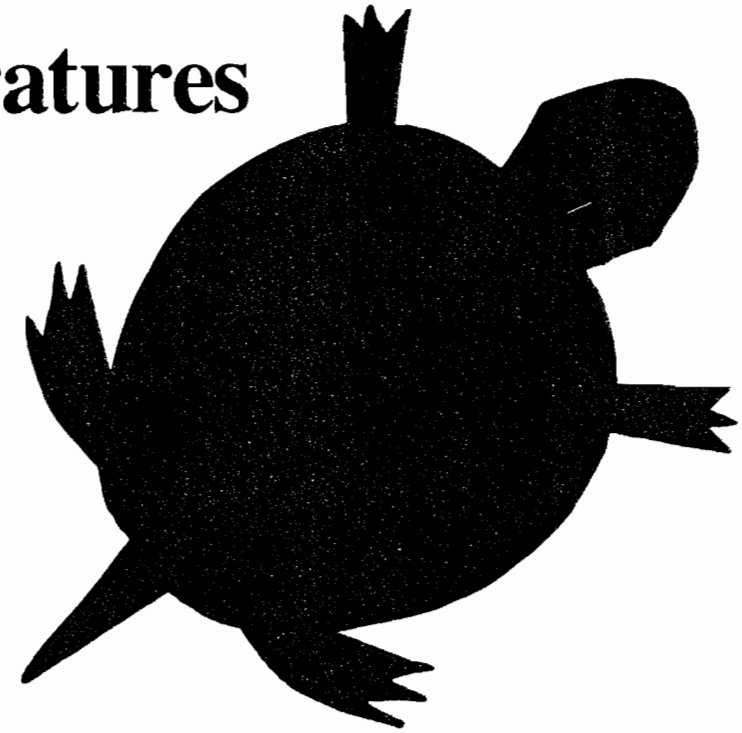
On the Translation of Native American Literatures



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The turtle figure accompanying the title page and part titles is adapted from a birchbark transparency made by a Woodlands tribe member in the Historic Period, perhaps as a pattern for beading designs. The bird figure accompanying the chapter titles is carrying a speech symbol; this image is from eastern Missouri. The cover image is the interior decoration on a Tusayan food bowl.

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Hopitutungwni: "Hopi Names" as Literature

Peter Whiteley

. . . [N]o proper name of place or person names any place or person as such; it names *in the first instance* only *for* those who are members of some particular linguistic and cultural community, by identifying places and persons in terms of the scheme of identifications shared by, and perhaps partially constitutive of, that community. The relation of a proper name to its bearer cannot be elucidated without reference to such identifying functions.
—Alasdair MacIntyre (1985:7).

The old pond;
A frog jumps in, —
The sound of the water.[1]
—Bashō

If the naming of cats is a difficult matter, the naming of persons is assuredly more so.[2] Naming practices vary widely across cultures. From an anthropological perspective, names may individuate "persons"; they may designate positions in a social order; they may class individuals into social groups; or, in use, they may serve performative negotiations of personal identities and relationships.[3]

The idea that personal names might comprise a literary genre in some cultural contexts does not seem immediately obvious. In the "West," personal names have generally been regarded as signs without semantic content. John Stuart Mill's view that "proper names are meaningless marks set upon things and persons to distinguish them from one another" retains currency in philosophical and linguistic inquiry (Willis 1982:227; Basso 1988:103). Within anthropology, Lévi-Strauss's interpretation (1966:172–216) of names in "primitive" societies as instruments of social classification has been very influential. Consequently, in those societies where personal names have individual meanings, their full interpretive potential remains largely unplumbed.[4]

In many instances Native American personal names[5] carry semantic content that

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narratively denotes cultural or natural occurrences, or historical or mythological events. Moreover, name-composition may reflect a formal poetics; some Hopi names, I shall argue, are "tiny imagist poems." As narrative figures poetically composed, such names are oral texts, and "require exegesis in addition to translation" (Kendall 1980:261).

Hopi personal names do a number of things simultaneously. First, since they derive from totemically named clans (albeit indirectly—see below), they reflect a pattern of social relations that articulates with the kinship and ritual systems. Second, names serve to individuate persons—each name is unique and confers a unique identity on the bearer.[6] Third, and my central concern here, Hopi names are individually authored poetic compositions that comprise a literary genre. In concert, these three aspects bespeak a Hopi conception of their society as comprised of conscious individual agents, who use the figures that are names to construct personal identity, cultural meaning, and interpersonal relations—within, of course, received structures of social (and natural) organization.[7] Let me begin with the social background.

The Social Context of Hopi Naming

In August 1989, in order to supplement other accounts I had gathered over the years, I asked Herschel Talashoma from Bacavi to provide a formal account in Hopi on naming practices. We then produced a translation, mostly in his own English idioms. Part of this discourse (which I will explicate subsequently) went as follows:

Nu' hapi Niiti'yvaya. Ina hapi tapwungwa. Pu' inay oovi angqwat put sinomat puma ikyam. Pu' puma hapi hakiy tungwayangwu hakiy inayat angqwat. Niiqe oovi pu' puma nuy pan tungwaya nuy tiitiwaqw, nuy sunattaqw, Niiti'yvaya. Pumuy nu' oovi kyamuy'ta tapngyamuy. . . .	My name is Niiti'yvaya[8]—it means "brought a lot." My father is a Rabbit clan. So from my father's side, his relatives, they are my aunties. They are the ones that name you, from your father's side. And so, they are the ones who named me when I was born, when I made the twenty days—Niiti'yvaya. Those are the ones who are my (naming) aunts, the Rabbit clan. . . .
Noq put yu'at itanay hapi pam oovi yu'at pu' itaakya yu'at pam nuy yaw pan tungwa, Niiti'yvaya. Pu' pam pi tapwungwa niiqe pu' pam oovi put aqw taykyangw naatoylay aw taykyangw: yaw maqwise' a'ani qöqöye' ahoy ökye' pu' taataptuy, sowituy niiti'yvayangwu. Put nu' aw Niiti'yvaya.	It was my father's mother who named me, and my auntie's mother who named me that, "brought a lot." Because she was a Rabbit clan, so she was looking up to that, her clan [-totem]: when they go out hunting, and if they kill a lot, and come back with a lot of cottontails and jackrabbits. That is the reason why she named me "brought a lot". . . .

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Pantikyangw pu' paasat hak piw naat wimkyatingwu, wimkyate', paasat pu' piw aqw naat pas sukwat piw aqw naat nay'tangwu, nay'vangwu. Pu' nu' pantiqe' paasat pu' nu' tsu'ngyamuy, tsu'wungwat nu' nay'taqe aw paasat pu' tsu'ngyam ikyam piw. Pu' puma piw nuy oovi tungwaya. Pu' pam pay naap hiisa'niiqam hakiy asnayangwu: pay pi naamahin sen piw suukyaningwu, piw qa suukya, lööyöm, paayom, pam pay qa tuwaniy'tangwu. Puma piw paasat pu' hakiy tuwat naatoylay panwat tungwayangwu. Noq pu' pay pi itam soosoyam Hopisinom naatoylay'ngwu—*hiihiita*. Pu' peetu pay himu naatoyla pay piw pay sukw amumningwu puma pay naama yantaningwu. Kur nu' uumi pangqawni nu' honanwungwa; itam poovolwungwat enangwye'. . . .

After that, then you have to be initiated. When you are initiated then you have to have another father, you will be given another father. After that I received a father from the Snake clan, a Snake clan man. So, from there on, my aunties were the Snake clan. So they named me also. There is no set number of them who will wash your hair: it could be one, not just one, it could be two, three, there is no limit to that. Then they name you according to their clan-totem. And then, all of us Hopis, we have clans—*all* kinds. And also some of these clans can join together, they go along with each other. For example, let me tell you, I'm a Badger; we go along, we also have Butterfly with it. . . .

Pu' niikyangw itam Hopiit pay aqw sutsep yuy amumningwu hakiy yu'at himuwungwa niqw pay hak put amumningwu. Pay qahisat hopiitsay haqam nay amum. . . .

But us Hopis all the time, whatever your mother's clan is, you go along with that clan, you go with your mother's clan. Never a Hopi child goes along with his father's clan. . . .

Paasat pu' nu' oovi wimkyatiq paasat pu' puma tsu'ngyam puma paasat pu' pi nuy tuwat asnaya, nuy wimkyate'. Paasat pu' puma pi tsu'ngyam niiqe pu' puma naatoylay oovi pu' pi aw nuy tuwat tungwaya. Pu' put nu' hakiy nu' Joseph nay'ta, katsinnay'ta, put niqw put oovi pas yu'at ephaqam naat qatu, hak Nasiwunqa pam nuy Tahooya yan tungwa, ispi naat nu' ephaqam pay naat tsayniqw oovi hoyat pam aw nuy tungwa Tahooya. Noq pu' paasat i'i pas naap ina niiqe pu' pamwa pu' nuy Tsu'leetsiwma yan tungwa. . . .

So that's why when I was initiated, it was them, the Snake clan, who washed my hair then, when I was initiated. And since they were the Snake clan, they named me according to their clan. And so, from there on my god-father was someone by the name of Joseph, he was my katsina god-father. At that time, his real mother, Nasiwunqa, was still living; it was her who named me "little blue racer snake," because at that time I was still a young one, and small, so she named me "*little* blue racer snake." And then my god-father himself named me

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Pu' paasat i' qööqa'at inay	"Snake-dancers in line." And
qööqa'at pam pu' nuy paasat	then my god-father's older
Tsuu'a yan tungwa.	sister [later amended to younger
	sister] named me "rattlesnake."

Hopis are given names in a sequence of ritual initiations through life. Hopi is a matrilineal society, that is, clan membership is inherited from the mother.[9] But a baby's namegivers are female members of its father's clan (Niiti'yvaya's "aunties"), not of its own clan; in fact you never receive a name from your own clan. Gathering in the house of the newborn (traditionally twenty, but nowadays often only ten days after birth), several paternal clanswomen each bestow a name associated with their clan. Typically, a child receives half a dozen different names, only one of which will *huurta*, "stick."

At about ages six to ten, every Hopi child is initiated into either the *Katsina* or the *Powamuy* ritual society (for summary accounts of the Hopi ritual order, see Frigout 1979, or Whiteley 1987)—a practice still strongly maintained at all three Hopi Mesas. If male, new names are conferred by an initiating "godfather" and his close female relatives; if female, by a "godmother" and her close female relatives. Naming and initiation by a "godparent" create formal relationships with another clan (and group of clans or "phratry"); the named now applies the appropriate (patrilateral) kin terms and role-behavior to members of this clan (and phratry), who reciprocate in kind. Moreover, the godparent–godchild relationship is more than notional; the godparent holds a tutelary role in the child's learning of ritual knowledge, especially.

The new namegivers must be of another clan than *either* of the child's parents.[10] Still at Second Mesa and formerly at First and Third Mesas, a male receives an "adult" name on initiation by a godfather (who may be the same as the first one, but sometimes another, perhaps from a different clan again, is chosen) into one of the four *Wuwtsim* ("Manhood Initiation") societies. Yet other names will be conferred if he is inducted into one of several "Second Order" religious societies (notably, Blue Flute, Drab Flute, Antelope, Rattlesnake). Likewise, if a girl is initiated into one of the three women's societies (*Mamrawt, Lalkont, O'waqölt*)—and most were in the past initiated into at least one (the same Mesa breakdown applies here too)—she receives a new name.

There are other occasions for name-giving as well—such as being accidentally doused with someone's wash-water or urine. In the past, a boy also received a name at his first participation in a hunt, and a girl at her puberty initiation; Oraibi men returning from a (post-*Wuwtsim* initiation) salt expedition to the Grand Canyon received new names; and at death, clan "aunts" conferred new names, preparatory to the "soul's" (*hikwsi*, literally "breath") journey to Maski, the home of the dead.[11]

Names are conferred ritually while the subject's hair is washed in yucca suds. An ear of corn is wafted over him or her, and the namegiver enunciates the name in a short ritual formula (Voth 1905b provides a detailed account). The name a male receives during *Wuwtsim* initiation supersedes all others, marking the assumption of adult status. With the end of *Wuwtsim*, of the Second Order societies, and of the women's societies (the *O'waqölt* persists in modified form) at Third Mesa (Whiteley 1988a), child-names or names

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conferred at *Katsina/Powamuy* initiation remain operative in those contexts where Hopi names are used. These contexts are principally in ritual, and as terms of third-person reference in everyday discourse. Kin terms, English names, nicknames, or abbreviated versions of formal names are the usual forms for address, and English names serve bureaucratic requirements such as school and tribal enrollments.

The Poetics of Naming

All formal Hopi names refer to clan associations of the name-giver. Naming images are myriad. A proliferation of associations—by no means limited to finite repertoires—with one's *naatoyla*, clan emblem or "totem," are drawn upon from the namegiver's clan or phratry. Some names are straightforward clan eponyms: for example, Hoonaw (bear), Taawa (sun), Koyongo (turkey, associated with the Eagle clan), Honani (badger), Kuukutsi (lizard), or Tsuu'a (rattlesnake). A few others metaphorically combine a totemic species with an observed personal characteristic, as in Herschel Talashoma's explanation of Tahooya (*taaho*, a whipsnake or "blue racer"—a totemic association of the *tsu'ngyam*, [Rattle]snake clan—plus *-hoya*, a diminutive suffix, apt because of his age and size). But more often, the namegiver has a specific event or instance in mind which is not semantically presented in full in the lexical components of the name. Meaning is thus typically oblique, and not inferable from literal translation. A name's sense may not be widely known beyond the particular donor and receiver. Asked the meaning of certain names, my consultants often indicated this was impossible to discern from the morphemes themselves, though these were easy enough to identify; the *express intentions* of the namegiver would have to be known (cf. Voth 1905c:68).

Let me provide some examples (see Voth 1905c for many more). Lomayayva literally means "beautiful climbed (pl.)" or "beautifully ascended" from *lolma*, "beautiful" or "beautifully" and *yayva*, "climbed," "ascended" (pl.). This name belonged to an Oraibi Lizard clan man. There is absolutely no way to infer phenomenal sense (it could refer to any number of entities ascending something) from the literal translation, nor the clan-identity of the namegiver. In the concrete case, it is a Badger clan name—though, I hasten to add, it does not refer to "climbing badgers." As part of its ritual prerogatives, the Badger clan "owns" the *Powamuy* ceremony—a grand February pageant featuring numerous different *katsinam* (masked representations of spirits, in this case). A connected ceremony, *Patsavu*,[12] is performed at the end of *Powamuy* when there have been initiations into the *Wuwtsim* societies the previous November. During *Patsavu*, an elaborate procession of many different kinds of *katsinam* ascended into the village of Oraibi, in the afternoon, along a path from below the southwest side of the mesa on which Oraibi sits. "Beautifully ascended" refers to the aesthetic splendor—in terms of color, costume, and movement—of the procession of *katsinam* at *Patsavu* coming up into Oraibi as seen from the perspective of someone standing on the mesa.[13]

The condensed evocation this name conjures—a typical feature—displays the same quality that Keith Basso (1988:126, n. 17), borrowing from Edward Sapir, at-

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tributes to Western Apache placenames, as "tiny imagist poems." The almost photographic quality of the captured image and the emphasis on process and movement are also reminiscent of some Japanese haiku.[14] But the poetic form of Hopi names is even more compact than haiku. Maria Chona's remark about Papago songs that "the song is very short because we understand so much" (Underhill 1979:51, cited in Krupat 1989:47) illustrates a widespread tendency toward condensation in some Native American narrative genres. This is very markedly the case with Hopi names.

Syntactically, and this too is a common feature, the name is elliptical: a compacted phrase in which the subject (the *katsinam*) is suppressed, leaving a predicate composed of a contraction of verb and adverb ("ascended" and "beautifully") to accomplish the poetic task.[15] Meaningful translation thus hinges, in the first place, on the identification of a lexically absent subject.

Another example: a widely known name, Sikyakwaptiwa,[16] is similarly oblique in denotation. Morphemically, it is composed of *sikyangpu*, "yellow," "yellowness," *kwapta*, "he/she put some things (pl.) above on high," and *-tiwa*, a male name suffix.[17] "He/she put yellows above on high" may be a reasonable translation. The namegiver's clan was Coyote, and the reference is to *sikyaatayo*, "yellow fox" (or, as C. and F. Voegelin [1957:18] record it, "brown, colorful fox with white-tip on tail"; I mention this for the acuteness of Hopi perceptual distinctions it reveals, a quality echoed in the strong visual emphasis of many name-images; see below). *Sikyaatayo*'s color and habits are associated in Hopi thought and tradition with the appearance of *sikyangnuptu*, a perceptually discrete stage of yellowish dawn light that follows *qöyangnuptu*, first gray light of dawn, and precedes *taalawva*, full daylight. The name, then, images the distant eastern appearance of a yellow fox in the completed act of putting the yellowness of postcrepuscular auroral light up onto the sky.[18]

If William Carlos Williams is "correct" that, "so much depends upon a red wheel barrow glazed with rain water beside the white chickens," then a "yellow fox putting up the yellow dawn light" similarly speaks of as it celebrates a powerful aesthetics that centrally animates Hopi cognition and cultural values. A "pure" translation of the morphemes would miss not only the intended meaning but also the aesthetic force of the poetic image.

Associations between this name and some traditional concepts occur in myths referring to sunrise. The personified (male) sun, Taawa, rises by climbing out of a kiva in the east. At the top of the kiva ladder, he puts on a gray foxskin tied to one of the ladder-poles, at which point the gray dawn light appears. He then puts on, from its position on the ladder pole, a yellow foxskin, creating the yellow dawn light, before beginning his journey across the sky to a western kiva, into which he descends at dusk (Voth 1903:351; 1905a:1). Voth (1903:351, n. 1) records a further association in this context with the two Flute societies (which have a ritual concern with the sun's movements); according to myth, the Drab Flute (*Masilelent*) society was brought to the Hopi mesas from its original location in the eastern kiva where the sun rises, and the Blue Flute (*Sakwalelent*) from the western kiva where it sets. The gray foxskin is the *naa'tsi* (ritual standard) of the Blue Flutes, and the yellow foxskin that of the Drab Flutes; these standards are tied to the lad-

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der-poles of the societies' respective kivas when they are in session. The mythological prototypes of the Flute societies continue to perform in the sunrise and sunset kivas, but instead of putting up foxskins on the kiva ladder-poles, they magically raise up the live animals. I have not been able to discover any specific connection between these myths and the namegiver's intention, but clearly a nexus of mythological ideas associating yellow foxskins and yellow dawn light informs the name.

In this way, then, names may excerpt an image from an ideational complex more fully embodied in mythological narratives. Moreover, Hopi myth and ritual are mutually integral (as above with the Flute societies). Name images evoking ritual activities simultaneously invoke correlated myths. Lomayayva may be further unpacked by reference to the *Patsavu* ritual's accompanying mythology. The ascent of the *katsinam* into Oraibi in part reenacts the original arrival of the Badger clan. Each Oraibi clan, having completed its migrations undertaken after emergence from the "third" world below, had to seek entry to the village from the first arrivals, the Bear clan, and in particular their leader, the *Kikmongwi*, "village chief." Each clan had to demonstrate special ritual or other abilities before the *Kikmongwi* would accept them. At first the Badger clan, whose skills pertained to medicine and seed-fertility, were refused admission and went off to live at Tuuwanasavi ("earth-center place"), a few miles south in the Oraibi Valley. Finally, the *Kikmongwi* decided he needed their skills, and went four times (the archetypal number in Hopi sacred narrative, but in this case also because the Badgers were miffed by their earlier rejection) to persuade them to move into the village. To mark the significance of the event, the Badger clan entered Oraibi dressed as *katsinam*, along the same route from below that is retraced in the *Patsavu* ritual. To translate the name Lomayayva, then, is to image a moment of the *Patsavu* ritual, and simultaneously to evoke and recapitulate the Badger clan's mythological narrative of arrival.

Lévi-Strauss's structuralist approach to Amerindian myth, widely influential as it has been, has obscured vital connections with ritual. In many instances, of course, ritual enactments of myths are no longer observable in North American social life. Likewise, myths, recorded in written texts, or recalled in oral traditions, often no longer speak directly to ritual practice. All I am suggesting is that in those cultures, and Hopi is one, where many ritual practices are still very much alive, a major dimension of mythological meaning will be located in ritual performance. Translating names which evoke ritual and myth together requires an explicit attention to particular forms of this interplay.

A similar neglect of ethnographic context characterizes some recent literary treatments of North American mythological narratives (e.g., Ramsey 1983). It seems to me that any separation of myth from its empirical grounding in social, cultural, and historical contexts seriously vitiates culturally significant interpretation.[19] What holds for myth is true of the densely laconic narratives in Hopi names, as Alasdair MacIntyre's epigraph is intended to highlight. Accordingly, my claim for interpreting Hopi names as literature is diametrically opposed also to various poststructural theoretical emphases on the free play of signifiers, that give no import to authorial intention, no possibility of language as referential, and no relevance to the sociocultural and historical sites of the liter-

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ary production. For "Lomayayva," without a basic knowledge of the namegiver's intention, or of the *Patsavu* ritual and the Badger clan migration myth (and of the Hopi linguistic practices, naming conventions, clan and ritual system, and natural environment, in which name, ritual, and myth are constructed)—but *with* only an oblique, silent subject—"beautifully ascended" is utterly fathomless, even to the most linguistically competent translator.

Although many Hopi names are composed, like Sikya-kwap-tiwa, of three morphemes, complex events may be rendered by a simple lexeme. For example, Voth records a name U'na[20] that literally just means "recall it," "remember it." In the specific case, it was given by a Coyote clan member, and the intended image is a coyote's habit of burying tidbits of food in different locations. The name denotes a coyote in the mental and physical act of remembering the locations of buried food.

We can take this example, U'na, to highlight the multiplicity of possible connotations if the namegiver's intention were not known. Let me turn to a conversation with Herschel Talashoma of the Badger clan:

PW: You also said that, for example, that name U'na could be a Badger clan name and it could refer to a badger going and remembering medicine plants.
HT: Where he got his medicine the previous, the last time.
PW: That's because a badger is a *tuuhikya* ("medicine man")?
HT: Yes, yes.
PW: And is in charge of *ngahu* ("medicine").
HT: Right. [Pause] *Or*, where he ate the last corn!—at which field! Because, well, according to a porcupine it would work, because a porcupine really does that.
PW: So a porcupine could be "U'na?"
HT: "U'na," right: "Oh! I remember that—that's where I got the last good corn!" *

Speculative play with the conceivable meanings of names, or with how a name might be applied from a particular clan's perspective (i.e., possibly entailing a free play of signifiers), nonetheless takes its place within an entrenched, observed convention that the name as given means something specific. As such, the convention dictates that the grounds of its meaning shall not be trespassed upon, during the life of the individual to whom the name has stuck, by any additional application of the same lexical combination to another individual. I will return to this below.

Female names are as imagistic and unique as the male names in the foregoing examples, equivalently *poems*, so to speak, in themselves. For instance, Qöyangöynöm is composed of *qöya*, "light gray," *ngöyta*, "he/she/it keeps chasing [it]" and *-nöm*, a fe-

* Porcupines lie within the Badger clan's totemic compass. The porcupine is notorious among Hopi farmers for descending upon cornfields toward the end of the labor-intensive four or five months it has taken to produce a crop. It may be the most wasteful—as well as perhaps the most heartbreaking for the farmer—of crop pests, since it goes from clump to clump of corn breaking off the ears and stripping away the husks in search of a few ripe ones. In this way, a single porcupine can devastate a large field in one night's work. Many a Hopi farmer at this time of the year (August and September) spreads his traps well and spends night after night in a fieldhouse with his shotgun. The porcupine's memory, then, is a matter of vital concern!

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male name suffix. This was conferred by a member of the *Piikyas-Patki* ("Young Corn" and "Divided Water") phratry, whose totemic sphere includes clouds. The image is of two small gray clouds, one chasing the other across the sky.

Talashongsi, a female name conferred by a Badger clan-member, displays another dimension of the breadth of potential imagery available to this clan. The components are: *talasi*, "pollen," *hoongi*, "standing" (pl.), and *-si*, a female name suffix. The sense is of a pollen-laden flower standing up straight. The association with the Badger clan is via its consociate Butterfly clan; the perspective is that of a butterfly's interest in a pollen-laden flower. In this example, as is perhaps most clearly the case with Lomayayva, the visual (or perhaps "apperceptive" is better for a butterfly) perspective is intrinsic to the image. But simultaneously, the name evokes a double identification: with the butterfly and its "eye-view" of the pollen, and with a viewer's witnessing of this scene. This is also the case with the mind's (and stomach's) eye of the coyote in U'na. Again, a "pure" translation is inadequate for this perspectival dimension of the image too.

The aesthetics of sensory, especially visual, imagery are key features in name composition; upon learning the sense of a name, Hopis often comment on its relative "beauty." So Puhuhoynöm, a Rabbit clan name, refers to the perception of the beauty of a newly made rabbit-fur blanket. Nowhere in the morphemes themselves is there a direct reference to either rabbit-fur or a blanket. *Puhu-* (*puuhu* in non-combinatory form) means "new" or "newly," *hoy-* comes from *hooyi* meaning "separated," "taken off," and *-nöm* is the same female name suffix as above. The reference is to the cottontail and jackrabbit skins that have been newly taken off the animals' bodies in the process of making a blanket. The visual beauty Hopis associate with fresh rabbit fur is foregrounded in the image. Or, in Herschel Talashoma's words, "After when they are finished with a blanket, new blanket from all the rabbit fur, I guess it's pretty, that's why she is called Puhuhoynöm, 'newly made rabbit-fur blanket.'"

Hopis no longer make rabbit-fur blankets, and as I indicated above, at Third Mesa no longer practice the central *Wuwtsim*, or indeed Snake-Antelope, Flute, *Maraw*, or *Lakon* rituals. In some instances, oral narratives commemorating practices formerly central to Hopi life provide a storehouse of namegiving imagery, that no longer directly reflects experience. But in many cases, the passing of traditional quotidian or ritual practices has seriously curtailed the variety of possible images, and so, of names. When discussing with younger Hopis a name, the meaning of which I had learned from an older person or from a written source, several times the response I received was a nostalgic delight at the "beauty" of the name and a wistful observation that nowadays people had lost the ability to invent such beautiful names. But while the variety of available images has receded somewhat, names—at least in my (outsider's) impression of some recently conferred ones—continue to be richly imagistic, indeed poetic in the "West's" sense of the term.

The literary qualities of some Hopi names should by now be apparent in several respects. First, names constitute a marked use of language that involves an intentional construction of imagery that exceeds ordinary discourse. This "surplus of signification" calls conscious attention to the image depicted, as, for example, in "My love is like a red,

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red, rose." This is true with Hopi names, despite the fact that signification is formally opaque without a knowledge of the namegiver's intentions. Of course, *any* perception of "surplus signification" will depend on the cultural context of language usages. In the context of Hopi discourse, the surplus of signification in a name is ineluctably bound to a determinate "meaning"—in E. D. Hirsch's (e.g. 1976, 1984) terms—dependent on authorial intention, and independent of its farther fields of extratextual (or extracultural) "significance." Second, names are individually authored creative "texts" that have in mind a "readership"—at least of the name-receiver. Third, there is a central element of delight, enchantment, or aesthetic pleasure in many names—a key criterion of "literature," as Arnold Krupat (1989:39) points out: "Poetry, by its rhyme and meter, or—this is the case in literary prose—by its figures and structure—*delights* us; it is pleasurable beyond what can be accounted for rationally." And fourth, another axis of the "literary," Hopi names *instruct*—about clan tradition, ritual, myth, natural event, even about a particular kind of perceptual perspective. Moreover, they instruct reflexively—for the namer in fixing an image—as well as for the "reader" (i.e., the name-receiver or another who learns the name's sense). Again, following Krupat (1989:40), "the surplus of signification, the excess that pleased, ha[s] cognitive value."

The conjunction of aesthetic and cognitive value is especially clear with Talashongsi, U'na, and Lomayayva. To the butterfly, the discovery of a pollen-laden flower is very pleasurable. To the Hopi viewer (especially namer and named), the captured image is both beautiful to behold, and simultaneously communicates an observation of natural history and, as with all names, an axiom of social amity (i.e., between named and namer, and namer's clan). Likewise, the coyote delights in remembering the food burials, and the intended Hopi imaginer of this scene is supposed to find it intriguing and delightful (and perhaps on reflection, though here I am speculating, also amusing and morally instructive, in that Coyote as Trickster—an idea complex that is not at all exclusive to the Coyote clan, but that significantly informs its totemic associations—serves as a hilarious exemplar against, among other things, self-serving canniness and gluttony). And again, the viewer on the mesa top will be enchanted by the picture of *katsinam* coming up from down below, and instructed by the associated myth the name invokes—resocialized, as it were.

Many names begin with adjectival or adverbial forms that overtly signal aesthetic, especially visual, beauty. *Loma-* (from *lolma*, above) is one of these (e.g., Lomaventiwa [beautifully painting], Lomaheptiwa [looking for something beautiful], Lomawayma [beautifully walking]). *Kuwan-*, "brightly and beautifully colored"—of, say, butterfly wings, parrot feathers, coyote-pup fur—begins many names. Likewise, *puhu-*, "new, fresh" often denotes beauty of something that gives the appearance of fresh color, for example, again, of young animal fur, butterfly wings (which can be thought of as "newly decorated" as in Puhuvey'ma, "going along with freshly decorated wings"), or newly painted *katsina* masks. Specific color prefixes—*sikya-* (above), *sakw[a]-*, "blue-green," *pala-*, "red," *qöya-*, "light gray," *qöma-*, "black," *qöts[a]-*, "white,"—appear in many names.

Aesthetics of motion are also commonly emphasized, presenting for the viewer a processual, rather than a static, image (a movie, if you will, rather than a still photo-

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graph).[21] In addition to the examples mentioned, other images include a sparrowhawk in flight, a spider making a web, an eagle's wings alighting, a bear walking around, a person beginning to complete a rabbit-fur blanket, the colorful movement of masked *katsinam* successively turning around in a line at a particular point in a line-dance, a rainshower "walking" across the landscape, corn-tassles waving in the breeze, abruptly rising miniature columns of water produced by the force of heavy raindrops on a puddle (this last from Voth 1905c:94), and snow settling down. In each, a story is told that centrally involves action and the perception of it. Moreover, every case involves significant condensation and overdetermination in both the creative practice of the story's author and the interpretive practice of its auditor/"reader."

The range of possible subjects (although to list these as such risks a misconceived emphasis on entities rather than the actions they are engaged in—see note 21) includes individuals, pairs, or groups of animals, insects, birds, plants, humans, clouds, rain, other meteorological phenomena, spirits, mythological figures, geographic forms, etc. More abstract notions, like a clan's reputation (e.g., Maataq'ya, "they are famous for it [i.e., a specific behavioral trait or traditional practice]") also appear.

Finally, humans are not the only creatures who are regularly and poetically named. Eagles are gathered in late spring, and kept on house-tops until the *Niman*, "home-going," ceremony in July, when the *katsinam* depart for their spiritual homes around Hopi country. The captured eagles are "baptized" and named after the clan of the namegiver, just like human children. Eagle names reflect the same conventions as human names, and unless given by a member of the Eagle clan, may refer to numerous other species and practices. For example, one recorded eagle name given by a member of the Spider clan is Hayyiwma, "coming down," the sense denoting a spider descending on a single filament (Page and Page 1982:194).[22]

Poesis and Consciousness, Selfhood and the Social Order

Hopi names derive from the clan-system and are thus integral to the social structure. Name senses represent aspects of Hopi "totemic" classes and processes. For the name-receiver the totemic figure of the name is a mental image evoking a natural and social association of the (paternal or godparental) clan the name ties him or her to. The social relationship is thus culturally enframed in a narrative "picture" that lives and resonates in the mind of the named.[23] In this nonliterate society, the name is a poetic sign instantiating attributes of Hopi traditional knowledge—about the environment, ritual practices, clan histories, and so forth—that are inseparable from the organization of society. Reflection on a name's form and meaning thus serves to re-delight and re-teach an aspect of Hopi knowledge. Effective translation must address this range of social, cultural, and cognitive contexts in which names have their meanings constituted.

The classifying function of personal names which Lévi-Strauss (1966) postulates (one of his principal examples is Hopi) seems borne out by the totemic references. But the great degree of authorial latitude and creativity within totemic spheres, on the one hand,

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and the intentional uniqueness of each name, on the other, add strongly individuating elements simultaneously for namer and named. The namegiver is a genuine author, who, in inventing a new name, inscribes, as it were, his or her personal "signature" onto it. Moreover, the esoteric nature of meaning produced simply by the frequent (though not prescribed) absence of public explications of exact sense, keeps the names "special"; the mystery produced merely from denotative opacity, vouchsafes the individuality of the name and its author. Authorial individuality, as it must do elsewhere, takes its place within an "intertextual" context of other images and other authors. Appropriate imagery derives from a collective consciousness of the general parameters of totemic associations. If one were to take all the names conferred by members, or individual "authors," of a particular clan, these would constitute a canonical genre of the narrative depictions of clan tradition.

For the receiver, a name confers a unique individual identity, in addition to the roles ascribed by kin, clan, and sodality membership. Within a Mesa group of villages, no two individuals will share the same name. There is a clear desire to avoid duplicates—even of homonyms which, conferred by members of different clans, would have entirely different meanings (cf. Voth 1905c: 69). For example, Lomavuyawma, "beautifully going along flapping," could be conferred by members of any clan with totemic interests in birds, in each case referring to a different image. But if one person had been given this name, specifically, say, referring to an eagle flying high in the sky easterly in the morning sunlight, another would not choose the same lexeme, even if the reference intended would be, for example, to a duck flying low over a specific lake away from the viewer in the afternoon, or to a roadrunner in flight. The resultant individuation of identity names serve to mark, and partially constitute, is pronounced.

The effect of names that individuate both authors and subjects, selves and others, is well drawn by David Parkin (1982: xxxix, implicitly critiquing Lévi-Strauss 1966: 181) discussing Fipa and Omaha personal naming systems:

> . . . [T]he choices made by a namer reflect on himself as well as on the bearer and those who may or may not use the name. Naming then defines selfhood as well as others' personhood. Putting this another way, the subject objectifies himself through the act of defining or objectifying another.

In the first three decades of this century, government officials, missionaries and schoolteachers insisted that Hopi children adopt English forenames and their fathers' names (in a few cases, mothers' names), in many instances butchered by Anglo pronunciations, as hereditary patronymics. So in "Herschel Talashoma," "Talashoma" is a corruption of his father's father's Hopi name, Talashoyiwma. (In "Talashoma" principal stress falls on the third syllable, and 'sh' is a single phoneme as in English "*sh*ip"; in "Talashoyiwma" principal stress falls on the second syllable—the usual case with Hopi polysyllabic names—and the "sh" is two phonemes as in English "mi*sh*ap"). The clan association of the original namegiver and her or his relationship to the original name bearer are entirely confounded by this process. Moreover, the name's intended meaning is often simply lost. Many seemingly Hopi names have thus become English names, as Hopis describe this, and are now the untranslatable, "meaningless marks" of Mill's depiction. Some Hopis

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have taken on English surnames, or used their fathers' English forenames (Sidney, George, Charlie, etc.) as surnames, because of the difficulty non-Hopis experience with Hopi phonology and morphology. Nonetheless, each child also still receives several ("true") Hopi names which are generally not used for the dominant society's bureaucratic purposes that require a "forename" and "surname." Some people, conscious of the hegemony present in accepting the national society's naming conventions, have rejected inherited patronymics and substituted their own Hopi names as surnames. Thomas Banyacya (or Paangaq'ya according to the orthography I follow), for example, the widely known spokesman for the Traditionalist movement, replaced the surname "Jenkins" his father had adopted by his own *katsina* initiation name.

The avoidance of duplicating Hopi names is pursued also with English forenames, resulting in an extraordinary range and variety: Aquila, Lemuel, Starley, Ebin, Orin, Lovina, Kylene, Marietta, Charmetria, Aldena are just a few. Here again, the sense aspect of a Hopi name is absent, but in order to maintain the individuative function, Hopis have purposefully found access to a store of English, and some Spanish, names that greatly outstretches the average name-list in the Anglo Southwest. Sometimes English forenames are passed on to the next generation, or after a gap of one or two generations, and the intention is to foreground the relationship of the nameholders. But often the name spelling is deliberately changed, or the name is applied to a member of the opposite sex, in order to differentiate as well as associate; never is the name regarded as reincarnating a social person.

In addition to both individuated Hopi and English names, most people have at least one nickname which is commonly used for address and reference in ordinary conversation. Nicknames are often mildly insulting. They may poke fun at personal habits or appearances; for example, Kutuksona, "parched-corn craver," Kwaa'töqti, "eagle's call," the name of the Hopi newspaper (for a gossip), Tseemoni, "Germany," (for a person who worked for the German Mennonite missionaries), Wunavutsqasi "planklike thighs." Also, child-names are sometimes long remembered and used as quasi-nicknames, especially by the namegiver and his or her close relatives, after the acquisition of initiation names.

Concluding Remarks

"Literature," as Arnold Krupat (1989:43) puts it, "is that mode of discourse which foremost seeks to enact and perform its insights, insisting that we understand with affect, feel with comprehension." Partially constituted in a naming genre that seems genuinely literary in its imagistic qualities, Hopi selves are consciously marked in the intersubjective naming process that links an individual namegiver and a name-receiver. Hopi names provide vivid images and tell stories that commemorate their storytellers, and individuate and identify the sites of their telling, that is, the named subjects. Elsewhere (1988b:2), I have drawn attention to a Hopi conception of marked narrative form as an active mnemonic device for important events and traditions, or "Making a story out of it, to remember it

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by." This, it seems to me, is what Hopi names do for Hopi persons: "tiny imagist poems" or narrative mental-pictures through which the subject as author delightfully and instructively marks the individual identity of another subject. And in turn, Hopi persons thus marked are walking poetic metaphors of cultural, social, and natural experience:

Pay yan itam it ayangqaqw yuupahaqaqw tumalay'ngwu. Niiqe oovi hak naatoylay aw hakiy tungwangwu; meh, nu' honanwungwa, pu' kur nu' hakiy tungwanik pu' nu' inaatoylay aw taykyangw pu' nu' hakiy tungwani. Pu' son nu' hakiy naatoylayat aw hakiy tungwantani, nawusni himuy'sa aw put taykyangw hakiy tungwamantani.	This is how we've been doing it all the way along from the past. And so you name a person according to your clan-totem; see, I'm a Badger clan, so if I want to name someone, I would have to look at my own clan in order to name someone in a certain way. I will not name anyone looking at someone else's clan-totem; I will only look at my own clan's prerogatives in order to name that person, give that person a name.

Notes

1. Translations of this famous haiku proliferate (Sato 1983); mine is taken from R. H. Blyth (ibid.: 154).

2. My special thanks go to Herschel Talashoma for the text he provided for this inquiry, and for graciously putting up with me over the years. Other Hopi consultants prefer to remain anonymous. For the same reason of privacy, most of the names discussed herein are not those of living people. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at "Persons and Selves in Pueblo and Northwest Coast Societies," a session of the 1988 American Anthropological Association annual meetings in Phoenix, and at Sarah Lawrence College in February 1990. A number of people have helped greatly to clarify some issues; in particular, remarks by discussants Alfonso Ortiz and Ray Fogelson in Phoenix, and by Lina Brock, Roland Dollinger, and Danny Kaiser at Sarah Lawrence are much appreciated. My deep thanks for extensive written comments go to Arnold Krupat (most especially), Armin Geertz, and Bob Zimmerman. None but I, however, bear the blame for what remains.

3. Recent considerations of naming practices that discuss one or more of these features and/or others include Ramos 1974; Kendall 1980; Barnes 1980, 1982; Dalforo 1982; Willis 1982; Moore 1984; the articles by Maybury-Lewis, Maxwell, Rosaldo, and Mithun in Tooker 1984; Harrison 1985; Lindstrom 1985; Glasse 1987; Revard 1987; Kuschel 1988, and several articles, among which that by Godfrey Lienhardt is particularly noteworthy, in a Special Issue on Names of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford,* 1988.

4. Some recent exceptions to this are to be found in the references cited in note 3. To be sure, many English names originally had denotative meaning; Peter, for example, derives from the Greek *petra,* "a rock" (and see Dunkling and Gosling 1983). And there are other exceptions. Lienhardt (1988:107) indicates women's names denoting flowers or spring and summer months and also some Puritan names with semantic content; clearly such names as Faith, Hope, and Charity

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betoken moral precepts. Some people name their children for sporting events or social luminaries. Likewise, writers from Shakespeare (Sir Toby Belch) to Sheridan (Mrs. Malaprop), from Joyce (Stephen Dedalus) to Pynchon (Isaiah Two Four) have used names, often semantically significant, to evoke character, mood, or social conditions. And then there is rock star Frank Zappa's daughter, Moon Unit Two. But for the most part, it remains true that in ordinary life, proper names point out, refer or address, they do not denote images constituted apart from the subject's identity.

5. Two articles by Ralph Barnes (1980, 1982) are particularly useful recent treatments of Native American naming systems.

6. The resurrection of Marcel Mauss's 1938 essay on "the person" (Carrithers, Lukes, and Collins 1985) has renewed a misconception of naming practices in Pueblo societies. Mauss characterizes Pueblo names as drawn from a limited fund conferred by clans on their own members. Names then designate social characters in a fixed *dramatis personae* reproduced from one generation to the next—reflecting an underdevelopment of individuated persons and of selves as conscious agents (by contrast to the developed Western versions). Mauss's principal Pueblo examples are Zuni and Hopi, and, while he may be more accurate on Zuni names (whether this entitles him to infer inchoate persons and selves is a different matter), he is quite wrong with regard to Hopi—in a way, I believe (this was my theme in earlier versions of this paper), that substantially undermines his overall argument.

7. I owe the inspiration for this emphasis on the "narrative" construction of Hopi social persons to Armin Geertz (personal communication and 1990), who, in a rather different way, has persuasively argued for "narrated ethics" in the construction of persons in ritual contexts.

8. Hopi is traditionally an unwritten language, so the kind of proper-name marking of initial-capitalization is not present as such in Hopi discourse (cf. Mithun's [1984:40] remarks on Mohawk naming). Nonetheless, Hopi marks proper names both nominally by the term *tungwni* (pl. *tuutungwni*) "name," and verbally by *tungwa*, "to name it." *Maatsiwa*, "be named," is commonly used to identify the name of a person, e.g., *ya um/pam hin maatsiwa?*, "how are you/he-she named?" to which I would respond, *nu' Peter yan maatsiwa*, "I Peter this way am named." Likewise *maatsiwa* is used in the ritual conferring of a name, which ends with *X yan um maatsiwni*, "you will be called X" (Voth 1905b:54).

9. I have criticized conventional usages of the terms "clan" and "phratry" in Hopi ethnography (Whiteley 1985, 1986, 1988a). They are still useful shorthand terms for Hopi social groups, so long as the usage is not taken to imply formally and functionally discrete social-structural units.

10. Some accounts indicate a tendency to choose a member of the father's clan to serve as godfather/godmother (cf. Nagata n.d.:8, n. 3). This does not correspond with my experience or with most published accounts.

11. In addition to what I have learned from Hopi consultants, I am drawing here, particularly for the salt expedition and for death-names, from a very useful, as yet unpublished, paper by Shuichi Nagata (n.d.) that combines his own research with that of several prior accounts. Maitland Bradfield (1973:passim) also provides informative summary remarks of published accounts of Hopi naming. I have not personally inquired into whether namegiving at death still occurs (a sensitive ritual matter I prefer to stay away from).

12. Voth (1901:122–25) and Titiev (1944:222–26) provide the best available accounts of *Patsavu* at Oraibi.

13. This very image—a rare one indeed—is captured in a photograph by Kate Cory at Oraibi (Wright et al. 1986: photograph 4).

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14. The association between imagist poetry and haiku is not accidental. Ezra Pound, for example, was explicitly influenced by Japanese styles and imagery, and was responsible for bringing some Japanese poetry to a Western audience (see, e.g., Ueda 1965).

15. Barnes (1982:221) points out a similar pattern with some Siouan names.

16. This male name (spelled Sekaquaptewa) was taken as a marital surname by the bearer's wife, Helen, the subject of a well-known autobiography (1969); it is now the inherited patronymic of their sons, who include Abbott, a former chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council, and Emory, an anthropologist and linguist at the University of Arizona.

17. Despite some claims that *-tiwa* is an unusual verbal form (e.g., Voth 1905c:71), I follow Malotki's position here (1979:371). I thank Armin Geertz (personal communication) for pointing out this, and some other linguistic discrepancies.

18. This account of the name—the fullest I have heard—derives from the son of the namegiver, who assured me his mother explained it to him. Slight modifications on this account exist within the extended family of those who bear the name as an inherited patronymic.

19. By leaving out here the specific performative context of myth in the telling (for which, e.g., Sherzer 1987 has so persuasively argued), I do not mean to underplay its significance. It just seems less important for the interpretation of names, which are spoken in numerous genres of discourse and depend more on the ideas of myth rather than their specific narrative utterances.

20. Voth spells it variously Ǘuna (1905b:59) and Úna (1905c:81).

21. Ekkehart Malotki (1983) has trenchantly critiqued Whorf's characterization of the Hopi language as "timeless." Whorf (1956:147) contends also that the Hopi language formally configures an emphasis on "events" (or "eventings") which "are expressed mainly as outlines, colors, movements, and other perceptive reports"—as opposed to the static "things" emphasized by SAE (Standard Average European languages). While Whorf's assignment of intrinsic perceptual qualities to the Hopi language itself is in some disrepute, the phenomenological emphasis he has identified in Hopi worldview is nonetheless clearly foregrounded in the cognitive style of name-images.

22. Voth (1905c:73) also records the formal naming of a pipe in the context of the Blue Flute ceremony. The naming of kivas shares some features of personal naming too, but names of ritual objects and places are beyond my scope here.

23. Keith Basso's emphasis on the mental-pictorial features of Western Apache placenames (1988) is resonant here also. As one of his consultants explains (ibid. 107–8), characterizing a conversation centrally involving placename usage:

> We gave that woman . . . pictures to work on in her mind. . . . We gave her clear pictures with placenames. So her mind went to those places, standing in front of them as our ancestors did long ago. That way she could see what happened there long ago. She could hear stories in her mind, perhaps hear our ancestors speaking. She could reknow the wisdom of our ancestors.

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Suggested Reading

Studies of proper names converge from philosophy, anthropology, and linguistics; I cannot pretend to offer more than sample suggestions. John Stuart Mill's classic discussion occurs in chapter two of his *A System of Logic* (1843). Some other influential treatments within philosophy include A. H. Gardiner's *The Theory of Proper Names: A Controversial Essay* (1940, London: Oxford University Press), Bertrand Russell in his *Human Knowledge* (1948, New York: Simon and Schuster), P. Strawson's "On Referring" (1950, in *Mind*, 49:320–44), John Searle in his *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (1969, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), and more recently in his *Intentionality, an Essay in the Philosophy of Mind* (1983, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). S. P. Schwartz's (ed.) *Naming, Necessity and Natural Kinds* (1977, Ithaca: Cornell University Press), and M. Devitt's *Designation* (1981, Chicago: University of Chicago Press) are also significant. R. H. Barnes's "Personal Names and Social Classification" (1982, and see also his 1980 article on interpreting Hidatsa names), as well as providing a fine synthetic consideration of Native American naming systems, centrally opposes Mill's argument by drawing on philosopher Gottlob Frege's notions of sense and reference.

From the perspective of linguistics, John Lyons's discussion in his *Semantics* (1977, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Nancy Parrott Hickerson's "On the Sign Functions and Sociocultural Context of 'Personal Names'" (1977, *Proceedings of the Semiotic Society of America*, 1:44–150), and J. M. Carroll's "Toward a Functional Theory of Names and Naming" (1983, *Linguistics*, 21(2): 341–71) are recommended.

Within anthropology, sources cited in Note 3—especially the collection edited by E. Tooker and the "Special Issue on Names" of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*—are particularly recommended, as well as the passages cited from Lévi-Strauss's *The Savage Mind*. In addition, some other influential considerations include: E. E. Evans-Pritchard's "Nuer Modes of Address" ([1948] reprinted in Dell Hymes's (ed.) *Language in Culture and Society*, 1964, New York: Harper and Row), Ward Goodenough's "Personal Names and Modes of Address in Two Oceanic Societies" (1965, in Melford Spiro [ed.], *Context and Meaning in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Free Press), Rodney Needham's "Penan Friendship Names" (1971, in T. O. Beidelman's (ed.) *The Translation of Culture* (New York: Barnes and Noble), and T. O. Beidelman's "Kaguru Names and Naming" (1974, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 30:281–93).

Accounts of particular Native American naming systems (see also Note 3) are myriad: again Barnes's 1982 article provides an excellent starting point that considers a number of these, and contains a good bibliographic resource. Lévi-Strauss's aforementioned discussion focuses on several Native American cases. Keith Basso's work on Apache placenames (particularly 1988 and his "'Stalking with Stories': Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache" in E. Bruner [ed.], *Text, Play and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society*

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[1984, Washington, D.C.: American Ethnological Society]) provides superb insights into Native American naming practices (albeit specifically of place rather than person). Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday's personal memoir *The Names* (1976, New York: Harper and Row) includes some powerfully evocative considerations of Native American names. And, to repeat, the classic source on Hopi names is H. R. Voth's *Hopi Proper Names* (1905).

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