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A Social Psychological Study of Ethnonyms: Cognitive Representation of the In-Group and Intergroup Hostility

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Ethnonyms (M. G. Levin & L. P. Potapov, 1964; from the Greek roots meaning "a national group" and "name") are the names an in-group uses to distinguish itself from out-groups. There has been no social psychological research to date exploring the effects of ethnonyms. The authors report the results of 3 studies examining the potential effects of various features of ethnonyms on intergroup behavior. Analyses of archival data indicate that among indigenous African cultures (Study 1), indigenous Native American cultures (Study 2), and African Americans (Study 3), intergroup hostility was greater among in-groups characterized by less complex ethnonyms. Discussion considers the implications of these results and suggests new directions for research in the social psychological study of ethnonyms.

Keywords: ethnonyms, complexity, intergroup hostility

> Let us speak plain: There is more force in names than most men dream of.— James Russell Lowell, *The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell*

The earliest stages of intergroup conflict are often evidenced by the use of derogatory names for the out-group (Allport, 1954). *Ethnophaulisms* (Roback, 1944; from the Greek roots meaning "a national group" and "to disparage") are the words used as ethnic slurs to refer to out-groups in hate speech (Allen, 1983; Joesten, 1935; MacMullen, 1963; Palmore, 1962). The popular media continually report the use of ethnophaulisms in hate speech in interethnic conflicts (e.g., Andrews, 2005; BBC News, 2005; Buscema, 2005). A few studies have focused on responses to ethnophaulisms by their targets (e.g., Nielsen, 2002; Pankiw & Bienvenue, 1990) or by observers (e.g., Greenberg, Kirkland, & Pyszczynski, 1988; Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985). Several studies have shown that ethnic groups that are smaller, less familiar, and more foreign are more likely to be referred to with ethnophaulisms that are of lower complexity and more negative valence (Mullen, 2001; Mullen & Johnson, 1993, 1995; Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2000, 2001). More recent research has documented that ethnic groups referred to with these simpler and more negative ethnophaulisms are more likely to be targets of intergroup hostility (Mullen, 2004; Mullen, Leader, & Rice, 2005; Mullen & Rice, 2003).

However, as recently observed by Mullen and Leader (2005), the names used for out-groups have received considerably more attention in the study of intergroup behavior than the names used for in-groups. *Ethnonyms*[1] (Levin & Potapov, 1964; from the Greek roots meaning "a national group" and "name") are the names an in-group uses to distinguish itself from out-groups (Alexandre, 1983; Kobozeva, 2002). The purpose of the present article was to extend previous work on the use of group names in intergroup contexts by initiating the exploration of the impact of ethnonyms on intergroup behavior. First, several distinct attributes of ethnonyms are identified. Next, theoretical reasons for the possible

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[1] A plethora of general terms have emerged in the onomastic study of in-group names. For example, Dickson (1997) coined the terms "Domunyms" (from the Latin root meaning "home" and the Greek root meaning "name") and "Demonyms" (from the Greek roots meaning "people" or "populace" and "name") to refer to these in-group names. Also, these words are occasionally referred to as *Autonyms* (Proschan, 1997; from the Greek roots meaning "self" and "name"). The most frequently used general term, *ethnonyms*, is used in the present article.

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impact of these attributes of ethnonyms on intergroup behavior are considered. Then, we examine the possible impact of different aspects of ethnonyms on intergroup hostility in three studies by using archival data. Finally, the implications of the results of these analyses for approaches to intergroup behavior are considered.

An Introduction to the Study of Ethnonyms

Ethnophaulisms have been interpreted as revealing how members of an in-group think about out-groups. As Carter (1944) observed, ethnophaulisms are "collective representations which stand as symbols of the groups themselves" (p. 243). Similarly, ethnonyms may be interpreted as revealing how members of an in-group think about their in-group, serving as collective representations that stand as symbols of the in-group itself (see Alexandre, 1983; Levin & Potapov, 1964). As Larson (1996) observed, "Identity names such as ethnonyms possess phenomenal power . . . the methodological and theoretical questions raised by names of identity cut to the core of ethnic studies" (p. 545).

Origins of Ethnonyms

A reasonable point of departure in the study of ethnonyms is to consider where ethnonyms come from; that is, what is the origin of these names that an in-group uses to distinguish itself from out-groups? Perhaps the earliest comprehensive scholarly effort to explore this question was Salverte's (1864) *History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places in Their Connection With the Progress of Civilization (Vol. 1 and 2*). Anthropologists have conducted extensive work directed toward tabulating, translating, and providing exegeses of ethnonyms (Alexandre, 1983; Biebuyck, Kelliher, & McRae, 1996; Kobozeva, 2002; Proschan, 1997). As noted by Biebuyck et al. (1996), ethnonyms can be distinguished into two broad categories on the basis of their source or derivation: On the one hand, *autoethnonyms* appear to be names that an in-group developed on its own to distinguish itself from out-groups. On the other hand, *heteroethnonyms* appear to be names that an out-group initially applied to the in-group but that eventually came to serve as the name the in-group uses to distinguish itself from out-groups. For example, a specific indigenous culture in Eastern Africa can be identified by the ethnonyms *Okiek* and *Dorobo*. The first term may be what Biebuyck et al. (1996) would call an autoethnonym, insofar as *Okiek* is also the word that people in this culture use to refer to their language. The second term is probably what Biebuyck et al. (1996) would call a heteroethnonym, insofar as *Dorobo* is also a term used by a neighboring culture to identify "poor people who cannot afford cattle."

However, in many instances, a given ethnonym may not be easily classified into either autoethnonym or heteroethnonym. For example, a specific indigenous culture in Western Africa is identified by the ethnonym *Bamileke*, which means "the people from the valley." It may never be determined whether this particular ethnonym began either as an autoethnonym (with the people from this culture initially introducing themselves as having come from the valley) or as a heteroethnonym (with out-groups noticing these people for the first time as they emerged from the valley). In the present article, all recognized ethnonyms are the focus of consideration, even if the (auto- or hetero-) ethnonymic source cannot be identified.

This consideration of the origin of ethnonyms highlights the fact that there may be contextual and historical determinants of the meanings of ethnonyms, particularly the ethnonyms for indigenous cultures. As compellingly argued by Larson (1996), in his discussion of the "creation of tribalism school," the ethnonym terminology of many indigenous cultures may have crystallized in the context of European colonialism (see also Barth, 1969). However, although acknowledging such possible classificatory or terminological anomalies regarding ethnic groups and their ethnonyms, Proschan (1997) noted that "people nevertheless live and act as if distinct ethnic groups really existed, as if others' ethnicity determined their behavior (and thereby offered a guide to interpreting and predicting it)" (p. 92). In the present article, we focus on ethnonyms for which the contextual and historical determinants of their meanings are well documented (see below).

Importance of Ethnonyms

Another reasonable point of departure in the study of ethnonyms is to consider why ethnonyms should matter in the first place; that is, why might these names that an in-group uses to identify itself influence intergroup behavior? At the personal, individual level of analysis, Allport (1937) speculated that an individual's personal name is the most important anchorage point for personal identity, and evidence indicates that an individual's name can exert a pervasive influence on his or her life. For example, individuals with more socially desirable names tend to be more popular (McDavid & Harari, 1966), better adjusted (Twenge & Manis, 1998), and longer lived (Christenfeld, Phillips, & Glynn, 1999). Bruning and Albott (1974) observed that some personal names connote varying degrees of activity–passivity and that these connotations can become self-fulfilling for children (for reviews of the effects of personal names, see Erwin, 1995; Lawson, 1984). Therefore, at the intergroup level of analysis, analogous effects of ethnonyms on the in-group's behavior may be expected to occur, with the in-group's ethnonyms serving as an important anchorage point for social identity.

More broadly, the potential effects of ethnonyms on the in-group may represent an illustration of Allport's (1954) notion of verbal realism, or the tendency for responses to words to be as strong as the responses to the things represented by the words (see Mullen & Leader, 2005). This proposition is illustrated by Allport's description of ethnophaulisms as "fighting words," which evoke as much response in their out-group targets as actual physical attacks. By the same token, the in-group's ethnonyms could similarly evoke as much response in their in-group targets as the things those in-group names represent. This possibility is similar to Fodor's (1956) discussion of the old axe "nomen est omen" (the name is a portent).

Thus, ethnonyms may be important because the names that an in-group uses to identify itself could influence the behavior of members of that group in a manner analogous to the effects of personal names on individuals. And, ethnonyms may be important because, through mechanisms of verbal realism, the in-group members may respond to their own in-group names as strongly as they would respond to the things represented by those names. Despite these plausible reasons for the importance of ethnonyms, there has to date been no social psychological study of the effects of ethnonyms on intergroup behavior.

Attributes of Ethnonyms

The premise of the present article is that the ways in which members of an in-group think about their in-group, as revealed in their ethnonyms, may be systematically linked to the ways in which the in-group interacts with out-groups. There are theoretical reasons why each one of several attributes of ethnonyms may exert some influence on intergroup behavior.

The In-Group Represented in Terms of Its Land

Some ethnonyms, called *toponyms* (from the Greek roots meaning "land" and "name") capture the way in which members of an in-group think about their in-group in terms of a region of land or some prominent geographical feature (e.g., Bright, 2003; Room, 1994). For example, the Mbugwe of Eastern Africa derive their name from the river plain in their homeland. Similarly, the Penobscot of Eastern North America derive their name from a term meaning "a rocky place." Gulliver (1961) noted that land has emotional value beyond its economic considerations: "It represents social security and community or tribal identity and continuity" (p. 16). The notion that a special emphasis on the in-group's connection to land or territory could exaggerate intergroup conflict is consistent with realistic group conflict theory (e.g., Campbell, 1965; Jackson, 1993; Kinzel & Fisher, 1993; Sherif & Sherif, 1953): The more strongly the in-group's social identity and continuity is tied to its land or territory, the more likely that group will be to engage in conflict to maintain or increase its territorial holdings. This leads to the previously untested hypothesis that in-groups whose ethnonyms represent a greater frequency of toponyms will exhibit increased levels of intergroup hostility.

The In-Group Represented in Terms of Its Language

Some ethnonyms, called *glottonyms* (from the Greek roots meaning "tongue" or "language" and "name"), capture the way in which members of an in-group think about their in-group in terms of their language (e.g., Alexandre, 1983; Biebuyck et al., 1996). For example, the Beja of Northern Africa derive their name from their language. Similarly, one ethnonym for the Cree of Northern North America is *Nehiyawak*, which is a term meaning "we speak the same language." The association between language and identity is at least as old as recorded history: The ancient Hebrew myth of the tower of Babel illustrates how language similarity contributes to in-group cohesion and how language dissimilarity contributes to intergroup hostility (Argenter, 2000). The notion that a special emphasis on the in-group's language could exaggerate intergroup conflict is consistent with considerations of language from the perspective of social identity theory (e.g., Abrams & Hogg, 1987; Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel, 1974): The more strongly the in-group's social identity and continuity is tied to its language, the more likely that group will be to engage in conflict to maintain or extend the use of its language. This leads to the previously untested hypothesis that in-groups whose ethnonyms represent a greater frequency of glottonyms will exhibit increased levels of intergroup hostility.

The In-Group Represented in Terms of Its Unique Humanity

Some ethnonyms, called *anthroponyms* (from the Greek roots meaning "men" and "name"), capture the way in which members of an in-group think about their in-group as exemplifying what it means to be human. For example, the Gure of Western Africa and the Miwok of Western North America each derive their names from terms that mean "the men" or "the people." Several scholars have noted that ethnonyms often highlight the in-group's sense of its unique humanity and tend to distinguish the in-group as being the standard for humanity, compared with out-groups that are something less than completely human (e.g., Cardona, 1989; Salverte, 1864). The notion that the use of in-group names that set the in-group off as uniquely human could exaggerate intergroup conflict is consistent with the logic that devaluation and dehumanization of out-groups is a critical step in the escalation of intergroup hostility (e.g., Allport, 1954; Bandura, Underwood, & Fromson, 1975; Staub, 1989): The more strongly the in-group's social identity and continuity is tied to its view of itself as uniquely human, the more likely that group will be to engage in conflict with not-quite-so-human out-groups. This leads to the previously untested hypothesis that in-groups whose ethnonyms represent a greater frequency of anthroponyms will exhibit increased levels of intergroup hostility.

The Aggressiveness of the Representation of the In-Group

Some ethnonyms capture varying degrees to which the attribute of aggressiveness is evoked for the in-group. For example, on the one hand, a relatively aggressive array of ethnonyms is illustrated by the Ashanti of Western Africa, whose various names mean "the people united in war." On the other hand, a relatively nonaggressive ethnonym is illustrated by the Banda of Central Africa, whose name refers to a small hut. This is equivalent to the tendency for sports teams to use symbols of aggression and ferocity for their team names (Kinloch, 1972; Lawson & Phillips, 1985; G. Smith, 1997). The notion that a special emphasis on the aggressiveness of one's in-group could exaggerate intergroup conflict is consistent with the phenomenon of "behavioral priming" (e.g., Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996), wherein an aggressive ethnonym might surreptitiously prime in-group members' cognitive representation of hostility toward the out-group. This is analogous to Bruning and Albott's (1974) observation that the connotations of personal names can become self-fulfilling. This leads to the previously untested hypothesis that in-groups whose ethnonyms are characterized by a greater degree of aggressiveness will exhibit increased levels of intergroup hostility.

The Valence of the Representation of the In-Group

Some ethnonyms capture varying degrees to which the attribute of negative valence is evoked for the in-group. Just as in research on valence in ethnophaulisms (e.g., Mullen, 2004; Mullen & Rice, 2003; Mullen et al., 2000; Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2001), valence in ethnonyms can be operationalized in terms of the negativity or positivity of ethnonyms. For example, on the one hand, a relatively negative array of ethnonyms is illustrated by the Ila of South Central Africa, whose various names mean "to be

taboo, set apart." On the other hand, a relatively positive ethnonym is illustrated by the Tenda of Western Africa, whose name means "to agree, to speak well of." The notion that a special emphasis on the negativity of one's in-group could exaggerate intergroup conflict is consistent with the affect infusion model (Forgas, 1995; Forgas & Fiedler, 1996), wherein a negative ethnonym might exert a negative impact on in-group members' moods and thereby facilitate or exaggerate intergroup hostility. This leads to the previously untested hypothesis that in-groups whose ethnonyms are characterized by a greater degree of negative valence will exhibit increased levels of intergroup hostility.

The Complexity of the Representation of the In-Group

Some arrays of ethnonyms capture varying degrees of complexity in the cognitive representation of the in-group. Just as in research on complexity in ethnophaulisms (e.g., Mullen, 2004; Mullen & Johnson, 1993; Mullen & Rice, 2003; Mullen et al., 2000; Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2001), complexity in ethnonyms can be operationalized in terms of the categorical clustering of ethnonyms. For example, on the one hand, a relatively simple array of ethnonyms is illustrated by the Bari of Central Africa: There are two ethnonyms for this group, *Bari* and *Bai*, both of which mean "the others." This distribution of two ethnonyms into a single meaningful cluster indicates a relatively low level of complexity. On the other hand, a relatively more complex array of ethnonyms is illustrated by the Herero of Southwestern Africa: There are two ethnonyms for this group, *Herero*, which means "to brandish a spear," and *Dimba*, which means "alluvial soil near a stream." This distribution of two ethnonyms into two separate meaningful clusters indicates a relatively higher level of complexity. Such constellations of ethnonyms capture varying degrees of complexity in the names used to refer to an in-group. The notion that greater complexity in ethnonyms could diminish intergroup conflict is consistent with the notion of social identity complexity. Roccas and Brewer (2002) recently proposed that greater complexity in social identity would be associated with greater tolerance of out-groups. This proposition is analogous to Ben-Ari, Kedem, and Levy-Weiner's (1992) observation that people with low cognitive complexity responded to out-groups with more extreme negative evaluation. This leads to the previously untested hypothesis that in-groups whose ethnonyms are characterized by a greater degree of complexity will exhibit decreased levels of intergroup hostility.

Summary

Thus, six features of in-groups' ethnonyms may be expected to influence the degree of intergroup hostility exhibited by those groups: A greater frequency of toponyms may be associated with increased levels of intergroup hostility because identification of the in-group with its land may engage mechanisms of realistic group conflict. A greater frequency of glottonyms may be associated with increased levels of intergroup hostility because identification of the in-group with its language may engage mechanisms of social identity. A greater frequency of anthroponyms may be associated with increased levels of intergroup hostility because exaggerated identification of the in-group as human may engage mechanisms of dehumanization of the out-group. A greater degree of aggressiveness may be associated with increased levels of intergroup hostility because identification of the in-group with aggressive tendencies may engage the mechanism of behavioral priming. A greater degree of negative valence may be associated with increased levels of intergroup hostility because identification of the in-group with negative attributes may engage the mechanism of negative affect infusion. Finally, a greater degree of complexity may be associated with decreased levels of intergroup hostility because greater complexity of social identity may lead to greater tolerance of out-groups. In an effort to examine these possibilities, we conducted three studies to determine the extent to which features of ethnonyms predicted intergroup hostility.

Study 1: Ethnonyms in Africa

Similar to several previous efforts (e.g., Barry, 1969; Boor, 1976; Carpenter, 2000; Klausner, 1964; Lester, 1969; Watson, 1973; Worchel, 1974), archival ethnographic data were used to examine the potential social psychological impact of ethnonyms on intergroup hostility. Ethnographic data on indigenous cultures seem particularly well suited to examine the reasoning developed above: The meanings of an indigenous culture's ethnonyms have often been determined as a standard component of ethnographic work, a practice that should facilitate the operationalization of the ethnonym features developed above. Moreover, indicators of war, conflict, bellicosity, and so on have also tended to be determined as a standard component of ethnographic work, a practice that should facilitate the operationalization of intergroup hostility. Accordingly, an effort was made to obtain a large sample of indigenous cultures for which two types of information could be derived. First, a complete array of ethnonyms had to be available for each indigenous culture. Second, an array of indicators of intergroup hostility had to be ascertainable for each indigenous culture. The six features of ethnonyms described above (toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, aggressiveness, valence, and complexity) were used to predict the degree of intergroup hostility exhibited by these indigenous cultures.

Method

Ethnonyms

Two sources defined the database for the present effort. Data on in-group ethnonyms were derived from Biebuyck et al.'s (1996) *African Ethnonyms: Index to Art-Producing Peoples of Africa*. Specifically, this source clusters together all variant ethnonyms for a given indigenous African culture under a single entry-form name. In total, Biebuyck et al. (1996) lists over 4,500 names representing over 2,000 peoples (nations, empires, kingdoms, chiefdoms, tribes, villages, kinship groups, clans, cults, and associations). Note that the unit of analysis in the present effort is "indigenous cultures" (typically what Biebuyck et al., 1996, referred to as "tribes") and not more fragmentary units like kinship groups, clans, cults, or associations. Data on intergroup hostility were derived from Textor's (1967). *A Cross-Cultural Summary*. Specifically, this source collated all available ethnographic data regarding 536 attributes of the 400 cultures summarized in Murdock's (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas*. In the present context, Textor (1967) provided data relevant to intergroup hostility for 125 African cultures.

In order to operationalize the various features of ethnonyms delineated above, the meanings of all of the ethnonyms used for a given culture had to be determined. Ethnonym meanings were obtained from several sources, including basic sourcebooks on African cultures (e.g., Biebuyck et al., 1996; Room, 1994), scholarly articles explicating African ethnonyms (e.g., Jeffreys, 1942; Larson, 1996), and ethnographies of specific African cultures (e.g., LaFontaine, 1959; Meek, 1931). In order to include the meaning of an ethnonym in the present analysis, the ethnonym meaning had to be independently confirmed in at least two sources. Meanings were determined for all of the 222 ethnonyms for 70 cultures, rendering a final sample of 70 African indigenous cultures for which the meanings of all ethnonyms could be determined, and Textor (1967) provided indicators of intergroup hostility. It should be noted that the size of this sample of 70 cultures is at least comparable to the number of cultures examined in most other social psychological tests in which archival ethnographic data are used (e.g., Barry, 1969: $N = 24$; Boor, 1976: $N = 10$; Carpenter, 2000: $N = 16$; Klausner, 1964: $N = 48$; Lester, 1969: $N = 25$; Watson, 1973: $N = 23$; Worchel, 1974: $N = 62$).

Attributes of Ethnonyms

Three of the attributes of ethnonyms were derived by straightforward frequency counts. For each group, the number of toponymic ethnonyms was divided by the total number of ethnonyms to yield a proportionate index of *toponyms*. Similarly, for each group, the number of glottonymic ethnonyms was divided by the total number of ethnonyms to yield a proportionate index of *glottonyms*, and the number of anthroponymic ethnonyms was divided by the total number of ethnonyms to yield a proportionate index of *anthroponyms.*

The aggressiveness of each group's array of ethnonyms was derived from judges' ratings. Specifically, all 222 ethnonyms, along with their meanings, were rated by two judges on a scale ranging from 0 (*very low aggression*) to 1,000 (*very high aggression*). These ratings were easily performed and rendered a high degree of interjudge reliability (interjudge $r = +.758$; Spearman-Brown effective reliability $R = .862$). The aggressiveness for each ethnonym was set equal to the mean of the two judges' ratings, and the overall aggressiveness of a group's ethnonyms was set equal to the mean of the aggressiveness for each ethnonym used for that group. For example, on the one hand, the Ashanti of Western Africa (whose various ethnonyms mean "the people united in war") received an overall mean aggressiveness rating of 800.0. On the other hand, the Banda of Central Africa (whose ethnonym refers to a small hut) received an overall mean aggressiveness rating of 375.0.

Similarly, the valence of each group's array of ethnonyms was derived from judges' ratings. Specifically, all 222 ethnonyms, along with their meanings, were rated by two judges on a scale ranging from 0 (*very negative valence*) to 1,000 (*very positive valence*). These ratings were easily performed and rendered a high degree of interjudge reliability (interjudge $r = +.762$; Spearman-Brown effective reliability $R = .865$).[2] The valence for each ethnonym was set equal to the mean of the two judges' ratings, and the overall valence of a group's ethnonyms was set equal to the mean of the valence for each ethnonym used for that group. For example, on the one hand, the Ila of South Central Africa (whose various ethnonyms mean "to be taboo, set apart") received an overall mean valence rating of 275.0. On the other hand, the Tenda of Western Africa (whose ethnonym means "to agree, to speak well of") received an overall mean valence rating of 950.0.

Finally, the complexity of each group's array of ethnonyms was derived from judges' categorizations. Specifically, all 222 ethnonyms, along with their meanings, were independently sorted by two judges into discrete nonoverlapping categories. These categories were toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, general descriptions, personality traits, objects, animals, domiciles, food or eating, and name of a leader or ancestor. These categorizations were easily performed with perfect interjudge reliability, and the overall complexity of a group's ethnonyms was set equal to the resultant Scott's H statistic (Scott, Osgood, & Peterson, 1979; for examples of this approach as applied to complexity in ethnophaulisms, see Mullen, 2001, 2004; Mullen & Johnson, 1993; Mullen & Rice, 2003; Mullen et al., 2000; Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2001). For example, on the one hand, the Bari of Central Africa (with two ethnonyms, *Bari* and *Bai*, both of which mean "the others" and were categorized as general descriptions) received a Scott's H of 0.000, indicating relatively low complexity. On the other hand, the Herero of Southwestern Africa (with two ethnonyms, *Herero*, which means "to brandish a spear" and was categorized as a general description, and *Dimba*, which means "alluvial soil near streams" and was classified as a toponym) received a Scott's H of 1.000, indicating relatively higher complexity.

Intergroup Hostility

Textor (1967) provided data for several indicators of intergroup hostility. These included an indicator of warfare prevalence, an indicator of military glory; an indicator of bellicosity; an indicator of boastfulness; and an indicator of killing, torturing, and mutilating of enemies. For each of these indicators, a culture was assigned the value of + 1 if that culture was identified in Textor's (1967) summary as having the more aggressive value (e.g., warfare was prevalent; bellicosity was extreme); a culture was assigned the value of −1 if that culture was identified in Textor's (1967) summary as having the less aggressive value (e.g., warfare was not prevalent; bellicosity was moderate or negligible). If Textor (1967) designated that a given indicator could not be ascertained for a culture, then that culture was assigned the value of 0 for that indicator.

Results

Characteristics of Ethnonyms and Intergroup Hostility

Insofar as there were a total of 222 ethnonyms for these 70 cultures, this rendered a mean of 3.17 ethnonyms per group. Approximately 24% of the ethnonyms were toponyms, 10% were glottonyms, and 4% were anthroponyms. The average degree of aggressiveness of the ethnonyms for these cultures was somewhat below the midpoint ($M = 388.1$), and the average valence of the

[2] Note that the ratings of ethnonym aggressiveness and ethnonym valence exhibited interjudge reliabilities that correspond to the level of interjudge agreement reported in previous efforts to gauge the valence of ethnophaulisms for immigrant groups (e.g., Mullen et al., 2000).

ethnonyms for these cultures was essentially at the midpoint (M = 496.4). The mean Scott's H derived from the clustering of ethnonyms for the 70 cultures was 0.485, indicating relatively low complexity. The five indicators of intergroup hostility (warfare prevalence, military glory, bellicosity, boastfulness, and torturing) exhibited moderate convergence ($\bar{r}$ = +.294, Cronbach's α = .659). When subjected to an unrotated principal-components factor analyses, all five indicators of intergroup hostility loaded on the single emergent factor (with an average factor loading of 0.647). This suggests that these various indicators of intergroup hostility tapped into converging components of intergroup hostility. Each of these indicators was standardized around its own mean and standard deviation, and *intergroup hostility* was defined as the average of these standardized indicators. Higher values on this composite indicator represented greater prevalence of warfare, greater emphasis on military glory, greater bellicosity, greater boastfulness, and more frequent torturing of enemies. The average year during which the ethnographies were conducted (from which Textor's, 1967, intergroup hostility data were derived) was 1921.

Prediction of Intergroup Hostility by Attributes of Ethnonyms

There was no significant prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of the relative number of toponyms, $r(68) = -.016$, $p = .4477$.[3] Similarly, there was no significant prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of the relative number of glottonyms, $r(68) = +.011$, $p = .4640$; the relative number of anthroponyms, $r(68) = +.020$, $p = .4347$; the degree of ethnonym aggressiveness, $r(68) = +.064$, $p = .2993$; or the degree of ethnonym valence, $r(68) = +.125$, $p = .1513$. However, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity, $r(68) = -.213$, $p = .0383$. Thus, intergroup hostility did not seem to vary as a function of ethnonym references to land, language, unique humanity, aggressiveness, or valence. However, intergroup hostility does seem to decrease as a function of ethnonym complexity.

Ancillary Analyses

Interrelations of ethnonym attributes. An alternative possible account for the results reported above is that interactions or mutual influences of the various features of ethnonyms may have, in some way, masked more complicated effects not revealed in simple univariate analyses. For example, there was a slight positive association between ethnonym aggressiveness and ethnonym complexity, $r(68) = +.164$, $p = .1749$, such that cultures that tended to have more aggressive ethnonyms tended to have ethnonyms that clustered together with more complexity. Similarly, there was a slight negative association between ethnonym aggressiveness and ethnonym valence, $r(68) = -.181$, $p = .0669$, such that cultures that tended to have more aggressive ethnonyms tended to have more positive ethnonyms.

Given these possible interactions or mutual influences of the various features of ethnonyms, intergroup hostility was regressed on all six features of ethnonyms delineated above (toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, aggressiveness, valence, and complexity). Replicating the univariate results reported above, there was no significant prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of toponyms, $t(63) = 0.035$, $p = .4862$, $\beta = +.004$; glottonyms, $t(63) = 0.241$, $p = .4051$, $\beta = +.032$; anthroponyms, $t(63) = 0.090$, $p = .4644$, $\beta = -.012$; aggressiveness, $t(63) = 0.947$, $p = .1736$, $\beta = +.128$; or valence, $t(63) = 0.974$, $p = .1670$, $\beta = +.122$. And, once again replicating the univariate results reported above, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity, $t(63) = 1.741$, $p = .0433$, $\beta = -.218$.

Variations over time. Another alternative possible account for the results reported above is that the indicator of intergroup hostility may have varied as a function of the year during which the ethnographies were conducted. For example, ethnographies conducted earlier (when the indigenous cultures may have seemed more foreign and alien to the [typically] European ethnographers) may have led to exaggerated reports of warfare prevalence or bellicosity. However, there were no significant correlations between the year during which the ethnographies were conducted and either intergroup hostility or any of the features of the ethnonyms. When intergroup hostility was regressed on all six features of ethnonyms delineated above, along with the year of the ethnography, the results reported above remained essentially unchanged. There was no significant prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of year, $t(62) = 1.136$, $p = .1302$, $\beta = -.139$. Similar to the results reported above, there was no significant prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of toponyms, $t(62) = 0.019$, $p = .4923$, $\beta = -.002$; glottonyms, $t(62) = 0.260$, $p = .3980$, $\beta = +.034$; anthroponyms, $t(62) = 0.024$, $p = .4903$, $\beta = +.003$; aggressiveness, $t(62) = 0.877$, $p = .3837$, $\beta = +.118$; or valence, $t(62) = 0.972$, $p = .1674$, $\beta = +.121$. And, once again replicating the univariate results reported above, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity, $t(62) = 1.720$, $p = .0452$, $\beta = -.215$.

Discussion

The results of these analyses suggest that intergroup hostility may indeed vary as a function of an in-group's ethnonyms, but only in a specifically limited sense: Intergroup hostility did not seem to vary as a significant independent function of ethnonym references to land, language, unique humanity, aggressiveness, or valence. However, intergroup hostility did vary as a function of ethnonym complexity, such that intergroup hostility was greater among cultures characterized by less complex ethnonyms. This is consistent with the notion that greater social identity complexity would be associated with greater tolerance of out-groups. The results of the ancillary analyses indicated that these patterns could not be attributed to interactions among ethnonym attributes or to variations over time.

However, clearly, there are limitations to this initial effort to examine the potential social psychological impact of ethnonyms on intergroup hostility. For example, there may be something idiosyncratic about the African cultures included in Study 1 that contributes to, or in fact creates, the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility reported above. It is interesting to note that most previous efforts to use archival ethnographic data to examine social psychological phenomena (e.g., Barry, 1969; Boor, 1976; Carpenter, 2000; Klausner, 1964; Lester, 1969;

[3] The probabilities associated with these predicted effects are one-tailed.

Watson, 1973; Worchel, 1974) aggregate data from cultures across multiple continents in a single analysis. On the one hand, such analyses that aggregate ethnographic data from multiple continents carry the potential weakness of obscuring the potential influences of geography, climate, or colonial history of indigenous cultures, which may create spurious relations between the social psychological variables of interest. On the other hand, analyses (like those reported in Study 1) that focus on ethnographic data from a single continent may minimize the potential influences of geography, climate, or colonial history of indigenous cultures, while carrying the potential weakness of restricted sampling. For example, as indicated above, the mean Scott's *H* derived from the ethnonyms for the 70 African cultures included in Study 1 was M = 0.485, indicating relatively low ethnonym complexity, and, the average year during which the ethnographies were conducted was 1921. The relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility reported above may be unique to something about cultures characterized by relatively low ethnonym complexity, or to something about cultures for which the ethnographies were largely conducted during the 20th century.

Finally, it should be emphasized that Study 1 constitutes the first study of the potential social psychological impact of ethnonyms on intergroup hostility. Therefore, a second study was undertaken in an effort to confirm the unprecedented demonstration of the prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity.

Study 2: Ethnonyms in North America

Similar to Study 1, archival ethnographic data were used to examine the potential social psychological impact of ethnonyms on intergroup hostility. Another effort was made to obtain a large sample of indigenous cultures for which a complete array of ethnonyms was available for each culture, and an array of indicators of intergroup hostility was ascertainable for each culture. Native American indigenous cultures were selected because they seemed optimally different in several key attributes (e.g., geography, climate, colonial history) from the African indigenous cultures examined in Study 1. Ethnonym complexity was once again used to predict the degree of intergroup hostility exhibited by these indigenous cultures.

Method

Ethnonyms

Two sources defined the database for the present effort. Data on in-group ethnonyms were derived from O'Leary and Levinson's (1995) *Encyclopedia of World Cultures: North America*. Specifically, this source clusters together all variant ethnonyms for a total of 147 Native American indigenous cultures. Data on intergroup hostility were once again derived from Textor's (1967) *A Cross-Cultural Summary*. Specifically, in the present context, Textor (1967) provided data relevant to intergroup hostility for 70 Native American cultures.

In order to operationalize ethnonym complexity, the meanings of all of the ethnonyms used for a given culture had to be determined. Ethnonym meanings were obtained from several sources, including basic sourcebooks on Native American cultures (e.g., Hoxie, 1996; Waldman, 1988), scholarly articles explicating Native American ethnonyms (e.g., Goddard, 1984; Kelley, 1990), and ethnographies of specific Native American cultures (e.g., Grinnell, 1889; Stefansson, 1913). Similar to Study 1, in order to include the meaning of an ethnonym in the present analysis, the ethnonym meaning had to be independently confirmed in at least two sources. Meanings were determined for all of the 199 ethnonyms for 39 cultures, rendering a final sample of 39 Native American indigenous cultures for which the meanings of all ethnonyms could be determined, and Textor (1967) provided indicators of intergroup hostility.[4]

Ethnonym Complexity

Similar to Study 1, all of the ethnonyms were categorized by two judges into the same discrete nonoverlapping categories used in Study 1, and the complexity of a group's ethnonyms was set equal to the resultant Scott's *H* statistic.

Intergroup Hostility

Similar to Study 1, Textor's (1967) compilation of warfare prevalence, military glory, bellicosity, boastfulness, and torturing of enemies (Textor, 1967) was used to gauge intergroup hostility (with a culture once again being assigned the value of +1 if it had the more aggressive value, −1 if it had the less aggressive value, and 0 if that culture was designated as being unascertained for a given indicator).

Results

Characteristics of Ethnonyms and Intergroup Hostility

Insofar as there were a total of 199 ethnonyms for these 39 cultures, this rendered on average of 5.10 ethnonyms per group. The mean Scott's *H* derived from the clustering of ethnonyms for the 39 cultures was 1.177, indicating somewhat higher complexity than that observed in Study 1. The five indicators of intergroup hostility (warfare prevalence, military glory, bellicosity, boastfulness, and torturing) once again exhibited moderate convergence ($\bar{r} = +.339$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .698$). When subjected to an unrotated principal-components factor analyses, all five indicators of intergroup hostility loaded on the single emergent factor (with an average factor loading of $M = 0.667$). This suggests that these various indicators of intergroup hostility tapped into converging components of intergroup hostility. Each of these indicators was standardized around its own mean and standard deviation, and *intergroup hostility* was defined as the average of these standardized indicators. The average year during which the ethnographies were conducted (from which Textor's, 1967, intergroup hostility data were derived) was 1863.

[4] Note that Study 2 was based on 39, or 55.7%, of the 70 Native American cultures represented in Textor (1967). This is essentially identical to Study 1, which was based on 70, or 56.0%, of the 125 African cultures represented in Textor (1967).

Prediction of Intergroup Hostility by Ethnonym Complexity

Similar to Study 1, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity, $r(37) = -.360$, $p = .0122$.[5]

Ancillary Analyses: Variations Over Time

Similar to Study 1, the indicator of intergroup hostility may have varied as a function of the year in which the ethnographies were conducted. However, there were no significant correlations between the year during which the ethnographies were conducted and either intergroup hostility or ethnonym complexity. When intergroup hostility was regressed on both ethnonym complexity and the year of the ethnography, the results reported above remained essentially unchanged. There was no significant prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of year ($\beta = +.054$), $t(36) = 0.350$, $p = .3641$. And, once again similar to the results of Study 1 and the univariate results reported above, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity ($\beta = -.357$), $t(36) = 2.294$, $p = .0139$.[6]

Discussion

The results of Study 2 corroborate the patterns reported for Study 1. Once again, intergroup hostility did vary as a function of ethnonym complexity, such that intergroup hostility was greater among cultures characterized by less complex ethnonyms. This is consistent with the notion that greater social identity complexity would be associated with greater tolerance of out-groups. The results of the ancillary analyses indicated that this pattern could not be attributed to variations over time.

The convergence of results for ethnonym complexity across Studies 1 and 2 and across samples of indigenous cultures that vary considerably in the potential influences of geography, climate, or colonial history is encouraging. Moreover, the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility reported in the African cultures included in Study 1 cannot be reasonably attributed to the relatively low ethnonym complexity of these cultures ($M = 0.485$) or the relatively recent ethnographies for these cultures ($M = 1921$): The same relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility was obtained in the Native American cultures included in Study 2, which had relatively higher ethnonym complexity ($M = 1.177$) and relatively older ethnographies ($M = 1863$). In other words, the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility reported in both Study 1 and Study 2 does not seem to be unique to something about cultures characterized by relatively low (or relatively high) ethnonym complexity or to something about cultures for which the ethnographies tended to be conducted during the 20th century (or during the 19th century).

Nonetheless, there are still potential limitations to these two demonstrations of the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility. Both Study 1 and Study 2 relied on data from indigenous cultures, which were relatively nonindustrial, nontechnological societies, largely based on subsistence economies. Moreover, as acknowledged in the introduction, the ethnonym terminology of many indigenous cultures may have crystallized in the context of colonialism (e.g., Barth, 1969; Larson, 1996). These aspects of the data analyzed in Studies 1 and 2 raise the possibility that the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility may be characteristic of nonindustrial, subsistence economy, colonial-era indigenous cultures.

Another potential limitation of these two demonstrations of the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility involves the operationalization of ethnonym complexity. The assumption underlying both Study 1 and Study 2 is that people who belong to a given culture accept and endorse all of their ethnonyms equally. On the one hand, this assumption seems incontrovertible for cultures whose ethnonyms are essentially one-dimensional. On the other hand, this assumption may be more problematic for cultures whose ethnonyms are multidimensional, particularly if some of the ethnonyms are unflattering.

For example, it does not seem problematic to assume that the people who belong to the Gure of Western Africa accept and endorse their ethnonym completely: Their ethnonym derives from the term that means "the men" or "the people," and there would not

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[5] It is important to note that the other five attributes of ethnonyms examined in Study 1 (ethnonym references to land, language, unique humanity, aggressiveness, and valence) were derived, in precisely the same way, for the 39 Native American indigenous cultures examined in Study 2. All of the analyses reported for Study 1 were conducted with the data for Study 2, with precisely the same results: In both the zero-order correlation analyses and in the multiple regression analyses, the only ethnonym attribute to demonstrate any significant prediction of intergroup hostility was ethnonym complexity. These additional analyses are available from Rachel M. Calogero upon request.

[6] An alternative account for the consistent effects of ethnonym complexity involves the possible influence of variability in valence. That is, ethnonyms for a given culture that are rated extremely different in valence are probably semantically unrelated and would therefore end up in different semantic categories in the computation of Scott's *H*. And, it could be this variability in valence, rather than ethnonym complexity per se, that accounts for reduced intergroup hostility. Indeed, there was a significant positive association between the standard deviation of ethnonym valence for each culture and ethnonym complexity, $r(68) = +.359$, $p = .00114$, for Study 1, and, $r(37) = +.506$, $p = .000509$, for Study 2. However, contrary to this alternative account, intergroup hostility did not decrease as a function of the standard deviation of ethnonym valence for each culture. In Study 1, there was a significant increase in intergroup hostility as a function of the standard deviation of ethnonym valence, both when considered separately, $r(68) = +.231$, $p = .0272$, and when intergroup hostility was regressed on all seven features of ethnonyms (toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, aggressiveness, valence, standard deviation of valence, and complexity), $t(62) = 3.078$, $p = .00155$, $\beta = +.383$. In Study 2, there was no association between intergroup hostility and the standard deviation of ethnonym valence, both when considered separately, $r(37) = -.089$, $p = .2950$, and when intergroup hostility was regressed on all seven features of ethnonyms, $t(31) = 0.413$, $p = .3411$, $\beta = +.092$. And, intergroup hostility was still significantly predicted by ethnonym complexity when intergroup hostility was regressed on all seven features of ethnonyms (toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, aggressiveness, valence, standard deviation of valence, and complexity), $t(62) = 2.807$, $p = .003335$, $\beta = -.353$, for Study 1, and, $t(31) = 2.267$, $p = .0153$, $\beta = -.437$, for Study 2. Thus, the consistent effects of ethnonym complexity cannot be attributed to the influence of variability in valence. We thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this possibility.

seem to be anything problematic about members of this culture embracing this particular ethnonym. However, it may be more problematic to assume that the people who belong to the Okiek of Eastern Africa accept and endorse two of their ethnonyms equally: As mentioned above, one of their ethnonyms, *Okiek*, derives from the word that people in this culture use to refer to their language; however, one of their ethnonyms, *Dorobo*, is also a term used by a neighboring culture to identify "poor people who cannot afford cattle." Although both of these terms are recognized as ethnonyms for this culture, it is entirely plausible that members of this culture may be more inclined to embrace the former ethnonym and less inclined to embrace the latter ethnonym.

This possibility of differential endorsement of an in-group's ethnonyms may not explain the results obtained in Studies 1 and 2, but it does highlight a degree of "texture" in the notion of ethnonym complexity: If an in-group has several different known ethnonyms, and each of those ethnonyms are endorsed equally by in-group members, then this in-group may be considered to have relatively high ethnonym complexity. However, even if an in-group has several different known ethnonyms, if most of the in-group members endorse one or two of those ethnonyms, then this in-group may be considered to have relatively low ethnonym complexity.

Thus, the reliance on ethnographic data in Studies 1 and 2 leaves open the possibility that the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility may only exist in nonindustrial, colonial-era indigenous cultures. And, the tabulations of ethnonyms for the indigenous cultures analyzed in Studies 1 and 2 cannot take into account the degree of in-group members' endorsements of the ethnonyms in operationalizing ethnonym complexity. Therefore, a third study was undertaken in an effort to examine the prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity in a completely different cultural context, with an alternative approach to operationalizing ethnonym complexity.

Study 3: Ethnonyms of African Americans in the United States

An effort was made to gauge variations in ethnonym complexity for African Americans for a recent period in the history of the United States. African American preferences for ethnonyms seem particularly well suited to examine the reasoning developed above: A considerable amount of fluctuation in African American ethnonyms was evident in the latter half of the 20th century (e.g., Fairchild, 1985; Neal, 2001; T. W. Smith, 1992). This fluctuation has been characterized as a shift away from the use of ethnonyms like *Colored* and *Negro* and toward the use of the term *Black* and then toward the use of the term *African American* (Baugh, 1991). More than with any other ethnic group in recent American history, these fluctations in ethnonym preference have been documented in public opinion polls (e.g., T. W. Smith, 1992), a practice that should facilitate the operationalization of ethnonym complexity.

Archival crime report data were used to gauge intergroup hostility. During this same period in recent American history, interracial ("Black-on-White")[7] homicides have been used as an indicator of intergroup hostility in criminological research (e.g., Messner & Rosenfeld, 1993). It is recognized that the interpretation of interracial homicides as an indicator of intergroup hostility is not without its critics (e.g., Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 2004). However, minority group criminal behavior has often been interpreted as a reaction to unfulfilled expectations of justice and equity. The use of Black-on-White homicides as an indicator of intergroup hostility is consistent with Jacobs and Wood's (1999) statement that "It is difficult to believe that the animosities created by economic and political struggles between Blacks and Whites do not explain at least some of the variation in interracial homicides" (p. 158).

Accordingly, ethnonym complexity (gauged in terms of the results of public opinion polls regarding African American preferences for ethnonyms) was used to predict the degree of intergroup hostility (gauged in terms of interracial homicides).

Method

Ethnonyms

Two sources defined the database for the present effort. First, data on ethnonyms were derived from the survey data compiled by T. W. Smith's (1992) Changing Racial Labels and LexisNexis Academic. These survey data represented the percentage of African American respondents in the United States between 1969 and 2001 who endorsed a preference for each of several different ethnonyms (*Colored*, *Negro*, *Afro-American*, *Black*, and/or *African American*). Second, data on intergroup hostility were derived from the U.S. Department of Justice (2001) FBI Supplementary Homicide Reports, 1976–2000. Specifically, this source tabulates and reports the numbers of homicides by racial composition (Black or White) of both victims and offenders. From these sources, indicators of ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility were derived for each of the 25 years from 1976 to 2000.[8]

Ethnonym Complexity

The complexity of ethnonyms for African Americans was derived for each year from African American respondents' endorsements of a preference for each of several different ethnonyms in the polling data. Specifically, the percentage of African American survey respondents endorsing a preference for each ethnonym was plotted as a function of the precise (Julian calendar) date of the completion of the survey, and a distance-weighted least squares function was fit for each array of ethnonym preferences (see the top panel in Figure 1). Then, in order to obtain estimates of the annual prevalence of African American preferences for each ethnonym, the point along the distance-weighted least squares function corresponding to De-

[7] "Black-on-White," "Black-on-Black," and so on is the terminological convention used in the U.S. Department of Justice crime report statistics.

[8] Specifically, as cited in T. W. Smith (1992), the survey data represented responses to polls conducted by Gallup (1969), Roper (1974), Survey Research Center (1979–1980), General Social Survey (1982), *New York Times* (1989), ABC/*Washington Post* (1989), NBC/*Wall Street Journal* (1990), and Gallup (1991). Additional survey data obtained from LexisNexis Academic presented responses to polls conducted by NBC/ *Wall Street Journal* (1993), NBC/ *Wall Street Journal* (1994), CNN/ *USA Today* (1994), NBC/ *Wall Street Journal* (1997), and Gallup (2001).

cember 31 for each year between 1969 and 2000 was determined for each array of ethnonym preferences (see Figure 1b). The date of December 31 was selected so the ethnonym complexity indicator would span a 12-month period (just like the intergroup hostility indicator; see below). The complexity of ethnonyms for African Americans for each year was then set equal to the Scott's *H* statistic, derived from these interpolated ethnonym preferences for each year. For example, on the one hand, for 1970, the resultant distribution of endorsements of ethnonyms was 22.5% for *Colored*, 30.2% for *Negro*, 8.9% for *Afro-American*, and 32.7% for *Black* (there were no endorsements interpolated for *African American* at this time). This renders a Scott's *H* of 1.871 for 1970, indicating relatively high complexity. On the other hand, for 1989, the resultant distribution of endorsements of ethnonyms was 18.3% for *African American* and 45.6% for *Black* (there were no endorsements interpolated for *Colored*, *Negro*, or *Afro-American* at this time). This renders a Scott's *H* of 0.864 for 1989, indicating relatively low complexity.[9]

Intergroup Hostility

The degree of intergroup hostility was derived from data reported in the FBI Supplementary Homicide Reports, 1976–2000 (U. S. Department of Justice, 2001). Specifically, the number of Black-on-White homicides for each year from 1976 to 2000 was selected as the indicator of intergroup hostility on the part of African Americans. It should be noted that most homicides were not interracial: For example, for this time period, 85.9% of homicides committed by Black perpetrators involved Black victims.[10]

Results

Characteristics of Ethnonyms and Intergroup Hostility

The mean Scott's *H* derived from the clustering of ethnonyms for the 25 years under consideration in this effort was 1.068. This represents a level of complexity that is between that obtained for the African indigenous cultures examined in Study 1 and that obtained for the Native American indigenous cultures examined in Study 2. The mean level of intergroup hostility was 1,000.9, indicating that over this time period, there were, on average, approximately 1,000 Black-on-White homicides per year.

Prediction of Intergroup Hostility by Ethnonym Complexity

The top panel of Figure 2 portrays the variations in intergroup hostility and ethnonym complexity over this time period, and the bottom panel of Figure 2 illustrates the covariation of intergroup hostility and ethnonym complexity. There was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity, $r(23) = -.460$, $p = .0104$. Thus, Black-on-White homicides decreased as a function of ethnonym complexity.

Ancillary Analyses

Contributions of specific ethnonyms. An alternative account for the prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity is that this pattern basically results from the variations in the preference for some specific ethnonym. Indeed, the Scott's *H* statistic gauging complexity evidenced strong correlations with preferences for the specific ethnonyms. For example, the correlation between ethnonym complexity and *African American* was $r(23) = -.841$, $p = 7.86\text{E-}8$, and the correlation between ethnonym complexity and *Colored* was $r(23) = +.897$, $p = 8.73\text{E-}10$. These covariations are almost tautological: In the historical context covered by these analyses, the complexity of ethnonyms for African Americans decreased as popular usage shifted away from terms like *Colored* and *Negro* and toward *African American*. Moreover, these historical shifts converge to make the data for the preferences for these various ethnonyms also tautologically colinear. For example, the correlation between *African American* and *Colored* was $r(23) = -.910$, $p = 2.18\text{E-}10$.

This high degree of collinearity makes it impossible to perform a meaningful regression of intergroup hostility on ethnonym complexity and all of the ethnonym preferences. However, in an effort to determine whether the prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity is because of the variations in the preference for some specific ethnonym, a series of (nonindependent) regressions were conducted, in which intergroup hostility was regressed on ethnonym complexity and each one of the ethnonym preferences. Note that the estimates of the standard deviations for these data are biased because of nonindependence (and therefore, inferential statistics for these data using these biased standard deviations are also biased; see Diaconis, 1985). However, ordinary least squares estimates of regression parame-

[9] An effort was made to check whether this method of interpolating ethnonym preferences rendered distorted indicators of ethnonym complexity. Specifically, for the 10 years during which actual survey results were obtained, the Scott's *H* statistic derived from the actual ethnonym preferences reported in the surveys were regressed on the Scott's *H* statistic derived from these interpolated ethnonym preferences. Results of this analysis revealed that the Scott's *H* statistic derived from these interpolations nearly perfectly reproduced the Scott's *H* statistic derived from the actual survey results, $t(8) = 12.152$, $p = 1.22\text{E-}6$, $\beta = +.974$. Most of the slight variance between the actual Scott's *H* values and the interpolated Scott's *H* values seems to be because the data from the opinion polls varied across the calendar year, whereas the interpolated data were derived from December 31 of each year.

[10] Note that the present effort is directed toward determining the extent to which attributes of an in-group's ethnonyms predicts intergroup hostility. In Studies 1 and 2, we examined the association between the complexity of ethnonyms of indigeneous cultures and the extent to which those cultures engaged in intergroup hostility. In Study 3, we examined the association between the complexity of ethnonyms of African Americans and the extent to which African Americans engaged in intergroup hostility. Hypothetically, one could also examine the association between the complexity of ethnonyms of European Americans and the extent to which European Americans engaged in intergroup hostility. Unfortunately, to date, there has not been a comparable corpus of opinion poll data that could be similarly used to gauge ethnonym complexity for European Americans. For example, we have been unable to locate any surveys posing the question: Which term do you like the most? White? Or, European American? Therefore, the focus of Study 3 was on the prediction of Black-on-White homicides by ethnonym complexity for African Americans rather than on the prediction of White-on-Black homicides by ethnonym complexity for European Americans.

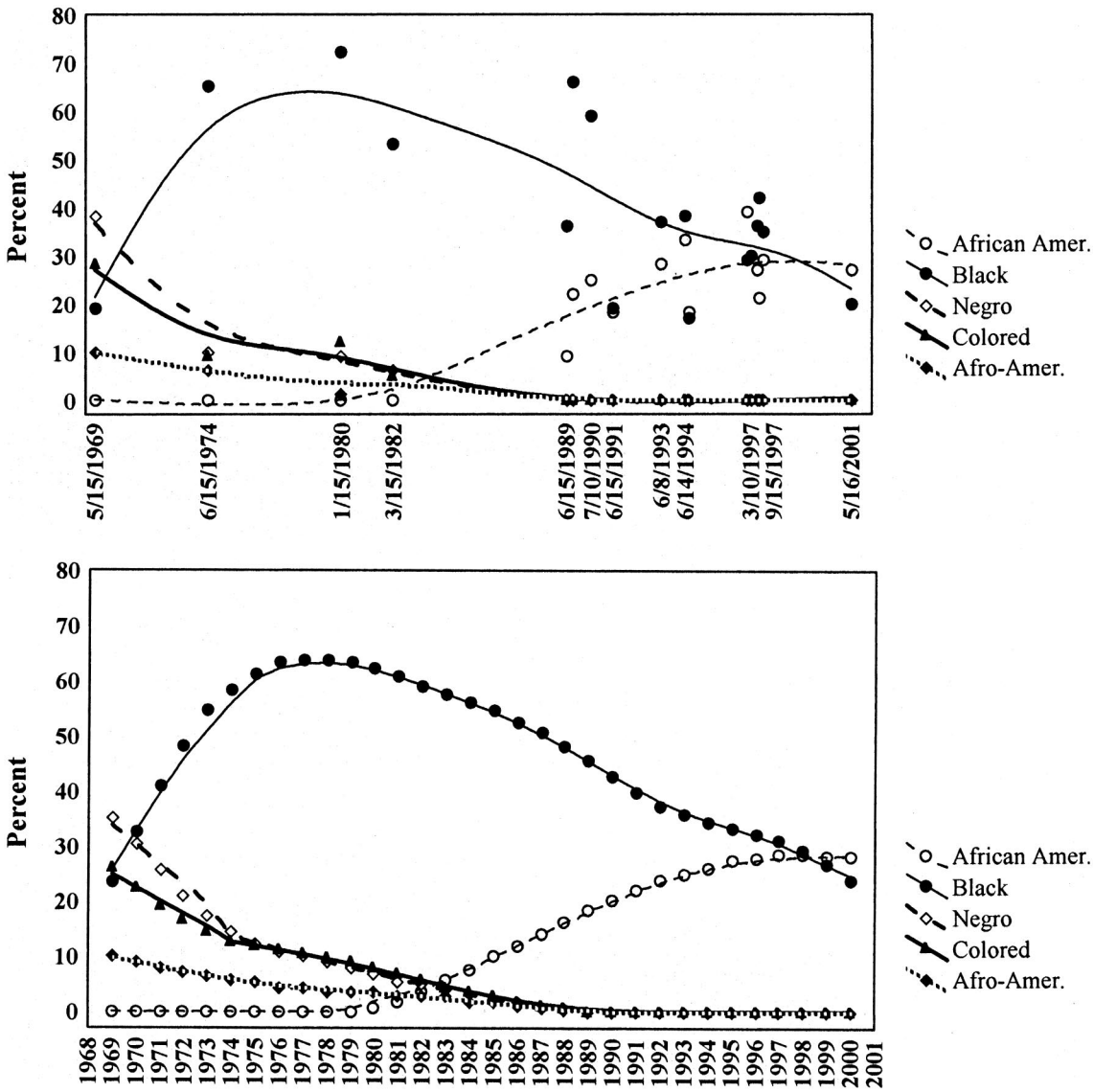


Figure 1. Ethnonym preferences among African Americans used to derive ethnonym complexity. The top panel represents ethnonym preferences reported in polls. The bottom panel represents interpolated annual ethnonym preferences. Amer. = American.

ters like the slope are not biased. So, the obvious nonindependence of these regressions suggests that researchers use caution in interpreting the inferential probabilities derived from these analyses, but the relative magnitudes of the slopes can still be informative of the relative contribution of ethnonym complexity to intergroup hostility.

When intergroup hostility was regressed on ethnonym complexity and the preference for each of the ethnonyms, intergroup hostility consistently decreased as a function of ethnonym complexity but not as a function of ethnonym preference. For *African American*, preference rendered a nonsignificant $\beta = -.170$, $t(22) = 0.489$, $p = .3149$, and complexity rendered a significant $\beta = -.603$, $t(22) = 1.730$, $p = .0488$. For *Black*, preference rendered a nonsignificant $\beta = +.228$, $t(22) = 0.761$, $p = .2274$, and complexity rendered a significant $\beta = -.638$, $t(22) = 2.128$, $p = .0224$. For *Negro*, preference rendered a nonsignificant $\beta = +.322$, $t(22) = 0.765$, $p = .2262$, and complexity rendered a significant $\beta = -.748$, $t(22) = 1.776$, $p = .0448$. For *Colored*, preference rendered a nonsignificant $\beta = +.383$, $t(22) = 0.911$, $p = .1861$, and complexity rendered a significant $\beta = -.804$, $t(22) = 1.909$, $p = .0347$. For *Afro-American*, preference rendered a nonsignificant $\beta = +.523$, $t(22) = 0.967$, $p = .1719$, and complexity rendered a significant $\beta = -.951$, $t(22) = 1.759$, $p = .0463$. These results suggest that it was ethnonym complexity, per se, and not the use of any single ethnonym, which predicts intergroup hostility.

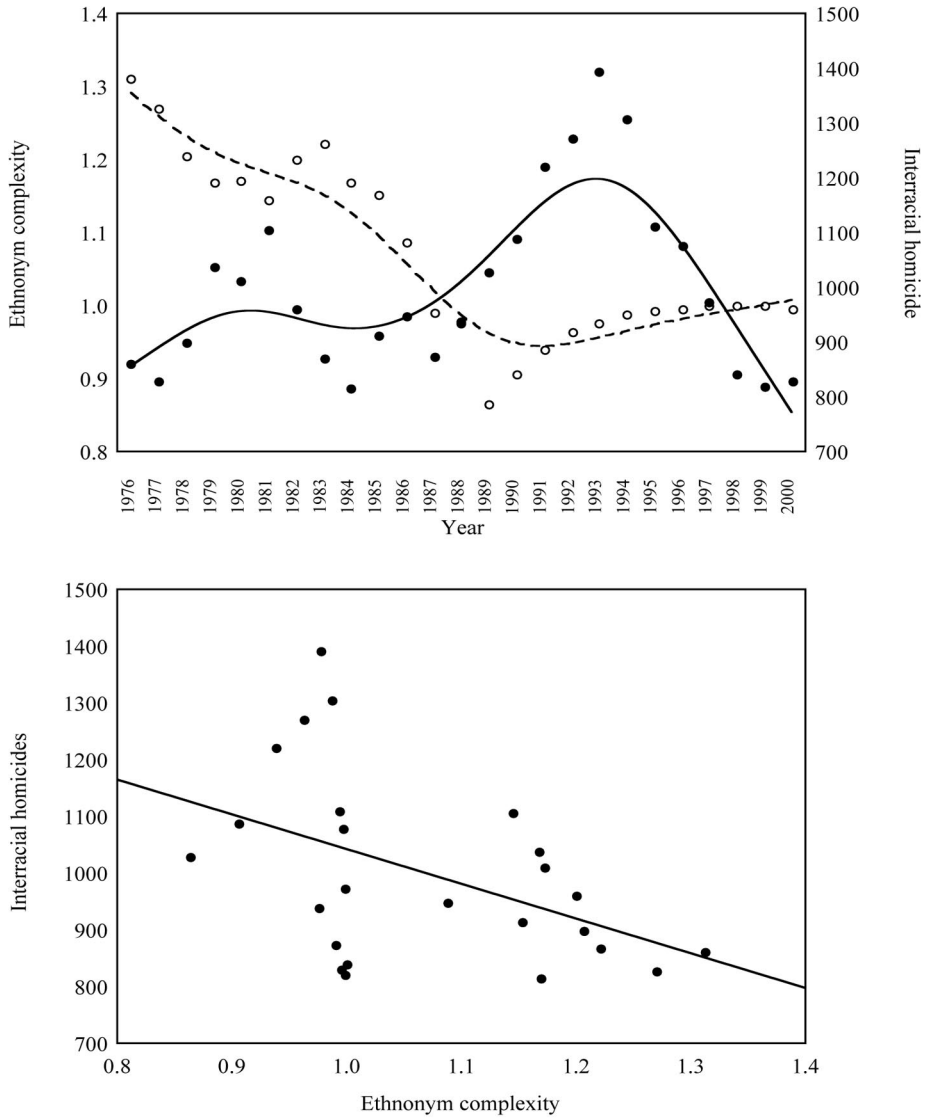


Figure 2. Interracial homicide (solid circles) and ethnonym complexity (open circles). The top panel represents ethnonym complexity and interracial homicides over time. The bottom panel represents interracial homicides as a function of ethnonym complexity.

Variations over time. Similar to Studies 1 and 2 above, an alternative possible account for the results reported above is that the indicator of intergroup hostility may have varied as a function of the year during which the homicide data were collected. Indeed, there was a slight tendency for Black-on-White homicides to increase over this 25-year period, $r(23) = +.237$, $p = .1270$. In addition, ethnonym complexity decreased over this 25-year period, $r(23) = -.799$, $p = 8.85\text{E-}7$ (this represents the gradual elimination of *Colored*, *Negro*, and *Afro-American* across this time period). However, when intergroup hostility was regressed on both ethnonym complexity and year, the results reported above remained essentially unchanged. There was no significant independent prediction of intergroup hostility as a function of year ($\beta = -.362$), $t(22) = 1.185$, $p = .1244$. Similar to the results reported above, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity ($\beta = -.749$), $t(22) = 2.451$, $p = .0113$.

Effects of economic disparities. Another alternative possible account for the results reported above is suggested by other research in which interracial homicide has been studied as an indicator of intergroup conflict. As indicated above, some researchers (e.g., Jacobs & Wood, 1999; Messner & Rosenfeld, 1993) have suggested that at least some of the variation in interracial homicides reflects a response to animosities created by economic struggles between African Americans and European Americans (however, see also Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998). Recent evidence suggests that economic disparities seem to exert an exacerbating effect on African American interracial homicides but not on European American interracial homicides (e.g., Parker & McCall, 1999).

Given this possible influence of economic factors on African American interracial homicides, intergroup hostility was regressed on both ethnonym complexity and economic disparity. As an indicator of economic disparity, the average difference between income in European American households and income in African American households was obtained from U.S. Census data. Specifically, for each year between 1976 and 2000, the upper limit of the lowest, second, third, and fourth "fifth" of households (expressed as 2001 Consumer Price Index adjusted dollars) was obtained, both for European American households and for African American households,[11] and economic disparity was operationalized as the arithmetic difference between these two average incomes. On average, European American households had incomes that were $15,986 higher than African American households. There was a small positive correlation between economic disparity and intergroup hostility, $r(23) = +.105$, $p = .3087$, indicating a small tendency for Black-on-White homicides to increase as a function of economic disparities. When intergroup hostility was regressed on both ethnonym complexity and economic disparity, intergroup hostility was shown to exhibit a slight decrease as a function of economic disparity ($\beta = -.296$), $t(22) = 1.268$, $p = .1091$. Once again replicating the univariate results reported above, there was a significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity ($\beta = -.644$), $t(22) = 2.756$, $p = .00553$.[12,13]

Discussion

The results of these analyses lend further support to the idea that intergroup hostility may decrease as a function of ethnonym complexity. The fact that these results obtained with relatively recent data for African Americans suggests that the patterns reported in Studies 1 and 2 above cannot be easily dismissed as being restricted to nonindustrial, subsistence economy, colonial-era indigenous cultures. The results of the ancillary analyses indicated that these patterns could not be attributed to preferences for any specific ethnonym, variations over time, or to intergroup economic disparities.

It should be emphasized that the results of Study 3 were obtained with a very different operationalization of ethnonym complexity. We operationalized complexity in Studies 1 and 2 using Scott's *H* to gauge the semantic categorical clustering of all known ethnonyms for each in-group, regardless of in-group members' acceptance of those terms. The assumption underlying both Study 1 and Study 2 is that people who belong to a given culture accept all of their ethnonyms equally. By contrast, we operationalized complexity in Study 3 using Scott's *H* to gauge the clustering of in-group members' endorsements of ethnonyms for the in-group. Study 3 allowed for the possibility that people who belong to a given culture may exhibit differential endorsement of all of their ethnonyms.

As indicated above, this possibility of differential ethnonym endorsement highlights a slightly more sophisticated view of ethnonym complexity. On the one hand, if an in-group has several different known ethnonyms, and each of those ethnonyms is preferred equally by in-group members, then this in-group may be considered to have relatively high ethnonym complexity. Referring to Figure 1, this characterization applies to African Americans circa 1970, during which time relatively similar rates of endorsement of four ethnonyms rendered relatively high ethnonym complexity (resultant Scott's $H = 1.871$). On the other hand, even if an in-group has several different known ethnonyms, if most of the in-group members prefer only one or two of those ethnonyms, then this in-group may be considered to have relatively low ethnonym complexity. Once again, referring to Figure 1, this characterization applies to African Americans circa 1989, during which time the concentration of endorsements into one of two ethnonyms rendered relatively low ethnonym complexity (resultant Scott's $H = 0.864$). These patterns may be interpreted as representing varying degrees of "heterogeneity" or "diversity" in the African American community. However, unlike any previous social psychological considerations of heterogeneity or diversity, in the present context, these patterns capture varying degrees in the complexity with which an in-group refers to itself in ethnonyms.

General Discussion

The introduction raised the following possibility: If ethnophaulisms are collective representations that stand as symbols of out-groups (Carter, 1944; Mullen, 2004), then ethnonyms may be collective representations that stand as symbols of the in-group (Alexandre, 1983; Levin & Potapov, 1964). The results of the three studies reported above provide the first social psychological evidence in support of Larson's (1996) observation that "identity names such as ethnonyms possess phenomenal power" (p. 545).

The results of these three studies converge to support the premise that intergroup hostility may vary as a function of an in-group's ethnonyms, but apparently in a specifically limited sense: Intergroup hostility did not seem to vary as an independent function of ethnonym references to land, language, unique humanity, aggressiveness, or negativity. However, intergroup hostility did vary as an independent function of ethnonym complexity, such that intergroup hostility was greater among cultures characterized by less complex ethnonyms. Combining the significant inverse correlation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility

[11] The U.S. Census data were obtained from http://www.census.gov

[12] With only 25 datapoints for ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility, it was not reasonable to use more sophisticated time series analytic techniques like autoregressive integrated moving average, which generally require at least 50 datapoints (McLeary & Hay, 1980). It should be noted that the analyses reported here were replicated using the number of Black-on-White homicides divided by the sum of Black-on-White homicides and Black-on-Black homicides. In these ancillary analyses, the results reported above were reproduced, or strengthened. For example, the significant decrease in intergroup hostility as a function of ethnonym complexity increased from the $r(23) = -.460$, $p = .0104$ reported above to a stronger $r(23) = -.632$, $p = .000353$.

[13] Conspicuous by its absence in this discussion is the term *nigger*. This term has served as an ethnophaulism for African Americans but has evolved into an ethnonym for some African Americans (representing what Biebuyck et al., 1996, referred to as an heteroethnonym; see also Allen, 1983). As elucidated by Kennedy (2002), "The use of 'nigger' by black [sic] rappers and comedians has given the term a new currency and enhanced cachet" (p. 45). There is no polling data, to date, on the prevalence of preferences for this term as an ethnonym for African Americans. Anecdotal discussions (such as those provided by Allen, 1983 and Kennedy, 2002) suggest that its use as an ethnonym is restricted to use by in-group members.

obtained from each of these three studies renders a moderate, $\bar{r} = -.305$ and a highly significant $Z = 3.211$, $p = .000662$ effect. The results of ancillary analyses indicated that these patterns could not be attributed to other particular attributes of ethnonyms (see Studies 1 and 2), preferences for any specific ethnonym (see Study 3), variations over time (see Studies 1, 2, and 3), or intergroup economic disparities (see Study 3). And, the fact that the predicted effect of ethnonym complexity occurred in Study 3 for African Americans in the latter part of the 20th century indicates that the relation between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility does not exist only in nonindustrial, colonial-era indigenous cultures.[14]

Three aspects of these results should be examined. First, the causal direction of these associations between features of ethnonyms and intergroup hostility needs to be considered. Second, the implications of these results for theoretical approaches to intergroup behavior are explored. Finally, new directions for research are suggested by the results of these studies.

Causal Direction

One aspect of the present effort bears careful consideration, and that is the issue of causal direction. In other words, in the foregoing analyses, it has been assumed that the nature of the in-group's ethnonyms led to intergroup hostility. An alternative account for the results presented above is that intergroup hostility led to changes in the ethnonyms used by the in-group. However, the ethnonym features for which this possibility of reversed causality may make the most sense (i.e., toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, more aggressive ethnonyms, or more negative ethnonyms) were not the ethnonym features that consistently exhibited significant prediction of intergroup hostility. In other words, consider the premise that we do not know what we believe about our in-group, but our fighting to protect our territory (or language, etc.) leads us to believe that our in-group really is defined in terms of its territory (or language, etc.), and we now refer to our in-group with ethnonyms that reflect this belief. The point is that ethnonyms referring to territory (or language, etc.) in fact did not predict intergroup conflict, and therefore this reversed causality line of reasoning would be applied to explain results that did not occur.

Consider the fact that it was ethnonym complexity, and not toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, more aggressive ethnonyms, or more negative ethnonyms (and, not number of ethnonyms; see Footnote 14), that was consistently associated with intergroup hostility. The reversed causal direction suggests a rather implausible sequence of events in ethnonym development: Specifically, this line of reasoning would require that all groups start out with a complex array of a certain number of discrete ethnonyms. Then, those in-groups that suffer increased levels of intergroup conflict would then slough off some of those discrete ethnonyms and generate new ethnonyms that converge in meaning toward some kernel or core of in-group names, ending with a simpler array of ethnonyms while keeping constant the number of ethnonyms (see Footnote 14). This implausible sequence of events in ethnonym development is inconsistent with everything that researchers know about the exegesis of ethnonyms in indigenous cultures (Alexandre, 1983; Biebuyck et al., 1996; Kobozeva, 2002; Proschan, 1997).

Moreover, this implausible sequence of events in ethnonym development is completely inconsistent with the highly scrutinized shifts in African American ethnonyms examined in Study 3 (e.g., Baugh, 1991; Fairchild, 1985; Neal, 2001; T. W. Smith, 1992). Indeed, consider the now-famous impassioned 1988 speech by Reverend Jesse Jackson, wherein he proclaimed,

> Just as we were called Colored, but were not that, and then we were called Negro, but not that, to be called Black is just as baseless. Every ethnic group in this country has reference to some cultural base. African Americans have hit that level of maturity. (Baugh, 1991, p. 133)

It remains a matter of some dispute as to whether this speech precipitated (e.g., Freund, 1989) or merely summarized and articulated (Baugh, 1991) the shift toward *African American* in African American ethnonyms. Regardless, this shift toward *African American*, just like the prior shifts toward *Black* and *Negro*, is interpretable in large part as an intentional, strategic effort to enhance the in-group's sense of pride and dignity (see Neal, 2001; T. W. Smith, 1992), and not a "sloughing off" of unnecessarily complex ethnonyms in response to the incidence of Black-on-White homicides (i.e., the indicator of intergroup conflict used in Study 3). It is no small irony that Reverend Jesse Jackson's 1988 speech, intended to enhance the in-group's sense of pride and dignity, may have inadvertently contributed to the simplification of the in-group's ethnonyms, apparently with deleterious effects for intergroup hostility (see Study 3). In any event, it is implausible that the patterns reported in Study 3 can be dismissed as a shift toward *African American* in response to Black-on-White homicides. And,

[14] One perfunctory concern with the use of Scott's *H* statistic is the possible confound with the number of exemplars. In the present context, the number of ethnonyms would be expected to be confounded with ethnonym complexity: If an in-group has only one ethnonym, then the Scott's *H* is restricted to its lower limit of zero; higher values of Scott's *H* are only possible with greater numbers of ethnonyms. In fact, across the three studies reported here, ethnonym complexity, as gauged by Scott's*H*, was significantly correlated with the number of ethnonyms ($\bar{r} = +.514$, $Z = 6.019$, $p = 1.12\text{E-}9$). Certainly, an in-group that has several ethnonyms would still seem to have greater ethnonym complexity (albeit, in a cruder, more "blunt instrument" fashion) than an in-group that has only one ethnonym. However, across the three studies reported here, the number of ethnonyms renders a weak and nonsignificant prediction of intergroup hostility ($\bar{r} = -.124$, $Z = 1.224$, $p = .1106$). This is substantially weaker than the prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity reported above ($\bar{r} = -.289$). Alternatively, across the three studies reported here, after partialing out the variability resulting from the number of ethnonyms, ethnonym complexity still renders a moderate and significant independent prediction of intergroup hostility ($\beta = -.293$, $Z = 2.769$, $p = .00281$). Finally, the prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity was examined separately within each number of ethnonyms within each study. In other words, the prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity was examined separately for groups that had only two ethnonyms, for groups that had only three ethnonyms, and so on. This approach allows the determination of the complexity–hostility effect while holding constant the number of ethnonyms. The combined results of this "casement display" (Chambers, Cleveland, Kleiner, & Tukey, 1983) was still a moderate ($\bar{r} = -.353$), significant ($Z = 2.143$, $p = .0161$) prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity. Therefore, the prediction of intergroup hostility by ethnonym complexity does not seem to be an artifact of a more fundamental effect of number of ethnonyms.

it seems unlikely that the patterns reported in all three of these studies can be dismissed as the generation of simpler arrays of ethnonyms in response to intergroup conflict.

It should be noted that, in research on intergroup names, other patterns of results that have first been documented with archival data have been subsequently replicated with experimental data wherein the direction of causal influence is controlled. For example, the association between ethnic out-group size and complexity in ethnophaulisms was first demonstrated with archival data (Mullen & Johnson, 1993) and subsequently confirmed with experimental data (Mullen & Johnson, 1995). Similarly, the association between complexity in ethnophaulisms and intergroup hostility was first demonstrated with archival data (Mullen, 2004; Mullen & Rice, 2003) and subsequently confirmed with experimental data (Mullen et al., 2005). Certainly, the archival analyses reported here should be similarly subjected to experimental confirmation. Nonetheless, the alternative causal sequence (from intergroup hostility to ethnonym complexity) is inconsistent with what researchers know about the exegesis of the ethnonyms for the indigenous cultures scrutinized in Studies 1 and 2. And, the idea of a sloughing off of unnecessarily complex ethnonyms in response to Black-on-White homicides is a particularly implausible account for the results of Study 3.

Theoretical Implications

Several theories guided the expectations regarding the association between various features of ethnonyms and intergroup hostility. For example, realistic group conflict theory (e.g., Campbell, 1965; Sherif & Sherif, 1953) led to the expectation that the more strongly the in-group's social identity is tied to its territory through toponyms, the more likely that group will engage in conflict to maintain or increase its territorial holdings. Similarly, social identity theory (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1979; Tajfel, 1974) led to the expectation that the more strongly the in-group's social identity is tied to its language through glottonyms, the more likely that group will engage in conflict to maintain or extend the use of its language. The present article was not intended as a "strong inference test" of these different theoretical perspectives; the fact that hypotheses derived from these diverse theories were not supported in this initial investigation of the effects of ethnonyms does not really address the broader utility of these different theoretical perspectives.

The consistent pattern of associations between ethnonym complexity and intergroup hostility suggests that it may be appropriate at this point to speculate on possible mechanisms for the effects of ethnonym complexity on intergroup hostility. First, consider the possible correspondence between the effects of complexity at the level of personal identity and the presently observed effects of complexity at the level of social identity. Dixon and Baumeister (1991) reported that self-complexity served as a buffer against the threatening implications of an experimentally induced failure. That is, individuals with low self-complexity, and hence in-groups with low ethnonym complexity, may suffer the full brunt of a threat in one particular domain because there are no additional aspects of their personal identity that remain untouched by that threat. However, individuals with high self-complexity, and hence in-groups with high ethnonym complexity, are "buffered" against threat in one particular domain because many aspects of their personal identity remain untouched by that threat (see also Linville, 1982, 1985). This suggests that ethnonym complexity may reduce intergroup hostility through a *threat buffering* mechanism. For example, if an in-group identifies itself solely in terms of glottonyms, then an insult or a threat to the in-group's language is an unambiguous insult to the in-group social identity, an unequivocal threat to the in-group and all that it stands for. However, if an in-group identifies itself in terms of both glottonyms and toponyms, then an insult or a threat to the in-group's language may be merely an ambiguous insult to one aspect of the in-group social identity, an equivocal threat to one aspect of the in-group.

Second, consider the possible effects of social identity complexity on intergroup boundaries. Roccas and Brewer (2002) reported that social identity complexity was associated with greater tolerance of out-groups because the complexity of the in-group's social identity reduces ingroup–outgroup distinctions (see also Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2002). This suggests that ethnonym complexity may reduce intergroup hostility through an *entitativity reducing* mechanism. That is, in-groups with low social identity complexity may see the distinction between the in-group and the out-group cast into sharp relief. However, in-groups with high social identity complexity may see the distinction between the in-group and the out-group as somewhat more diffuse or less salient. For example, if an in-group identifies itself solely in terms of glottonyms, then an altercation with an out-group that identifies itself in terms of anthroponyms makes the ingroup–outgroup distinction unavoidably salient. However, if an in-group identifies itself in terms of both glottonyms and toponyms, then an altercation with an out-group that identifies itself in terms of anthroponyms at least has the possibility that the ingroup–outgroup distinction may be less stridently preeminent.[15]

Third, consider the possible effects of social identity complexity on automatic versus controlled processes. Cunningham, Johnson, Gatenby, Gore, and Banaji (2003) reported the results of functional magnetic resonance imaging obtained during participants' evaluative social judgments. Interpreting differential patterns of activity in the ventrolateral prefrontal cortex, these authors suggested that automatic processes may be more sensitive to simple valence, whereas controlled processes may be more sensitive to complexity (see also Devine, 1989). This suggests that ethnonym complexity may reduce intergroup hostility through a *controlled processing* mechanism; that is, in-groups with low social identity complexity may be more inclined to respond to outgroups in terms of automatic processes, which have been linked to prejudicial behavior. However, ingroups with high social identity complexity may be more inclined to respond to out-groups in terms of controlled processes, which have been linked to egalitarian behavior. For example, if an in-group identifies itself solely in terms of glottonyms, then stereotypic thinking and hostile behavior may be

[15] Note that this conceptualization of social identity complexity does not require any evocation of the notion of crossed-categorization (e.g., Deschamps & Doise, 1978; Mullen, Migdal, & Hewstone, 2001). That is, the in-group that identifies itself in terms of both glottonyms and toponyms is not sharing membership in any way with the out-group that identifies itself in terms of anthroponyms. However, the in-group with both glottonyms and toponyms does have a relatively complex social identity by virtue of the distribution of its ethnonyms into two separate meaningful clusters.

automatically evoked in response to an out-group. However, if an in-group identifies itself in terms of both glottonyms and toponyms, then controlled processing may thwart the expression of stereotypic thinking and hostile behavior.

Directions for Future Research

Insofar as the present article represents the first social psychological examination of the effects of ethnonyms, it is probably appropriate to reflect on a few unanswered questions that are evoked by the present research. First and foremost, despite the lack of empirical support obtained in this preliminary study, the highly plausible potential effects of toponyms, glottonyms, anthroponyms, more aggressive, and/or more negative ethnonyms may be examined in other settings. In particular, consider the prevalence of symbols of aggression and ferocity for sports team names. To date, most studies of the aggressiveness of sports team names have simply tabulated the frequency and types of names (e.g., Kinloch, 1972; G. Smith, 1997). The links between team name aggressiveness and team fierceness in competition or intimidation of opponents has remained speculative (Lawson & Phillips, 1985), and future research may be directed toward scrutinizing whether sports teams may represent a type of in-group in which other attributes of ethnonyms may predict intergroup behavior. Note that ethnonym complexity would typically be held constant in studies of the effects of sports team names (insofar as there is typically just one name per team).

The three possible mediating mechanisms suggested above for the effects of ethnonym complexity should be subjected to empirical scrutiny. The threat buffering mechanism could be examined by creating experimental in-groups with arrays of ethnonyms representing either a single or multiple components of social identity. An out-group could then confront the in-groups with some threat or insult to a single component of in-group identity. If the in-groups with the more complex ethnonyms evaluated the threat as less severe, then this would support the notion that complexity of the in-group's social identity affects intergroup hostility by buffering the impact of intergroup threat. The entitativity reducing mechanism could be examined by creating experimental in-groups with arrays of ethnonyms representing either a single or multiple components of social identity. An out-group could then be presented. If the in-groups with the more complex ethnonyms then characterized their in-group and/or the out-group in terms of lower levels of attributes like discreteness, stability, uniformity, informativeness, and exclusivity (Haslam et al., 2002), then this would support the notion that complexity of the in-group's social identity affects intergroup hostility by reducing the salience and the impact of the ingroup–outgroup distinctions. The controlled processing mechanism could be examined by creating experimental in-groups with arrays of ethnonyms representing either a single or multiple components of social identity. An out-group could then be presented in a manner that would experimentally create a stereotype in this laboratory-bound intergroup setting (e.g., the distinctiveness-based illusory correlation paradigm adapted to minimal group membership settings; see Johnson, Schaller, & Mullen, 2000). If the in-groups with the more complex ethnonyms were less susceptible to the acquisition, or the expression, of stereotypes toward the out-group, then this would support the notion that complexity of the in-group's social identity affects intergroup hostility by engaging controlled processing that mitigates against stereotyping and prejudice.

Clearly, little is known about the selection of, and shifts in, ethnonyms. Similar to Carroll's (1985) classic work on naming, research could begin to scrutinize the processes by which in-groups generate and select their names. In this context, it is interesting to note that in G. Smith's (1997) discussion of school team names in Washington state, about 9% of the schools surveyed had recently changed their team names, noting that "Most changes have been from less violent, ethnic and religious references to more violent animal references" (p. 179). Similarly, recall Reverend Jesse Jackson's 1988 speech, which encouraged the shift away from the use of ethnonyms like *Colored*, *Negro*, and *Black* and toward the use of the ethnonym *African American*. Shifts in the use of ethnonyms for various other groups have been noted, including Native Americans as a collective category (with ethnonyms *Indians*, *Amerindians*, *Native Americans*, *Native Canadians*, *First Nations*, and *Aboriginals*; see Donakowski & Esses, 1996), feminists (with ethnonyms *women's liberation*, *feminist*, *postfeminist*, and *women's movement*; see Buschman & Lenart, 1996), and Hispanics (with ethnonyms *Chicano*, *Hispanic*, *Mexican* [or *Puerto Rican*, *Cuban*, etc.] *American*, and *Latino/Latina*; see Fairchild & Cozens, 1981). Although some of these shifts have been documented and tabulated, researchers really know very little about the social psychological causes and consequences of these shifts in ethnonyms.

Finally, as noted at the outset, recent research has documented that out-groups referred to with less complex ethnophaulisms are more likely to be targets of intergroup hostility (Mullen, 2004; Mullen & Rice, 2003; Mullen & Smyth, 2004). We demonstrate in the present article that in-groups with less complex ethnonyms are more likely to engage in intergroup hostility. The effect of specific juxtapositions of ethnophaulisms and ethnonyms has never been examined, and three intriguing possibilities should be considered. First, the confrontation between an in-group with more complex ethnonyms and an out-group referred to with more complex ethnophaulisms would seem to be a particularly benign combination that might render the lowest levels of intergroup conflict. Second, the confrontation between an in-group with less complex ethnonyms and an out-group referred to with less complex ethnophaulisms would seem to be a particularly volatile combination that might render the highest levels of intergroup conflict. Finally, the confrontation between in-groups and out-groups that differ in nominal complexity now emerges, for the first time, as an intriguing theoretical question: Is intergroup conflict likely to be stronger in the confrontation between an in-group with high ethnonym complexity and an out-group with low ethnophaulism complexity? Or, between an in-group with low ethnonym complexity and an out-group with high ethnophaulism complexity? It remains to be determined whether the complexity of the names for the in-group, or the complexity of the names for the out-group, exerts a stronger effect on intergroup conflict.

Conclusions

It should be recognized that the present emphasis on ethnonyms is discordant with other present perspectives on social cognition and intergroup behavior. Specifically with reference to African Americans, some scholars have dismissed the relevance or signif-

icance of ethnonyms, compared with what are perceived to be more substantive issues of interracial disparities in economic opportunities or criminal justice. For example, Lyles (1989) posited that "No matter what people of color call themselves or are called—achievement, education, and economic growth are what count" (p. 9). More bluntly, Neal (2001) queried, "What is the essential difference between saying Black-on-Black crime or African American-on-African American crime?" (p. 59). It would seem that the results of the three studies reported here suggest that those substantive issues of interracial disparities in economic opportunities or criminal justice may actually be linked to variations in ethnonyms in heretofore unanticipated ways that are worthy of further serious scrutiny.

More generally, the study of verbal labels for social categories has recently been framed as a fundamental weakness of research in intergroup settings. For example, Macrae and Bodenhausen (2000) recently conjectured that:

> the use of verbal stimulus materials is problematic, as it necessarily obscures the true information-processing puzzle that confronts perceivers when they encounter other people. The issue is one of stimulus complexity. Whereas people are [sic] obviously multiply classifiable entities for which a given categorization must be drawn by perceivers, the same cannot be said of verbal labels. (p. 101)

It is hoped that the extant research on the effects of identifying out-groups through the use of ethnophaulisms (which can certainly capture varying degrees of complexity; see Mullen, 2001, 2004; Mullen & Johnson, 1993, 1995; Mullen & Rice, 2003; Mullen et al., 2000; Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2001; Mullen & Smyth, 2004) and the present research on the effects of identifying the in-group through the use of ethnonyms (which also can certainly capture varying degrees of complexity) will postpone the premature demise of the study of verbal labels for groups in intergroup contexts.

As indicated above, the archival nature of the patterns reviewed above involves a number of methodological limitations. For example, these types of archival data are characterized by a lack of experimental control. Moreover, there is a sense that present data are "restricted": The time frame considered in Study 1 was restricted to the 20th century, the time frame considered in Study 2 was restricted to the 19th century, and the time frame considered in Study 3 was restricted to the latter quarter of the 20th century. The groups considered in these analyses were essentially restricted to two continents. The analyses in Studies 1 and 2 were restricted to those groups for which the meaning of all ethnonyms could be independently confirmed in at least two sources, and the analyses in Study 3 were based on polling data, with all of the inherent limitations of sampling and reliability for such data. These limitations encourage a degree of caution in interpreting the results reported above. Although these types of archival data are characterized by a lack of experimental control, they are also characterized by a remarkable level of ecological validity: The in-groups examined in these three studies are real groups, and the indicators of intergroup hostility incorporated into these analyses are derived from genuine conflicts. The fundamental links between cognitive representations of the in-group in ethnonyms and intergroup behavior seems to emerge as a central element of the phenomenology of being in a group.

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