Lipan Apache Placenames of Augustina Zuazua: Some Structural and Discursive Features

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This paper presents twenty-two Lipan Apache placenames as used by Augustina Zuazua in a narrative to Harry Hoijer concerning Lipan history. Lipan Apache is now considered by most linguists to be largely an extinct language. However these placenames provide a glimpse into the place-naming practices of the Lipan as well as reveal how placenames were discursively used. I analyze the placenames based on the semantic and morphological components of the names. I also look at how the placenames were used in context within the narrative. Finally, I suggest that Zuazua used this narrative and the placenames to comment on the removal of the Lipan Apache from their traditional homeland. The names, then, act as lingering signs of a past homeland.

'Áshį k'adi Kónitsąą 'ágǫǫłch'íníí ná'gojii.[1]
Augustina Zuazua

Introduction

It has become a truism that Athabaskan-speaking peoples name their ethnogeographical environment with "care and precision" (Hoijer 1950: 557). Work on Western Apache (Basso 1996), Navajo (Kelley and Francis 1994), Tolowa (Collins 1998), Tutchone (Cruikshank 1990), and Alaskan Athabaskans (Kari 1989, 1996a, 1996b) clearly reveal the importance of place-naming practices among Athabaskan-speaking peoples. They often reveal culturally salient geographical features and they suggest something about aboriginal Lipan Apache homelands. This paper analyzes a small corpus of Lipan Apache placenames. The data is drawn primarily from a narrative told by Augustina Zuazua to the anthropological linguist Harry Hoijer (Hoijer 1975).

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I follow James Kari (1989) in the organization of this paper. First, I suggest something of the structure and semantics of the placenames. I pay careful attention to the use of the nouns used in the placenames, the relativizing enclitic used in several placenames, and the si-perfective found in various verb constructions (see Young and Morgan 1987 for a general overview of Southern Athabaskan verb morphology). I then suggest something of the discourse uses of placenames. This is a tentative and preliminary discussion of the uses of placenames within discourse. Throughout this paper, I attempt to draw connections and distinctions between Lipan Apache placenaming practices and other Athabaskan people's placenaming practices. The linguistic and ethnographic knowledge concerning Lipan Apache is relatively limited and this paper adds to that literature and to comparative Athabaskan research.

Lipan Apache and Augustina Zuazua.

The Lipan Apache are part of the eastern branch of the Southern Athabaskan-speaking peoples (often termed Apachean). The Lipan Apache language differs from other Apachean-speaking people on lexical, phonological, and syntactic variables. Here I mention two examples, one phonological and one lexical (for a discussion concerning syntactic distinctions see Jung 2000). As Harry Hoijer (1942) pointed out, there is a west to east Apachean phonological shift where /t/ —> /k/. Thus, in Navajo one finds *tó* 'water' and in Lipan the form is *kó*. An example of a lexical difference can be seen in a comparison of the following words: Navajo: *ch'ɬɨdii* 'ghost'; Lipan: *bak'osh* 'ghost.' This is an overt lexical difference. As early as 1975, Hoijer reported that Lipan Apache was an extinct language. Some speakers on the Mescalero Reservation can recall Lipan Apache nominal forms, however (see Breuninger et al 1982). For example, Breuninger et al (1982: 128) recorded three terms for 'dog', one in Mescalero Apache *chúúné*, one in Chiricahua Apache *ke'ja'* and one in Lipan Apache *neeɬɨ*.[2]

In Augustina Zuazua's narrative "A History and Customs of the Lipan Apache" told to Harry Hoijer in 1938 on the Mescalero Reservation (New Mexico), she uses twenty-two distinct Lipan placenames.[3] She often repeats these forms throughout her narrative.

For example, there are eight uses of *kįgołgah* 'Many Houses, San Antonio' or a reduced form *kįłą* (*kį* 'house' *łą* 'many') in the first thirty sentences of Zuazua's narrative. In what follows, I provide a list of those placenames and the locations of the placenames first appearance in Hoijer's published version of the narrative (1975). The placenames have been compared to Hoijer's unpublished notebook version housed at the American Philosophical Society. Discrepancies between the notebook and the published version have been decided in favor of the unpublished notebook when there has clearly been an omission. Many of the placenames Hoijer recorded are simply described as "unidentified place." However, some of them had known locales. Thus there is a name for San Antonio, Texas (*kįgołgah* 'Many Houses') and a name for the Rio Grande (*gonitséí* 'big river'). Three places were identified as being located in Mexico. All the places, however, fell within *Kónitsąąhįį́ gokíyaa* 'Lipan country' (Hoijer 1975: 9).

It should be noted that the Lipan Apache were removed from Mexico to the Mescalero Reservation in 1905 (Sjoberg 1953; Opler 1945 gives 1903). At that time there were nineteen Lipan Apaches that came to the Mescalero Reservation (Opler 1945). Based on the narrative given by Zuazua, it is likely that she was one of the survivors that had been relocated to the Mescalero Reservation. The Lipan Apache originally resided in Central Texas and Northern Mexico before the extermination policies of Texas, Mexico, and the United States took their profound toll (both in loss of life and the expropriation of their homelands). Andreé Sjoberg (1953) notes that in aboriginal times the Lipan Apache normally camped near waterways during the summer and in the winter they camped near the southern facing side of foothills. They were in regular interaction with Tonkawas (a language isolate) and Mescalero Apaches (Webster 1999a). Bilingualism in either Tonkawa or Mescalero was probably common (Webster 1999a; n.d.). We can think, in general terms of a speech community that included the languages of Lipan, Mescalero and Tonkawa (Webster 1999a).

However, by the time that Hoijer conducted fieldwork among the Lipan Apache in 1938 the language was already

moribund and virtually extinct. In 1975 Hoijer wrote that "today there are no Lipan speakers (Hoijer 1975: 5)." These placenames, then, offer a glimpse into the place naming practices and the use of placenames in a narrative of the Lipan Apache—as articulated by Augustina Zuazua. They are also a reminder of the previous homeland of the Lipan Apache, a point, I believe, that was not lost on Zuazua.

The Placenames of Augustina Zuazua.

The placenames are listed with the sentence number that Hoijer gave them first. In the following presentation, I have updated the orthography to align more closely with that used in the Mescalero Apache Dictionary (Breuninger et al 1982). Here is the list:

S1 kįgołgah 'many houses' (San Antonio)
S4 kį́łą́ 'many houses'
S13 kįłigashį́ 'white houses' + -shį́ 'at'
S22 tsínaaslá 'pairs of stones lie about' (town in Mexico)
S30 gonitséí 'big river'
S44 tsíłizhįhíí 'black rock' (town in Mexico)
S49 dzítsosikaa'í 'wild plum trees' (place in Mexico)
S50 tsíbitsiigǫ́lį́[įhí 'stone head mountain'
bighą́'hits'ǫ́ǫjíí 'serrated top'
dziłnáts'iisgai 'white banded mountain'
diłkałíłchídíí 'red cedars'
S51 kóbik'inágoch'ihíí 'covered springs'
S52 tsízhįshijaa'í 'black rocks that lie there'
hayaadiislį́ní 'it flows down'
S54 tsíhits'ǫ́sí 'serrated rock'
'iziidį́ch'í'híí 'bitter medicine'
dziłsi'ą́hí 'mountain that lies there'
S126 kináás'áá 'circular houses'
S143 tsíghá'áníí 'perforated rock'
S144 tsí'łiní'ááhí 'rocks that extend together'
dziłnitséí 'big mountain'
S145 golaa'híí 'that which flows again'
S278 ts'íshjįshijaa 'where berries lie'

Some Structural Features of Lipan Apache Placenames.

An analysis of the constituent parts of the placenames reveals that most describe *tsí* 'rocks, stones.' Hydronyms are also important. This is similar to both Northern Athabaskan placenaming practices (Kari 1989; 1996b) and to Navajo placenaming practices (Kelley and Francis 2005; Jett 1970). Below is a list with the break down of the occurrence of the various topographic features described:

rock (tsí-): 7 (31.81%)
mountain (dziɬ-): 4 (18.18%)
water (kó-): 4 (18.18%)
plants: 4 (18.18%)
house (kɨ-): 3 (13.63%)

Such gross counts correspond with the general summaries of Navajo placenames given by Stephen Jett (1970).

Seven placenames make mention of a rock and some distinguishing feature about that rock. In S50 we find a generic noun combined with a body part in: *tsí-* 'rock, stone' + *bi-* 3POSS + *-tsii-* 'head' 'stone head' (*tsíbitsiigóɬíɬhíí* 'stone head mountain') In Lipan Apache, as in other Athabaskan languages, body part nouns are part of a small class of inalienable nouns (Hoijer 1948). Hence they always take a possessive form (abbreviated POSS). We can compare this with Andrew Cowell's (2004: 23) discussion of "fanciful" descriptions for the Arapaho (Algonquin). Other Southern Athabaskan placenames are also based on these "fanciful resemblances." For example, the Navajo placename *Tsé bit'a'í tsé* 'Winged Rock' 'rock' *bi-* 'its' *–t'a'* 'wing' *-í* 'the one RE' (RE is relativizing enclitic, see below).

One also finds *tsínaaslá* 'pairs of stones lie about.' This form can be analyzed as follows:

1. tsí-	naa-	s-	-lá
rock	here and there, about'	3S si-perfective	'two objects have position'

As these example demonstrates, placenames are complex nouns and are often nominalized verbs (Hoijer 1948). They often include classificatory verb stems such as *–lá* 'two objects have position' in

tsínaaslá 'pairs of stones lie about'; –'ą 'a round object has position' as in *dziłsi'ąhí* 'mountain that lies there'; -jaa(') 'a mass or collectivity has position' as in *ts'íshjįshijaa* 'where berries lie' and *tsízhįshijaa'í* 'black rocks that lie there'; and –kaa' 'a rigid object and its contents has position' as in *dzítsosikaa'í* 'wild plum trees' (on classificatory verbs in Apache see Basso 1968; Rushforth 1991; de Reuse 2001). The placenames are also clearly descriptive. They focus on the shape, color, or other specific features of a topographic feature. This suggests something of what Lipan Apaches considered to be salient features of the landscape. This descriptiveness is a common trait among Athabaskan placenames (see Basso 1996, Cruikshank 1990, Kari 1989). Following Eugene Hunn (1996: 4), I would argue that many of the Lipan Apache placenames provided by Zuazua had "descriptive force." That is these names, "not only designate but also may *describe* certain salient aspects of the entities named" (Hunn 1996: 4 emphasis in original).

Also, many of the placenames include a relativizing enclitic. The three forms this enclitic takes are: *-í, -hí,* and *–híí* 'the one, the place' (these nominalizing enclitics are also found in other Southern Athabaskan placenames; see 'Winged Rock' above). In the following examples a verb form is nominalized through the use of the relativizing enclitic (where S indicates subject):

2. 'iziidįch'í'híí
   'izii- –dįch'i' –híí
   medicine to be bitter the one RE
3. tsíłizhįhíí
   tsí- –łizh- –híí
   rock to be black the one RE
   black rock
4. dziłsi'ąhí
   dził- si- -'ą -hí
   mountain 3S si perfective 'round object has position' the one RE
   mountain that lies there
   bitter medicine

The use of a relativizing or nominalizing enclitic can also be found in other Athabaskan language placenames (see Wilson 1995 on examples in Navajo).

The use of the si- perfective in ex. 4 above as well as in ex. 1 can be found in other Lipan Apache placenames as well (for example, *dzítsosikaa'í* dzítso- 'wild plum' si- 3S si perfective –kaa' 'a rigid object and its contents has position' –í 'the one RE' 'wild plum trees'). The use of the si- perfective can also be found in placenames in other Athabaskan languages. For example, in Navajo there is *Tsin sikaad* 'clumps of trees' (si- 3S si perfective –kaad 'a rigid object and its contents has position') (Wilson 1995: 64) and in Mescalero Apache there is *tsé táyesi'ąya* 'where a rock is in the water' (si- 3S perfective –ą 'a round object has position') (Breuninger et al. 1982: 51). One can also find the use of the hi-perfective in Lipan Apache placenames as well. For example, *tsí-* 'rock' *hi-* hi- perfective *-ts'ǫ́s-* 'to be serrated' *–í* 'the one RE' (note also the use of the hi- perfective in *bighą'hits'ǫ́jíí* 'serrated top' here also with the verb stem *-ts'ǫ́ǫ́* 'to be serrated').

Following placenames with 'rock', one finds the most common topographic features named are mountains, waterways, and plant names. For example:

5. dziłnitséí
   dził- -nitsé- -í
   mountain to be big relativizing enclitic
6. gonitséí
   go- -nitsé- -í
   water to be big relativizing enclitic
7. dzítsosikaa'í
   dzítso- si- -kaa'- -í
   wild plums 3S si perfective rigid container and relativizing enclitic
   its contents have position

One placename describes a place from, we can deduce, a utilitarian perspective: *'iziidį́ch'í'híí* (*'izii-* 'medicine' *–dį́ch'i'* 'to be bitter' *–híí* 'the one RE') 'bitter medicine.' This place may have been known

for a growth of plants that had medicinal properties and a bitter taste. Likewise, placenames that include plum trees or berries may also be utilitarian as well. They indicate where food stuffs might be found. This is also true with respect to placenames that involve waterways. As Sjoberg (1953: 87) notes, the use of waterways and running water were vital for the watering of Lipan Apache livestock.

Of the twenty-two placenames four refer to towns. *Tsílizhįhíí* (*tsí-* 'rock' *–łizh-* 'to be black' *–híí* 'the one RE') 'black rock' does double duty. First, it describes a *tsí-* 'rock' feature, but it is also the Lipan name for a town in Mexico. A geographic feature is used as a metonym for a town. This is common in many Athabaskan languages (see Basso 1983, Wilson 1995). It should be noted that two of the four towns are in Mexico and a third is in Texas. The fourth town's location is undetermined. This, of course, corresponds with the traditional homeland of the Lipan Apache and, therefore, should not be surprising. That Augustina Zuazua could recall the names for San Antonio and two towns in Mexico suggest how important those settlements were to Lipan Apaches.

Nicholas Mirkowich (1941) long ago noted that Navajos did not use English or Spanish placenames to talk of towns founded by "Spaniards" or "Americans." As Mirkowich (1941: 314) notes, "the Navajo rejected to accept other Spanish or English words even for purely technical objects...the strangest example of 'language intolerance' is to be found in Navajo names of towns and settlements founded by Spaniards or Americans." Leaving aside the notion of 'language intolerance,' we find that Lipan Apaches also used their own language to refer to Spanish and American towns (*kįgołgah* 'San Antonio, Texas'). These examples, following Sapir (1921: 209), provide further evidence for the "highly resistant" nature of Athabaskans to borrowing lexical items (see Kari 1989: 139; see also Young 1989). They also suggest something of the felt ability to name places within *Kónitsąąhíį́ gokíyaa* based upon Lipan naming principles.

In an important article, Kari (1989: 138-139) presents the example of Tenada and Denali [di:næ:li]. These placenames are from Ingalik and Koyukon respectively and both refer to "the tallest

mountain in North America." Both can be analyzed as meaning 'The Tall One.' Kari (1989: 138) argues that, "there is a fair amount of evidence in Northern Athabaskan areas that indicates that a single set of placenames extends across language and dialect boundaries with regular phonological adjustment." Here I wish to note that for one of the key geographical features in both Lipan and Mescalero traditional homeland there is some variance in the structure of that placename. Zuazua gives the form *Gonitséí* 'big river' for the Rio Grande (go- 'water' –nitsé 'to be big' –í 'the one RE'). This contrasts with the Mescalero term *Tú 'ichiidí* 'red water' for the Rio Grande (Breuninger et al 1982: 50). The Navajo use the form *Tooh Ba'áadii* 'female river' (tooh 'river' ba-3POSS –áad 'female' –ii 'the one') for the Rio Grande (Wilson 1995: 47). The variation may be due to the nature of the topographic feature (a river as against a mountain). Though Kari (1996b) has also posited hyrdonymic placenaming districts among Alaskan Athabaskans. It may then reveal that there is less of a shared naming district as we find among Northern Athabaskans. This may also be a result of the relative length of time Northern Athabaskans and Southern Athabaskans peoples have been in their respective homelands (see Perry 1991). As I suggested above, Lipan Apache and Mescalero Apaches were historically separate language communities that interacted within a larger speech community (see Webster 1999a). If this is true, and I suspect it is, then we should have some expectation that Lipan Apaches were aware of the Mescalero Apache form (and vice versa). That distinct place-names were still maintained is interesting.

Some discursive uses of place-names by Zuazua.

The placenames provided by Zuazua were not elicited independently. Rather they were embedded within a long narrative concerning the Lipan history. That such placenames are a part of Lipan Apache historical conciousness seems reminiscent of the work of Basso (1996). There Basso (1996:31) argues that for Western Apache, "what matters most to Apaches is *where* events occurred, not when" (emphasis in original). It is to the importance of these placenames in demarcating *Kónitsąąhįį́ gokíyaa* 'Lipan country' that I now turn. Below, I present excerpts from Zauzau's narrative with

examples of various kinds of placenames and the context in which they were used. I follow Hoijer's numbering system and translation system. Klara Kelley and Harris Francis (2005) have argued that placenames occur in Navajo narratives as a form of "wayfinding." There is certainly a "wayfinding" or emplacing quality to Zuazua's use of the Lipan Apache placenames. Such placenames seem to work as a way of emplacing Lipan Apaches within a recognizable ethnogeography. It is also important to keep in mind that this was a homeland that the Lipan Apache had been forcefully alienated from.

The first example is from the beginning of the narrative. In this example Zuazua grounds the narrative in a place away from the Mescalero Reservation. She is clearly calling attention to the fact that the *Kónitsąąhíį́* 'big water people, Lipan Apache' no longer live in their homeland. Note also the repeated use of the initial particles *'ákaa* 'right there' and *'áshį́* 'and', elsewhere I (Webster 1999a) have described the rhetorical uses of particles in a Lipan Apache Coyote story told by Lisandro Mendez (Mendez also helped Hoijer record Zuazua's narrative and assisted in the translation [Hoijer 1975: 6]). I have bolded the placenames for ease of reference.

8. S1 ní'ą́ą́ sháhanát'áhí biyaayá kónitsąą gokíyaa **kįgołgah**.

over there the east to it the Lipan their country [was] Many Houses.

S2 'ákaa kónitsąą gokíyaaná.

right there the Lipan [was] their country, it is said.

S3 'áshį́ nóóshch'eshį́ naagǫ́káh.

and to this way they went across.

(Hoijer 1975: 7, 25)

Kįgołgah is the Lipan Apache name for San Antonio. Zuazua opens her narrative by noting displacement from Lipan country. According to Sjoberg (1953) the Lipan were not relocated to the Mescalero Reservation until 1905 (and then there were only nineteen Lipan Apaches that had survived the genocidal policies of Texas, Mexico, and the United States). It was within Zuazua lifetime that the Lipan had once lived in "their country" and had been removed. Note, also,

however, the use of the narrative enclitic *–ná* 'it is said' in S2 in *gokíyaa-ná* 'their country, it is said.' The narrative enclitic (hearsay evidential) is used at various points during the narrative (see example 6. S22 and example 7. S49 for two other uses).

From a preliminary analysis, the use of this form is most likely associated with the fact that Zuazua frames this narrative as a report she heard from an *'isdzáánií* 'old woman' (see Webster 1999b on narrative enclitics in Chiricahua Apache; on Apachean evidentials see de Reuse 2003). Hoijer (1975: 36) notes, concerning the old woman, "the reference is to an old woman from whom Zuazua learned about the Lipan."[4] The narrative enclitic, then, places this narrative—or segments of it—within Lipan received standards, that is it is implicated in the words of another (Webster 1999b). In doing so, Zuazua seems to use the narrative enclitic and the placenames to validate this narrative and the history and placedness of the Lipan. The use of the narrative enclitic at this point in the narrative (other portions of the narrative lack the enclitic and do not seem dependent on the words of the elder Lipan woman) suggests a subtle shift in perspective from those things Zuazua knew firsthand (or took the perspective of knowing firsthand) and those events that were reported to her (see de Reuse 2003). I have translated the narrative enclitic in the examples in which it occurs, this contrasts with the published version by Hoijer where he does not translate them.

The second example concerns the use of a placename containing *tsí* 'rock, stone.' Here again, we see an explicit assertion of where Lipan Apache country was (with the obvious implication that the Lipan no longer reside in "their country").

9. S22 **tsínaaslá** dá'á'ii gokídaa'yaaná.
Pairs of Stones Lie About right there [was] their country, it is said.
S23 kónitsąąhíį dá'dáíná hánádaagodisíí.
the Lipan just there they traveled about.
(Hoijer 1975: 8, 25)

In the third example, I present a placename that concerns a plant name. This part of the narrative concerns the movements of the Lipan Apache. Various placenames are enumerated and at each place

that the Lipan Apache encounter they make it part of their country. This segment of the narrative is a description of early Lipan movements and Zuazua is describing what an *'isdzáánii* 'old woman' had told her. Note the use of the initial particle *'ako'aa* 'and then.'

10. S48 'áko'aa dá'ái dziłí kikíyaa 'ádaagojíłaa
and then those mountains their country they made it so

S49 **dzítsosikaa'í** kónitsąą gokiýaa 'ádaagogǫ́laaná
Wild Plum Trees the Lipan their country they made it so, it is said.

(Hoijer 1975: 9, 26)

The fourth example concerns the use of waterways as placenames in Lipan Apache. In this example Zuazua is discussing the primary waterway in southern Texas, the Rio Grande or *gonitséí* 'big river.' In this excerpt, Zuazua gives a bit of ethnographic insight. The Apaches, in general, were not known historically for traveling via waterways. The Lipan Apache, however, did employ boats. Hoijer writes the form from Zuazua as *daakǫǫ* 'boat.' Morris Opler (1975), in an article concerning Lipan Apache watercraft, presents the form as *naakǫǫ* and notes the phonological and structural similarity to the Lipan Apache term for 'swim' *naa'iłkǫǫ*. Both forms are based on the stem *–kǫǫ*. Robert Young, William Morgan and Sally Midgette (1992: 331) give the Navajo stem as *–kǫ́ǫ́'* and state that it "occurs, with 'a- thematic (the 3i object pronoun?) and Ł-classifier as the theme in the verb bases meaning 'swim.'" Young, Morgan and Midgette (1992: 333) go on to point out that there is an archaic noun in Navajo *naashkǫ́ǫ́ł* based on this stem meaning 'raft, boat.' Opler (1975) suggests the similarity of forms in Lipan Apache may be due to an association of buoyancy between swimmer and boat. The comparative data from Navajo seems to confirm this suspicion. The phonological variation in the Lipan presentations between [n] and [d] may be a result of pronunciation differences or recording errors (see Webster n.d. on the phonological alternation between [b] and [v] in Lipan).

11. S266 'áshį 'ániidah kájį'á **gonitséí** naa'ní'yáá daakǫǫ

and now to the water the Rio Grande to the other side the boat

hats'iis'aa

they took it out

(Hoijer 1975: 22, 34)

Finally, here is an example where a mountain is used as a placename. In this example, Zuazua demarcates part of the Lipan Apache country. She names two topographic features and places them within Lipan Apache country. One placename is a mountain and the other is a rock outcropping. Rock outcroppings are an especially salient topographic feature named in many Southern Athabaskan languages (see Basso 1983; Jett 2001).

12. S144 **tsí'liní'ááhí** 'áshį **dziłnitséí** kónitsąą

Rocks That Extended Together and Big Mountain the Lipan

gókídaayaa

was their country

(Hoijer 1975: 15, 30)

It would appear that the location of *Kónitsąąhíį́ gokíyaa* 'Lipan country' was still quite salient and important to Augustina Zuazua in 1938 when she narrated an account of the history of the Lipan to Harry Hoijer. Such ethnogeographical knowledge, even after removal from their homeland, was still remembered (at least by Augustina Zuazua). It may also be the case that the lack of knowledge of the locations of various places was not the fault of Augustina Zuazua, but of Hoijer's younger Lipan Apache assistant Lisandro Mendez. It is possible we are witnessing the loss of Lipan Apache ethnogeographical knowledge as we encounter this translation. Some placenames, however, survive as lingering signs of a past homeland.

Mbadził: A Lipan Apache placename from Opler.

I want to briefly turn to a placename recorded by Morris Opler (1940: 250, 271). The form, *mbadził* 'Coyote Mountain' (*mba* 'coyote' + *dził* 'mountain'), was recorded from both Antonio Apache (Opler 1940: 247-250, 271) and Percy Bigmouth (1940: 250). Bigmouth notes that the placename *mbadził* had become a personal name for a Comanche "chief" due to a battle that had taken place near the mountain. Both Bigmouth and Apache noted that the mountain was "just east of the Pecos River (Opler 1940: 250)" and "in the vicinity of Ft. Davis, Texas (Opler 1940: 271)." It would appear that this mountain, near the Mescalero Reservation, and its attendant placename were still in circulation in the 1930s.

We can note that like the placenames from Zuazua, this placename is relatively transparent and segmentable semantically and morphologically. It is a compound noun combining the generic noun *dził* 'mountain' and the culturally important (and specific) animal *mba* 'coyote' (Opler 1940; Webster 1999a). It adds to the general pattern of Lipan Apache place-naming practices. Here we have a compound noun used as a placename. This use of compound nouns can also be found in Navajo, Mescalero, and Alaskan Athabaskan languages (see Kari 1989). These are, following the terminology of Hunn (1996: 12), binominal placenames (generic + specific). Discursively, it is found in a story by Antonio Apache concerning the Lipan Apache coming to the Mescalero Reservation and in a narrative by both Antonio Apache and Percy Bigmouth concerning a battle between the Lipan Apache and the Comanche. A battle that the Lipan Apache won. The narrative of that battle, and the placedness of that battle, were still in circulation in the 1930s. Thus both a specific story—the battle with the Comanche—and a particular individual—the Comanche chief who is named after the place (and not the other way around)—are indexed by the placename *mbadził.* This is similiar to the descriptions of the discursive uses of placenames given by Jett (2001) for Navajo, Kari (1989) for Alaskan Athabaskans, Basso (1996) for Western Apache, and Cruikshank (1990) for Tutchone (see also Gelo 1994 on the use of topographic knowledge in Comanche narratives).

A comparative conclusion.

In conclustion, it is interesting to note what geographical features Lipan Apaches chose to encode in their placenames and which they did not. Rock formations are most common (and sometimes do double duty as the name of a town). This is followed by waterways, plants, mountains and houses (towns). In the placename recorded by Opler, we find a mountian and a culturally salient animal combined in a compound noun. No strong claims can be made concerning place-naming practices among the Lipan Apache based on this small a sample from one elderly woman and a brief compartive example from Opler's work. At the most, we can state that these Lipan Apache placenames refer to topographic and hydrographic features and habitations. In this, they are quite in line with other Athabaskan-speaking peoples placename practices. They also, following Hunn (1996), involve "descriptive force," describing the salient geographic features as opposed to merely "naming" them. Likewise we can note that various formal features such as the use of the relativizing enclitic *–(h)í(í)* 'the one, the place,' the use of classificatory verbs, and the use of the si-perfective can also be found in placenames in other Athabaskan languages. The examples concerning the Rio Grande and distinct names for it in Lipan, Mescalero, and Navajo contrasts with the overlapping naming districts described by Kari (1989) for Alaskan Athabaskan placenaming practices. This may be a result of the length of time that Southern Athabaskans have been in the Southwest.

Finally, we can also point to the fact that no placename was recorded that used an individual's name. This pattern—the lack of naming places after people (especially deceased people)—is also attested for among the Navajo (Jett 1970), Tagish (Cruikshank 1985), Western Apache (Basso 1983), and Alaskan Athabaskans (Kari 1986, 1989). It is, then, not surprising to find that Lipan Apache, at least in this small sample, did not name places after individuals. Such "biographical" placenames are also not found in other Native American traditions such as the Arapaho (Algonquian) (Cowell 2004) and the Sahaptin (Sahaptin) (Hunn 1996). The lack of

"biographical" placenames among Native Americans appears to be a general naming tendency (see Hunn 1996).

In Lipan Apache, placenames describe specific locales through the use of compound nouns, classificatory verb stems, and descriptive verb constructions that have been nominalized. Based on the corpus of placenames analyzed here, Lipan Apache placenames tend to be "verb-centered" (Hunn 1996: 12). This is similar to other Athabaskan placenaming practices and to the Sahaptin placenames described by Hunn (1996). In that respect, as well as in the preference against biographical placenames, Lipan Apache placenames differ significantly from the noun-based English language placenames that now populate Central Texas (Austin, San Antonio, Fredricksburg, Georgetown, and the like). The Lipan Apache placenames of Augustina Zuazua thus offer lingering signs of a past homeland and of a different way of emplacing and encoding that homeland through the descriptive force and verb-centered placenaming practices.

Notes

1. "And now the Lipan are few in number, they remain (Hoijer 1975: 28)." I have slightly adapted the translation from Hoijer's word for word glossing.
2. It is not surprising that there are three different terms for 'dog' in the three related languages. All three languages use some for of *łí(į)* for 'horse.' This form, as Edward Sapir (1936) noted, is related to the Northern Athabaskan word *łį* 'dog.' Southern Athabaskan peoples, when they encountered horses, transferred the name of their former primary beast of burden (dog) to the new primary beast of burden (horse). This explains the diversity of terms for dog in Southern Athabaskan languages. Each language had to create a new term for an old referent. In Navajo, for example, the form is *łééchąą'í.* It is possible, then, that Chiricahuas, Lipans, Mescaleros and Navajos encountered horses after they had split since there does not appear to be a proto-Apachean form for 'dog.'
3. There is a twenty-third placename in the Zuazua corpus. That form is *háná'jíįstą* S124 (Hoijer 1975: 29). Hoijer (1975: 36) leaves the form untranslated and provides this note, "Placename in Mexico." I am unsure why he left the form untranslated. I have, however, followed his lead and left the form untranslated.
4. Zuazua gives the elder Lipan Apache woman's name as *Naada'inií* (Hoijer 1975:13; S103). Again Hoijer and Mendez leave this form untranslated. I again follow their lead and leave it untranslated.

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