Handbook of North American Indians

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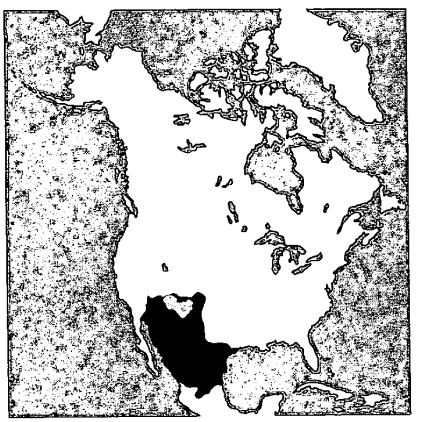

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churches of New Mexico. The tribe, suffering from the aggressiveness of the New Mexicans as well as from drought, tried to avoid war, but with limited success. By 1833 warfare was rapidly escalating. The Navajos gained a major victory in 1835 when they routed a large Mexican force in Washington Pass, killing its leader among others (Brugge 1968:57–60). In 1837 when New Mexico suffered a local revolt the Navajos found allies among the western Pueblos and aided them in their abortive bid for freedom (Brugge 1969:196–197). As the number of Navajo captives among the New Mexicans grew, attacks were launched from both sides with increasing frequency and the issue of return of their lost people became the major Navajo concern at treaty negotiations (Brugge 1968:61–66). The demands of war were increasingly hard on the economies of both peoples. The New Mexicans were able to solve the problem by taxing the Anglo-American traders who came regularly over the Santa Fe Trail (Brugge 1965:25–26), but for the Navajos there was no source of outside support. The strains resulted in internal divisions within the tribe. As early as 1818 a group favoring peace with the Spaniards had detached themselves from the rest of the tribe to form the nucleus of the so-called Enemy Navajo (*diné 'ana'í*), who later settled at Cañoncito (McNitt 1972:48, 434). The basic issue was whether to have war or peace with the Whites, specifically the New Mexicans. Explanations of the differences of opinion within the tribe vary, some being in terms of rich versus poor (Brugge 1968:66) and others on a regional basis, the Navajos closest to the White settlements being those who most favored peace (Simpson 1964:lxxviii–lxxix). Detailed analysis of the data shows that both versions were at best only partially true (Littell 1967:37–44). It is probable that many factors influenced the attitudes of individual Navajos.

With the arrival of the United States Army in 1846 a new and untested force was introduced into the conflicts. American officers wavered between attempts to treat both sides fairly and outright espousal of the New Mexicans' cause but lacked insight into local conditions. By 1850 three treaties had been signed between the United States and the Navajo Tribe, but the private war between the tribe and the New Mexicans continued in sporadic fashion (Brugge 1968:67–72).

Synonymy†

The English name Navajo is from Spanish *Navajó*, which first came into use in the seventeenth century as the name of the territory then inhabited by the Navajo in northwestern New Mexico. Zárate Salmerón (1899–1900, 4:183, 1966:94), about 1629, referred to the Apaches de Nabajú, and Benavides (1630:59 [i.e. 57]) to the Apaches de Nauajò, which he explained as meaning 'large planted fields' (*sementeras grandes*), a reference to the fact that these Indians were great farmers (*muy grandes labradores*). Spanish *Navajó* seems to be a borrowing of Tewa *navahu·*, a compound of *nava* 'field' and *hu·* 'wide arroyo, valley' used to designate a large arroyo in which there are cultivated fields (Hewett 1906; Harrington 1940:518). It is not known whether the Tewa expression was a specific place-name in the Navajo area or a descriptive term; it is known to be the name of an abandoned pueblo near Puye. In any case, the Spaniards adopted it to designate the Largo Canyon area south of the San Juan River, where the Navajo lived (Reeve 1956:298–303). Provinsia de Nabajo and Provinsia de Navajo are used on Menchero's map of about 1745, and Provincia de Nabajoo appears on Miera y Pacheco's 1776 map ("History of Pueblo-Spanish Relations to 1821," figs. 3, 6, vol. 9). In the nineteenth century *Navajó* became the most common Spanish name for the tribe, the plural being *Navajoses*; *Navajoso* (pl. *Navajosos*, fem. *Navajosa*) is also used (Harrington 1940:517). Variant spellings have b for v and x for j. Early Spanish plurals are Navajós (Coues 1900, 2:458; Orozco y Berra 1864:369) and Navajoes (Bloom 1928:177). Other early Spanish variants are Navejo, Nabejo (Harrington 1940b), Napao and Apaches Nabajai (Coues 1900, 2:351, 369), navajoas, 1765 (Tamarón y Romeral 1937:350), and Abajoses (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:282).

The first occurrences in a text originally written in English are found in the accounts of Zebulon Montgomery Pike's expeditions: Nahjo, Nanahaws, 1805–1807 (Coues 1895:730, 746). From this last form, the misspellings Namakaus (Schermerhorn 1814:29) and nanahas (Orozco y Berra 1864:385) are derived. Other early occurrences are Nabeho, 1821–1822 (J. Fowler 1898:123); Navahoes, 1821–1823 (T. James 1953:136); Nabijos (Anonymous 1824); Nabahoes (Pattie 1833:41); Navajoes, Navajó, 1831–1839 (Josiah Gregg in Thwaites 1904–1907, 20:56, 103); Navahoes, 1835–1837 (Parker 1942:32); Navijos, 1846 (Sage 1956, 2:90); Nebajos, 1848 (J.S. Robinson 1932:29). Ten Kate (1885:160) has Návojos, and Deniker (1907:525) Nodehs.

The modern English spellings are Navaho and Navajo, now generally pluralized as Navahos and Navajos, though in the nineteenth century the plurals Navahoes and Navajoes were frequent. Both the anglicized spelling Navaho and the Spanish spelling Navajo have been considered correct, but there has been some discussion about which one should be preferred. Navajo was the prevailing spelling for centuries in local use and is the only one officially recognized by the Board on Geographic Names of the Department of the Interior (Har-

†This synonymy was written by David M. Brugge, Ives Goddard, and Willem J. de Reuse. Uncredited phonemic transcriptions are from sources that prefer to be anonymous. Some of the 19th-century spellings are from Kluckhohn and Spencer (1940:11–12).

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rington 1945a). After the Tewa origin of the name was pointed out by Hewett (1906), the spelling Navaho was officially adopted by the Bureau of American Ethnology (Hodge 1907–1910, 2:41) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This was used during the first two thirds of the twentieth century by many authorities but never became popular. Hodge (1949:78) was strongly in favor of the BAE's decision, on the grounds that it is pointless to write a word of Tewa origin with a Spanish spelling; an extended discussion is in Haile (1949). However, the spelling Navajo was officially adopted by the Navajo Nation in 1969 and has been officially adopted by the BIA and the *Handbook*.

When the Navajos were first identified by name by the Spaniards in the seventeenth century they were considered a subdivision of the Apaches and called *Apaches de Navajó* (see above). The term Apache came to be used less as Navajo culture began to diverge more clearly from that of other Southern Athapaskans, but it is still used in some rural Spanish-speaking New Mexico communities to include the Navajos. For the name Apache and its synonyms, see the synonymy in "The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins" (this vol.). Francisco Garcés, who used the Yuman term Yabipai to include both Upland Yumans and Apacheans, called the Navajo Yabipais Nabajay (Coues 1900, 2:457).

In the Navajo language, the usual self-denomination is *Diné* (plural or collective *Dine'é*). This term is sometimes used in a more general sense to include related peoples such as members of a clan or all Apacheans or even all Indians or all peoples of the world, its literal meaning being 'person', 'people', or 'human beings'. It is occasionally used to refer to the gods or other supernatural beings. It is sometimes even used, when appropriately modified, to identify classes of animals. For this reason more specific terms are available for use in some contexts. *T'áá diné* (with the particularizing particle *t'áá*) may fill this function, as may *Naabeehó*, the latter clearly a loanword of recent origin (Young and Morgan 1980:321; Wyman and Bailey 1964:18). An old Navajo man once stated that when some Navajos were robbing a Tewa cornfield, the Tewa Indians shouted [naapeexwóh] (i.e., *naabeehó*) as a warning, and that this is how the Navajos know that the Tewas call them this (Howard Gorman in Harrington 1940a). What appears to be an older pronunciation nāwehó was recorded by the Franciscan Fathers (1912:132), who also give the sobriquet goyŏdĕ, from Spanish *coyote*, as another possible Navajo self-denomination. Apparently derived from the Navajo term *diné* are the following Keresan and Zuni words for 'Navajo': Cochiti Dinne (Bandelier 1890:175), Laguna *téné* (Harrington 1944a, phonemicized), Acoma *tʰené*, Zuni tʸyné or tʸynǽ (Harrington 1913, normalized).

The oldest Apache term recorded that refers specifically to the Navajos is Yutajen-né, 1796 (Antonio Cordero in Matson and Schroeder 1957:336). It is not clear which Apache group called the Navajos by this term, but it is probably related to the Western Apache word for 'Navajo', *yúdahą́* (Perry et al. 1972). Goodwin (1942:71) has *yúúdahą́* 'people above', said to be used because they lived directly to the north of the Western Apache. Variants of the same word that cannot be explained merely as different spellings are yúttahi (Harrington 1945) and Yú-tah-kah (Eaton 1854).

Among other Apachean words for 'Navajo' is a Jicarilla form variously given as Inltané 'corn planters', (Curtis 1907–1930, 1:135), īnLt'anne (Goddard 1911:130), nłt'ă´ni 'farmers, corn raisers' (Franciscan Fathers 1912:132), iⁿl-tŏn-ɐ (Russell 1898:65), and Nl'-dû´nĕ 'katydids' (Mooney 1897a). This is apparently cognate with Navajo *'anilt'ánii* 'ripener (variety of insects associated with ripening such as lacewing flies, tree crickets, ant-lions)' (Young and Morgan 1980:116). The same name has been recorded in Mescalero Apache (Franciscan Fathers 1912:132), but the current Mescalero term for 'Navajo' is *ndaabixúńde*, literally 'White man's prisoner', referring to the Navajos' captivity in Fort Sumner (Scott Rushforth, communication to editors 1981).

Chiricahua Apache has Naväχú (Gatschet 1884b:5), from Spanish, and tl'ests'ōsi bizhă´ha 'small G-strings' (Franciscan Fathers 1912:132), apparently a nickname. Kiowa-Apache has da·bahû· (Harrington 1944), also of Spanish origin.

Various other names for the Navajo are used by Pueblo Indians. Zuni has *paču* (pl. *ʔa·paču* less often *paču·kʷe*) (Dennis Tedlock, communication to editors 1977), which may be the origin of the term Apache. Taos has the borrowing Nawahonæ, pl. Nawahoną (Harrington 1918), also spelled nábahunæ, pl. nábahuną̀ or nabahúnæmą (Harrington 1918a), and milenă 'the heathen, the gentiles' (Harrington in Franciscan Fathers 1912:132). Picuris has k⁽ʰ⁾ulénà, which means 'captive' in Taos (Harrington 1918), or *kʔulone* (Amy Zaharlick, communication to editors 1981). Rio Grande Tewa has *wǽn-sáve* 'Jemez Apachean' (*wǽn* 'Jemez Indian' and *sáve* 'Apachean'), so called because the Navajo live in the country west of Jemez, the nearest Pueblo to their historical location. Harrington (1916:573, 575 normalized) recorded [ŋwæn-saβè]. Hopi-Tewa has the corresponding *sá·be, wónsá·be* (Paul V. Kroskrity, communication to editors 1977). Mooney (1892–1898) glosses *sá·be* (which he spells shä´bi) as 'people to look out for'. Southern Tiwa has Sandia *tʔęłimpede*, pl. *tʔęłimnen* (Elizabeth A. Brandt, communication to editors 1981), and Isleta *tę łémide*, pl. *tę łémnin* (William L. Leap, communication to editors 1977). Gatschet (1879–1885:22) derives this word from te´ 'liep 'without pity, hard-minded'. Gibbs (1868) gives a plural Tāt-li-em-a-nūn glossed 'Apaches and Navajos', an indication that the word earlier had a broader meaning. The Fran-

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ciscan Fathers (1912:132) give Isleta nabē´li 'dried skins', apparently a nickname.

Several Keresan terms do not come from Navajo *diné*. Cochiti has Moshome (Bandelier 1890:175), given by Harrington as mo´rzhrumæ 'the gentiles, the heathen' (in Franciscan Fathers 1912:132); this corresponds to Santa Ana *ṁúsumi* 'enemy'. In later notes Harrington (1944b) states that the borrowing navahǫ́ is the only common name. Zia has 'Ché-shap (Stevenson 1889–1890:15). Laguna has Navajó (Harrington 1944a) and sōk'ēīn´ or sŏk'ĕ´ină, for which no etymology is given (Franciscan Fathers 1912:132), but which resembles Laguna *šáukî·ni* 'my friend'. Jemez has *k'ʸǽlǽ*, pl. *k'ʸǽlǽcoš* (Joe S. Sando, communication to editors 1978), which is the same word as Pecos Keretsâ (Hodge 1910:339), the source of the name Querecho.

Hopi names for 'Navajo' are Third Mesa *tasávi*, pl. *tasávimi* (Voegelin and Voegelin 1957:49), and Mishongnovi *tás?avà*, pl. *tás?avàm* (Whorf 1936:1301). This term is probably a loanword from Tewa (see above), although Ten Kate (1885:259) glosses Tasámewé as 'bastards'. The word is doubtless related to the name transcribed in Spanish in the seventeen and eighteen centuries as Tacabuy (i.e. Taçabuy) or Tassabuess, although there is some evidence that these early names refer to the people now called Western Apaches (Forbes 1960:104–106). Another Hopi name is Third Mesa *qaláy?taqa* 'one who has a prominent forehead' (Voegelin and Voegelin 1957:49). An obsolete term for 'Navajo' is yútahani (Stephen 1936, 2:1325), probably a borrowing of the Western Apache term.

Yuman tribes also have various names for the Navajo. Havasupai has *hʷa·mú?u* (Leanne Hinton, communication to editors 1981), also recorded as hua'ámu´'u or hwa'mu (Spier 1946:18), apparently representing *hʷa·?mú?u*. This term was first recorded by Francisco Garcés as Guamua (Coues 1900, 2:404) although he did not explain that it was another name for those he called Yabipais Nabajay and may not have made the connection himself. Yavapai has *mu·ka kyula* 'tall Hopi' and *čihʷahmu·ča* (Martha B. Kendall, communication to editors 1981); earlier forms are Yutila pa´ 'Navajo man' (Gatschet 1883:6), pl. Yat-e-lat-lar´-we (J.B. White 1873–1875), which may be related to the Western Apache term, and plural χwamǫ́ (Freire-Marreco 1910–1912), obviously related to the Havasupai term. Mohave has Navahúa (Gibbs 1856), Quechan has *navaxó* (Abraham Halpern, communication to editors 1981), and Cocopa has *navaxú* or *navaxú·* (James Crawford, communication to editors 1981), all from Spanish Navajó. Quechan *?apač*, presumably from Spanish too, can also refer to the Navajo (Abraham Halpern, communication to editors 1981).

The Pima and Papago name is *ná·waho* (Saxton and Saxton 1969:156). Pima and Papago *?ó·b* refers specifically to the Apache (Saxton and Saxton 1969:35, 156; Mathiot 1973, 2:466) but in its original broader meaning of 'enemy' it included the Navajos.

The Great Basin Numic names all seem closely related in form but show some variation in meaning. Southern Paiute has *paγaŋʷi·ciŋʷi*, literally 'cane-knife people' (Sapir 1930–1931, 3:605, phonemicized). The Southern Ute name *paγáwĭ·čI* is explained as 'walking knife' and also means 'dragon-fly' (Givón et al. 1979:154), but the meaning given for an early recording, Ute Pá-gu-wēts 'reed knives' (Powell 1874:26), agrees with Southern Paiute. Gosiute Shoshoni has *paka-wi·cci* [paγa wi·č·i] 'arrow knife' (Miller 1972:165), with a word for 'arrow' cognate with Ute and Southern Paiute 'cane, reed'.

Panamint has yu-ĭ´-ta (Henshaw 1883:184), but the recorder was apparently not certain that this word referred to the Navajos. It may be related to the Western Apache word for 'Navajo'. Comanche has *navó·* (Casagrande 1954:231). Earlier spellings seem to be closer to the Spanish or English: nábaho· nö´ 'the Navajo people' (Gatschet 1884c:113), or Nă´-vå-hō (Detrick 1894:184). Other Comanche terms, taken down by Gatschet from a trader's vocabulary, are of very uncertain spelling and unknown etymology: Marho, moodus-sey (Gatschet 1884c:87).

The Kiowa name is *àbàhô·-gɔ̀* (pl.) or *kʰó·-cén-gɔ̀* (pl.); the second word is analyzable into 'body' and 'mud' (Laurel Watkins, communication to editors 1979). Mooney (1898:391) states that Ä´bähóko is the old name, derived from the word 'Navajo', and that the more frequent name is Kotsénto 'muddy bodies', from an alleged custom of painting themselves with clay. Besides the words given by Mooney and Watkins, Harrington (1943) has a form nɛ̀bɛ̀hów-gɔ̀ (pl.) perhaps influenced by the English word Navajo (cf. Harrington 1928:123).

Sources‡

This sources section refers to all the chapters on the Navajo. With a very few exceptions, it is limited to monographs that provide significant historical or ethnographic information, to museum collections, and to sources of photographs.

Iverson (1976) is an introduction to the voluminous literature on the Navajo. Correll, Watson, and Brugge (1969, 1973) is a more extensive bibliography. One may also consult Vogt (1961) for a synthesis of much of the central work completed to that date.

Underhill (1956) is the most comprehensive narrative of Navajo history. Other useful overviews include Van

‡This section is by Peter Iverson, except that the paragraph on manuscripts and the listing of museum collections is by Susan Brown McGreevy, and the paragraph on illustrations is by Laura J. Greenberg.

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