NAMES, Vol. 59 No. 1, March, 2011, 42–51

The Sociocultural Significance of *Niitsitapi* Personal Names: An Ethnographic Analysis

CAROL G LOMBARD
University of Montana, USA

This article presents a discussion of ethnographic research carried out by the author on the nature and functions of *Niitsitapi* "Blackfoot" personal names. The research indicates that these names are an integral and inseparable part of traditional *Niitsitapi* socioculture, and perform a number of important sociocultural functions. Most notably, *Niitsitapi* personal names seem to function as vehicles of oral knowledge transfer through which *Niitsitapi* cultural norms, beliefs, and values are conveyed. The traditional *Niitsitapi* approach to personal naming also appears to be strongly underpinned by certain *Niitsitapi* cultural concepts, which are reinforced within *Niitsitapi* communities through continued adherence to traditional personal naming practices. *Niitsitapi* personal names thus appear to play a crucial role in maintaining *Niitsitapi* culture and perceptions of cultural identity.

KEYWORDS Blackfoot, *Niitsitapi*, Native American, personal names, onomastics, traditional naming practices, ethnolinguistics, ethnoscience

Introduction

This article is aimed at explaining the significance of personal names and naming practices in *Niitsitapi* "Blackfoot" socioculture. It is adapted from my recently completed Master's degree dissertation, entitled "An ethnolinguistic study of *Niitsitapi* personal names" (Lombard, 2008), and is based on ethnographic research that was carried out on the Kainai (Blood) Indian Reserve in southern Alberta, Canada, during the period from October 2005 until April 2007.

The discussion begins with some clarification of terminology use. This is followed by an explanation of several sociocultural features of *Niitsitapi* personal names and naming practices that were identified through the research, using examples of specific names as illustrations. The study's findings are then briefly analyzed with reference to certain theoretical perspectives in onomastics. The article concludes with a short review of some important methodological aspects of the research.

 DOI 10.1179/002777311X12942225544714

Clarification of terminology use

Niitsitapi, Kainai, and *Blackfoot*

The term *Niitsitapi* is a *Niitsi'powahsin* "Blackfoot" word that is used as a collective reference to members of the four Native American tribes or nations who make up what is known today as the Blackfoot Confederacy. These four tribes are the *Siksika* "Blackfoot"; the *Akainaa* (also known as Kainai or Bloods); the *Aapatohsipiikani* (variously spelled Piikani, Pikanii, Pikuni, Piegan, or Peigan); and the *Aamsskaapipikani* (the Blackfeet Nation). The first three tribes are from Alberta, Canada, whilst the fourth is from Montana, in the United States. All of them share a linguistic, historical, and cultural background, although each tribe functions under its own separate leadership. Their common language is Blackfoot, or *Niitsi'powahsin*, meaning "the Real Language," of which the two main dialects are Piegan and Blood/Kainai.

Niitsi'powahsin is a member of the Algonquian language family, which includes languages such as Lenape, Mohican, Cree, Ojibwe, and Cheyenne. It is now considered an endangered language. Based on 2006 census data, Statistics Canada (2008) reports approximately 3000 mother-tongue speakers of *Niitsi'powahsin* in Canada. Very few (less than 100) fluent native-tongue speakers remain in the United States (SIL, 2008).

Niitsitapi personal names

In this article, the term "*Niitsitapi* personal name" refers specifically to the traditional tribal, or ethnic, names of the *Niitsitapi* people, which are expressed in their native language, *Niitsi'powahsin*. Prior to European settlement in North America, the *Niitsitapi* had no concept of "first names," "Christian names," or "surnames," and carried only tribal names. Nowadays, however, most *Niitsitapi* people hold both traditional *Niitsitapi* and European names.

Many *Niitsitapi* people refer to their traditional personal names as *kitsiitsinihka's iminnoonistsi* "our real names," to distinguish them from the other names that they carry. At this point in time, traditional *Niitsitapi* personal names are used primarily in formal public settings, and in sacred ceremonies. In most everyday situations, people will address one another using their English names. Men may change their traditional names several times during their lives; usually these name changes mark significant personal and/or social events or circumstances in a person's life, such as a boy's progression from adolescence into adulthood, or some important personal accomplishment.

The aspect of personal naming that involves the contemporary use of traditional names alongside Anglicized versions of traditional names and European names is very interesting and warrants an article in its own right. However, let me illustrate this briefly here with reference to the names carried by my colleague, *Ai'ai'stahkommi* Duane Mistaken Chief. "Duane" is his English or "Christian" name (usually these names are given at baptism), whilst "Mistaken Chief" is an English translation of a traditional *Niitsitapi* personal name which has come to function as a surname. "Mistaken Chief" is actually a mistranslation of the name *Paahtsiinaam*, a shortened

version of *Paahtsiinaama'ahkawa*, which means "takes the wrong weapon or coup" (*Ai'ai'stahkommi* Duane Mistaken Chief, personal communication). *Ai'ai'stahkommi* is Duane's traditional *Niitsitapi* personal name.

Throughout this article, traditional names appear in italics and precede other given names, for example, *Ai'ai'stahkommi* Duane Mistaken Chief. With a few exceptions, no English translations are given for tribal names.

The sociocultural significance of *Niitsitapi* personal names

As indicated by the title of this article, the overall goal of my research has been to provide an ethnographically based account of the sociocultural significance of *Niitsitapi* personal names. With this objective in mind, I have pursued answers to the following questions in particular:

- What are the roles and functions, of personal names in traditional *Niitsitapi* culture?
- How are *Niitsitapi* personal naming practices related to other aspects of traditional *Niitsitapi* ways of living?
- Which cultural concepts, or local philosophies of knowledge, exert the greatest influence in terms of how personal names acquire meaning, and are used, in *Niitsitapi* society?

The results of the research indicate that *Niitsitapi* personal names are an integral, and indeed, inseparable, part of traditional *Niitsitapi* socioculture. In addition to serving as markers of individual identity, *Niitsitapi* personal names also perform a number of important sociocultural functions. Most significantly, the names appear to play a major role in capturing and conveying different elements of *Niitsitapi* cultural knowledge. This knowledge is contained primarily within *akáitapiitsinikssiistsi* "stories of the past people/ancestors," which become attached to the names, and are carried along with them, when they are given out or transferred from one person to another. In this way, names contain history. According to *Mamio'kakiikin*, Adam Delaney (September 29, 2006, personal interview):

> Elders tell stories about people. These stories are passed down, so the names are important in the telling of the stories. People remember these names, and understand where they come from; they also understand what the people were like who have carried the names. Carrying [*Niitsitapi*] names is the same thing as carrying your traditions, [showing] who you belong to. Giving names to others, it's a way of helping people. We're trying to teach our people who we are. Naming keeps our traditions, ceremonies, language, and people, alive.

Adam's comments imply that knowing the history behind one's name gives a person a sense of identity and belonging, in the family as well as in the community. This sense of identity is established not only through names per se, but also (and perhaps even more so) through the stories that are carried within the names. Knowing the stories, or histories, behind *Niitsitapi* personal names, then, is somewhat crucial. These remarks also point to another important finding of this research, which is that the traditional *Niitsitapi* approach to the giving and receiving of personal names is firmly underpinned by certain cultural concepts and philosophies of thought.

One very important concept in traditional *Niitsitapi* culture is *pommakssin* "transfer/exchange." *Pommakssin* refers to the formal transfer of certain properties, which can include things such as ceremonial bundles, headdresses, tepee designs, knowledge, and, in the context of this study, personal names. By definition, *pommakssin* always entails an exchange. This stems from the traditional *Niitsitapi* philosophy that one does not have the right to use something unless one has given something else, sacrificially, in exchange for it. In *Niitsi'powahsin*, this concept of sacrificial giving would be referred to as *saponihtaan* "paying, or putting into, something." *Pommakssin* also contains a strong sacred element. Transfers usually take place in a ceremonial setting where participants will pray, sing songs, perform dances, smoke pipes, and/or engage in other ritual practices. Conducting transfers within the context of ceremony also ensures that such transfers are done in the proper way.

Essentially, the transfer of names within the context of *pommakssin* involves passing everything associated with those names, such as experiences, deeds, or personal accomplishments, to the people receiving the names. The new name bearers will be told the stories behind the names, so that they are aware of what the names are all about; that is, what history, beliefs, expectations, and responsibilities, are being transferred to them along with the names. Names can be chosen by the recipients themselves, their family members, or by the name givers. It is generally expected that people receiving a name will (sometimes with the help of other family members and/or friends) give something sacrificially, in exchange for the name. Payment is made to whoever is transferring the name to the person concerned, and can be in the form of money, clothing, tobacco, blankets, horses, food items, and so on. The name giver may be someone such as a grandparent or great-grandparent, or an elder who is not related to the recipient but who has some social standing in the community.

It is crucial to understand that the *Niitsitapi* practice of paying for names does not reduce the latter to "commodities" that are simply bought and sold at will. On the contrary, people respect and take pride in their names, because of the sacrifices that have been made in exchange for them. Most significantly, however, *pommakssin* can be applied as a means of creating a condition, or context, where something beneficial will come, not only to the person making the sacrifice, but also to the community as a whole (*Akáyo'kaki*, Ryan Heavy Head, pers. comm.) In this way, name bearers become accountable to other people in terms of how they "live up to" their names, and carry the names forward.

The giving and receiving of personal names within the context of *pommakssin* is also linked to several other important *Niitsitapi* cultural concepts, including *sstowa'pssi* "growth," *kamota'pii* "protection," *kainaisoka'pii* "all good things," and *kimmapiiypitsin* "the practice of being kind to others." Each of these concepts represents a topic of discussion in its own right, and is dealt with more comprehensively in my dissertation (Lombard, 2008). Suffice to say, however, for the purpose of this article, that in the traditional *Niitsitapi* way, personal names are almost always bestowed with these notions in mind. Thus, according to *Kinaksaapo'p*, Narcisse Blood (pers. comm.), "whenever a person's name is spoken, it is a prayer for direction, purpose, and good things for that person."

Consider, for example, the following story:

> The name *Áwákaasomaahkaa*, meaning "Running Antelope," was given to me in 1984 by my grandfather, who was then 100 years old. I was going to join the Horns Society and I wanted to get a good name, so I went to my grandfather to ask him for one. He gave me my great-grandmother's uncle's name, *Áwákaasomaahkaa*. This person, when he had the name was a councilor, and he owned horses, cows; he was quite well off. Today, it's 2005, and I've joined the Horns Society three times; I've started up a society that was dormant for over 50 years, and I'm working to start another society that's been dormant; I've also been semi-initiated into the Thunderpipes Society. From that name I've done quite a bit, but I still think I have more to do (*Áwákaasomaahkaa*, Quenton Heavy Head, November 8, 2005, personal interview).

In this particular instance, the concept of *sstowa'pssi* "growth" is accentuated. As I have already mentioned, *Niitsitapi* personal names are frequently transferred with stories of personal experiences, deeds, and/or accomplishments. Essentially, these things are transformed into expectations towards the new name bearer to grow, by matching or even exceeding, the achievements and/or moral conduct of the previous holder of the name. In this way, names continue to be "built up" with stories of new accomplishments that can one day be transferred along with the name to someone else. It is clear from Quenton's story that the name *Áwákaasomaahkaa* has inspired personal growth and development his life, and that he himself is building up the name through his own accomplishments. In the future, Quenton may take on a new name and transfer the name *Áwákaasomaahkaa* to someone else. Should this happen, the new recipient will be made aware of everything that has been accomplished with the name, not only by Quenton, but by all the people who carried the name previously. In this way, the new name bearer will know what expectations and responsibilities are entailed in carrying the name forward, and these transferred expectations and responsibilities will, in turn, serve as a guide for *sstowa'pssi* and a basis for *kainaisoka'pii* "all good things" in that person's life.

In the next example, the concept of *kamota'pii* "protection" is emphasized. However, as with the previous illustration, the notions of *kainaisoka'pii* "all good things," as well as *kimmapiiypitsin* "the practice of being kind to others," appear to come into play as well:

> My Blackfoot name is *Matsipi'kssíiaakii*, which means "Beautiful Bird Woman." When I was a little girl, apparently I used to faint a lot, or have seizures. One day, I was at home with my parents, and this happened to me. I guess I really scared my parents, because for a while I wasn't breathing, I was just out of it. So my Dad went on horseback up the hill to my grandfather's place. My grandfather was a doctor, in our own way, a medicine man, and his dad had also been a medicine man. Anyway, my Dad asked my grandfather to come to our tent. My grandfather took my dad's horse and came to our place. He asked my Mom for some hot water, and he filled up this tank, or reservoir, with the hot water, and put me in it, and I started coming around. Afterwards, my grandfather doctored me; he painted my face, prayed for me, gave me a feather, and he pushed me out of our tent with my name, *Matsipi'kssíiaakii*. He told me that this name would help me to grow strong, to live to an old age, and that I would help many people during my life (*Matsipi'kssíiaakii*, Joyce First Rider, October 28, 2005, personal interview).

Many other people whom I interviewed told me that names are given out as a prayer and a blessing to those who are receiving the names, so that they will experience *kainaisoka'pii* "all good things" (*Spitaikowan*, Bernard Tall Man, September 18, 2006; *Náápiaakii*, Carolla Calf Robe, September 20, 2006; *Sipisohkitopi*, Emil Wings, September 20, 2006; *Siksskiaakii*, Beverley Hungry Wolf, September 27, 2006; *Mamio'kakiikin*, Adam Delaney, September 29, 2006; personal interviews). It is important to recognize, however, that whilst these things are intended for benefit of the individuals who carry the names, the underlying expectation is that these people will use these benefits to make a positive contribution to their community. This reflects the traditional *Niitsitapi* philosophy that the personal growth and development of individual people is always aimed towards the welfare of the community as a whole. Although each person has their own individual identity as a unique human being, they are simultaneously part of a wider social construct in which they are expected to play an active and contributory role.

It is also interesting to note that, although sometimes names are not given out, or transferred, with *kainaisoka'pii* "all good things" explicitly in mind, they may be "turned around" to become names that carry this quality, and then be passed on to others as "good" names. *Ai'ai'stahkommi*, Duane Mistaken Chief (pers. comm.), describes one such case in point:

> Sometimes seemingly derogatory names like my father's name *Paahkapsaahkomapi* "Bad Boy/Misfortunate Boy" are treated as a *ksiiimotsiiysin* "derision among contemporaries," but the man that originally was labeled with that name decided to prove his contemporaries wrong and accomplished great things. Then, instead of discarding the name, he kept it, because he had proven himself otherwise. So the name was somewhat of a reminder of that time when he wasn't a very good man and then later became a great man.

The story behind the name *Matsipi'kssíiaakii*, "Beautiful Bird Woman" also underscores the spiritual nature of names in the *Niitsitapi* world. *Mi'ksskimm*, Frank Weasel Head (November 9, 2005, personal interview) spoke to me about the spiritual origins and nature of names, and told me the following story about how he received two of his names:

> Even before I was born I was given a Blackfoot name. I was born prematurely one month early because of an accident; my Mom got rear-ended in a team and buggy by a car. While my Mom was in the hospital, my Dad got there and told my grandmother, "Don't worry, he's going to be a boy, and this is the name he is going to carry, I'm going to give him my baby name, so he's going to be alright." And that's the name I carried until 1961. When I first got my medicine pipe bundle in 1961, my Mom gave me a new name. Then I gave that away spiritually to one of my grand-nephews who was very sick. They didn't expect him to live, so I did the same thing; I said "Don't worry," and I gave him my name, now he's 29 years old. So there's that history, and there's that spiritual part to the names. Sometimes names are given spiritually so that the person [receiving the name] will get better, and live a long life, so these are the spiritual things. How did my Dad know that I was going to be a boy? I don't know, I never did ask him about it. That's why I always say, our spirituality is connected to everything else in our way of life, so names have spirituality, they have meaning in this way.

Frank's story highlights the view, held by many people in the Kainai community, that names themselves are sacred entities which possess spiritual power and are thus able to connect humans (mortals) to the spirit world. This notion is grounded in the belief that language, particularly the spoken form of language, contains the power to bring things to life; to speak things into being (Bastien, 2004; *Ai'ai'stahkommi*, Duane Mistaken Chief, pers. comm.). With respect to the giving and receiving of *Niitsitapi* personal names, which are spoken forms of the language, *Ai'ai'stahkommi*, Duane Mistaken Chief (pers. comm.), explains how:

> Every time the names are spoken, the power of the events that are associated with them is recreated and that power and energy is then directed towards those who carry the names. Thus, in naming someone, the name is used to set the path for that person, to give guidance and direction.

It is thus believed that names keep the spirits of the ancestors alive, and make their wisdom available to the name bearers. *Náápiaakii*, Carolla Calf Robe (September 20, 2006, personal interview), for instance, shares that "[w]hen I pray, I call upon the one who had my name before, and I ask her to help me in life, to guide me, and to help me carry her name in a respectable way."

Implicit in these statements is the notion that the energy and power of *akáítapiit-sinikssiistsi* "stories of the past people/ancestors," are transferred with names through the process of *pommakssin*, and that this transfer brings about *sstowa'pssi* "growth," and provides *kamota'pii* "protection," in the lives of the people receiving the names. These individuals will then be able to follow the paths which lead to *kainaisoka'pii* "all good things," and, in turn, live up to their responsibilities of helping others around them (*kimmapiiypitsin*). This, in turn, suggests that *Niitsitapi* spirituality, which is an inseparable element of traditional everyday life in *Niitsitapi* society, underlies and connects all of the various elements associated with naming, meaning that, at its very core, naming is a spiritual practice.

Analyzing the data: some theoretical perspectives

The foregoing discussion shows that, whilst they do have a nominative function, *Niitsitapi* personal names are also richly embedded with cultural meaning. This finding supports the theory that names have connotative/associative meaning, or descriptive backing (Searle, 1969; Nicolaisen, 1978; Smith, 2006). My research indicates that the descriptive backing of *Niitsitapi* personal names comprises a complex network of (oftentimes somewhat obscure) non-linguistic associations that are deeply rooted in a wide range of elements — personal, social, cultural, psychological, historical, physical, geographical, ecological, and spiritual — which make up the reality of the *Niitsitapi* world. It is from within this context, that is, the actual, indigenous, setting within which *Niitsitapi* personal names are used, that they derive their meaning (cf. Miller, 1927; Strawson, 1950; Searle, 1969; Keenan, 1971; Neethling, 2005).

Not only do *Niitsitapi* personal names possess cultural meaning, but they are also effective conveyers of this content. In other words, the very cultural elements which make up the descriptive backing of the names are projected back into *Niitsitapi* communities through the use of the names. *Niitsitapi* personal names thus perform a

crucial role in communicating sociocultural norms and values in *Niitsitapi* society. Similar observations have been made in research concerning the personal naming practices of other tribal societies (e.g., Sapir, 1924 (Sarcee); Morice, 1933 (Carrier); Wieschhoff, 1941 (Ibo); Beidelman, 1974 (Kaguru); Underhill, 1979 (Papago and Pima); Moore, 1984 (Cheyenne); Salomon & Grosboll, 1986 (Inca); Watson, 1986 (Chinese); Basso, 1996 (Apache); de Klerk & Bosch, 1996 (Xhosa); Moyo, 1996 (Northern Malawi); Musere & Byakutaga, 1998 (general African); Ọnụkawa, 1998 (Igbo); Gengenbach, 2000 (Mozambique women); Rymes, 2000 (various); Schottman, 2000 (Baat[unknown]nu); and Skhosana, 2005 (Ndebele)). The evidence provided by this overall body of research (including this article) shows that, in terms of their ability to reflect and communicate many different aspects of sociocultural knowledge, personal names are a unique, and important, sociocultural phenomenon. As such, research into the personal names used by any particular group of people is likely to yield valuable insight into the social and/or cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors, of the group concerned (cf. Miller, 1927).

My study also demonstrates how the cultural knowledge which is contained within, and conveyed through *Niitsitapi* personal names, is manifest most strongly in the stories surrounding the names, rather than in their lexical structure. On this basis, it is my contention that *Niitsitapi* personal names function as vehicles of oral knowledge transfer, and thus constitute a unique linguistic component of *Niitsitapi* oral tradition. This also means that *Niitsitapi* personal names do not function in the capacity of "linguistic isolates," or "adjuncts" (cf. Markey, 1982: 138,181), but instead form an integral part of the spoken language, *Niitsi'powahsin*, through which *Niitsitapi* ways of knowing are carried and expressed (Bastien, 2004: 131).

The research further indicates that, by virtue of the cultural knowledge which is embedded and conveyed through them, *Niitsitapi* personal names provide a powerful means of establishing, maintaining, and communicating perceptions of individual as well as social and cultural (ethnic) identity. Studies pertaining to the personal naming practices of other cultural groups show similar findings (e.g., Beidelman, 1974 (Kaguru); Drury & McCarthy, 1980 (various); Alford, 1988 (various); Ọnụkawa, 1998 (Igbo); Schottman, 2000 (Baat[unknown]nu); Joseph, 2004 (various); and Barnes & Pfukwa, 2007 (Zimbabwe). The fact that *Niitsitapi* personal names display strong associations with a wide range of sociocultural elements, and that these elements, or concepts, are communicated through the use of the names, indicates that notions of social and cultural identity are extremely significant in *Niitsitapi* society. I have explained how important it is for *Niitsitapi* people to know the stories behind their names, because knowing the stories means being aware of the history behind the names, and thus gives people a sense of knowing where they come from. This, in turn, helps people to shape their perceptions of who they are as individuals, as well as in terms of belonging to the larger sociocultural group. Based on the foregoing, I would like to suggest that the continued use of *Niitsitapi* tribal names in contemporary *Niitsitapi* society could serve to maintain and reinforce not only the use of *Niitsi'powahsin*, but also certain aspects of traditional *Niitsitapi* culture and cultural identity. Conversely, a falling away from traditional personal naming practices would most likely exacerbate the language loss and erosion of cultural identity that is already being experienced in *Niitsitapi* communities.

Conclusion

The research that I have presented in this article is concerned primarily with the study of names in cultural context. It emphasizes a central tenet of ethnolinguistic theory, which is, that language is a mode of action (Duranti, 1997: 216), and that speaking is a system of cultural behavior (Hymes, 1974: 89). Accordingly, it is argued that every culture has its own beliefs about how language functions, what those functions achieve, and in which particular sociocultural contexts they are most fully optimized (Basso, 1996: 99). In line with this view, I have adopted an interpretative, or explanatory, approach in my research (versus a simply descriptive one), so as to reflect a uniquely *Niitsitapi* perspective on the topic of personal names and naming practices. In this way, I hope that this study will encourage the sharing of ideas concerning differing cultural perceptions of, and attitudes towards, names. This, in turn, could serve to provide a broader perspective on the nature and functions of names, and indeed, language itself, in global society.

Bibliography

Alford, Richard D. 1988. *Naming and Identity: a Cross-Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices*. New Haven: HRAF Press.

Barnes, Lawrie A. & Charles Pfukwa. 2007. "Ethnic Slurs as War Names in the Zimbabwe Liberation War." *Names* 55(4): 427–36.

Basso, Keith. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places*. Albuquerque: University of Arizona Press.

Bastien, Betty. 2004. *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing. The Worldview of the Siksikaitsitapi*. Calgary: University of Calgary.

Beidelman, T.O. 1974. "Kaguru Names and Naming." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 30(4): 281–93 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 23, 2008].

de Klerk, Vivian & Barbara Bosch. 1996. "Naming Practices in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa." *Names* 44(3): 167–88.

Drury, Darryl W. & John D. McCarthy. 1980. "The Social Psychology of Name Change: Reflections on a Serendipitous Discovery." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 43(3): 310–20.

Duranti, Alessandro. 1997. *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gengenbach, Heidi. 2000. "Naming the Past in a 'scattered' Land: Memory and the Powers of Women's Naming Practices in Southern Mozambique." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33(3): 523–42) [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 23, 2008].

Hymes, Dell. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics. An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Joseph, John E. 2004. *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keenan, Edward L. 1971. "Two Kinds of Presupposition in Natural Language." *Studies in Linguistic Semantics*. Ed. Charles J. Fillmore & D. T. Langendoen. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 44–52.

Lombard, Carol G. 2008. "An Ethnolinguistic Study of *Niitsitapi* Personal Names." Unpublished dissertation.

Markey, T.L. 1982. "Crisis and Cognition in Onomastics." *Names* 30(3): 129–42.

Miller, Nathan. 1927. "Some Aspects of the Name in Culture-History." *The American Journal of Sociology* 32(4): 585–600 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 23, 2008].

Moore, John H. 1984. "Cheyenne Names and Cosmology." *American Ethnologist* 11(2): 291–312 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed April 11, 2006].

Morice, A.G. 1933. "Carrier Onomatology." *American Anthropologist* 35(4): 632–58 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed April 25, 2006].

Moyo, Themba. 1996. "Personal Names and Naming Practices in Northern Malawi." *Nomina Africana* 10(1&2): 10–19.

Musere, Jonathan & Shirley C. Byakutaga. 1998. *African Names and Naming*. Los Angeles: Ariko Publications.

Nicolaisen, W.F.H. 1978. "Are There Connotative Names?" *Names* 26(1): 40–47.

Neethling, Bertie. 2005. "A Minibus Taxi by Any Other Name, Would it Run as Sweet?" *Names* 53(1&2): 3–19.

Ọnụkawa, M.C. 1998. "An Anthropolinguistic Study of Igbo Market-Day Nicknames." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11(1): 73–83 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 23, 2008].

Rymes, Betsy. 2000. "Names." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1–2): 163–66 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed April 26, 2006].

Salomon, Frank & Sue Grosboll. 1986. "Names and People in Incaic Quito: Retrieving Undocumented Historic Processes Through Anthroponymy and Statistics." *American Anthropologist* 88(2): 387–99 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed April 11, 2006].

Sapir, Edward. 1924. "Personal Names Among the Sarcee Indians." *American Anthropologist* 26(1): 108–19 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed April 25, 2006].

Schottman, Wendy. 2000. "Baat[unknown]nu Personal Names from Birth to Death." *Journal of the International African Institute* 70(1): 79–106 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 23, 2008].

Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts. An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SIL International [online] Available at: <http://sil.org> [accessed May 15, 2008].

Skhosana, Philemon Buti. 2005. "Names and Naming Stages in Southern Ndebele Society with Special Reference to Females." *Nomina Africana* 19(1): 89–117.

Smith, Grant. 2006. "What Do We Want to Know About Place Names?" *Surnames, Nicknames, Placenames and Epithets in America. Essays in the Theory of Names*. Ed. Edward Callary. Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press, 213–24.

Statistics Canada [online] Available at: <http://www.statcan.ca> [accessed September 8, 2008].

Strawson, P.F. 1950. "On Referring." *Mind*, new series 59(235): 320–44 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 30, 2008].

Underhill, Ruth. 1979. *The Papago and Pima Indians of Arizona*. Palmer Lake: The Filter Press.

Watson, Rubie S. 1986. "The Named and the Nameless: Gender and Person in Chinese Society." *American Ethnologist* 13(4): 619–31 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed April 26, 2006].

Wieschhoff, H.A. 1941. "The Social Significance of Names Among the Ibo of Nigeria." *American Anthropologist*, new series 43(2) (Part 1): 212–22 [electronic]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed September 23, 2008].

Notes on contributor

Carol Lombard is a PhD student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Montana. She holds a BA (English and Linguistics), Honors BA (General Linguistics), and MA Degree (Sociolinguistics) from the University of South Africa. In addition to her work in onomastics, she is interested in indigenous language preservation and revitalization.

Correspondence to: Carol Lombard, Department of Anthropology, Social Science Building, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana 59812-1001, USA. Email: carol.lombard@umontana.edu