


## On anthroponymy in the streets of Santa Fe, NM<sup>1</sup>

### Sobre antroponimia en las calles de Santa Fe, Nuevo México

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**ABSTRACT:** The connection between a street and the anthroponym which identifies it goes beyond a simple way of locating in the geographical space. It constitutes a representation of the national, local, international and cultural history and, at the same time, it is a sort of government control since they not only serve administratively, but also legitimize the current official history. The aim of this paper is to analyze a corpus of 1260 street names of Santa Fe, New Mexico containing person names so the connection between these names with the national, state and local history can be established. The outcomes of this paper are that the city of Santa Fe considers equally important the national and the local affairs and people. This allows a greater creativity in the naming process. Hence, this analysis also permits the possibility to observe the linguistic and cultural richness in the city.

**KEYWORDS:** Odonymy. Anthroponymy. Linguistic Landscape. History. City of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

**RESUMEN:** La relación entre una calle and el antropónimo que la identifica va más allá de una mera forma de ubicación en un espacio geográfico. Implica una representación de la historia nacional, local, internacional y cultural. Al mismo tiempo es una especie de mecanismo de control por parte de los gobiernos pues sirven a lo administrativo, pero también se legitima la historia oficial en turno. El objetivo es analizar un corpus de 1260 nombres de calles de Santa Fe, New México los cuales contienen nombres personales para determinar la relación de estos nombres con la historia del país, del estado y de la ciudad. El panorama que ofrece el trabajo es que la ciudad de Santa Fe da la misma importancia a lo nacional como a lo local, lo cual permite una mayor creatividad en la nominación. A partir de este análisis también permite conocer la riqueza lingüística y cultural en la ciudad.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE:** Odonimia. Antroponimia. Paisaje Lingüístico. Historia. Ciudad de Santa Fe, Nuevo México.

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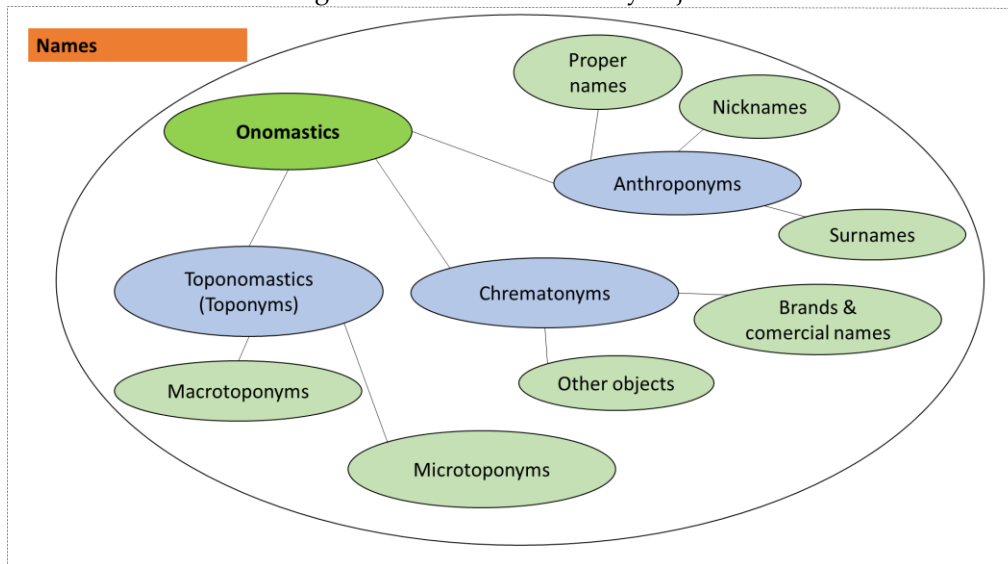
## 1 Introduction

The present paper is in the range of Linguistic Landscape Studies (LLS) as it belongs to a bigger project whose aim is to describe the LL (onomastic, specifically) of New Mexico in three levels: toponymy (place names), odonymic (street names) and apotheconymic (commercial names), as well as analyzing the representation of indigenous languages in the New Mexican LL. In terms of anthroponymy, this paper combines Odonymy and Anthroponymy with a historical perspective. If streets are a way of representing the official history (NEETHLING, 2016, p. 146-148), this paper has the objective of analyzing how the national, state and local history, among other aspects of international relevance are represented in the streets of Santa Fe, NM.

## 2 Some conceptual aspects

Be it people, places, some objects, or animals, real or fictitious, all have a name, and this is not by chance, but it obeys some social and linguistic rules which vary from region to region and from time to time. These facts about a name are studied by Onomastics, the science of names. The onomastic studies contribute, among other aspects, to the comprehension of LL (concerning the spaces where written language is used). When study objects of Onomastics are classified, three big categories are found: Toponomastics, Anthroponomastics and Chrematonymy, aiming to place, people and objects names, respectively (fig. 1).

Figure 1 – Onomastics study objects.



Source: the author.

LL is the way in which language is represented in commercial signs, shopping windows, official signs, traffic signs, etc., a kind of study which amplifies “...the range of sociolinguistic description from [...] speakers to spaces [], in which such speakers dwell, and in which they pick up and leave, so to speak, linguistics deposits, ‘waste’, signposts, roadmaps” (BLOMMAERT, 2013, p. 1). Any aspect related to use and representation of language in public space is a study subject of the landscape in general, which can be classified according to the study object: cultural, linguistic, artistic and, as in this case, onomastic. When speaking about onomastic landscape (Toponomastics and Anthroponomastics) is referring to the study of both street names (namely Odonymy) and person names in the streets (names per se, surnames, hypocoristics, bynames, and nicknames).

### *Odonymy*

Odonymy, from Greek odos “way” and onoma “name, refers to the study of names of streets, squares, roads and similar city features. The topics covered by this subdiscipline include knowing how this information about streets is selected,

catalogued, standardized and made available to the public (NEETHLING, 2016, p. 144). One of the main problems Odonymy faces is the confusing nomenclature: road, street, alleyway, boulevard, avenue etc. and the fact that no clear delimitations exist in the use, because it depends more on political issues than terminological. An example of this is that in Phoenix, Arizona, streets run from East to West and avenues from North to South but what occurs in Santa Fe, where the extension and functions of the way seemed to determine the terminology of the street, but it is not functional as there are streets wider than a boulevard or a camino broader than an avenue. The governments consider them spatial instruments which have the function of orientation or administrative control as well as social instruments because they commemorate characters from the official history in turn. For this reason, it is also a way of symbolic production of the urban landscape and thus it is part of the cultural and linguistic landscape in a certain geographic space (NEETHLING, 2016).

The street as a study object has been seen from perspectives: as political arenas (ADEBANWI, 2012; ALDERMAN, 2012; AZARYAHU, 2012), as spaces for analysis of social communication (CROSS, 2019), as a chance to the linguistic analysis of lexis (JONES, 1970), as a space for landscape reading (FAIRCLOUGH, 1958; DÉSY, 1988; FORTIN, 2005; EBY, 2008; KALKMAN, 2019) or to study the way identity and ideology are reflected in the written language in the streets (AZARYAHU, 2012; CABRERA, 2007; PINCHEVASKI; TORGOVNIK, 2003). Others, from the critical point of view, consider the street a kind political-social medal table in which official history is legitimized (CAMACHO, 2014; CHALIER, 2014; GONZÁLEZ; MURPHY, 1997; JÄRLEHE, 2015; MARGOTTI, 2018; MARTIN, 2013; O'NEILL, 1998; ORTIZ, 2009; POCETTI, 2011).

### *Anthroponymy*

Even when the concept of proper name demands a deeper discussion about its theoretical status, in this part we define in a general way four key concepts from

Anthroponomastics, that is the study of first names, family names, hypocoristics and nicknames and then redirect the reader to revise Loo Liu (2013), Hough (2014), Korta (2014), López Franco (2014) and Van Langendonck (2007), among others for further details.

A proper name represents a problem of terminology as there must be a distinction between proper names and person names. The latter refer to names inspired in saints thus, automatically excludes names invented by parents (LÓPEZ FRANCO, 2012). Van Langendonck (2007, p. 187) states that proper names include “not only individual names (first names and most bynames 'nicknames') but also collective names, such as inhabitant names, certain bynames and especially family names”, which makes anthroponymy a field with a broad range of research topics. Concerning this paper, only person names are considered.

A surname or family name, as Zabalza (2007, p. 259) confirms is, a priori, the element which allows to identify any family group, associated to the social subject “homestead”, however, the homestead name is not necessarily the family name. The surname “is the anthroponymic name of the family which distinguishes persons” (SHEMTOV-SHEMTOV, 2014, p. 5). Farkas (2008, p. 366) explicates that surnames are also “ethnic symbols, determined by their linguistic character and typical usage in the community”, nevertheless, there are several typologies. In general, they are classified into “a) patronymics, b) occupational names (and titles, dignities), c) nicknames (personal characteristics), and d) names referring to origin (toponymic or ethnic)” (FARKAS, 2019, p. 29) associated, in certain cases, to the house or the family.

A nickname is, in Moliner’s words (1998, p. 216) an “alias”, a name applied to a person, among ordinary people, frequent in small towns and sometimes transmitted from parents to sons and this “nickname”, generally alludes to a certain quality, similarity of the person to whom it is applied, the way that person is known”. These are strongly associated with the family name. In Spanish “apodo” is a translation of nickname, “one of the most ancient anthroponymic units, the primary source of proper

names and surnames” (GARAYEVAA; AKHMETZYANOVA; KHISMATULLINAA, 2016, p. 1039). Molefe (1999, p. 3) cites Morgan (1971) who believes that a “nickname is an eke-name, derived from the Old English verb *can*, meaning “to add to or augment”. Thus, an eke-name was one given over and above the legal or baptismal name”. It is another term that also presents terminological problems because:

Los apodos o motes son sobrenombres, así como los alias and pseudónimos, entre otros y se entienden como sobrenombres a los apelativos que sirven para volver a nombrar popularmente a personas que ya tienen el nombre oficial propio, el del Registro Civil, compuesto regularmente por su nombre y sus apellidos. (RAMÍREZ, 2011, p. 558-559)

Hypocoristics (ὕποκοριστικός) means “to caress” or “name lovingly to”; it is a word used by grammarians to characterize names representing other names. According to Fernández and Palencia (2015, p. 13) it is “a special kind of person name used in the family language as affective designations...”, i.e., intimate ways used in the family language to substitute long proper names and due to their frequent use, they need a more comfortable way to be uttered. Do Couto (2000, p. 50) defines them as “o modo familiar, afetivo, of designarem as pessoas. Em alguns casos o nome hipocorístico é tirado do nome próprio da pessoa, freqüentemente (mas nem sempre) tomando-se a sílaba tónica e reduplicando-a ”.

To these four categories *hagyonym* (name of a saint) and *charactonym* (name of a literary or film character) (ICOS, 2019) are added, because they are also found in the corpus.

### 3 Methodology

#### *The context*

Santa Fe is the capital city of New Mexico. It is in the north of Santa Fe County. There are about 65,000 inhabitants. Since its foundation, in 1609, as Real Villa of la

Santa Fe of San Francisco of Asis, there are strict laws for urban planning, one is that any building can be taller than the cathedral and because of this the city keeps a very peculiar landscape. Also, following these laws, any Street can be named after a living person.

This paper follows a Top-down, method from general to particular, through field work collection of data in a State, County and City level. Finally, a specific area of the city was selected, all was complemented with a few interviews to owners and inhabitants and with Carlos O. Ruiz, specialist road engineer from New Mexico, as well as documental research in data bases and printed material. In this article we focus on the streets from the Santa Fe county, collected first from the database Streets of the World and then compared with the Atlas of Street Maps Santa Fe County, Los Alamos, Española, Taos (HORTON, 2016). The list of collected odonyms were classified in the following way:

1. Generic term, the one next to the Street itself and the language it is written in: street, avenida, callejón, street, lane, road, strada, po, etc. Even when it relevant for Odonymy, it is not for this paper
2. Morphological classification in simple, i.e. just one component apart from the generic, for ex. Calle López, Sheridan Avenue, etc. and compound, formed with two (Adenois Lujan Road, Entrada Celedon y Nestora, etc.) and three elements, which have a descriptive element related to geographical location, e.g. Traviesa of Camilo W(est) and Traviesa of Camilo East, both lacking a generic term.
3. Lexical Category: noun, adjective, name, surname and language.
4. Notes about names, that is, if they belong to a character from history, religion, local history or people, mass media, etc., among some encyclopedic data form the character.

A part of proper names in odonyms, in order to classify them were registered by intuition, but the names, surnames and the authenticity of names was proved in data bases like Behind the Name or online searches. To ensure that in the city there are

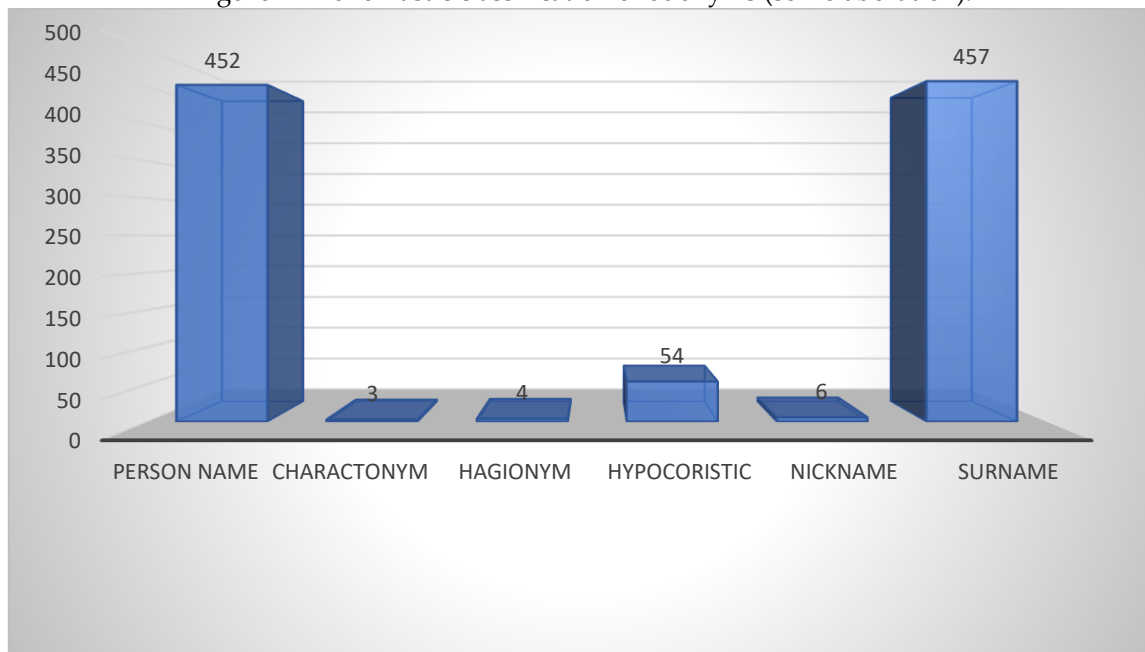
people bearing certain surnames appearing in our database, websites like Names and Numbers and the printed version of Santa Fe’s telephone book were consulted.

#### 4 Results

##### *On anthroponymy in the streets of Santa Fe*

In the data collection for the global Project, 3624 odonyms were gathered, and 1062, which are called anthroponomic odonyms were selected: 840 simples and 222 compounds (215 of two components, 7 of 3 ones). It is noticeable to remark that there are several cases in which the same descriptive elements is used to describe more than one generic, for ex., Ortiz Lane, Ortiz Road, Ortiz Street, either in simple or in compound odonyms. This is the reason why there are many. In the onomastics relations to the name of the streets, in fig. 2 we can observe that out of the total of 1062, the proper name, surname or the combination of both are the most predominant, followed by hypocoristics.

Figure 2 — onomastic classification of odonyms (self-elaboration).



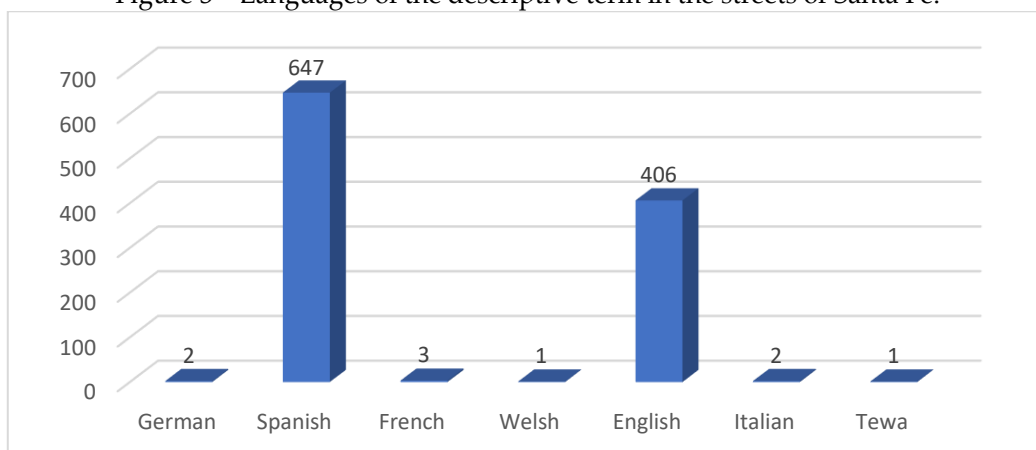
Source: the author.



*Some notes related to language*

The variety of languages in the generic nomenclature of Santa Fe streets reveals the strong historical roots in the New Spanish past, as well as the nowadays presence of Mexican migration and the cohabitation of Hispanic, Mexicans and Chicanos (not including other nationalities). Nomenclatures can be seen in four languages: Spanish, English, Tewa and Italian, in this order of frequency. The idea Pueblo people of legitimize the reservation lands by making their language visible in public spaces can be seen in the remarkable presence of Tewa (one of the most numerous indigenous languages in the county). It is important to emphasize that Spanish nomenclature outnumbers English. Concerning the descriptive element of the odonym, the languages present can be seen in fig 3. Again, Spanish outnumbers English in 30%. Even if it's a minimal representation, Tewa is present.

Figure 3 – Languages of the descriptive term in the streets of Santa Fe.



Source: the author.

*History in the streets*

The land in the state of NM was inhabited by Anasazi groups (which divided and merged to create the different “Pueblos” of modern day, 19 in the whole state), Navajo, Apaches, from the Athabaskan groups, as well as Hopi, mainly from Arizona. The total number of anthroponyms in the corpus 50 historical and 31 local characters appear in it. The latter is known by the fact that when a surname either online or in the

address book, this leads to a street where a person with that name lives. In the ongoing lines we present several key events in the history of the State and the county, so we'll see which characters have gained a place in Santa Fe's Odonymy.

First explorations and conquistadores: after the Discovery of America by Cristóbal Colon, several explorations in the continent began. The name of Colón remains in an avenue starting in Santa Fe River and runs eastwards, crossing the main avenue, homonym of the once community of Agua Fria.

Around 1521 the expeditions to the North in order to expand land begin; one of the explorers is Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras (Badajoz, 1485-Guadalajara, 1541), Spanish conquistador who took part in the conquest of Cuba, in the exploration by Juan de Grijalva in the Gulf of Mexico and in the coasts of Yucatán, and in the conquest of the Aztec Empire lead by Hernán Cortés (conquistador of a great part of Central America —Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador). He participated in the battle against Tlaxcaltecan people lead by Xicohtécatl. Once defeated the latter, Tecuelhuetzin, his daughter (baptized as Doña Luisa), had a son with Alvarado (Pedro) and a daughter, Leonor, who married Francisco de la Cueva, cousin of the Duke of Albuquerque. The family name is now registered in Calle Alvarado.

There are 4 streets bearing the name of Hernández de Córdoba (East and West Cordova Road, Cordova Lane and Cordova Place) (Córdoba, Spain, 1467-Sancti Spíritus, Cuba, 1517), the Spanish conquistador who led, between February and May 1517, the "discovery of the Yucatán Peninsula ". Other three streets bearing names of explorers and conquistadores are Coronado Road (E and W) and Coronado Lane, referring to Francisco Vázquez de Coronado one of the first and the one who was in the quest of the mythic Kingdom of Cibola. He was followed by two remarkable characters, the first is Hernández Nuño Cabeza de Vaca, whose surname could be in Paseo C. de Baca, Ranchitos de Baca, Baca Lane, Baca Ranch Court, Baca Ranch Lane, Baca Ranch Loop, Baca Street, C de Baca Lane and Camino de Los Bacas. However, it is difficult to deduce if is him or is Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca, first governor in the state,

mainly because of the orthographical variation Vaca and Baca. The second character is Juan de Oñate (Oñate Place and also Onate Place and Onate Street, who makes history when took possession in 1598, on behalf of Felipe II, of the lands bathed by the Río Grande (STEWART, 2008, p. 24-25).

### *Santa Fe's foundation*

The acknowledged founder of Santa Fe is Pedro de Peralta. In 1609, the construction of Santa Fe del Yunque starts, then it would change name into La Real Villa de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asis. Camino Peralta and Paseo de Peralta are two streets commemorating his name as an important character in the history of the city.

From 1680 to 1692, the Pueblos took up arms (Pueblo Revolt) and is Don Diego de Vargas who takes back the lands after having been displaced for 12 years to El Paso, in the border of Chihuahua and Texas. The odonyms Vargas Court, E. and W. de Vargas Street, Corte Vargas, De Vargas, De Vargas Street, De Vargas Street W and Don Diego Avenue E and W remember this important historical character.

### *Independence war and nineteenth century*

Differently from many Mexican cities, for example, where it is a tradition finding an odonym "16 of septiembre", "Independencia" or "5 de mayo", in Santa Fe only 3 historical characters from the Independence War of the US appear: George Washington (Washington Avenue), constitutionalist and first president; John Adams (Adams Lane and Adams Road) and Benjamin Franklin, Statista, scientific and constitutionalist (Franklin Avenue). Presidents from the 19th century are James Madison (Avenida Madison, Madison Road and Lugar de Madison), Zachary Taylor (Taylor Loop, Taylor Mountain and Taylor Road), Abraham Lincoln (Lincoln Avenue), Ulysses Grant (Grant Avenue and General Grant Avenue), James A. Garfield (Garfield Street) and Grover Cleveland (Cleveland Road and Cleveland Street) and presidents

from the 20th century, only John F. Kennedy (Kennedy Court and Kennedy Road) is commemorated.

As a Territorial land (1846-1912) NM had 19 representatives as governors, from which only General Lew Wallace (General Wallace Drive) and Miguel A. Otero (Otero Street) appear in the toponymic list. In 1912, NM becomes the 47th state of the US. Its first governor was Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca; there are 8 toponyms bearing this surname (see the section of conquistadores). Other governors are John E. Miles (Miles Lane, Governor Miles Road), John J. Dempsey (Governor Dempsey Street), Jerry Apodaca (Apodaca Hill Street), Toney Anaya (Street Anaya N and S), Gary Johnson (Johnson Lane, Johnson Mesa, Johnson Street, Johnsons Ranch Rd), Washington E. Lindsey (Lindsey Lane and Governor Lindsey Lane), Thomas J. Mabry (Governor Mabry Court) and Edwin L. Mechem (Governor Mechem Road).

#### *Local Characters*

There is a considerable number of local characters, especially in the streets of the small communities in the county. Toponyms like Patrocino Romero Rd, Abel Griego Rd, Adenois Lujan Rd, Alvin Quintana Dr, Amado Romero Rd, Antonio Varela Rd, Arroyo Elfego Gomez, etc. bear local surnames, they were checked in the address books and other sources like obituaries. A series of toponyms carrying the surname Ortiz, Ortiz Cr, Ortiz Ln, Ortiz Mountain Dr, Ortiz Ranch Rd, Ortiz Rd, Ortiz St, Rancho de Ortiz, Camino Luz Ortiz, Camino Ortiz, Casa de Ortiz, or Eduardo Ortiz Dr reflect the interesting relation with the county's history. For example, Ortiz Mountain Dr. refers to the local orography, as a mountain range (between Golden and Madrid, NM) was named after José Francisco Ortiz, who in 1828 discovered gold in the area and received the Ortiz Mine Grant in 1833 (JULYAN, 1998, p. 251-252).

The rest of anthroponyms is more difficult to classify them but for interviews to local inhabitants of the streets, who not necessarily know its history. Examples of these are Andrews Rd, Andy ct, Andy's Park, Angie Ct, Anita Ln, Anita Pl, Anna Jean Ct,

Anthony Ct, Antonio Ln, etc., which do not easily reveal anything beyond the name itself, but they are definitely local surnames.

Hypocoristics in the corpus are 54 in first and 5 in 2nd position. Among the examples, we have Aggie Dr., Alex St, Andy ct, Andy's Park, Angie Ct, Anita Ln, Anita Pl, Frankies Pl, Gregg Ave, Henry Ln, Jackie Rd, Jimmy Perez Rd. Nicknames are only 6 (one of them, compound). Examples are Camino Del Leo, Cuates and Rabo, Don Tranquilo Dr, El Duane Ct, Rael Ln, and Rael Rd.

Names of foreign characters are Hidalgo (one of the counties was named in 1919 after Treaty Guadalupe-Hidalgo, taking its name from Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla), Churchill (Winston Churchill) and maybe Calle Princesa Juana. There are some anthroponyms related to art and media, like Puccini Plz (Italian composer), Pulitzer Trl (journalist, founder of the prestigious Pulitzer Prize), Calle Lorca, Lorca Ct and Lorca Dr (the Spanish poet), George Hayes Sr Pl (actor), Allan Hauser Ln (Chiricahua artist), Ben Quintana (artist from Cochiti), Bob Haozous Rd (Chiricahua sculptor) and Woo Peen Rd (plastic artist from NM). To this list two streets are added, for a possible connection to famous characters: Jose Alfredo Ln (perhaps José Alfredo Jiménez, Mexican singer and songwriter) and Camino Maria Feliz (sic) (pronounced María Féliz, referring probably to the Mexican actress María Félix).

Other names that should be highlighted are the ones formed in a creative way like Lois Ln (Lois Lane) whose pronunciation reminds of a comic character from Superman, Lolita St, reminds Vladimir Nabokov's novel and Penny Ln (Penny Lane) of song by The Beatles (1967). It is also interesting to add Zepol Rd, whose history developed from a conflict between the Lopez family, when divided, a group just inverted Lopez to name the new street in their land so the surname was not lost but just changed into Zepol Rd. Finally, 3 charactonyms are mentioned, because they derive from or have turned into proper names: Ben Hur Dr (Ben Hur, character of the novel, by Lewis Wallace, also governor from the state), Calle Dulcinea and Don

Quixote (without nomenclature), characters from the famous novel by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.

## 5 Final considerations

Due to the lack of a strict law or Street naming committee as in many countries, the inhabitants of the street have the right to name it and there's no restriction for them (Quarrels End or Goa Way, are two examples), which allows a bigger representation of linguistic vitality in the onomastic landscape of Santa Fe. As the inhabitants have in their hands the process of naming, allows more nominative creativity and as an area inhabited by Hispanic descendants and a great migrant population, a strong presence of Spanish, either in nomenclature of streets or in their names, is perceived. The presence of indigenous languages is also remarkable, as in the name of the artist Woo Peen or Po as street.

Nevertheless, more than just finding the history of the US in the streets of Santa Fe, what we observe is a wide cultural richness. Street names are centers in the local history of the city, small villages and pueblos in the county. The corpus of odonyms collected is but an invitation to explore the local history and analyze the cultural richness reflected in the names of streets which have not opted as an anthroponym as a descriptor. Walking through the streets is a trip through history. Street names reveal who has been important for the city, who deserves being remembered and who was not able to get a place in history, but, above all, they reveal the social dynamics in which an urban space so cosmopolitan as Santa Fe moves in.

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