N	Translation	Corruption	New Term
Source				
Pearce (1965)	110	30.9%	20.9%	48.2%
Harrington (1916)	523	21.0	50.1	28.9
Combined	633	22.7	45.0	32.2

Cultural Direction of Shift:

Native American to Spanish	41.2%
Spanish to Anglo	29.1
Spanish to Native American	12.8
Native American to Anglo	8.4
Native American to Spanish to Anglo	3.6
Anglo to Spanish	1.4

Table 3: Type of Directional Shift by Culture Making the Change

Culture	Type of Shift	N	Translation	Corruption	New Term
Spanish:	Native American to Spanish	261	26.4	22.6	51.0
	Anglo to Spanish	22	27.3	9.1	63.6
Anglo:	Native American to Anglo	53	26.4	47.2	26.4
	Spanish to Anglo	184	9.2	71.2	19.6
Native American:					
	Spanish to Native American	81	29.6	66.7	3.7
	Anglo to Native American	9	11.1	44.4	44.4

is, the Spanish culture seems more inclined than are the Anglo or Native American cultures to impose upon places new terms from their own culture. This is the Spanish mode whether the former place name is Native American or Anglo. The Anglo culture, on the other hand, seems inclined to make a corruption of the pre-existing place name rather than translate it or to impose a new term from its own culture; but its use of the corruption alternative has occurred more upon place names of Spanish origin than those of Native American origin.

Native American changes are less clear, partly because of a smaller number, but there seems to have been a tendency toward the corruption of pre-existing names. Certainly the low percentage of new terms imposed upon places having a Spanish-origin name is striking. To explain this is not easy, however, since the percentage of translation shift is fairly high and suggests that the Native American behavior was not one of simply accepting (in corrupted form) the sounds of names made by the dominant Spanish culture. Indeed, the large population of Native American new terms imposed upon Anglo-named places is possibly *not* an accident of the small number. Studies of Tewa response to Spanish and Anglo domination have shown that there was an unusual adeptness among Tewa-speakers for maintaining control over their own language and frequently creating new Tewa terms for totally new objects brought in by the invading culture (Spicer, 1962, pp. 448ff.).

There are complexities to be further studied here, but it seems clear from Table 3 that when directional changes in place names occur in these three cultures, they tend to exhibit different patterns for making those changes. Table 4 further explicates this by breaking out the data of the

Table 4: Type of Corruption by Culture Making the Change (Harrington Data Only)

	N	Transliteration	Blend	Compound
Spanish	45	57.8%	13.3%	28.9%
Anglo	133	6.0	0.8	93.2
Native American	58	79.3	19.0	1.7

corruption mode into three differing forms: transliteration, blend, and compound.

Blends and compounds have been defined above. Transliteration has no special meaning here, and often what will be classified as a transliteration may in fact be a corruption which is unavoidable because of differences between the two languages at the phoneme level. For example, it is probable that a river and region named *Tsa ma* (Te'wa) became *Chama* (Spanish) simply because the Spanish language has no "ts" sound. Transliterations, therefore, are closer to the original (and hence less a corruption) than are blends and compounds. But all of these draw more upon the pre-existing name than does the practice of introducing new terms for the places.

We find, therefore, that these three cultures seem to display different patterns of corruption when that is the type of change in place name determination. When the Anglo culture corrupts (and it tended more toward this type of change than the Spanish), it is likely to use the compound method: to combine an Anglo word with a word from the other culture. The Spanish culture (which generally tended more to impose new terms) is more inclined to the transliteration form, whenever its changes are corruption of other languages' terms. The Native American clearly tends more toward transliteration and blending with very little compounding.

CONCLUSION

With the collection, organization, and presentation of these data on place names, this report comes to an end. As artifacts from three different cultures in New Mexico, place names are cultural remains and available for inspection and analysis. Even at the low level of frequency-distribution analysis, the study of place names yields new information. This report at several points also stresses the need to maintain a consciousness

of the limits of evidence based upon artifact remains. But when these limitations lead the researcher to be cautious in interpretation and to use other data to help evaluate and interpret place name data, then such artifacts can be a source of useful hypotheses and may contribute supporting information to other studies.

I will close this brief report by listing a few of the specific and testable hypotheses for further study which I feel emerge from this exploratory research:

(1) The cultural origin of street-names in New Mexico will vary by significant characteristics of cities such as age, size, and degree of commitment to a tradition. The variations between Albuquerque and Santa Fe suggest that some predictions of this nature could be made for other cities and towns in New Mexico. Whether we could so predict for states with non-Spanish or less sedentary Native American cultures is more problematic.

(2) Redundancies (in multi-cultural names) will more frequently be found in folk-usage than in official usage.

(3) Variations in use of place names for natural sites (such as streams and mountains) will differ from use for constructed sites (such as streets and buildings) with cultural shifts being made more slowly in the case of natural sites. In the present study this difference seems to be suggested when comparing street-names with names for natural items in the geography; perhaps previous names for mountains are more respected than previous names for towns or village sites, because they appear less amenable to human alteration in physical terms.

(4) Spanish culture shifts will introduce new terms to a greater degree than will Anglo cultural shifts. This is true in Harrington's data, but could be tested on other data, if sufficient historical data about the sequence of name changes are available. I'd expect this might be possible in other of the Southwestern states.

(5) When terms from a pre-existing culture are respected, Spanish culture shifts will translate from that culture more frequently than will Anglo culture shifts.

(6) When corruption of a pre-existing culture's terms occurs, Spanish culture shifts will more frequently transliterate. Anglo culture shifts will more frequently compound.

I suspect that these findings may reflect variations in what may be called cultural style. That is, different cultures are likely to use different modal patterns of response in situations which call for decisions about the symbolization of culture contact. The naming of places in the environment is one specific case of such decisions about symbolization. I further

suspect that insights we may gain about the cultural modes of symbolization in naming places may be transferable to other social situations in which decisions are made which symbolize perceptions of dominance, etc. For example, if it holds up in further research, I would expect that one difference politically between Spanish and Anglo cultures might be that Spanish may use dominance to either “translate” or impose their own political forms upon the dominated culture, whereas Anglo may take a middle (“Compound”) way in which its own political forms are mixed with those of the dominated culture.

However, at this point I am quite reluctant to proceed to specify such notions because this has been a very limited study. If other studies should find similar patterns for the cultures involved, then one might feel more confident. I am quite new to onomastics and am not sure how this study may contribute to that field. I am more confident that this study represents some ways in which the study of place names can advance our investigation of certain sociological problems. I am not sure about whether what I have observed is peculiar to these cultures and the historical times in which their contact with each other occurred. Are these variations similar to the patterns of other cultures which have come into historical contact by means of overlapping settlements in a common environment over a time spanning many generations? If readers know of similar analyses of place-naming in such situations I’d appreciate learning about them.

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