

Wixárika Landscape Conceptualization
and Suggestions for its Archaeological Relevance

by

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ABSTRACT

Anthropological attention to landscapes has revealed them to be more than where people subsist: landscapes are inherently social entities. People create landscapes in their interactions with the environment and each other. People conceptualize, or imbue the landscape with meaning such that given places serve to impart cultural knowledge, identity, and social order. The link between people and their landscape thus underscores the importance of a landscape focus in the attempt to understand people. Furthermore, as a product of cultural behavior, the landscape constitutes a form of material culture that may be marked in ways that are consistent with how it is conceptualized. The material dimension of people's relationship with their landscape renders it a fruitful focus of archaeological inquiry. The main goal of this study is to identify how the Wixárika of Jalisco, Mexico, conceptualize the landscape, and to assess its relevance to understanding the ancient past. As adherents of a Mesoamerican tradition, the Wixárika offer a distinctive perspective on the landscape, and one with potential to elucidate the ancient past.

Given that a major share of a society's culturally significant cognitive features is expressed most productively by means of language, in this study I rely on aspects of language to ascertain Wixárika landscape conceptualization and materialization. Through the linguistic analysis of placenames and place-talk, I determine the meanings with which the Wixárika landscape is imbued. Through the analysis of the utterance of placenames, I provide examples of how the landscape is instilled with meaning. Utilizing native terminology, I characterize the content of the Wixárika landscape, and describe the process, in terms of movements, whereby the landscape is actualized.

Results indicate that the Wixárika conceptualize their landscape in diverse ways, including as a dwelling, a repository of memories, and a source of identity. The process and manifestation of Wixárika landscape conceptualization yield insights pertinent to understanding ancient landscapes, especially with regard to content and scope. This study is significant in that it represents the landscape from an indigenous perspective. It also sheds light on the construction of a living landscape, and thus is a useful framework for contemplating the past.

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LINGUISTIC PRELIMINARIES

The indigenous people who are the focus of this study call themselves the *Wixárika*, which is transcribed phonetically as [wišárika] or [wiřarika], but they are most commonly referred to in the literature as Huichol, a term most likely deriving from a rendition of the native name by Spanish speakers during colonial times. The language has also been classified as Huichol and Corachol, a combination of the terms Huichol and Cora, which is the name of a neighboring indigenous group and their language. The Cora language is closely related to Huichol. In this study, in accord with the indigenous preference, I choose to use the term *Wixárika* to refer to both the people and the language, which also happens to be the more recent convention used by linguists José Luis Iturrioz, Paula Gómez and others from the University of Guadalajara, who refer to it as the Wixarika language.

Wixárika Language Pronunciation Guide

In the discussion that follows, I use the terms phoneme, phonemic, phone, and allophonic. To be clear, a phoneme is a unit of sound that distinguishes meaning. For example, we know that *p* and *b* are separate phonemes in English because when they occur in identical phonetic environments their meanings are distinct, as the words *pan* and *ban* illustrate. The linguistic convention is to write phonemes between slash bars (i.e., /p b/). Sounds that distinguish meaning are characterized as phonemic.

An allophone is a sound variant, or phone, that does not distinguish meaning. For example, the phoneme /t/ has a variety of pronunciations which are in large part results of the specific phonetic environment in which the /t/ occurs. For example, the allophone of *t* that is aspirated tends to be pronounced in the word-initial position or when it occurs

alone before a stressed vowel (i.e., *tap*), whereas the un-aspirated allophone of *t* tends to occur when it is between a consonant and a vowel, and when it is in the word-final position (i.e., *start*). The linguistic convention is to write allophones between brackets (i.e., [t' t] are two allophones of the phoneme /t/).

The Wixárika language has five vowel sounds:

a as in "father"

e as in "bed" (the articulation of this vowel in Wixárika is often slightly lower and more central than the English vowel, tending toward *a*)

i as the vowel sound in "feet"

ɨ (this high, central, unrounded vowel has no phonemic equivalent in English, but it is similar to the vowel sound in "boot" when pronounced without rounding the lips. For those familiar with the Russian language, it is similar to pronunciation of the sound indicated by the *ы* graph, called "jeryh".)

u as the vowel sound in "boot" (*o* as in "boat" is an allophonic variant of this vowel)

Each vowel is pronounced either short or long. Long vowels are indicated typographically with a following colon (e.g., *a:*). Vowel length is phonemic, hence there are ten vowel phonemes in Wixárika: /*a*, *a:*, *e*, *e:*, *i*, *i:*, *ɨ*, *ɨ:*, *u*, *u:*/.

Wixárika contains thirteen consonant phonemes, which are pronounced in the following manner:

p as in "spell" (not like the aspirated *p* as in "pot")

t as in "stop" (not like the aspirated *t* as in "top")

ts as in the final sound of "boots" (*ch* as in "child" is an allophonic variant of this phoneme)

k as in "skate" (not like the aspirated *k* as in "kale")

kw as in "squash" (not like the aspirated sound in "quake")

m as in "man"

n as in "noon"

r (this tap *r* is articulated in a manner similar to an English *d* as in "dog"; *l* is an allophonic variant of this consonant)

w as in "way" (in the western dialect of Wixárika this phoneme is often expressed as β , which is a bilabial fricative that sounds similar to an English *v*)

h as in "hot"

' (this glottal stop has no phonemic equivalent in English, but it is the stop that is most often heard in place of the *tt* in the word *button*)

x (this voiceless trill has no phonemic equivalent in English, but it is similar to the voiced trill *rr* in Spanish; this phoneme is also often pronounced like the *sh* sound in "shoe")

y as in "yell"

Stress in Wixárika is phonemic. Accents are written here only on words whose stress does not fall on the second-to-last, or penultimate, syllable (e.g., *teté* 'stone'). Multiple-syllable words with no accent indicated are pronounced with stress on the second to last syllable (e.g., *'una* 'salt', pronounced [úna]).

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CHAPTER ONE: LANDSCAPE, LANGUAGE, AND MOVEMENT

The world is, minimally and forever,
a place-world.
-- E. S. Casey, *The Fate of Place*

The main goal of this study is twofold: to identify how the Wixárika conceptualize their landscape, and to assess the relevance of that conceptualization to the understanding the ancient past. Before presenting the results of this study, I first examine the theoretical underpinnings of the main goal in order to clarify the approach and to justify the effort. The above quote from Casey serves to highlight the idea here that *place* is the fulcrum around which the concepts of landscape, language, and movement are explored.

Recent anthropological attention to landscapes has revealed them to be more than just where people subsist: landscapes are inherently social entities. People create landscapes in their interactions with the environment and with each other (1994; Fisher 1999). People also conceptualize landscapes in a variety of ways. That is, they imbue landscapes with meaning such that given places may impart cultural and ancestral knowledge, as well as convey identity and social order (i.e., Basso 1996; Feld 1996b; Hirsch 1995; Knapp 1999; Myers 2000; Ucko 1999). It is in this way that people mediate their relationships with one another through the landscape. And it is the social nature of landscapes that renders them an especially suitable focus of anthropological inquiry. Below, I specify the relationship between the primary components of this investigation, including the landscape, language, and movement.

In order to elucidate the expansive matter of *landscape*, it is first necessary to take up the elemental topic of *place*. Place is an ineluctable component of human experience: We are born into a place much the same as we are born into a family and into a culture. Our relationships are forged in places, we identify ourselves with places, and our movements from one place to another are guided by the meanings that those places hold for us. A *landscape* is made up of a matrix of places (Casey 2001:690), and places, in turn, are constituted by people (Casey 1996:24; Feld 1996a:11) inhabiting, naming, and evoking them. Significantly, places also constitute people in the sense that a given *habitus* -- that is, a system of transposable dispositions functioning as principles surrounding the generation and structuring of practices and representations (Bourdieu 1977:72, 214) -- is ineluctably placial in its formation and consolidation (Casey 2001:686). In other words, the durable dispositions, including habitual states, comprising the basis upon which people behave are necessarily enacted in a particular place and incorporate the features inherent in previous such places (Bourdieu 1977:214; Casey 2001:686). Hence, people and places are mutually constitutive: each is essential to the being of the other (Casey 2001:684). What is more, since there is no place that exists without relation to any other place (Casey 2001:690), a given *habitus* actually incorporates in its activation an entire matrix of places -- that is, a *landscape*. This essential link between people and their landscape underscores the importance of a landscape focus in the attempt to understand people. This link also accounts for why landscapes are so meaningful.

A concept is a unit of meaning (Cruse 2004:7), whereas a conceptualization is a unit of meaning that, by virtue of its verbal stem, additionally entails an active process of

creation. A conceptualization is formed and consolidated through the enactment of habitus. Though conceptualizations are formed using properties of linguistic elements, alongside non-linguistic knowledge, and information available from context (Croft 2006:98), the major share of culturally significant cognitive features are codable in a society's most flexible and productive communication device, its language (Frake 1980:3). A useful beginning point for mapping a cognitive system involves the study of the referential use of standard terms (Frake 1980:4). With respect to the landscape domain, such terms consist of placenames. Hence, one means for tapping a culture's conceptual system regarding not only the landscape, but spatial matters in general, is a systematic study of placenames (Levinson 1996:365).

An additional means for discerning how people construe their world of experience from the way they talk about it (Frake 1980:2) is to take as a topic of investigation what people in fact talk about (Frake 1980 [1977]:51). People do not simply ask and answer questions when they talk; they propose, defend, and negotiate interpretations of what is happening (Frake 1980 [1977]:50). These interpretations, moreover, provide the key to understanding (Frake 1980 [1977]:50). For example, in a systematic analysis of native statements (queries and responses) regarding one phase of the selection of ingredients for the manufacture *gasi*, a fermented beverage produced by the Subanun people of the Phillipines, Frake (1964:134, 141) not only achieves an understanding of the process of Subanun yeast making, but he is also able to isolate some of the basic types of relationships linking concepts among the Subanun, relationships that are of interest because of their applicability throughout many domains of the culture. Similarly, understanding how people construe their landscape entails not only identifying how they

refer to places (placenames), but also focusing on what they say about those places and in what context (interview, natural discourse, story, ritual, etc.).

Names and talk of places not only render landscapes meaningful, they are the impetus of movements through them (de Certeau 1984:104). That is, they motivate the traveler to partake in the diverse meanings they evoke about various places. Thus, movement between places is a spatial acting-out of those places, and it furthermore implies certain relationships among them (de Certeau 1984:98). In other words, just as a speech act is an actualization of language (a system differentiated of signs), translocative movement is an actualization of the landscape (a system of differentiated places) (*sensu de Certeau 1984:98*). The formative role of movement in the making and remaking of places (Pandya 1990:788) indicates that it, too, is a fundamental dimension of the landscape. Hence, in order to more fully understand how people relate to their landscape, it is also important to attend to the nature of people's movements (i.e., how, when, why, etc.) within it.

Landscape studies within anthropology highlight the diverse means by which landscape conceptualizations may be conveyed. For example, Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Hill's (2004) analysis of the topographical features and placenames on historical maps of the San Pedro Valley, Arizona, illustrates how these documents communicate a conceptualization of the landscape as an economic resource and as a marker of ethnic identity on the part of early Euro-American explorers. Coyle's (2001:41) description of the religious ceremonies among the Cora people from Santa Teresa, Nayarit, Mexico, indicates how water-gathering rituals at distinct sites transmit a conceptualization of the landscape as a microcosm (representation of the cosmos) and as a marker of kin identity.

Roseman's (1998:111) examination of property rights among the Temiar people of Malaysia reveals how songs about the landscape, revealed to human mediums by natural spirit guides, convey a conceptualization of the landscape as animate (a sentient being) and as a marker of owner identity. Sikkink and Choque's (2001:169) study of landscape legends in the community of San Pedro de Condo, Bolivia, demonstrates how stories about the mythical origins of mountains and other landforms express a conceptualization of the landscape as animate (gendered and sentient) and as history. Hunn's (1996) ethnoscientific analysis of indigenous Sahaptin place-names in the Columbia Plateau region of Washington and Oregon reveals how they communicate a native conceptualization of the landscape as a subsistence resource. And finally, Frake's (1996) multifaceted study of placenames, informal talk about place, guide books, and ordnance maps in East Anglia, England, illustrates how these distinct modes of communication contribute to conceptualizations of the landscape as history, as a marker of rural identity, and (for some) as an economic resource. In this study, I show how Wixárika placenames and place-talk convey a multifaceted conceptualization of the landscape, including as a source of social identity, a repository of memories, as a dwelling, and as a resource.

As products of culturally determined behavior, landscapes themselves constitute an expansive form of material culture. Moreover, they are often marked physically in ways that are consistent with how they are conceptualized. For example, Bloch (1995; 2005:43) describes how ancestors of the Zafimaniry people of Madagascar are merged into the landscape in the form of wooden houses, which embody marriage, as well as in the form of megalithic monuments, which are gendered and embody deceased sibling groups. Megaliths and prominent rocks, considered the 'standing-stones made by God',

are similarly given offerings by people (descendant or not) in exchange for use of the surrounding land (Bloch 1995:74). The physical offerings, as well as the megaliths themselves, reflect a conceptualization of the landscape as animate and as a marker of ancestral sibling identity. In a study of present-day ritual practices of the K'iche' Maya of the Guatemalan Highlands, Brown (2004) describes the different kinds of offerings left to rock outcrops, which are the embodiments of certain ancestor spirits who intervene on behalf of their supplicants. These offerings, many of which are food items, match a conceptualization of the landscape as animate. Ethnographic accounts of the Wixárika suggest that they, too, modify the landscape in ways that reflect how it is likely conceptualized. These accounts describe how offerings are left at numerous places that are considered to be the dwellings of important deities (Lumholtz 1900; Neurath 2000; Preuss 1998 [1907]). The offerings in this case are consistent with a landscape that is imbued with cosmological significance. In the course of this study, I describe other ways in which the Wixárika landscape is conceptualized, and how the content of the landscape reflects those conceptualizations.

In general, the material dimension of people's meaningful relationship with their landscape points toward the potential for drawing analogies for archaeological purposes. For example, Brady (1997) utilizes the meanings imputed to the landscape by present-day Q'eqchi' and other Maya groups to interpret settlement configuration at the archaeological site of Dos Pilas, Pextexbatún Region, Guatemala. He draws a conceptual analogy between the present-day beliefs about mountains (considered the embodiments of the Earth Lord) and caves (considered gateways to the Earth Lord) and the association of pyramidal architecture and caves at ancient sites in the Pextexbatún region and beyond

(Brady 1997). Archaeological patterning in the Malpaso Valley region of Northwest Mexico, an area not far from the Wixárika homeland, indicates that the search for robust analogies among the Wixárika could prove especially fruitful, particularly with respect to the extensive network of roads connecting the monumental regional center of La Quemada (A.D. 500-900) to numerous other sites throughout the valley (Medina González 2000b; Nelson 1995, 2004; Trombold 1991). For example, Nelson (2004:6) suggests that the causeway entrances to La Quemada were used for ritual processions, akin to present-day Wixárika processions that likewise culminate in ritualized entrances to the main villages. Also, Medina (2000b) interprets the cosmological significance of the Malpaso Valley road network on the basis of similarities between the configuration of key roads and the shape of the Wixárika *tsikiri*, which are small rhomboidal figures of yarn symbolizing the path of the sun (Preuss 1998d [1908]). The nature of these similarities suggests that a knowledge of the meanings the Wixárika assign to certain places, as well as the behavioral implications associated with them (especially with regard to movement), could help to further elucidate the purpose and use of prominent archaeological features within the Malpaso Valley and elsewhere in Northwest Mexico. In the final chapter of this study, I discuss the potential relevance of the Wixárika example for interpreting the ancient past, particularly with respect to the content, scope, and symbolism of ancient settlements.

Why the Wixárika? At present, the Wixárika population numbers roughly 45,000 in all, and their current homeland covers approximately 10,000km² in northern Jalisco and Nayarit (Iturrioz Leza 2006:11; Liffman 2011) in the Sierra Madre Occidental.

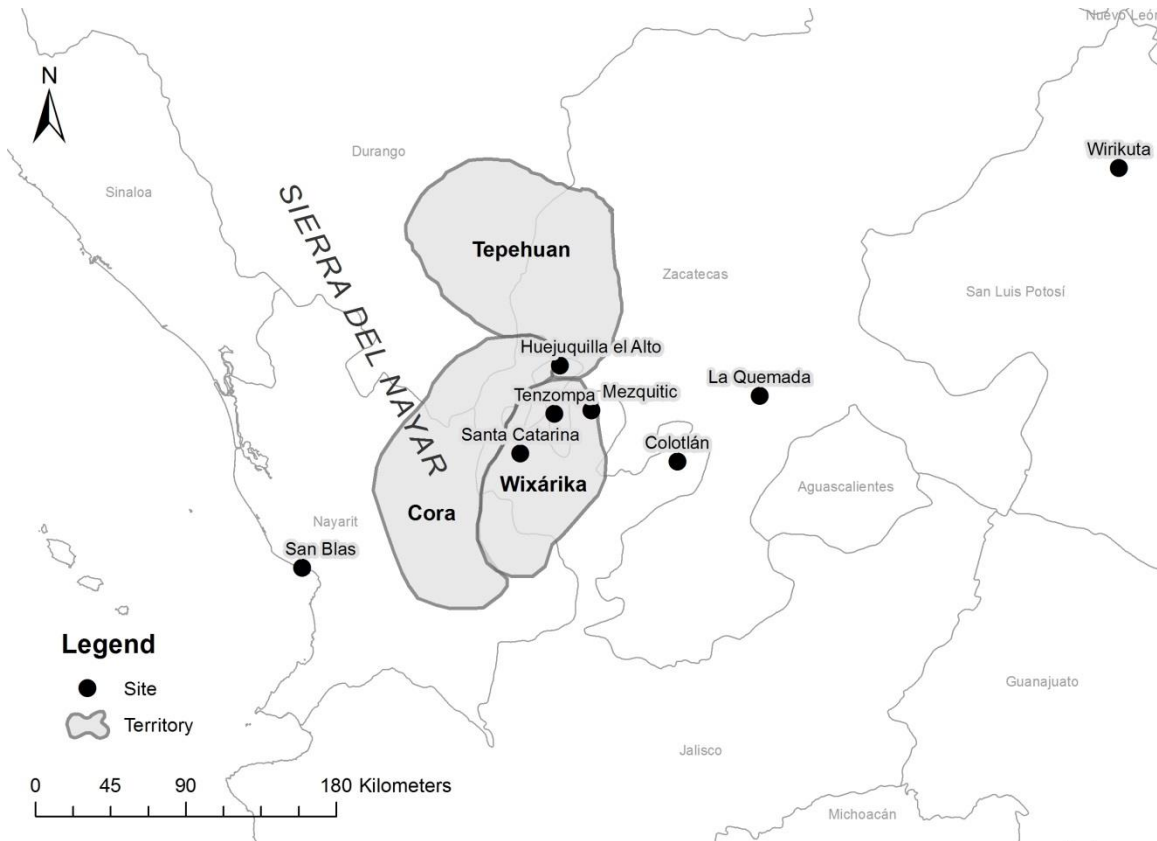


Figure 1. Wixárika homeland and study area. The region is also home to the Cora and Tepehuan indigenous groups. Map courtesy of Chris Schwartz and April Kamp Whittaker.

Relative to other native groups in the region, they are exceptional with respect to their native language use, which is characterized as vigorous for all age groups and across all communicative domains (Gordon 2005). The Wixárika are also one of the few native groups in the region to maintain predominantly indigenous religious practices. They are primarily subsistence farmers, mainly growing corn and raising cattle, though they also gather and hunt wild resources, including wild fruits and berries, mushrooms and peccaries. Overall, these linguistic and cultural characteristics reveal the study area (Figure 1) to be an appropriate and potentially very informative setting in which to investigate native conceptualization and use of the landscape.

The Wixárika have also been the focus of ethnographic study for well over a century. The works of early ethnographers, including Lumholtz (1900), Preuss (1998d), and Zingg (1938), continue to yield valuable insights, and have also served to inspire generations of anthropologists to consider the Wixárika and other indigenous people of the Sierra Madre Occidental. Recent ethnographies that have served as key sources of information for this study include Neurath (2002), Gutiérrez (2002), and Liffman (2011). Neurath offers a comprehensive account and explanation of the Wixárika ceremonial round at both the community level (*tukipa*) and household level (*kie, xiriki*) within the community of *Tuapurie* Santa Catarina, the location of this study. Gutiérrez (2002) provides the first published, anthropological account of the pilgrimage to *Wirikuta*, based on his participation with a group of temple officers from the community of *Tateikie* San Andrés. Liffman's (2011) study is likewise based in the community *Tateikie* San Andrés, and offers a clear perspective of the dizzying complexity of Wixárika interactions with the broader publics in their negotiation of territorial identity and land claims.

Other recent studies focus on specific media of Wixárika material culture. Schaefer (2002) examines the process of becoming a Wixárika weaver, and offers insights about Wixárika womanhood, and the symbolism and practice of weaving from the intimate perspective of the household. Kindl (2003) explores symbolic and ritual aspects of gourd bowl (*jícara*) manufacture and use. Fresán Jiménez (2002) similarly examines *nierika*, which are the Wixárika instruments for "seeing." *Nierika* take on many material manifestations, but they are often in the form of an etched stone or wooden disc adorned with colored yarn, and they are an ubiquitous feature of ceremonial settings. Taken together, these ethnographic studies of material culture

highlight the quintessentially Wixárika process of "cross-domain" mapping of the universe in ways that are also pertinent to understanding features of the Wixárika landscape. Other studies upon which I rely in the course of this presentation focus on specific cultural domains, including shamanism (Fikes 2011; Islas Salinas 2011), and Wixárika personhood in the context of a funeral (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010).

I also draw inspiration from recent archaeological studies incorporating aspects of Wixárika belief. Medina González's (Medina González 2000a) persuasive interpretation (mentioned above) of the ritual landscape of the Malpaso Valley, Zacatecas, Mexico, in terms of Wixárika cosmological beliefs convinced me at the outset that the endeavor to do ethnography in the interest of archaeology in the Wixárika homeland would prove fruitful. And finally, Rodríguez Zariñán's (2009) use of contextual analysis and Wixárika analogy to identify the meaning of the recurrent eagle-serpent iconographic motif on pottery from Alta Vista, Zacatecas, as the very Wixárika ancestor-deity *Tatei We:rika Wimari* 'Our Mother Eagle Maiden,' has impressed upon me that what can be learned from the Wixárika is infinite and profound.

Recall the main goal of this study is to identify how the Wixárika conceptualize their landscape, and to assess its relevance to understanding the ancient past. To frame the purpose of this study in historical perspective, I start with Binford (1982). From his ethnoarchaeological work among the *Nunamiut* over three decades ago, we have come to understand that the *landscape*, not the *site*, is the arena for all of a group's activities (Anschuetz 2001:170-171; emphasis in original). Thus, if our aim as archaeologists is to genuinely understand the past, our analytical attention must be focused on understanding the *role of different places* in the organization of past systems (Binford 1982:29;

emphasis added). What is more, Binford's (1982) observations of *Nunamiut* mobility patterns in relation to fluctuating economic zonation have served to demonstrate how the landscape is an actively *constructed* entity. Building on the conceptual foundations set by Binford and elaborated by others (Basso 1996; Bowser 2009; Ferguson 2006a), the aim of this study is ultimately to advance archaeologists' understanding of cultural landscapes by shedding light on the construction of the living landscape of the Wixárika people. The uniqueness of this study does not derive from its geographic location, although it is a consideration, given that it is in the midst several complex archaeological traditions, and given that it has been the focus of very few ethnoarchaeological or ethnohistorical studies to date (Rodríguez Zariñán 2009; Weigand 1992b). Instead, what is fresh about this study is its focus on how the Wixárika themselves conceptualize the landscape. In essence, it renders the living landscape from an indigenous point of view. With its attention to landscape-related ritual practices as well, this study stands as an example of both ritual and ethnic landscape study whose purposes include developing reasonable and testable ideas, and providing alternative interpretive tools (Anschuetz 2001:178-179) that will ultimately enhance our understanding of the ancient landscape.

Although there are countless ways to impart meaning, given that the major share of a society's culturally significant cognitive features is expressed most flexibly and productively by means of language (Frake 1980:3 [1962]), I have largely relied on various aspects of language as a means to tap Wixárika perspectives of the landscape throughout this study. Chapter Two addresses *what* the landscape means by means of the analysis of placenames in terms of a variety of placename characteristics, including source language, referential meaning, and morphology. Chapter Three also addresses

what the landscape means, but through the analysis of place-talk, that is, what the people themselves say about the landscape. Chapter Four is concerned with the process of *how* the landscape means. Although there are many ways through which a landscape acquires meaning, I examine the process of meaning-making through an analysis of the speech act of *placenaming* in both everyday and ritual contexts. Chapter Five focuses on what the Wixárika landscape "looks" like, and how it comes together as a unit. In other words, it is concerned with the *content* of the landscape in terms of the kinds of places that comprise it, and the *process* of the landscape in terms of the kinds of landscape-related movements that pull it together as a whole. I conclude with Chapter Six, in which I summarize some of the key findings, discussing them in connection with other related landscape studies. In this last chapter I also discuss the archaeological relevance of the findings presented in the course of this study. I conclude the final chapter with some reflections regarding the significance of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: WHAT'S IN A *PLACENAME*?

...proper names carve out pockets of hidden and familiar meanings.
-- M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

This is the first of two chapters concerned with *what* the landscape means as rendered via language. In this chapter I focus on a ubiquitous, yet often overlooked linguistic feature of the landscape -- the placename. People refer to important places by their own, proper name, just as they do with other people. Proper names thus distinguish places of the landscape as social entities. What is more, these proper names for places, or placenames, are repositories of meaning in and of themselves. As such, they have the potential to shed light on the various ways a group conceptualizes its landscape. In what follows, I first discuss the characteristics of placenames in general and give examples from other studies that highlight their analytical value. For the sake of clarity in this first section of the chapter, I identify each characteristic in italics at the start of the corresponding paragraphs. Following this initial discussion, I then present a linguistic analysis of Wixárika placenames, which are shown here to vary with respect to source language, morphology, and meaning, in ways that refine our understanding of Wixárika history, language, and culture.

Placename Characteristics

A Source Language. One of the most prominent characteristics of a placename is its language. It goes without saying that every placename corresponds to a particular language, referred to here as a source language, which is the language from which a

given placename is derived. Though obvious, the fact that a placename has a source language is by no means trivial, especially in settings where multiple language groups have come into contact. Evaluating the placenames of a region in terms of their source language is a way to assess the geographical scope of influence of a specific language group. In one study, for example, Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Hill (2004:141) evaluate the source language of placenames in their analysis of historic maps from San Pedro Valley area of the American Southwest. Their findings indicate that from 1701 to 1888, the named landscape shifted from a locality dominated with Spanish and Native-Spanish terms to a more multi-vocal region predominated by English terms. The authors argue that the source language shift represented on historic maps mirrors the "real" transformations of who was living in the San Pedro Valley at different points in time (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2004:186). Another example of a study concerning the source language of placenames is William Bright's (2004) monumental work, *Native American Placenames of the United States*. Drawing from the US Geographical Names Information System (USGNI) online database and numerous published placename dictionaries, Bright (2004) identifies the geographic locations, source languages, and etymologies of placenames with Native American origins that are currently used in English. This is a key reference work that can aid in evaluating the changing geographic range of given Native groups over time in the U.S. For example, the use of the Seneca (Iroquoian) word *ohio* 'good river,' to designate a large river and US state located far west of the present-day Seneca Nation may suggest that Seneca people formerly held sway over a much broader geographical area.

A Referential Meaning. The second characteristic of a placename is its meaning. More explicitly, every placename has a referential meaning, which is the object, entity, or event denoted by a placename's lexical morpheme, or primary semantic unit. A morpheme is a minimal sound or soundless unit that has meaning in a language. A *lexical* morpheme is a unit that can carry meaning on its own, whereas a grammatical morpheme, including prefixes and suffixes, requires the presence of a lexical morpheme to convey meaning. For example, in the word *undoing*, the lexical morpheme is *do*, and the grammatical morphemes are the affixes *un-* and *-ing*. Most Wixárika placenames are made up of a single lexical morpheme plus a series of grammatical morphemes conveying additional information about the topographic setting. It is important to include "soundless" as a type of meaningful unit, since it is not only sounds, but their absence, that may systematically convey meaning a language. In the Nahuatl language, for example, the prefix that marks the third-person singular subject is realized as silence. *Nicho:ca'* is a sentence in Nahuatl meaning 'I cry,' and is composed of the subject prefix *ni-* 'I,' plus the verb-stem *-cho:ca* 'to cry.' By contrast, the sentence *Cho:ca'* in Nahuatl means 'He/She/It cries,' and is composed of the subject prefix \emptyset , meaning 'he, she, or it' in this case, but phonetically marked as silence, plus the verb-stem *cho:ca'* (Andrews 2003:8).

The referential meanings of placenames may encompass a range of phenomena, though languages differ with respect to what kinds of things are expressed in placenames. In the United States, for example, placenames commonly refer to memorable events, as with the name Battle Creek, original places, like Amsterdam, a historic personage, such as Washington, or characteristic landforms, like Boulder. Systematic study of referential

meanings reveals how the places of a landscape are perceived and explicitly commemorated by a group. Where I live, for example, the most meaningful places around town are designated by the surnames of their inhabitants, such as The Schmidt's, The Amidon's, or The Schneider's, which reflects a view of the landscape in both proprietary and personal terms. Other important places, including towns and hamlets, are named after Roman and French generals and politicians, such as Manlius, Tully (from *Tullius*), and LaFayette, thereby projecting a sense of erudition and historical priority on a landscape settled by people of European descent mainly only after the American Revolution. By contrast, placename patterns of the *Haudenosaunee* people, who have occupied the same area since time immemorial, indicate a different landscape perspective. They designate places according to prominent natural or man-made characteristics, as with the placenames *Gaędóda'*, roughly meaning 'Standing Tree' (Cardiff, NY), *Gahsųdo'*, meaning something like 'Wooden Dam' (Jamesville, NY), and *Tgahwisdaniyųda'*, approximately meaning 'Where the Bell Hangs Above,' referring to the belfry of the old Presbyterian Church in center of Lafayette, NY (Woodbury 2003). In a formal study of the placenames used among Athabaskan groups in Alaska, for example, Kari (1989:142) finds that most placenames refer to some aspect of regional natural history, especially hydrology and critical food sources, such as salmon, ground squirrel, and caribou. He asserts, moreover, that Athabaskan placenames comprise a key realm of verbal knowledge that is analogous to a cartographer's plane coordinate mapping system (Kari 1989:142). In essence, the placename pattern among Athabaskan groups reflects a conceptualization of the landscape as a resource.

In another study, García Zambrano (2006a) analyzes the Nahuatl language placenames in colonial documents from Mexico, where he finds repeated mention of the names *Aztlán*, *Chicomoztoc*, and *Culhuacán*, together in reference to the origin and migration history of Nahuatl speaking groups. *Aztlán* means 'place of the heron,' and it refers to the lacustrine setting where humans first dwelt in primordial times, *Chicomoztoc* means 'at the seven caves,' which signifies the threshold through which humans first passed beyond their original lacustrine setting, and *Culhuacán* means 'place of those with grandfathers,' often represented by a mountain with a curved peak and which signifies the mythical place of arrival from the primordial interior to the terrestrial surface (García Zambrano 2006a:7,10,12,15). García Zambrano (2006a:7) argues that the symbolism associated with the referential meanings of these placenames induced ancient groups to settle in areas that exhibited all three of the corresponding landscape features, including wetlands, caves, and mountains. The triune placename pattern exhibited among Nahuatl speaking groups thus reflects a cosmological view of the landscape, in which component places represent key facets of Nahuatl Creation history.

A Relational Meaning. In addition to its referential meaning, a placename evokes other meanings associated with the history or experience of a place (Basso 1996:44). The relational meanings of a place may have little or nothing to do with the referential meaning of its placename, but rather emerge over time in connection with events or activities that regularly occur there. For example, although Chicago is a placename whose referential meaning in the Fox language is '*at the wild onion place*' (Bright 2004:96), to me personally it has come to mean a large mid-western city with a big airport, its own style of pizza, and a vibrant blues scene. Placenames are indicative of

socially significant components of a landscape, and thus are a means to access the diverse meanings that places of a landscape may hold. Basso's (1996) now classic study of placenames stands as a quintessential example of what can be gleaned from examining the relational meaning of placenames. He analyzes native language placenames mentioned in everyday conversation among the Western Apache, and discovers that each one is connected to a historical tale (Basso 1996:48). The utterance of a given placename in discourse thus evokes a specific story based on past events occurring at the respective place. In short, Basso's (1996) study serves not only to illustrate the diverse relational meanings that may be attached to placenames, which, in the case of the Western Apache, take the form of historical tales, his study also reveals the important social functions that may be served by the utterance of placenames in conversation. This aspect of his study will be discussed in more detail in the Chapter 4, below.

Morphology. The final characteristic to be examined here is morphology. Every placename conforms to the morphology, or grammatical makeup, of a particular language, and therefore exhibits grammatical information about how placenames are derived (Boas 1969 [1934]:14). For example, Casad's (1989:123) morphological analysis of placenames in Cora, a language closely related to Wixárika, reveals them to be made up of a variety of grammatical forms, ranging from simple lexical elements to complete verbal expressions. Moreover, Cora placenames tend to include grammatical elements that he calls postpositions, which convey detailed spatial information about a given place, including *japua* 'above,' *tivii* 'upslope,' *jetze* 'towards,' and *tzajta'a* 'inside,' among many others (Casad 1989:122-23). In his study, Casad (1989:127) also demonstrates how the morphological analysis of placenames has enabled him to identify ancient grammatical

forms no longer in use in spoken language, thereby tracking changes in the language since colonial times. In short, the morphological analysis of placenames may not only shed new light on unique grammatical features, it may also provide a basis for more detailed comparisons with related languages, as well as offer insights into the evolution of the language under study.

To summarize, every placename exhibits a set of characteristics, including a source language, a referential meaning, a relational meaning, and a morphology, the analysis of which may yield insights into the various meanings a landscape holds. In the exposition that follows, I utilize the characteristics outlined above as a framework for presenting the placename data from the Wixárika homeland. The discussion of the relational meanings of placenames from this study is reserved for the next chapter on place-talk.

Placenames of a Wixárika Landscape

The 133 placenames that comprise the corpus of this analysis were compiled over the course of ethnographic fieldwork in a portion of the Wixárika homeland. The placenames examined here were obtained from the spoken word of consultants, not from published maps of the region. During fieldwork, I stayed with two consultant families, and traveled with them to numerous places in their home region. Our travels occurred in the context of everyday activities, including visits with family and friends, retrieving livestock, and attending household and community-level ceremonies. The corpus of placenames examined here thus corresponds to a quotidian landscape of the Wixárika people. As we traveled, native consultants pointed out important places, and I recorded their names and main characteristics, as well as their locations, when possible. I followed

up with informal interviews about the places we visited, and about other important places in the area. Once out of the field, I carried out more detailed linguistic analysis of native Wixárika placenames with the help of one of the consultants, who had received two years of prior linguistic training at the Zacatecas Institute for Teaching and Research (IDIEZ), helping to build a Wixárika language database. All of the names of local places mentioned during fieldwork comprise the basis of this analysis.

In the laboratory setting, the consultant and I divided each placename into its constituent morphemes. Constituent morphemes are the smallest linguistic units that have meaning. For example, the English word, *dogs*, is composed of two morphemes: 1) *dog*, meaning the domestic canine, and 2) *-s*, marking the plural. During sessions with the consultant, the morphemes that make up each Wixárika placename were identified, and their meanings ascertained based on the consultant's judgments as a native speaker. In most cases we were able to corroborate the meanings of individual morphemes with corresponding definitions in published works on the language (Gómez 1999; Grimes 1964; Iturrioz Leza 1987, 2006, 1988, 1986; McIntosh 1951). We also examined how each morpheme is utilized in linguistic expressions other than placenames in order to clarify its meaning and to better understand the derivation of placenames in general as compared with other classes of words in the Wixárika language. In linguistics, derivation refers to the process of word formation. For example, from the English adjective *content* is derived the noun *contentment* by means of adding the nominalizing suffix *-ment*. Understanding how different word classes are formed in a given language not only contributes more complete understanding of the grammar of that language, it also fosters

more detailed comparison with formation processes in other languages, which in turn stands as useful data for theoretical and historical linguistics.

In describing placenames from the study area, I use the sociolinguistic concept of variation, which refers to the range of different realizations of a linguistic variable in question. Sociolinguistics is defined as the study of language in relation to society (Hudson 1996:1). Whereas a main concern of linguistics lies in the structure of language, a sociolinguist is concerned with linguistic variation and its social significance (Chambers 2009:10), and with the social contexts in which a language is learned and used (Hudson 1996:3). Important to this concept is the idea that linguistic variation is not random, or "free," but patterned in relation to social phenomena (Chambers 2009:14). Prior to the advent of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, linguistic phenomena that did not fit neatly into a normative description of a language were regarded by some linguists simply as cases of "free variation," and were left unexamined as such. Sociolinguists, by contrast, have since taken on such variation as their principal topic of inquiry. Sociolinguistic research thus entails identifying variation and isolating its underlying social factors. The utility of this concept is that it not only fosters an organized description of complex linguistic phenomena, it also enables quantitative comparison among different realizations, or variants, of a given linguistic variable, which in turn may be correlated with non-linguistic variables, such as region, age, ethnicity, or gender (Chambers 2009:1; Hudson 1996:146, 148). To illustrate, in a now classic study concerning a single linguistic variable (*r*) among English-speaking New Yorkers, William Labov executed a clever form of rapid anonymous observation in New York Department stores ranging from high status to low status, including Sak's Fifth Avenue,

Macy's, and S. Klein (Hudson 1996). He formed several hypotheses about the phonetic realizations of *r* ([r, ø]) based on social status, age, and attention to speech. To test his various hypotheses, he elicited the phrase "fourth floor" amongst a variety of department personnel. As expected, for example, he found that the pronunciation of *r* appeared to be influenced most by social status. The [r] reflex was the more common realization in Sak's Fifth Ave, and [ø] was the more common in Klein's (Hudson 1996:155-156). In this study, I examine placenames with respect to the dimensions outlined above, which I refer to here as "placename variables," including source language, referential meaning, and morphology. The various relational meanings that placenames evoke, which are meanings that are related to the history and use of a place, are taken up in chapter three on place-talk, below.

Source Language Variation. The first placename variable to be discussed here concerns the source language, or language of origin, of placenames in the study area. Although the main theme of this overall study is with how the Wixárika people conceptualize their landscape, other kinds of meaningful landscape-related information have also come into view during the analytical process. The insights gleaned from the examination of source languages of placenames, for example, are primarily related to the history of the landscape in the region. Although this type of information may not be directly related to the indigenous conceptualization of the landscape, it is nevertheless meaningful in that it gives a sense of the complex historical backdrop of the region out of which indigenous conceptualizations emerge. The analysis of source language among the placenames in this study shows that they derive from three source languages: Wixárika, Spanish, and Nahuatl. While the highest percentage of placenames is Wixárika (61

percent), a relatively high percentage is also Spanish (33 percent), and the remaining percentage is Nahuatl (6 percent). In general, the percentage of Wixárika placenames in the study area reflects the fact that the Wixárika have largely been able to maintain territorial and cultural autonomy over the centuries to the present. The presence of both Spanish and Nahuatl placenames nevertheless indicate some degree of contact with native speakers of these groups. In the discussion that follows, I present the Spanish and Nahuatl placename data, and I suggest what it reveals about the nature of contact with these other groups. I first consider the possible sources of Nahuatl placenames in the study area, and I offer a hypothesis as to which source of Nahuatl is most likely in light of the linguistic and landscape evidence. I also discuss the referential meanings of the Nahuatl placenames and what they suggest about the relationships between Wixárika and Nahuatl speakers.

The Nahuatl placenames identified in the study area include the following, listed alphabetically and translated into English:

1. *Cuexcomatitlan/Cuexcomatitan* : *cuexcomatl* (granary) + *titlan* (nearby)
Translation: At the Place Near the Granary
2. *Huejuquilla* : hispanicized from *Huexot(tl)* (willow) + *quil(tic)* green + *(t)la*
Translation: At the Place of Green Willow or Green Willow Stand/Grove
3. *Pochotita* : *pocho(tl)* silk-cotton tree + *tita* (nearby, equivalent to "titlan")
Translation: At the Place Near the Silk-Cotton Tree
4. *Soconita* : hispanicized from *xoco(tl)* (plum, fruit) + *ni* (meaning unknown) + *ta* (place in the vicinity of)
Translation: At the Place in the Vicinity of Plums

5. *Tenzompa* : *tenzon(tli)* (whiskers) + *pa* (place in the vicinity of)
Translation: In the Vicinity of Whiskers (whiskers in this case may be an oblique reference to catfish, which is the inspiration for the corresponding Wixárika name)

6. *Wakanari Mamati'u* : *wakana* (chicken) + *ri* (Wixárika language plural marker) + *Mamati'u* (Wixárika language relative clause, inflected for location, number, and state)
Translation: Where Chickens Stand on the Surface

7. *Xonacata* : *xonaca(tl)* (onion) + *ta* (place of)
Translation: Place of Onion

8. *Yakawista* : from *yaca(tl)* (nose or point) + *wista* (view, from Spanish)
Translation: Point View

The existence of Nahuatl placenames in the study area can be explained in light of the history of the region, which includes the presence of Nahuatl speakers at different points in time. There are three possible sources for the Nahuatl names: 1) they may derive from Nahuatl-speaking neighbors indigenous to the region, 2) they may have been introduced as a result of the Nahuatl-speaking Caxcán influx into the region during the Mixtón war in the 1540s, or 3) they may stem from the influence of Nahuatl-speakers imported from Tlaxcalla by the Spanish in the 1590s and after (Gerhard 1982; Rojas 1992; Weigand 1992a). I discuss each of these possibilities below, and in the end conclude that, while there is no definitive answer based on the current data set, the most likely possibility at this point is the third one, consisting of influence from Tlaxcaltecan Nahuatl speakers. Nonetheless, specific directions for future research emerge in the process, and I elaborate on these directions in the context of the discussion that follows.

With respect to the first possible source of Nahuatl placenames in the study area, modern dialect studies firmly establish the aboriginal presence of a Western peripheral dialect of Nahuatl (Canger 1980, 1988; 2001:12; Sischo 1979) spoken in the region since

around A.D.1400 (Kaufman 2001:5). While the historical documents indicate that in the early Colonial era (ca. A.D.1530), Nahuatl was widely spoken throughout the western periphery (Santoscoy 1900:xx; Yáñez Rosales 2004), nowadays, within the vicinity of Wixárika territory it is only spoken in a few communities in the state of Durango, including San Agustín de Buenaventura and San Pedro Jícora (Canger 2001). Thus, present-day contact between speakers of the local Nahuatl language, referred to by inhabitants as Mexicanero, and Wixárika speakers within the study area is rather limited, given the geographic separation between the areas where each language is spoken. In fact, linguistic and ethnographic evidence suggest that there has been more intense contact over time between Mexicanero and Cora speakers than with the Wixárika. Cora is the name of the language and indigenous group inhabiting the region immediately west of Wixárika territory, and they are very similar to the Wixárika both culturally and linguistically, as both belong to the same branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family, referred to by linguists as Corachol (a contraction of Cora and Huichol) (Mithun 2001:540). Living among the Mexicanero in Durango are speakers of both Cora and Southern Tepehuan, another indigenous language belonging to the Uto-Aztecan family, (Canger 2001:11). Mexicaneros also have several myths and beliefs related to the Morning Star in common with the Cora (Preuss 1998a:340-46). It is interesting to note that among Mexicaneros of Durango, the term for 'fiesta,' referring to any native religious ceremony, is *xuravét*, a word which originates from the Cora and Wixárika words for 'star,' which are *xúreabe* and *xuráwe*, respectively (Preuss 1998b:351). Such borrowing appears to be mutual, as the name for the Cora ruler who reigned over the region of Nayarit in the eighteenth century was *Tonati* (Gerhard 1982:112), the common

Mexicanero term for 'sun' (Canger 2001:178). It is probable that many more such similarities and borrowings among these groups would come to light with further study. With respect to the present-day interaction within the region between Mexicanero and Wixárika speakers, it is likely limited in large part to the joint native language radio broadcasts via XEJMN-AM 750, based in Jesús María, Nayarit, which includes segments in Spanish, Cora, Wixárika, Mexicanero, and Tepehuan. Generally speaking, the language contact situation, which refers to any situation in which more than one language is used in the same place at the same time (Thomason 2001:1), is not well documented at present in Wixárika territory and the surrounding region. It is a topic that merits further study, however, especially given the unique mix of so many native languages in one geographic area, and in light of the many factors currently contributing to rapid language shift to Spanish among many indigenous people of the sierra.

If it were possible to identify features unique to the Mexicanero dialect in the Nahuatl-language placenames within Wixárika territory, then it could be argued that such placenames are the result of contact with Mexicanero speakers. However, the small corpus of Nahuatl placenames in this study do not exhibit any features that can unequivocally be assigned to only the Mexicanero dialect, or to any other dialect of Nahuatl, for that matter. Those familiar with Nahuatl language and dialectology will notice that the corpus of placenames from the Wixárika homeland exhibit both the *tl* and *t* reflexes, as shown with the *tlan* ending in the name *Cuexcomatitlan*, and the *ta(n)* ending in *Pochotita*. Although *tl*, *t*, and *l* (there are no cases of *l* in this corpus) were long considered to correspond to the distinct dialects of Nahuatl (e.g., Whorf 1937), it is now understood that this feature is not diagnostic of any particular dialect. Nahuatl is a

language that is currently spoken by nearly a million and a half people all over Mexico (Lewis 2009), and the numerous modern dialects of the language are fairly well documented (Canger 1988). Nevertheless, the Nahuatl language placenames in the study area do not convey the grammatical information necessary to determine the specific source dialect of the language. Identifying the specific source of Nahuatl in the region would thus require additional kinds of linguistic data, such as Nahuatl loanwords, phrases, and the like, to be discussed in more detail below.

The nature of the language situation nowadays in the sierra therefore suggests that the existence of Nahuatl placenames in the study area is the result of historical circumstances, as opposed to ongoing contact with Nahuatl-speaking Mexicaneros. It can be inferred from colonial documents from the region that at least one neighboring indigenous group spoke a dialect of Nahuatl. Members of this now extinct ethnic group were referred to by Spanish speakers as *Zacatecos*, a gentilic term deriving from the Nahuatl word *Zacatlan*, meaning "Place in the Vicinity of Grass" (Andrews 2003:496). In a document dating from the year 1696, Spanish chroniclers relied on a Nahuatl language interpreter to record the testimony from a native of the town of San Diego Guejuquilla, located in what was known to be *Zacateco* territory, concerning the interaction between the Mestizo captain, Miguel Caldera, and the *Zacatecos* nearly a century prior (Rojas 1992:35-37). This testimony indicates that in the early seventeenth century, the Spanish Colonial government issued papers formally recognizing *Zacateco* possession of lands from what was then known as the *Atenco* river (now known as the *Chapalagana*) (Gerhard 1982:77), near what is now Huejuquilla el Alto, south to what is now Mezquitic, Jalisco, and east to a place called Las Bocas in the Valparaíso valley

(Rojas 1992:37,40). *Atenco* is a Nahuatl language placename meaning "At the Place on the Bank of the River" (Andrews 2003:493), and, as another 1696 document from the region suggests, the *Atenco* may have served in prior times as the border between the Zacatecos and the "nación guisola," an early reference to the Wixárika (Rojas 1992:40).

A document from 1653 makes note of the general use of Nahuatl among all indigenous groups in the sierra, regardless of what their own language may have been (Rojas 1992:32). This observation indicates that a situation of bilingualism prevailed in the region at the time, which in itself suggests that the interaction between speakers of Wixárika and Nahuatl must have been fairly intense during the early Colonial era and before. Another 1696 document from the region corroborates this earlier observation. This document mentions the testimony of a native inhabitant of Tenzompa, a known Wixárika town of that time, concerning its founding. The document states that an interpreter was hired to interview the native inhabitant, presumably Wixárika, who is described as being "ladino en lengua mexicana" (Rojas 1992:39), which is an antiquated expression in Spanish meaning that he was experienced in the Mexicano, or Nahuatl, language. To summarize, documentary evidence from early the Colonial era suggests that, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Wixárika had Nahuatl-speaking neighbors occupying the region immediately east of their homeland, and that some Wixárika people were bilingual speakers of Nahuatl. The close language contact situation that evidently prevailed in former times may therefore account for the occurrence of Nahuatl placenames in the study area today.

The second possible source of Nahuatl placenames may be from the Caxcán, a now extinct ethnic group that originally occupied the region farther to the east of

Wixárika territory, in what is now southern Zacatecas (Gerhard 1982:40). Caxcán is a Nahuatl language placename meaning "Place of the Pot," but the Spaniards used the term as a gentilic for the people of this region who are known to have spoken a rustic dialect of Mexicano (Santoscoy 1900:XIII). The Caxcanes fought alongside other indigenous groups from the surrounding region in the Mixtón War of 1541, which broke out largely in response to the brutal campaign of the Spaniard Nuño de Guzmán and his allies, who, beginning in 1530, sought to conquer the region via a strategy of unprovoked killing, torture, and enslavement (Gerhard 1982:42-43). The Caxcanes and other indigenous groups eventually succumbed to the conquistadors, and in the 1540s, after the Mixtón War, whole communities of Caxcanes were moved south to the plains near Guadalajara, while perhaps an equal number fled to the territory northwest of their original homeland (Gerhard 1982:49). It is the migration to the northwest that may have put Nahuatl-speaking Caxcanes in direct contact with the Wixárika in the mid-16th century, which therefore may account for the presence of Nahuatl placenames in the Wixárika homeland. However, regarding the specific influence of the Nahuatl-speaking Caxcanes on the Wixárika, there is presently not enough known about the Caxcán dialect of Nahuatl, much less what can be gleaned from placename evidence alone, that would establish with certainty a Caxcán source for Nahuatl placenames among the Wixárika. Nevertheless, given the documentary evidence of Caxcanes in the region, it is necessary to acknowledge them as a possible source.

The third possible source of Nahuatl placenames in the study area are the Nahuatl-speaking colonists from Tlaxcalla, a region nearly one thousand kilometers to the southeast. The Tlaxcaltecas (the gentilic term for people from Tlaxcalla) were

introduced into the region by the Spanish in the 1590s in order to serve "as frontier militia and as a civilizing influence" (Gerhard 1982:49). The Tlaxcaltecan colony closest to the Wixárika was at Colotlán, a small military outpost located approximately 100 kilometers to the east of Wixárika territory at that time. Colotlán was the locus of diplomacy with indigenous groups to the west, and it eventually became the administrative base of a district that included Wixárika territory (Rojas 1992:14), as well as the locale of the first Franciscan mission in the area, established between 1591 and 1592 (Gerhard 1982:75).

It is important to mention some details of this diplomacy carried out by the Spaniards, as they in large part account for the relatively peaceful resolution of the Chichimec War, and the successful introduction of the Tlaxcaltecan into Wixárika territory. The instability and upheaval created in the wake of the Mixtón War of 1541 and 1542 contributed to the formation of military alliances among indigenous groups, who in turn boldly resisted the Spanish during the subsequent Chichimec War, a bloody conflict that lasted nearly four decades, between 1550 and 1600 (Powell 1996:9). In 1590, Captain Miguel Caldera, a *mestizo* whose father was Spanish and mother Guachichil, was appointed by the Spanish to supervise the settlement of the "Chichimecs," the composite term used at the time to refer to the nomadic and semi-nomadic indigenous groups in the north, which included the Guachichiles (Gerhard 1982:75; Powell 1997:141). Cognizant of the failed military strategy of "war by fire and blood" (Powell 1997:141) carried out by his predecessors, Captain Caldera implemented a new strategy of diplomacy on a broad scale that not only included the introduction of colonists from Tlaxcalla, but also military protection, gifts in the form of food, clothing,

and supplies, help with agricultural endeavors, and Christianity, all in exchange for peace with formerly hostile indigenous groups (Powell 1997:182, 193). This policy of peace that effectively brought an end to the Chichimec War was also implemented at Colotlán, which was one of the outposts that Captain Miguel Caldera was appointed to oversee (Gerhard 1982:75). In light of their status as colonists on the frontier, the Tlaxcaltecs who emigrated to Colotlán beginning in 1591 were granted a series of benefits, including waiver of tribute payments, military privileges, and possession of large portions of land (Rojas 1992:14). In addition, the Tlaxcaltecs at Colotlán, together with the indigenous groups in the same jurisdiction, including the Wixárika, were granted almost complete autonomy with respect to government and matters of justice (Gerhard 1982:75). In fact, the indigenous towns within the jurisdiction of Colotlán had their own governors, *alcaldes*, and other personnel who were subject to ratification only by the *capitán protector*, who in the earliest instance was Captain Miguel Caldera (Gerhard 1982:75).

The political autonomy that was first granted by the Spanish viceroy to indigenous groups of the region in 16th century is still in place today among the Wixárika, who were first organized into three (and now five) *comunidades*, each with their own separate governments. What is more, the vestiges of Tlaxcaltecan influence, in particular, continue into the present day in the form of Nahuatl language titles for some political offices (Knab 1976:263). For example, the *gobernador* 'governor,' who is the highest ranking official of each Wixárika *comunidad*, is referred to as the *tatoani*, a Nahuatl language term that literally means "speaker," but which was used by Nahuatl speakers in pre-Hispanic times to refer to a dynastic ruler, and in post-conquest times to refer to governors (Lockhart 1992:15,31). Other Nahuatl titles used among the Wixárika

include *topil*, shortened from the Nahuatl word *topile*, literally meaning 'staff bearer' (Miller 1988:93; Siméon 2004:718), and referring to an officer whose duties are akin to a sheriff's, as well as *tenantzin*, literally meaning 'someone's mother' (Molina 2001:98), and referring to the female assistant to the governor (Knab 1976:263). It is interesting to note that Wixárika men who are elected to fulfill the cargo role of *topil* do, in fact, carry long staffs during ceremonies. Other loanwords from the Nahuatl language that regularly occur in the context of Wixárika speech pertain to the domain of the Catholic Church, including *teopani* 'church,' *teocalli* 'tabernacle,' and *teopixqui* 'majordomo,' among others (Knab 1976:263). There are also loanwords that derive from Spanish but have been borrowed via the Nahuatl language. Some of these words are related to the octave monetary system that was in place during the colonial era (Grimes 1960:162), while others pertain to farm animals and objects with no native language equivalents, including, for example, *puritu* 'donkey,' from the Spanish *burrito*, *wakax* 'cattle,' from the Spanish *vacas* 'cows,' as well as *ke:xu* 'cheese,' from the Spanish *queso*, and *winu* 'wine,' from *vino*, and so on. Overall, the vocabulary borrowed from the Nahuatl language, including that ultimately deriving from Spanish, is consistent with the nature of contact between the Wixárika and the Tlaxcaltecs, who were introduced into the region in order to minister to local governments, the Catholic Church, and the farming needs of indigenous populations in the region. The semantic patterning of Nahuatl loanwords in the Wixárika language suggests that more extensive study of loanwords in Wixárika may reveal even more details about nature of contact with both Nahuatl and Spanish speakers in early colonial times. With respect to the issue of the source of Nahuatl placenames in the study

area, the additional loanword data discussed above supports the notion that they are the result of direct contact with Tlaxcaltecs in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Landscape evidence lends even further support to the idea of Tlaxcaltecan influence during the early colonial era. Places of the landscape that carry Nahuatl names also often have Spanish names as well, thereby indicating a shared role in the existence or administration of these places. What is more, places with Nahuatl and Spanish names tend to designate either *agencias* or *cabeceras*, which are territorial entities originally delineated by the Spanish (Neurath 2002:153; Rojas 1992). In summary, the linguistic and landscape evidence *thus far* suggests that the Tlaxcaltecs are the most likely source of Nahuatl placenames in the study area, despite the indigenous presence of other Nahuatl groups nearby.

As for the referential meanings of the Nahuatl placenames in the study area, of the nine places that are designated with Nahuatl names, six also have Wixárika names. These six places may be referred to either by a Wixárika placename or a Nahuatl placename. What is noteworthy about five of the places with both a Wixárika and a Nahuatl placename is that their referential meanings are the same. In other words, the lexical morpheme of both the Nahuatl and Wixárika placenames refer to the same object or entity (Table 1).

Table 1. Wixárika and Nahuatl Language Placenames with Shared Referential Meanings

<i>Wixárika</i>	<i>Nahuatl</i>	<i>English translation</i>
Ha:púripa	Huexoquillan/Huejuquilla	Place of Willow
Xawe:pa	Pochotita	Place of the Silk Cotton Tree
Kwa:rupa:ta	Xoconita/Soconita	Amid Plum
Mixipa	Tenzompa	Place of Catfish
Me:kita	Mezquitic	Amid Mesquite

By means of these placenames, Wixárika speakers and Nahuatl speakers are drawn to focus on the same features that characterize a given place. Whatever the reason, these names reflect a concern for conveying the same meaning about certain place among indigenous people, in particular. The shared referential meanings imply a mutual perspective of the landscape, and may also have had the effect of reinforcing ties between speakers of the different language groups. Interestingly, the referential meanings of Spanish placenames, discussed in more detail below, in most cases have nothing to do with the meanings of the Wixárika placenames that designate the same place. Also, there is a notable exception of a Nahuatl placename that does not carry the same referential meaning as its Wixárika counterpart. This place serves as the *cabecera*, or main administrative town of the *comunidad* of Santa Catarina, and is called *Cuexcomatitlan* 'At the Place Near the Granary' in Nahuatl, and *Tuapurie* 'At Soap Plant' in Wixárika. Historical documents indicate that this town was founded by the Spanish sometime around the mid-17th century (Rojas 1993:71), but was most likely an indigenous settlement prior to that time (Rojas 1992:13; Weigand 1995:44). Although the documents are not clear as to whether Tlaxcaltecan colonists were also involved in its

founding and administration at that time, whoever assigned it a Nahuatl name did not simply translate the Wixárika placename of *Tuapurie*, as with the above examples (Table 1). Another Nahuatl language placename in the corpus without an equivalent placename in Wixárika is *Xonocata* 'Place of Onion.' Significantly, this name also designates a place that serves as a local administrative center referred to as an *agencia*, an entity likewise established by the Spanish. In summary, although the corpus of Nahuatl placenames in this study is small, there are nevertheless some patterns that emerge that would be worthwhile pursuing with more data in the future. Specifically, the data here suggest that, in the majority of cases, native Wixárika placenames were faithfully translated into Nahuatl. However, with respect to places serving an administrative purpose, it seems that the Nahuatl placename either stands alone, or is not translated from the Wixárika placename. Whatever the case may be, the preliminary data presented here indicate that a more extensive study of the interplay of both Nahuatl and Wixárika placenames throughout Wixárika territory, in conjunction with more detailed documentary evidence from each of the Wixárika *comunidades*, would yield a more concrete understanding of the early contact history between the Wixárika and other groups.

In the remainder of this section I present the Spanish language placenames in the study area, and I discuss what they reveal about the history of contact with Spanish speakers to the present. As mentioned in the discussion above concerning the Nahuatl language, Spaniards first entered the Wixárika region as early as A.D. 1530 as part of a military campaign of conquest (Gerhard 1982:5; Rojas 1992:11), and the existence of so many Spanish language placenames (33 percent) in the Wixárika homeland attests to a very long history of contact between Wixárika and Spanish speakers. The referential

meanings and phonological characteristics of Spanish placenames in the study area reveal specific details about the nature of contact with Spanish over time, which I address in turn below.

With respect to the phonology, or sound characteristics (Finch 2000:39), of Spanish placenames, there is notable variation between standard Spanish and nativized Spanish forms. I use the term nativized here to refer to loanwords from the Spanish language that are pronounced according to Wixárika language phonological rules. Every language has a unique phonological system, that is, its own inventory of sounds that contrast and combine to form meaning in the course of speech. Languages may be similar or different to each other with respect to their phonology. When there is contact between speakers of two languages with very different phonological characteristics, speakers may replace the foreign sounds with the closest sounds in their own language when pronouncing loanwords from the different language (Thomason 1988:33). This process is referred to here as nativization. Analysis of this process may yield clues about past contact situations, and also contribute to a better understanding of how a given language changes.

In a seminal study of the changes in the Nahuatl language, for example, types of loanwords borrowed from Spanish, and their phonological characteristics are shown to be tied to the frequency and intensity of contact between Nahuatl speakers and Spaniards over time (Karttunen 1976:49). Through the examination of Nahuatl language texts from the colonial era and afterwards, the authors identify a three-stage process of social change that is clearly defined in the area of linguistic evolution (Lockhart 1992:261). The first stage corresponds to the brief military phase in which confrontation predominated in the

contact between Spanish and Nahuatl speakers, and is characterized by little borrowing of Spanish terms, and the invention of native language circumlocutions to name foreign objects, as illustrated with the word for cucumber, *ayotontli xoxouhcaqualoni*, literally meaning 'little squash to be eaten raw' (Lockhart 1992:266). The second stage identified in the study corresponds to a wave of social reorganization under the Spanish colonial government, and is characterized by the substantial borrowing of Spanish nouns, in particular, but whose phonology was nativized to Nahuatl (Karttunen 1976:49), as illustrated with *pilma*, for the Spanish *firma* 'signature' (Lockhart 1992:294). The third stage corresponds to an expanded bilingualism among Nahuatl speakers growing out of even more intense, everyday contact with Spanish speakers, and is characterized by the borrowing of other types of Spanish words, including verbs and particles (primarily prepositions and conjunctions) (Lockhart 1992:304). It is also during this stage that a set formula was employed for borrowing Spanish verbs, consisting of Nahuatl affixes attached to a Spanish verb in the infinitive form, plus the *-oa* Nahuatl verbal suffix (Lockhart 1992:305). It is interesting to note that these same verb forms -- a Spanish verb infinitive with an *-oa* or *-uwa* ending -- occur in the Wixárika language as well, and were perhaps borrowed via Nahuatl in the colonial era from bilingual Tlaxcaltecs. The third stage is also characterized by phonologically less assimilated loanwords (Karttunen 1976:49). In other words, Spanish loanwords tend to conform more to the standard Spanish pronunciation, and are not nativized.

While the size and scope of the corpus of Wixárika placenames in this study does not allow for such a comprehensive account of language contact phenomena as the study discussed above, it is significant that some of the same patterns of phonological variation

are exhibited in the data from the Wixárika area. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, one of these patterns is the nativization of Spanish language placenames. The nativized names are listed as a group below. The majority of these placenames contain Wixárika language components, which I do not translate here. For each entry, I only include the standard Spanish equivalent of the underlined nativized Spanish word in the placename, followed by its translation into English.

Katuritsi : catorce

Translation: fourteen

Kaxa Manaká : (*kaxa*) caja

Translation: box

Las Toro : los toros

Translation: the bulls

Melon Ma:kawe : melón

Translation: melon

Puente Manká : puente (standard Spanish pronunciation conforms to Wixárika phonology)

Translation: bridge

Puritu Manawe : burrito

Translation: little donkey

Tatei Wi:nu:ya : (*wi:nu:*) vino

Translation: wine

Tsikurati Manka : chocolate

Translation: chocolate

Xira Mukama : (*xira*) silla

Translation: saddle

What is striking about many of these placenames is that they are morphologically equivalent to Wixárika language placenames in that the nativized Spanish noun is simply added to a relative clause in Wixárika. For example, the nativized Spanish placename

Puritu Manawe 'Where the Little Donkey Stands Hither On the Surface' (from Spanish *burrito* 'little donkey') is grammatically equivalent to the native Wixárika placename *Kwa:xa Manawe* 'Where *Kwa:xa* Stands Hither On the Surface' (*kwa:xa* here refers to a type of tree). In most of these cases the source language of the nominal element may not even be readily identified as Spanish, as with the placenames *Tatei Wi.nu:ya* 'Wine of Our Mother' (from Spanish *vino* 'wine') and *Xira Mukama* 'Where the Saddle Is Up ("looking" down) at That Place' (from Spanish *silla* 'saddle'), for example. It is also significant that the referential meanings of nativized Spanish components all refer to introduced or foreign objects, that is, objects with no native Wixárika language equivalent. In general, the linguistic characteristics of nativized placenames from the Wixárika area are similar to those of the second stage identified in the Nahuatl-Spanish contact study discussed above. This stage corresponds to a situation of relatively intense exposure to the Spanish, but not of widespread bilingualism. In light of the presence of Nahuatl speakers (Tlaxcaltecs, Caxcanes, Zacatecos) in the region during the early colonial era and before, however, it is also possible that the Spanish loanwords passed to the Wixárika by means of Nahuatl. More data is needed on the specific dialect of Nahuatl spoken in the region at the time. For example, were these loans already a part of the local Nahuatl dialect? Also, what was the extent of borrowing from Nahuatl itself into Wixárika? For example, were these loans borrowed into Wixárika along with other, purely Nahuatl words? These issues need to be clarified further in order to determine whether these loanwords were acquired directly from Spanish speakers or from Nahuatl speakers who had previously adopted these Spanish terms.

An important aspect of the Nahuatl-Spanish language contact study discussed above is chronology. The timing of specific changes in the Nahuatl language under Spanish influence is determined on the basis of dated texts written in the Nahuatl language. Thus, generally speaking, stage one is from the arrival of the Spaniards in 1519 to around 1550, stage two extends from then until the mid-seventeenth century, and stage three stretches from about 1650 to the present (Lockhart 1992:261). In the Wixárika area, by contrast, there is not a comparable body of native Wixárika texts for establishing an absolute chronology of linguistic changes that could in turn be used to infer the relative chronology of certain places of the landscape. Nevertheless, it is likely that there exists native Nahuatl texts from the region, and from Colotlán in particular, that may be of use in this respect, and that may also serve to shed more light on the local dialect of Nahuatl formerly spoken in the region. On the basis of the data set from the Wixárika area, it can only be said that the nativized Spanish placenames -- and by extension, the places that they designate (assuming, that is, that a given place was named upon its founding, and that it had no prior name) -- were likely introduced and established at some point in time prior to the situation of widespread bilingualism that prevails in Wixárika communities today. The current language situation is relatively recent, perhaps not spanning more than the past thirty years, and is the result of numerous factors, including the establishment of a stable school system beginning in the 1960s (Liffman 2011:50), the construction of roads in the 1970s and 80s, and a steady system of transportation to points beyond the sierra, that have placed the Wixárika in more intense, daily contact with Spanish. Thus, to reiterate, based on the analysis of placenames alone, it can only be asserted that places with nativized Spanish placenames most likely came

into being at some point prior to thirty years ago. Hence, although placename data may provide some clues to the settlement history of a region, other kinds of data are required, such as detailed ethnographies of places themselves.

On the basis of ethnographic data from the current study, for example, it is known that the places of *Katuritsi* 'Fourteen' (from Spanish *catorce*) and *Puritu Manawe* 'Where the Little Donkey Stands Hither On the Surface' (from Spanish *burrito*) were first settled in the early twentieth century. This implies that many of the other so-named places of the Wixárika landscape likewise may have been established long before thirty years ago.

What is more, considering the former presence of Nahuatl speakers in the region, and in light of the numerous Nahuatl loanwords that still exist in the Wixárika language, there is a good possibility that many of these nativized Spanish terms were borrowed from Nahuatl speakers a very long time ago, on the order of centuries, perhaps. Although the data in this study are not sufficient for adequately evaluating this possibility, they nevertheless indicate that language contact involving indigenous groups in the region is a topic that warrants further study. Also, with respect to how the Wixárika language has changed over time, given the fact that both placenames and stories of places tend to endure for generations, a more comprehensive ethnography of named places may indeed serve as an alternative means to track Spanish language influence through time.

The standard Spanish placenames from this study also reveal a number of insights with respect to the history of contact between Wixárika and Spanish speakers. By standard Spanish I mean the Spanish language spoken by the nearby non-indigenous population, referred to by the Wixárika as *vecinos* 'neighbors,' whose mother tongue is Spanish, as well as that written in publications, including newspapers, magazines, and

textbooks, etc. To continue with the topic of placenames and chronology, in the case of standard Spanish placenames, we cannot simply assume that they represent more recent settlements based on the logic outlined above. For one, many of the places designated with standard Spanish names also have a Wixárika name, which in many cases is likely the original one, and therefore possibly much older. Also, some places that were originally designated with a nativized Spanish placename may have undergone a process of correction, whereby the name is changed via bilingual influence to more closely conform to standard Spanish pronunciation. For example, in separate conversations, several Wixárika speakers corroborated the nativized name of a place to be *Las Toro* 'The Bulls.' However, on one occasion, a younger Wixárika person, who was formally educated in Spanish, corrected an elder's pronunciation of the place, and instead called it *Los Toros*, which is standard Spanish pronunciation. This anecdote cautions that how a place is named may also have to do with personal characteristics of the speaker. Furthermore, the characteristics of the place itself may influence how a place is named. For example, if a given place serves an official, government function, such as an *agencia*, then there is perhaps a greater chance that its name may be updated to conform to standard Spanish in formal contexts. In short, the linguistic characteristics of a given placename may not always faithfully reflect the chronology of the place it designates.

The referential meanings of standard Spanish placenames reveal certain details about the nature of contact between Wixárika and Spanish speakers. For instance, a small group of standard Spanish placenames in the study area reflect a relationship with the Catholic Church. Nowadays these placenames include *San José*, *Santa Catarina*, and *Santa Cruz*, but the historical record indicates that in former times, other places in the

vicinity of the study area were also designated with Christian names that have since been forgotten and/or are no longer in use, including *San Diego Huejuquilla*, *Santo Domingo Tenzompa*, *San Cristóbal de la Soledad*, *San Luis Colotlán*, and *San Juan Bautista Mezquitic* (Gerhard 1982:77; Rojas 1992:35,97). The earliest references to these towns are made in documents dating from 1696 that refer to their founding 100 years prior. What is also relevant about these documents is that they describe participation of clerics and friars during the initial founding. For example, one document states that a cleric named Miguel arrived near to what is now Huejuquilla to "comfort the natives and baptize their children, and so that they would build a church" [my translation] (Rojas 1992:36). While the Wixárika towns of Santa Catarina, San Andrés, and San Sebastián are first mentioned in documents dating from 1702 (Rojas 1992:44), another historical document indicates that boundaries were marked for these communities as early as 1609 (Iturrioz Leza 2004:207), even though official land titles were not granted before 1784 (Rojas 1992:79). Regardless of their status with respect to the colonial government, it is likely that all of the towns and communities in the region designated with the names of Catholic saints were established in the early seventeenth century and before. In fact, in all likelihood, towns among the Wixárika were organized on the basis of settlements in existence prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (Weigand 1995). To summarize, what the historical documents from the region indicate, and what a few of the Spanish placenames reflect, is that an important point of contact between the Wixárika and the Spanish in the early colonial era was the Catholic Church.

The fact that Catholic rituals continue to be observed among the Wixárika today suggests that the contact with the Catholic Church must have been fairly intense. As

mentioned in the Nahuatl language section above, documents show that in 1591 or 1592, Franciscans from Zacatecas established their first mission at Colotlán, the colonial administrative base in the region at the time, and from there founded several other missions in neighboring areas, including Mezquitic (c. 1616) and Huejuquilla (c. 1642), during the seventeenth century (Figure 1) (Gerhard 1982:75-76). Missionary activity in the Wixárika towns of San Sebastián, Santa Catarina, and San Andrés intensified over the course of the eighteenth century, and by 1790, each is described as pertaining to a *Doctrina*, or formal missionary district dedicated to the instruction of the faith (Rojas 1992:96). What is clear from present-day linguistic evidence from the Wixárika homeland is that Nahuatl speakers played an important role in this instruction during this time period. The Wixárika today still use Nahuatl language terms for concepts related to Catholic ritual (Knab 1976:262), including *teyupani* 'church,' from Nahuatl *teopan*, *Tatata* 'Our Father,' from Nahuatl *tata*, and *tsima:ri* 'shield,' from Nahuatl *chimalli* (Neurath 2002:301,305, 312). These borrowings from Nahuatl imply a long period of contact with Nahuatl intermediaries from shortly after the Mixtón Wars until the beginning of the nineteenth century (Knab 1976:264). Although a main goal of the missionaries in the region during this period was to convert native inhabitants to the Catholicism, they were also intent on eradicating all native beliefs and practices. For example, a document from around the year 1725 recounts how, upon discovering native adoratories near the town of Tenzompa, a friar "set fire to the huts and smashed all of the pots to pieces, so that nothing was left that was not reduced to dust: with the cadaver and the wax figure he did the same thing, not leaving even the ashes from those bones on the ground" [my translation] (Rojas 1992:74). In summary, documentary evidence from the

region suggests that, not only was the dissemination of the Catholic faith a main focus of contact between the Wixárika, the Spanish, and Nahuatl intermediaries during the early colonial era (c. 1591-1800), it was systematically orchestrated, and also intense. The ongoing practice of Catholic rituals among the Wixárika nowadays, and the use of names of Catholic saints as placenames in the region, attest to this profound level of contact early on.

Documentary evidence also indicates, however, that Catholic influence in the region was not sustained over time. In fact, the *visitas*, or regular cycle of visits made by priests in the principal Wixárika communities of San Sebastián, Santa Catarina, and San Andrés were all abandoned in 1811 (Gerhard 1982:77; Rojas 1992:128). The abandonment by missionaries in the early nineteenth century had some key outcomes in the region. For one, the Wixárika were once again able to openly adhere to native beliefs and practices without fear of reproach. The devotion to native tradition during this era may be one reason why it flourishes among the Wixárika to this day. Secondly, although the Wixárika continued to observe the Catholic rituals that they had acquired over the course of two centuries prior, some of these practices were modified to conform more closely to native beliefs. For example, in a letter written in 1839 concerning the religious customs of the Wixárika from San Andrés, a Franciscan friar explains that "...and as they [the Wixárika] also worship the sacred images of Jesus Christ, that even though they worship them,...they only have Saint Anthony and the Crucifixes so that they may be shepherds or cowboys of their livestock, and they have them together with the idols that they worship..." [my translation] (Rojas 1992:124). This observation illustrates that the

Wixárika did not simply discard Catholic practices after the departure of the Franciscans, rather, they maintained them, but in their own way.

A third consequence of the Franciscan departure from the region relates to placenames. Although there is some variation with respect to how certain placenames appear in the documents from the eighteenth century and prior, it is evident that at some point during the early nineteenth century, some of the placenames referring to Catholic saints are consistently dropped from the record. A document from 1849, for example, refers to the town formerly called *San Diego Huejuquilla* simply as *Huejuquilla*, and to the former *San Luis Colotlán* simply as *Colotlán* (Rojas 1992:128). Likewise, a document from 1853 mentions *Tenzompa* and *Soledad*, both of which were formerly referred to as *Santo Domingo de Tenzompa* and *San Cristóbal de la Soledad*, respectively (Rojas 1992:162). The attrition of Catholic placenames in the region is not ubiquitous, however. All of the aforementioned towns are on the periphery of Wixárika territory, whereas within Wixárika territory proper, by contrast, Catholic placenames are used to this day, including *Santa Catarina*, *Santa Cruz*, and *San José*, mentioned above. There are a few possible explanations for the apparent maintenance of Catholic placenames here, all of which need to be substantiated with additional research specifically designed to address the topic. Was there, in fact, a loss of Catholic names in the Wixárika homeland during this period, but we are simply unable to identify it based on the available documentary evidence? Given the general proclivity of Spanish colonials throughout New Spain to designate places according to a patron saint, it is likely that most of the places organized and/or established by the Spanish in the region were similarly issued Catholic names. Closer scrutiny of colonial documents pertaining to Wixárika

cabeceras, *agencias*, and other places known to have been in existence in the early colonial era may reveal additional Catholic placenames that have since been forgotten. It is also possible that what is currently perceived as maintenance of Catholic placenames in the Wixárika homeland is indeed accurate. If this is the case, then what accounts for the endurance of Catholic placenames in Wixárika territory proper in contrast to the towns on the periphery? It is possible that the maintenance of Catholicism among the Wixárika contributed to the preservation of Catholic placenames in their homeland, yet, it cannot be overlooked that Catholicism was likewise an important feature of these larger towns. In fact, documents from the late eighteenth century indicate that the towns of *Huejuquilla* and *Mezquitic* were already regarded as *curatos* (Rojas 1992:96), or formal parishes served by full-time priests. Thus, attrition in reference to towns on periphery of Wixárika territory may also be a product of their evolution into complex entities beyond the Catholic Church.

Despite the brief hiatus of Franciscan missionaries in the Wixárika homeland in the late 1820s into the 1830s, they returned to the area in 1843 to resume missionary activity (Rojas 1992:139). Political turmoil on the national level ultimately prevented the Franciscans from establishing a permanent residence in the Wixárika homeland, yet their involvement was intense, as reflected in the abundance of detailed ethnographic reports written by priests who served in the area at the time (Rojas 1992). The diligence of the Franciscans may also account for the persistence of Catholic-inspired placenames in the study area to this day. In addition to presence of Franciscan friars, the first school was in operation in *Tuapurie* (Santa Catarina) in 1888. Although the initial school effort was

not sustained, there was an increased presence of native Spanish speakers within the Wixárika homeland over the course of the next century.

The other Spanish placename pattern to be addressed here concerns the translation of native Wixárika placenames to standard Spanish, including placenames such as *Los Bules* 'The Gourds,' *Las Latas* 'The Pine Poles,' and *Los Espejos* 'The Mirrors,' to name a few. Such translations reflect more recent contact in a situation of increased bilingualism among Wixárika speakers. There is no obvious semantic clustering for standard Spanish names, except that one placename is a colloquialism -- *Chula Vista* 'Cool View' -- representing a situation of intense contact between languages. Patterns are possibly due to increased commerce within the region (despite scant historical records of this, there are some possible insights from ethnography), increased travel of Wixárika people beyond the region while engaging in various armed conflicts on a national scale, and/or educational system, which has been consistently in place only within the last twenty years. Prior to that, those seeking education beyond grade school had to leave the sierra for the larger Mexican towns.

In summary, analysis of the source languages of the placenames in the Wixárika homeland and surrounding region sheds some light on the contact history of the region. The Spanish and Nahuatl placenames in the Wixárika homeland are the enduring effects of the relationship and interaction between the Wixárika and speakers of these other languages. In a general way, this examination illustrates that placename data may be useful for narrowing the range of possible contact scenarios. But even more, the placename data here raises additional questions, particularly regarding the history of Nahuatl speaking groups, and the nature of contact through time with Spanish speakers.

For example, the record-keeping practices of the friars provide relatively detailed accounts of their dealings with the Wixárika, but what we know less about is the history of commerce in the region. Documentary evidence suggests that raising cattle was an important part of the Wixárika economy early on, but what effect did this have on territorial issues and placenaming? One Spanish placename in the study area, *La Manga*, indeed reflects this aspect of contact history, though perhaps in an indirect way.

Knowing that the standard definition for the Spanish term *manga* is "sleeve," I asked a consultant why this word is used to designate a place -- a place that is in fact known by a Wixárika name whose meaning has nothing to do with sleeves. The consultant explained that the term *manga* in this case refers to a cattle chute, and is a reference to a turbulent time long ago when *vecinos* entered that place and rounded up all the cattle belonging to the Wixárika people. On a separate occasion, I asked another consultant how a place called *San José* acquired its name, especially in light of the fact that this place also has a semantically distinct name in Wixárika. The consultant responded that the Spanish name came about long ago when a *vecino* from *Huejuquilla* would come to this place to sell cheese. Although there is no semantic connection between the term *San José* and the selling of cheese, the fact that the place came to be designated with a Spanish name as a result of contact with an itinerant Spanish speaking vendor is significant with respect to the nature of language contact in the region. These cases also illustrate just how worthwhile the topic of placenames can be in attempting to understand the history of a local region. Although placename data alone are unable to yield intricate details regarding the contact history, they nevertheless provide a clearer sense of how the landscape was affected by contact between speakers of different languages.

Variation in Referential Meaning. In this section of the chapter, I discuss the placename variable of referential meaning of Wixárika placenames. Recall a placename's referential meaning is the object, entity, or event denoted by its primary semantic unit. Although places mean more than what the semantics of their names suggest, referential meanings of placenames nonetheless reveal the terms in which a group identifies and chooses to commemorate socially significant components of the landscape. Thus, in this analysis, I take the referential meanings of Wixárika placenames to be an expression of how Wixárika conceptualize their landscape as a whole. Analysis of Wixárika placenames reveals that the Wixárika designate important places in terms of a variety of semantic domains, including vegetation, topography, fauna, material culture, and deities. In the following, I first present the placename data, which are grouped according to semantic domain, and I then discuss what these domains suggest with respect to landscape conceptualization. Figure 2, below, offers a quick overview of the percentage that each semantic domain exhibits within the corpus of placenames from the study area.

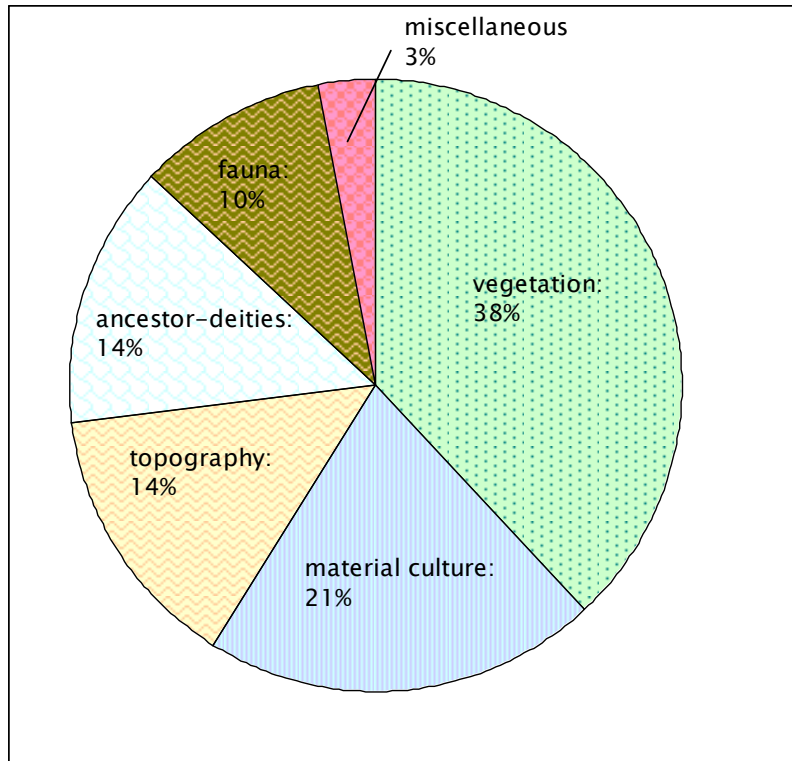


Figure 2. Percentage of Placenames by Semantic Domain

Before presenting the placename data, I first discuss how the data are organized. I limit the presentation of referential meanings to Wixárika language placenames only, given that Wixárika names are assumed to most unambiguously represent a native Wixárika perspective. After introducing each domain in italics at the beginning of the corresponding paragraph, I once again note the percentage of placenames pertaining to it. Percentages here are simply a means to convey a general sense of naming patterns pertaining to the local landscape, and are not intended to stand as a definitive account or "rulebook" for how the Wixárika landscape is always designated. I provide a list of all the placenames corresponding to each semantic domain within the text here, and not within an appendix at the end, in order to enable immediate review of the pertinent placenames. The list included here is numbered in ascending order, and placenames

within each domain group are listed alphabetically. After each placename entry I give an approximate translation into English. Some of the translations are clumsy, largely due to an attempt to convey each meaningful component of Wixárika placenames as accurately as possible. Words with no known English equivalents are not translated. Speculative meanings are distinguished here with a following question mark, and unknown meanings are identified as such in parentheses. I provide a more detailed morphological analysis of placenames in the following section on morphology. On the line beneath each placename entry and translation, I include a brief description of how the entity referenced in the placename is utilized, if this information was available when the data were recorded.

Vegetation. The semantic domain with the highest percentage represented within the corpus from the study area is vegetation, which includes plants and trees. Thirty-eight percent of the Wixárika language placenames designate plants and other vegetation, many of which are utilized by the Wixárika for subsistence and other purposes. They include the following:

1. *Awaukuri Manwe* 'On Where 'Awaukuri tree Stands'
2. *'A:xu Mu:ta:we:tiká* 'In Front of Upon Where Big Trees Stand in a Line'
3. *Ha:púripa* 'Place of Willow'
4. *Ha:yuká:rika* : 'On *Ha:yuká:ri* Grass'
Use: Ha:yuká:ri may serve as pasture for livestock.
5. *Ha:yuká:rita* 'Amid *Ha:yuká:ri* Grass'
Use: See entry under *Ha:yuká:rika*
6. *Hukurá'utia* 'Below Pine Hills?' (This placename designates two adjacent hills where pine grows)
Use: Pine is used in house construction and is now also a protected species in the community of *Tuapurie*. Certain resinous pieces are also used to kindle fires.

7. *Hukutá* 'Amid Pine'
8. *Hukuyá* 'Abundant Pine'
9. *Hukú Mu:yewe* 'Down in Where Pine Stands'
10. *Kwa:xa Manawe* 'Atop Where *Kwa:xa* Stands'
11. *Kwe:ta* : 'Acacia Tree?'
12. *Kwe:tanakatenie* 'At the Edge of Inhabitants of *Kwe:ta* (Acacia Tree?)'
13. *Kwa:rupa:ta* 'Amid Plum'
Use: These sour plums grow in the canyons and are an important food source, eaten raw or dried and processed in corn gruel.
14. *Mai Mankatéi* 'Upon Where Magueys Sit'
Use: Maguey serves as a food source and was a main ingredient for a fermented drink made in the past.
15. *Mai Mu:yeka* 'Down in Where Maguey Sits'
16. *Makuweiya* 'Where Pumpkins Stand in Abundance'
17. *Me:kita* 'Amid Mesquite'
Use: Mesquite pods serve as a food source.
18. *Melon Ma:kawe* 'Upon Where Melon Stands'
Use: Melons are cultivated as a food source.
19. *Mu:kutira:ni* 'Bottom Flats Where There is Forest'
20. *Muyahaukuxaya* 'Down in Where *Haukuxa* grass Abounds'
Use: This grass is sometimes used for thatching roofs.
21. *Mu:kuwa:riya* 'Bottom Flats Where *Wa:ri* grass Abounds'
Use: *Wa:ri* may serve as pasture for livestock.
22. *Muyekiayerie* 'Down in Where There is Orchid'
Use: The orchid sometimes serves as an offering at sacred places, and *Kiayeri* is also used as a personal name for males.

23. *Naixiutia* 'All Small-leaf Oak Below'
Use: *Xiu* designates certain kinds of trees, including the small-leaf oak and the yucca. Roasted leaves from the yucca *xiu* are used to tie and bind corn shocks for transport.
24. *Na:kari Ma:kawe* 'Upon Where Nopal Stands'
Use: Tender nopal cactus pads are a food source.
25. *Pi:riki:yatsie* 'On Where *Pi:riki* flower Abounds'
Use: *Pi:riki* flowers are edible and are also sometimes used for facial adornment by women.
26. *Tsapú Manwe* 'On Where the *Zapote* Stands'
Use: The *zapote*, or nasberry fruit, is an important food resource. Most households in the outlying areas have *zapote* trees growing nearby.
27. *Tsapú Mu:yewe* 'Down in Where the *Zapote* Stands'
28. *Tsi:ná Ma:yewe* 'In Upon Where Cypress Stands'
29. *Tsi:natá* 'Amid Cypress'
30. *Tuaxá Mu:yewe* 'Down in Where Oak Stands'
Use: Oak branches and debris are a source of firewood.
31. *Tu:tú Ma:yekate* 'In Upon Where There Are Flowers'
Use: The flowers that grow in this place are edible and are also sometimes used by women for facial adornment.
32. *Tuapurie* 'At Soap Plant'
Use: The common term in Wixárika for this plant is '*uapuri* (without the *t*), which is used as soap. Native speakers nowadays do not know the meaning of the placename beginning with *t*, but Lumholtz defines it as 'Where There is *Amole* ' (1902:211).
33. *We:xuta* 'Amid Acacia'
Use: The seeds from the pods of this tree are a food source.
34. *Xakixátsie* 'On *Xakixá* fruit'
Use: *Xakixá* fruits are a source of wild food.
35. *Xawe:pa* 'Place of *Pochote*'
Use: The *xawe:pa* tree yields an edible fruit called *karímutsi*, and the seeds are best eaten with chiles. The tree has string-like flowers that are hung in front of the Church at Tuapurie in order to capture holy water from the sky.

Material Culture. The second highest percentage of placenames refer to material culture, referring in this case to any object or matter that is manufactured or manipulated for any purpose. Twenty-one percent of the native placenames from the study area designate material culture.

36. *'Aikutsita* 'In Gourd Bowl'

Use: The *'aikutsi* is a small gourd bowl used in ceremonies as a receptacle for blessed water consumed by participants.

37. *'Iniakwaxitia* 'Below Ready Provisions?'

Use: Although *'inia* may refer to any kind of food provisions for traveling, it also refers to the small, thick tortillas often consumed during ceremonies.

38. *Kanarítá* 'In the Violin'

Use: Native Wixárika music from the hand-made violin an essential part of most ceremonies.

39. *Kaxa Manaká* 'Atop Where the Box Lies'

40. *Keuruwi* 'Pine Pole'

Use: Pine poles are used for the lattice framework of thatched roofs.

41. *Keuruwitía* 'At the Base of Pine Pole'

42. *Kixaurikatsie* 'On Drinking Gourd'

Use: Gourds are cultivated, dried, and cut to be used for carrying water.

43. *Ku:ka Manawi* 'Atop Where Beads Hang'

Use: Colorful glass beads are not only used for personal adornment, they also hold symbolic significance, and are affixed to objects that are left as offerings at sacred places.

44. *Ma:kuhekwá* 'On the Flats Where It is New' (The Spanish name for this place is *Casa Nueva*, New House)

45. *Manyexawa* 'On Wherein It is Hollow'

46. *Mata:mu:riti Manká* 'On Where Broken Metate Lies'

Use: Large, flat grinding stones, or *metates*, are used to grind corn for tortillas.

47. *Nierika Ma:yewe* '(Yonder?) On Where *Nierika* Stands'
Use: *Nierika* refer to a general class of crafted objects used during ceremonies that enable "seeing", or perception, between humans and divinities.

48. *Puente Manká* 'On Where the Bridge Lies'

49. *Pu:ta Manawi* : 'Atop Where *Pu:ta*-like object Hangs'
Use: *Pu:ta* is an object used for making a native alcoholic beverage similar to pulque, fermented agave juice.

50. *Tateiwinuya* 'Wine of Our Mother'

51. *Te:kata* 'In the Roasting Pit'
Use: Roasting pits are occasionally used to prepare food.

52. *Tsikurati Manka* 'On Where Chocolate Sits'
Use: Chocolate is at times used as an offering during ceremonies.

53. *Xira Mu:kama* 'There Upon Where the Saddle Is'

Topography. The semantic domain of topography includes placenames that include any reference to the contour of the land or its geologic content. About fourteen percent of the native placenames in the study area refer to some aspect of topography.

54. *'Ai Xetametia* 'At the Base of Red Cliff'

55. *Ha:rakuna* 'Pond' [blend with nativized Spanish *laguna* 'pond']

56. *Ha:te:wikia* 'Place of Long Water?'

57. *Haxuta* 'Amid Mud/Clay'
Use: Mud is the main ingredient of adobe bricks, and clay is used to make pots and griddles.

58. *Kiipitsie* 'At the Neck' (of a stream)

59. *Ma:katenuxaya* 'Up Where Tuff Abounds'
Use: Tuff is sometimes used in the construction of foundations, and it is also the material from which objects are carved and left as offerings at sacred places.

60. *Muyatuxá* 'Down in Where it is White' (from volcanic tuff)

61. *Mu:yexiki:raiye* 'Down and In Where it is Circular'

62. *Muyayiawe* 'Down in Where it is Blue'

63. *Tekatsata* 'Among Flint'

64. *Tetemanta:tarauwa* 'In Where Stone Rings?'

"Ancestor-deities." The name of this domain is written in quotes here to acknowledge that it is only an approximate term for the group. Although terms such as "gods," "deified ancestors," and "deities" abound in the ethnographic literature about the Wixárika, there is in fact no equivalent cover term for such supernatural entities in the Wixárika language. The closest word in Wixárika is *ka:kaiyarixi*, a term used to refer to the ancestors, which includes humans and non-human entities, such as the sun, fire, deer, corn, and so on, all of whom are believed to be responsible for sustaining environmental order. Fourteen percent of the placenames from the study area refer to the *ka:kaiyarixi*, or ancestor-deities.

65. *E:katsie* 'On Wind'

66. *Haimatsie* 'On Cloud'

67. *Kauyumarie Mu:yewe* 'Down and In Where *Kauyumarie* Stands'

68. *Kiewimuta* 'Amid *Kiewimuka*'

69. *Metsa Manakama* 'Up Atop Where the Moon Is'

70. *Metsatia* 'Below the Moon'

71. *Ni'ari Manata:we* 'Atop Where the Servant Stands Below'

72. *Takusta* 'Amid/In the Midst of Grandmother Growth'

73. *Taupa* 'Place of the Sun'

74. *Teiwariyuawe Munkaniere* 'Down In Where Blue Spirit Is Seen'

75. *Tuwameta* : 'Amid/In the Midst of *Tuwame*'

76. *Yiramekatsie* 'On Sprouter?'

77. *Yirameta* 'Amid/In the Midst of the Sprouter?'

Fauna. Placenames referring to any kind of animal correspond to the domain of fauna. The data show that ten percent of Wixárika language placenames from the study area belong to this domain.

78. *'Awatsaitia* 'At the Base of San Blas Jay Bird'

Use: The San Blas Jay is considered sacred, and its feathers are used to adorn ceremonial objects, including hats.

79. *Haxi Mutiniere* 'There Where the Crocodile Is Seen'

80. *Hutsekie* 'At Bear House'

81. *Kuxai Muka* 'Where the *Kuxai* worm is?'

82. *Maxaiyarieyatsie* 'On the Heart of the Deer'

Use: Deer are sacred animals and are hunted and consumed only in ceremonial contexts.

83. *Mixipa* 'Place of Catfish'

Use: Catfish are a food source.

84. *Puritu Manawe* 'Atop Where the Little Donkey Stands'

85. *Wakanari Mamati'ú* 'On Where Chickens Stand'

Use: Chickens are an important food source.

86. *Yuarixita* 'Amid Macaws'

Miscellaneous. Three percent of the Wixárika placenames from the study area do not correspond to the semantic categories listed above. One of these placenames refers to someone or something that poisons, another refers to a historical event involving

an ancient people considered to be the ancestors of the Wixárika, and the other is a gentilic, a term that refers to a group of people. They are listed as follows:

87. *Miiyakametsie* 'On Poisoner'
88. *Taimarita* 'Amid the Pushing'
89. *Teiwarixipa* 'Place of Vecinos (Mestizos)'

The meanings of a few placenames from the study area could not be identified. I consider them to be Wixárika names because they apparently conform to Wixárika morphology. I include these names here, and I analyze them to the extent possible, but they are not included in the percentage calculation of the referential meanings of placenames as described above.

- Hanari* 'Water Flowing Forth?'
- Kwamarí:ya:kia*
- Manakixiya* 'Atop Where *Kixi* Abounds?'
- Texe:ru* 'Rocky Hill" (*xe:ru* from Spanish *cerro*?)
- Texunikayapa* 'Place Where *Texuni* Abounds?'

In summary, the analysis of the referential meanings of placenames in this study shows that the places that make up the Wixárika landscape are designated in terms of a range of phenomena. So, what does the semantic diversity of placenames imply about how the landscape is conceptualized by its inhabitants? To reiterate, names are by no means the only source of meaning connected to places, but they are a salient feature of them, and they express a general idea of the terms in which a group views the world around effect a multifaceted view of the landscape. For one, the data here show that numerous places are named in terms of their natural features. What is more, many of these natural features serve practical purposes, including food and materials. For example, the placename *Xakixátsie* 'On *Xakixá* fruit' indicates the place where the wild

edible *xakixá* berries grow. The name *Hukutá* 'Amid Pine' designates a place of abundant pine trees where there is also an old sawmill used in the past for commercial milling. Similarly, the placenames *Mu:kuwa:riya* 'Bottom Flats Where *Wa:ri* grass abounds' and *Ha:yuká:rita* 'Amid *Ha:yuká:ri* grass' designate places where grasses that serve as pasture for domestic animals grow, and the name *Ma:katenuxaya* 'Up Where Tuff Abounds' specifies where an important material used in the construction of house foundations is found. Many placenames in the study area referring to vegetation and topographical features therefore serve to mark the location of those important resources. This naming pattern thus indicates a conceptualization of the landscape as a resource.

The data also show that many places are named after *ka:kaiyarixi*, or ancestor-deities. Indeed, the wild animals referred to in the placenames here, such as the crocodile (*haxi*), the bear (*hutse*), the jay bird (*awatsai*), and the macaw (*yuari*), correspond to this domain as well. Such places are considered to be the actual dwelling places of the *ka:kaiyarixi* that are their namesake. For example, the placename *Ni'ari Manata:we* 'Atop Where the Servant (*Ni'ari*) Stands Below' designates the local place where the ancestor-deity *Tatei Ni'ariwame* 'Our Mother *Ni'ariwame*,' a rain deity from the east, resides and is worshipped. The *ka:kaiyarixi* naming pattern thus reflects a conceptualization of the landscape as a dwelling. Significantly, as the data here show, places are not designated with the names of ordinary people. In fact, consultants in this study explicitly stated that placenames cannot refer to people. Thus, while ordinary dwelling-places are indeed named, they almost never assume the names of their ordinary human inhabitants. Placenames exhibit the personal names of only the *ka:kaiyarixi*. The

placename data therefore indicate that the landscape is not just any abode: it is the abode of the *ka:kairarixi*, in particular.

A remarkable number of places in this data set are named in terms of objects of material culture. I consider the names referring to domestic animals to be part of this domain as well. But what does this naming pattern suggest about how the landscape is conceptualized? It is significant that the material objects and domestic animals, referenced in Wixárika placenames for the most part comprise ordinary household items, as with *Kixaurikatsie* 'On Drinking Gourd,' *Mata:mu:riti Manká* 'On Where Broken Metate Lies,' and *Xira Mu:kama* 'There Upon Where the Saddle Is' to name just a few. It is interesting to note that material culture objects as a source of placenames is a precedent in other parts of Mesoamerica, as well. Pot or gourd references, in particular, are very common elsewhere in Mesoamerica, and have been interpreted as conforming to mythical or cosmological notions of mountains as pots or gourds of water (García Zambrano 2006a, b). These placenaming patterns imply a worldview grounded in imagery of containers, including pots, baskets, and gourds. Interestingly, a similar relationship is indicated for the Mesa Verde Puebloan world (A.D. 1060-1280) of the American Southwest, where ritual structures called *kivas* were occasionally decorated in ways that correspond to the decoration of pottery bowls, and whose roofs were constructed of concentric circuits of timbers that is perceptually similar to coiled baskets (Ortman 2000:638). Container imagery, and especially imagery surrounding gourds, likewise exists among the Wixárika, but what is thus far apparent is that there exists a greater variety of objects represented among Wixárika placenames than among Nahuatl placenames, for example. This observation remains impressionistic, however, as an

analysis of comparable data sets among distinct Mesoamerican and other groups is required in order adequately to evaluate this apparent difference. In any case, I suggest that in the use of these ordinary, utilitarian objects to name meaningful portions of the landscape, the Wixárika appropriate their surroundings, thereby transforming it into the social realm. Thus, designating meaningful places of the landscape by means of familiar terms conveys a conceptualization of the landscape as quotidian and intimate. In other words, it is part of an extended Wixárika household, as opposed to a separate, unapproachable, or even dangerous entity.

To summarize, the range of referential meanings indicates a multifaceted view of the landscape: as a resource, as a dwelling, and as an intimate, familiar entity. A number of specific questions also emerge from the referential data presented here, however. For example, what is the symbolism of certain native species of animals referred to in these placenames, such as the Crocodile and the Bear? Do neighboring indigenous groups exhibit the same patterning in terms of the meanings of placenames, and in terms of the kinds of places being named? This is especially difficult to assess, since collection method is not always explicitly discussed in published placename studies from other groups. Nevertheless, specific comparisons with other groups can now be pursued in light of this data.

Concerning other indigenous groups, it is important to note that placenames from the study area also share referential meanings with placenames from elsewhere in Mesoamerica. The range of referential meanings of placenames from the study area closely parallels those from the neighboring Cora, for example (Table 2).

Table 2. Wixárika and Cora Language Placenames with Shared Referential Meanings

<i>Wixárika</i>	<i>Cora</i>	<i>English translation</i>
'Ai Xetametia	jáinjete	At the Base of Red Cliff / Place Below the Cliff
Hukutá	ucújmata'a	Amid Pine / Place of Pines
Ma:katenuxaya	tyanu'utzare'e	Up Where Tuff Abounds/Place of Soft Rock
Tuaxá Mu:yewe	tuáamata'a	Down In Where Oak Stands / Place of Oak

Note: All Cora language placenames are from Casad (1989). The orthography of Cora names here conforms to Casad's orthography. Translations into English from Casad's Spanish are mine.

Essentially, both groups designate places with similar lexical items, including flora, fauna, and deities, and neither allow the names of ordinary people to designate places. Similarly, Wixárika placenames that refer to vessels have Nahuatl language counterparts in the Tlaxcala region (Anaya Monroy 1965) and Veracruz (Andrews 2003). Another set of Wixárika and Nahuatl placenames exhibits a shared referential meaning designating a parallel landscape feature. For example, the Wixárika placename *Tetemantatarauwa* 'Where the Rocks Sound' not only has the same meaning as a Nahuatl placename in Morelos, it designates a parallel location on the landscape as well (García Zambrano 2006b). These shared characteristics suggest deep cultural affinities between the Wixárika and other Mesoamerican groups that would be worth examining more closely in the future.

Another issue raised in the course of this examination is that not all meaningful places have proper names. There are several instances that surfaced in research of highly

meaningful places -- a daughter's birthplace, a place for gathering wood, a place for gathering grass to make brooms, and a place where a weak calf was nursed overnight -- without names, though they are remembered via stories and accounts. Thus, although placename analysis indeed offers a rich account of a group's perspective on the landscape, in some cases it may also serve as a point of departure towards additional, and perhaps more subtle connections between a group and its landscape.

Morphological Variation. The fourth placename variable to be taken up here concerns the morphology of Wixárika placenames from the study area. Morphology in linguistics has to do with the shapes of words, that is, their grammatical composition (Payne 1997:20). Given that morphological aspects of a language are typically acquired subconsciously in the process of first language learning, the connection between the morphology of placenames and landscape conceptualization is subtle. The analysis of grammatical components of placenames nevertheless has the potential to reveal how a language conditions its speakers to perceive certain aspects of their surroundings. What is perhaps most striking about Wixárika language placenames as a whole is their morphological diversity. In other words, the grammatical formation of Wixárika placenames is extremely varied, ranging from simple nouns to highly descriptive clauses. Based on the morphological analysis of Wixárika language placenames from the study area, I identify five distinct patterns of native placename formation. I describe these patterns below, and I provide a list of the placenames along with a description of their morphology. Specifically, I identify the constituent morphemes of each placename, and provide an approximate translation of the constituents into English in parentheses. The constituent morphemes that make up a placename are separated by a plus sign (+). It is

important to note that the meaning of some of the constituent morphemes could not be determined with precision by the consultant or me. I nevertheless include the consultant's speculative interpretations below since they may serve as a basis for more precise interpretations in the future. Speculative meanings are distinguished here with a following question mark, as with the entry '*Axu* (big tree?), for example. Unknown meanings are identified as such in parentheses, as with the entry *rá* (unknown meaning), for example. On a separate line is the translation of the entire placename into English. English equivalents could not be identified for all Wixárika words, especially with regard to certain kinds of flora. Thus, such words remain in Wixárika in the translation, and are printed in italics. The translations here of Wixárika placenames into English are very tentative, but I do my best to represent every meaningful unit in the English translation, regardless of how awkward the result may be. My intent is to accurately communicate the spatial details conveyed in many Wixárika placenames. Also, included in this list of placenames are many of the nativized Spanish placenames, given that they, too, conform to native Wixárika morphology. I also note the percentage of placenames corresponding to each pattern in order to convey a general sense of how the different patterns quantitatively contrast. As a part of the description of each pattern identified in the context of this study, I also incorporate insights from another linguistic study of Wixárika placenames carried out by Iturrioz et al. (2004), whose findings generally concur with those identified here, but are grouped in a different manner.

The first pattern of placename formation consists of a noun stem only, with no locative suffix or spatial affixes. A noun stem consists minimally of a root, which is an un-analyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word, plus any

derivational morphemes, which are employed to adjust the basic semantic content of roots (Payne 1997:24,25). For example, the derivational morpheme *-ment* in English changes the verb *estrangle* to the noun '*estrangement*,' which refers to the process expressed by the verb, as opposed to the action itself. There are only three instances of this noun stem pattern documented from the study area, comprising four percent of the corpus of Wixárika and nativized Spanish placenames analyzed in this section. They include the following:

Hanari : *ha* (water) + *na* (precise meaning unknown, but possibly 'forth') + *ri* (noun suffix)
Translation: Water Flowing Forth?

Keuruwi : Pine Pole

Tateiwi:nu:ya : *ta* (our) + *tei* (mother) + *wi:nu* (wine, from Spanish *vino*) + *ya* (possessive marker)
Translation: Wine of Our Mother

When characteristics of the actual places that these names designate are taken into account, they apparently do not correspond to any particular or special category of place. *Hanari* designates a place just beyond Wixárika territory where there is a prominent gap in the hillside through which a large stream flows, *Keuruwi* is a small peak that houses a *xiriki*, and is the patron hill of a ceremonial center, and *Tateiwi:nu:ya* names a forested area where trails intersect. Iturrioz et al. (2004:214) do not identify this simple noun pattern in their study of placenames. However, they do distinguish placenames based on a possessive construction, to which the placename *Tateiwi:nu:ya* 'Wine of Our Mother' corresponds.

The second pattern identified in this study is comprised of a noun stem followed by a locative suffix indicating place or direction. This pattern is the most common,

constituting forty-eight percent of the placenames analyzed in this section. The corresponding placenames below are grouped alphabetically according to their suffix. Below, I only provide single example of each placename type within this pattern. A full listing of the placenames corresponding to this pattern can be found in Appendix B.

With the suffix -e 'in or at'

Hutsekie : *hutse* (bear) + *ki* (house) + *e* (in or at)

Translation: At Bear House

With the suffix -pa 'place of'

Ha:púripa : *ha:puri* (willow) + *pa* (place of, in)

Translation: Place of Willow

With the suffix -ta 'inside, amid'

'Aikutsita : *'aikutsi* (gourd bowl) + *ta* (inside, amid)

Translation: In Gourd Bowl

With the suffix -tia 'at the base of, below'

'Awatsaitia : *'awatsai* (San Blas Jay bird, *Cyanocorax sanblasianus*) + *tia* (below, at the base)

Translation: At the Base of San Blas Jay Bird

With the suffix -tsata 'among, between'

Tekatsata : *teka* (flint) + *tsa:ta* (among)

Translation: Among Flint

With the suffix -tsie 'on'

'E:ka-tsie : *'e:ka* (wind) + *tsie* (on)

Translation: On Wind

As the placename data here show, there is a range of locative suffixes associated with this placename pattern. They include -e 'at,' -pa 'place of,' -ta 'amid/in/inside of,' -tia 'at the Base of/below,' -tsata 'among/between,' and -tsie 'on.' Iturrioz et al. (2004:212-215) likewise identify this grammatical pattern of placename formation, but they further distinguish categories of placenames based on different noun stem configurations. Here, I lump all noun stem configurations followed by a locative suffix into one category.

Configurations may be comprised of 1) a simple noun stem, as in the placename *Tsi:natá* 'Amid Cypress,' formed on the root *tsi:ná* 'cypress,' 2) a compound noun stem, as in the placename *Hutsekie* 'At Bear House,' formed on the basis of *hutse* 'bear,' plus *ki* 'house,' 3) a noun stem followed by any kind of derivational suffix, as in the placename *Miia:kametsie* 'On Poisoner,' formed with *miia* 'poison,' plus *-kame*, an agentive marker signifying the doer of an action, and 4) a noun stem with an adjectival modifier, as in the placename *'Ai Xetametia* 'At the Base of Red Cliff,' formed with *'ai* 'cliff,' followed by *xetame* 'red.'

The third pattern of placename formation consists of a noun stem followed by a relative clause conveying locational information related to the pre-posed noun stem. Itúrrioz et al. (2004:212) likewise identify this category of placename, describing it as a relative construction with a nominal nucleus and a determinative oration. Placenames corresponding to this pattern comprise thirty-five percent of those analyzed in this section, and thus are the second most common type. Some examples of placenames exhibiting this pattern are listed alphabetically below. A full listing can be found in Appendix B.

'Awaukuri Manwe : *'awaukuri* (a type of tree) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *we* (stands)

Translation: Where *'Awaukuri* tree Stands ? On the Surface

Haxi Mutiniere : *haxi* (crocodile) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ti* (up) + *niere* (appear/is seen)

Translation: Where Crocodile Is Seen Up at That Place

Hukú Mu:yewe: *hukú* (pine) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (inside/within) + *we* (stands)

Translation: Where Pine Stands Within That Place

As the placename data presented here show, the noun stems associated with this grammatical pattern are simple roots. The only exceptions here are *Teiwariyuawe* 'Blue

Spirit,' and *Matamúriti* 'broken metate,' which are modified noun stems. The relative clause construction that follows the noun stem in this third pattern is made up of several parts. As a preface to the analysis of the data below, I provide a schematic of the constituents that make up pattern three of placename formation in Table 3.

Table 3. Composition of Placenames Corresponding to the Third Pattern of Formation

noun stem	relative clause marker	1st directional	2nd directional (optional)	3rd directional (optional)	stative verb particle	suffix (optional)
* * *	m(i)	a/a:	na	ka	ka	te
		u/u:	nu	k/ku	ma	tí'ú
			n	ta:	niere	tiká
				ti	tarau	ya
				ye	we	
					wi	

The second component of this placename pattern is the relative clause. This clause always begins with the prefix *mi-* (the *i* of this prefix is dropped when followed by a vowel), and its meaning has been described in different ways in the linguistic literature. Because the *-i-* of this prefix is dropped when followed by a vowel and thus is almost never overtly expressed in placenames, I simply refer to it here as the *m-* prefix. Grimes (1964:27,62) refers to this prefix as a phrasal mode indicator, marking clauses that function as constituents, or component parts, of other clauses. The meaning of the prefix *m-* is most obvious when contrasted with the prefix *p(i)-*, which marks the assertive mode (1964:27). He provides the following examples to illustrate the difference in meaning between the two prefixes, highlighted in bold and underlined:

pe:tia 'he left'

me:tia 'the one who left'

Iturrioz and Gómez (2006:113) refer to the *m(i)*- prefix as a secondary modal, which marks restrictive subordinate clauses, and which more generally serves to refer the propositional content of an utterance to secondary sources, or to present it as background information. Gómez (1999:161) provides the following examples which serve to illustrate the meaning of *p(i)*-, referred to as a primary modal, and *m*, both highlighted in bold and underlined:

'uki *p**i*tawe 'the man is drunk'

'uki *m**i*tawe 'the man that is drunk'

With respect to pattern three placenames, the *m*- prefix performs a similar grammatical function as described above in that it marks the relative clause that follows the pre-posed noun stem. In the morpheme by morpheme translation of placenames, I describe the *m*- prefix as a relative clause marker (though this is not its only grammatical function). A relative clause is a type of subordinate clause, and it functions as a nominal modifier (Payne 1997:325). The clauses that are part of Wixárika placenames are modifiers in the sense that they specify locational information about the pre-posed noun stem. Thus, when translating pattern three placenames into English, I use the relative pronoun of place -- *where* -- to approximate the meaning of the *m*- prefix, as the examples above illustrate. However, I rearrange the order of constituents in the translation from Wixárika to conform to English syntax for clarity's sake.

The *m*- prefix in this placename pattern is followed by up to three affixes that serve as directionals. An affix is a type of bound morpheme, or one that must be attached to another morpheme in order to be integrated naturally into discourse (Payne 1997:21),

and a directional affix is simply one that denotes location or direction of motion (Grimes 1964:89). The directional system of the Wixárika language is very rich, and directionals are used in all discourse contexts to convey a wide variety of meanings (Gómez 1999:69). Given the complexity of the system of directionals in Wixárika, my interpretations of it with regard to placenames are tentative, though I do best to give an adequate account, combining insights from the linguistic literature and consultants' input. In short, the directional system is a unique and fascinating aspect of the Wixárika language that deserves much more careful study.

The first directional immediately following the *m-* prefix is either *-a/-a:-*, meaning 'on the surface' (Grimes 1964:89), or *-u/-u:-*, conveying specificity with regard to a particular location, such as 'right there,' or 'at that place' (Gómez 1999:70; Grimes 1964:90). Vowel length in this first directional does not seem to distinguish meaning, rather, it appears to be conditioned phonetically by the directional that follows it, which I will discuss in more detail below. These first directionals are shown in bold and underlined (along with their corresponding translations) in the following placenames:

Mai Mankatéi 'Where Magueys Sit Thither Down On the Surface'

Mai Mu:yeka 'Where Maguey Sits Within That Place'

All of the placenames corresponding to pattern three exhibit either of these first two directionals, though the *-a/-a:-* directional is the more common of the two, occurring in seventy-one percent of the group. When translating pattern three placenames into English, *-a/a:-* is 'on the surface,' and *-u/u:-* is 'that place.'

The second directional immediately following the *-a-* or *-u-* described above consist of either *-na-* or *-n-*. Unlike the first directional, this directional does *not* occur in

all of the placenames analyzed in this section: it is expressed in just over half (52 percent) of the placenames corresponding to this pattern. The directional *-na-* is cislocative, referring to something 'on the speaker's side of a reference line' (Gómez 1999:71; Grimes 1964:90), or it may refer to something below or behind (Gómez 1999:71). There is another directional that may occur in this same place following the first directional, but it is not represented in this group of placenames in this study (the example shown below is from another source). This variant, *-nu-*, is translocative, referring to something 'on the other side of a reference line from the speaker' (Gómez 1999:71; Grimes 1964:90), or it may refer to something above or in front, at an extreme (Gómez 1999:71). Another variant that may occur in this position is the directional *-n-*, whose precise meaning is not known at this point. Given that the directional *-n-* occurs in the same phonetic environment as both *-na-* and *-nu-* (e.g., *manakawe*, *manukawe*, and *mankwe*), it is likely that their meanings, do in fact, contrast. Since the meaning of *-n-* is not known, I simply use a question mark in its place in the translation. Examples of placenames exhibiting this second set of directionals are shown in bold and underlined in the following:

Kwa:xa Manawe 'Where *Kwa:xa* tree Stands Hither on the Surface'

Tsapú Mankwe 'Where the Zapote Stands ? On the Surface'

Tuaxá Manukawe 'Where Oak Stands Up ("looking" downward) Thither On the Surface'

When translating this group of directionals, *-na-* is 'hither' and *-nu-* is 'thither' or 'yonder.'

As mentioned above, this second group of directionals is not always represented in placenames corresponding to this pattern. When this second directional is present in a placename, then the first directional (*-a-* or *-u-*) is a short vowel (e.g., *Kwa:xa Manawe*).

Conversely, when the second directional is absent in a placename, the first directional (-a:- or -u:-) is lengthened (e.g., *Tsi:ná Ma:yewe*).

The directionals that occur after either the first directional as a long vowel (-a:- or -u:-) or the second directional (-na- or -n-) include the affixes -ka-, -ku-, -ta:-, -ti-, and -ye-. While this group of directionals occurs in most of the placenames (59 percent) corresponding to this pattern here, it is not expressed in all of them. In regards to their distinct meanings, it is worth reiterating that directionals are morphemes that convey information about both location and movement. Each directional affix in this group carries several meanings, conditioned by the discourse context, and whether it refers to movement or location. In presenting the meaning of each of these directionals in the following, I thus limit each definition to meanings related to location. The directional -ka- means 'down' (Grimes 1964:90) and 'orientation downward' (Gómez 1999:72). The affix -ku- is not represented in this group of placenames, but it means a 'curve' or 'bend' (Gómez 1999:72), as well as a 'flat area at the foot of an incline,' such as a hill or cliff. The affix -ta:- means 'straight ahead' (Grimes 1964:90), and 'toward the inside,' 'on the same plane' (Gómez 1999:71). The affix -ti- means 'up' and 'orientation upward,' 'at the bottom,' or 'in the corner' (Gómez 1999:71). The final affix in this group, -ye-, means 'related to a circumscribed area' (Grimes 1964:90), 'inside,' or 'delimited space' (Gómez 1999:72), and 'in a cavity' or 'concave area.' In the following are examples of placenames with each of these directionals (except -ku-), highlighted in bold and underlined:

Na:kari Ma:kawe 'Where Nopal Stands Down On the Surface'

Ni'ari Manata:we 'Where *Ni'ari* Stands Over Hither On the Surface'

Haxi Mu:tiniere 'Where Crocodile Is Seen Up At That Place'

Tsapú Mu:yewe 'Where Zapote Stands Within That Place'

The directionals *-ka-* and *-ye-* are the most common among the placenames corresponding to this pattern. In translating placenames, I approximate the meanings of each directional with the English preposition (e.g., down, over, up, in) that is closest in meaning, based on commentary from consultants as well as from definitions offered in published accounts, as shown above.

The constituent that comes after the directionals in this pattern of placename formation consists of a set of stative verb particles serving to further describe the condition or position of the pre-posed noun stem. All but one of the placenames corresponding to this pattern contain this verbal constituent, and it is the final constituent for the vast majority of placenames in this group. The stative verb particles in this set include *-ka* 'sit,' *-ká* 'lie,' *-ma* 'be' (for round, symmetrical objects), *-niere* 'appear,' *-tarau* 'sound,' *-we/-we:* 'stand,' and *-wi* 'hang' (plural form). In the following are examples of placenames containing these stative verb particles, highlighted in bold and underlined:

Mai Mu:yeka 'Where Maguey Sits Within That Place'

Puente Manká 'Where the Bridge Lies ? On the Surface'

Xira Mu:kama 'Where the Saddle Is Up ("looking" down) at That Place'

Haxi Mu:tiniere 'Where Crocodile Is Seen Up at That Place'

Teté Manta:tarauya 'Where Abundant Rock Sounds Over ? On the Surface'

Tsi:ná Ma:yewe' 'Where Cypress Stands Within On the Surface'

Ku:ka Manawi 'Where Beads Hang Hither On the Surface'

Four of the placenames corresponding to this third pattern carry an additional suffix following the stative verb particle. The suffixes on these placenames are all different,

and it is not clear at this point whether they form a unified semantic group as the directionals and stative verb particles discussed above do. One suffix is *-tiká*, which refers to something 'in a line,' another is *-te*, which marks the plural for nouns, another is *-ti'ú*, which is a plural form something standing, and the fourth is *-ya* or *-wa* (consultants gave both forms), which may mean 'to be in abundance' (Iturrioz Leza 2004:213). They are indicated in the following, highlighted in bold and underlined:

- 'Axu Mu:ta:we:tiká* 'Where 'Axu trees Stand In A Line Over at That Place'
Tu:tú Ma:yekate 'Where Flowers Sit Within On the Surface'
Wakanari Ma:matí'u 'Where Chickens Stand On the Surface'
Teté Manta:tarauya 'Where Abundant Rock Sounds Over ? On the Surface'

The fourth pattern of placename formation encountered in the data consists of a relative clause structure, similar to the one described for pattern three above, but which contains an incorporated noun instead of a pre-posed noun stem. As a preface to the analysis of the data below, I provide a schematic of the constituents that make up pattern four of placename formation in Table 4.

Table 4. Composition of Placenames Corresponding to the Fourth Pattern of Formation

relative clause marker	1st directional	2nd directional	3rd directional	incorporated noun	suffix
m-	a/a: u/u:	na nu n	ka ku ye/ya	* * *	aiye (adjectival) ya (existential)

Iturrioz et al. (2004:213) likewise identify a similar category of placename, describing it as one in which the noun is incorporated into a verbal construction. Placenames

corresponding to this pattern comprise twelve percent of those analyzed in this section.

Examples include the following:

Ma:kuhe:kwa : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ku*
(flat area below) + *hekwa* (something new)
Translation: On the Flats Below Where It Is New (The Spanish name for
this place is *Casa Nueva*, New House)

Ma:katenuxaya : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ka*
(down/downward from above) + *tenuxa* (tuff) + *ya* (abound)
Translation: On Up Where Tuff Abounds

Manakixiya : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na*
(hither) + *kixi* (unknown meaning) + *ya* (abound)
Translation: On Hither Where *Kixi* Abounds

As the data show, all of the placenames corresponding to this pattern begin with the prefix *m-*, which serves the same grammatical role of relative clause marker as described in pattern three above. Recall, a relative clause functions as a nominal modifier (Payne 1997:325), and the clauses here that constitute pattern four placenames serve to specify attribute information about a given place. Although pattern three and pattern four are similar in that they are both built on a relative clause, the emphasis of each is distinct. Whereas pattern three highlights the locational specifics of a noun stem, pattern four characterizes a place more generally in terms of the object or entity that is found there. The semantic distinction between the two forms is so subtle that native speakers sometimes use one form or the other to refer to the same place (Iturrioz Leza 2004:215). For example, in the study area, one speaker referred to a place as *Muyahaukuxaya* 'That Place Within Where *Haukuxa* Abounds,' while another referred to that same place as *Haukuxa Mu:yetéi* 'Where *Haukuxa* Grasses Are Within That Place.'

The *m-* prefix of placename pattern four is followed by up to three directional affixes. These three sets of directionals correspond in form, position, and meaning to the

three sets outlined for pattern three above. The first set is mandatory, and includes *-a/a:-* 'on the surface' and *-u/-u:-* 'specific location/circumscribed area.' The second set includes *-na-* 'hither', *-n-* (unknown meaning), and *-nu-* 'hither,' which happens not to occur in any of the placenames analyzed in this section. This second set is present in only two of the placenames in this group of placenames. The third set of directionals likewise does not occur in all of the placenames here. It is parallel to that described for pattern three above, but only *-ka-* 'down,' *-ku-* 'flat area at the base of an incline,' and *-ye-* 'inside/within' are represented. The affix *-ya-* also occurs in this group, but it is simply an allomorph, or variant pronunciation of the directional *-ye-*. It is interesting to note that when *-ya-* is expressed instead of *-ye-*, the vowel length of the first directional (*-a-* or *-u-*) is shortened, even if preceding directional (*-na-* or *-n-*) is absent. At least two directional affixes are present in all of the placenames corresponding to pattern four.

The component that comes after the series of directional affixes in this pattern is the incorporated noun. The noun is referred to as incorporated because it is embedded within a set of other bound constituents, which in the case of placenames include a clause marker, directionals, and a possible suffix. Nouns that are incorporated into placenames are in their simplest, un-derived form, and they serve to characterize the quality or contents of the place. For over half of the placenames in this group, the incorporated noun is the final constituent. For other placenames, the incorporated noun is followed by the suffix *-ya*, which is an existential verb particle meaning 'to be in abundance/to abound' (Iturrioz Leza 2004:213). Iturrioz et al. define a similar category of placename based, in part, on the presence of the *-ya* suffix that is attached to the relative clause. The pattern that I identify here differs slightly from Iturrioz et al.'s (2004) in that not all of the

placenames corresponding to this pattern exhibit the *-ya* suffix, yet they are all similarly built on the basis of a relative clause construction. I postulate that the presence of the *-ya* suffix in placenames is determined by the semantics of the incorporated noun. More explicitly, the idea of abundance or prevalence is implicit in certain nouns, and thus the *-ya* suffix may not be called for when these nouns are incorporated into a placename. For example, the noun *tirani* means forest, which by definition is an area of abundant tree cover. Hence, the placename *Mu:kutirani* 'That Flat Place Below Where There is Forest,' lacks the *-ya* suffix. Also, placenames with nouns that refer in a generalizing way to the color or shape of a place likewise do not exhibit the *-ya* suffix. However, when the incorporated noun refers to distinct objects, such as a certain type of grass or rock, then the *-ya* suffix may be required, as with the placename *Ma:katenuxaya* 'That Place On Up Where Tuff Abounds,' for example.

The other suffix that occurs just once in this group of placenames is *-aiye*, which is an adjectival suffix expressing the essence or likeness of the noun to which it is bound. Since it is a standard feature of some color terms, like *ta:xaiye* 'yellow,' *yixaiye* 'black,' and *nara:káximaiye* 'orange' (from Spanish *naranja* 'orange'), the suffix *-aiye* has been identified elsewhere as meaning 'the color of X' (X being the root to which it is bound) (Gómez 1999:166). However, *-aiye* occurs in elsewhere as a means to express resemblance of a quality other than color, as is evident in the placename *Mu:yexikiraiye* 'That Place Within Where It is Round.' With this placename, roundness is expressed in Wixárika using the word for mirror, *xikiri*, plus the suffix *-aiye* (McIntosh 1951:324), which literally means "mirror-like." It is interesting to note that each *xukuri'ikame*, or *tukipa* temple cargo-holder, wears a small, round mirror hanging from his neck during

pilgrimages and temple ceremonies. The fact that the root for mirror in Wixárika is used to describe other things as round indicates that its prototypically round shape is one of the essential qualities of mirrors that is referenced in other aspects of language.

The fifth pattern of placename formation is defined by Iturrioz et al. (2006:111; 2004:214) as one that is comprised of a locative noun plus the composition marker *-yari*, indicating the contents or source of something. This suffix has also been described as a specificative given that it serves to specify a certain characteristic, including quantity, of the noun that precedes it (Grimes 1964:40). Iturrioz et. al (2004:214) give the following examples: *Kwamiata 'Akiyari* 'Stream of (the place) Cohamiata,' *Tateikita 'Akiyari* 'Stream of (the place) *Tateikita.*' As a placename, this pattern is not found in the corpus from the study area, but it is important to mention as a grammatical process that may be identified for placenames encountered in a future study. I will point out, however, that this grammatical construction did surface in the context of a discussion about sacred routes followed during pilgrimages. An ordinary, everyday path is referred to as a *hu:yé* in Wixárika, but a sacred path is referred to as a *hu:yeyari*, which is the noun stem *hu:yé* 'route/path' plus the suffix *-yari* 'from/of.' The term *hu:yeyari* is used in conjunction with a placename to indicate the source and/or destination of a sacred route. For example, the phrase *Keuruwitia hu:yeyari* designates the sacred pilgrimage route toward the ceremonial center of *Keuruwitia*. The phrase *Te:kata Wirikuta hu:yeyari* similarly designates the sacred pilgrimage route from *Te:kata*, located in the heart of the sierra, to *Wirikuta*, a sacred place in San Luis Potosí.

There are a few placenames whose constituents could not be deciphered precisely enough to assign to one of the patterns of placename formation identified above. They include the following:

Ha:te:wikia : *ha:* (water) + *te:wi* (long) + *kia* (unknown meaning)
Translation: Place of Long Water?

Kwamarí:ya:kia : *Kwamarí* (proper name of a big rock) + *ya:*
(possessive marker?) + *kia* (unknown meaning)
Translation: Place of *Kwamarí*?

Ha:yuká:rika : *ha:yuka:ri* (a type of short grass) + *ka* (sit?)
Translation: Where *Ha:yuká:ri* Grass Sits?

It is possible that all of these placenames correspond to the second pattern described above, which consists of a noun stem followed by a locative suffix. The first two examples may be built on the suffix *-kia*, which is no longer identified as such by consultants. It is worth mentioning that the general term for a prominent landform in the sierra is *tekia* 'rocky outcrop/overlook,' which likewise contains *-kia* as part of its morphology. At this point it is not known whether the *-kia* ending in the placenames is related to *tekia*, but it is a possibility that can be evaluated with more linguistic data. As far as example three is concerned, it is possible that *-ka* is likewise an older locative suffix that is no longer productive, that is, no longer employed in the creation of new placenames. Given that the morphological interpretations of these three placenames are in doubt, they are not included in the percentage comparisons with placenames discussed above. They are nevertheless mentioned here as specific topics to be addressed with more research.

In short, the morphological analysis and interpretations of placename data presented here show that, for one, Wixárika placenames are a morphologically diverse

word class. In other words, Wixárika placenames take many different grammatical forms, ranging from simple noun stems to complex relative clauses. The data show that nearly half (forty-seven percent) of the placenames in the corpus are built on the relative clause. What is more, placenames built on the relative clause convey an unusually high degree of specificity with respect to spatial characteristics. For example, Wixárika placenames may at once express locational details pertaining to relative elevation (e.g., up, down, over, within, etc.), proximity (e.g., hither, thither), state (e.g., sitting, lying, standing, hanging, etc.), and quantity. While morphological data presented here are preliminary, they reflect that Wixárika placename morphology is a fascinating topic worthy of more study. For example, not only is a larger database of Wixárika placenames needed in order to more adequately evaluate the formation patterns identified above, contextual data, or that gathered "on-site" with consultants, is required in order to more firmly establish the meanings of the directionals, stative verb particles, and suffixes that are part of placenames. In this study, for example, the majority of the named places in this analysis were either visited or viewed, but their corresponding placenames were not analyzed linguistically "on-site." Hence, specific questions regarding the precise, contextual meaning of individual morphemes could not be addressed. Also, it is likely that the series of directionals that occur in many placenames interact in ways that may alter their meaning from when they occur in alone. More "on-site" linguistic work would likewise shed light on the various meanings that certain sets of directionals might convey. Despite the research yet to be done, this presentation serves to show that the placenames themselves offer a glimpse into the uniqueness of the Wixárika language with respect to its spatial detail and complexity.

To summarize, the main focus of this chapter has been on *what* the Wixárika landscape means as rendered by means of placenames. I have examined placenames linguistically from a number of angles, including source language and associated phonological characteristics, referential meanings, and grammatical morphology. In general, these data together reveal that the meanings of a Wixárika landscape are complex and multifaceted. Analysis of the *source language* of placenames, for example, indicates a situation of enduring contact between Wixárika and Spanish speakers since the initial arrival of Spaniards in the region in the late A.D. 1590s, and between Wixárika and Nahuatl speakers from at least that same time period, and possibly before. What is more, when these data are considered in connection with characteristics of the places themselves and other kinds of linguistic evidence, the nature and location of Wixárika contact with others comes to light. These data suggest, for example, that contact among these groups, and especially with Nahuatl speakers during the colonial era, was centered on governmental administration and the Catholic mission. In general, placenames in the Wixárika homeland reflect an increasingly diverse and intense contact with Spanish speakers over time to the present. When considered from perspective of source language, then, the Wixárika landscape is revealed to be a repository of historical memory. In addition, the analysis here of the *referential meanings* of a placenames, that is, the object, entity, or event denoted by the primary semantic units of each, shows that the landscape is meaningful in a variety of other ways. For example, the many placenames referring to food, such as wild berries and pasture grasses, and also materials, such as wood and building stone, indicate a conceptualization of the landscape as a resource. Other placenames designate abodes of the *ka:kaiyarixi*, or ancestor-deities, and thus convey a

view of the landscape as a dwelling. The data here also show that a remarkable number placenames refer to everyday objects of material culture, including a *metate* (grinding stone), a saddle, and gourds, all of which convey the landscape as a familiar and intimate entity. And finally, the morphological characteristics of Wixárika language placenames indicate a highly detailed perspective of the landscape with respect to its spatial characteristics. This indicates that from a native point of view, the landscape is not a detached entity without form, but rather, an intimate part of intricate perceptual experiences.

It has been my intent with the above discussion to show that, in general, a great deal about a people's conceptualization of their landscape may be gleaned from the analysis of placenames alone. However, there are limits as well. It is unlikely, for example, that the referential meaning of a placename is able to capture the full range of meanings that stem from peoples' direct experience with a place. In fact, places often hold significance for reasons that may have little or nothing to do with the semantic meaning of the placename itself. Thus, to grasp a fuller sense of what places mean to people, additional kinds of data are in order, such as place-talk -- that is, what people say about places based on personal experience.

CHAPTER THREE: PLACE-TALK AMONG THE WIXÁRIKA

Ordinary talk provides a readily available window onto the structure and significance of other people's worlds.

-- K. H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*

In his ethnography of landscape among the Western Apache, Basso describes that it is "slowly at first, by fits and starts, and never without protracted bouts of guessing" that the ethnographer begins to learn to listen and to freshly see, thereby bringing the local view of the landscape into sharper focus (1996:73). And so it was with this study, a slow and clumsy process of literally coming to terms with how Wixárika people view their landscape. The initial clumsiness is no doubt characteristic of most all ethnographic situations, in which a researcher must first undergo a process of getting to know a group of consultant-hosts before being able to comfortably and confidently pose the right kinds of questions, and even more importantly, listen. It is also a product of a somewhat flawed, yet productive, initial method of inquiry, which in the case of this study, was the unstructured interview with individual consultants about the places we visited. I deem the interview flawed because the nature of the consultant's response is so tightly bound to the quality of the question devised by the researcher, who, during the initial phase of research at least, might not yet be aware of how to most effectively tap the issues that resonate most with consultants concerning a given topic of inquiry. In other words, in the beginning stages, a researcher might not yet know the most fruitful kinds of questions to ask of consultants. Conversely, I deem the interview productive because it provides structure and purpose to a new relationship between consultant and researcher. Hence,

while the quality of interview data may be preliminary, the interview itself is a valuable means of getting acquainted.

During research for this study, unstructured interviews took place in the home setting, after visits to places, where I was able to write down responses and observations in a notebook. Prior to research, consultants requested that I not write notes or take photographs in public areas, including trails, since it would provoke suspicion among others who might suspect that I was there for financial gain, or to access sensitive cultural knowledge. Thus, in the privacy of the home setting, interview questions were fielded in the context of home activities, and over time, evolved to become relaxed, open-ended conversations about places. Interview questions included topics related to the referential meaning of placenames, including verification and possible motivations. In fact, talk about placenames turned out to be a useful device for prompting place-talk, that is, talk related to the significance of places themselves. For example, on several occasions, initial discussion about a given place was centered on the meaning of its name, but then other meanings surfaced during the course of the session stemming from personal experience of the place in question. On other occasions, place-talk occurred as a result of direct questions concerning the significance, use, and history of places. In addition to place-oriented interviews, fieldwork also entailed involvement in daily household activities, which included attending religious ceremonies at other households and at the ceremonial center. The participatory dimension of fieldwork afforded me the opportunity to observe spontaneous place-talk in natural settings by an even greater number of speakers. It is necessary to point out that the place-talk that I was able to observe and interpret was spoken in Spanish. Place-talk in the Spanish language was either directed

at me, or it occurred among bilingual Wixárika speakers who felt the need to speak Spanish in my presence. This is an important caveat. Ideally, observation of natural speech should be in the native language of the speakers. The data presented here should therefore be considered preliminary and in need of further verification in the future via the assistance of native speaking researchers. In any case, the data from natural place-talk in this study often corroborated the initial interview data, but it also yielded additional information about the significance of places that make up the landscape.

In the following, I organize the presentation in terms of the diverse meanings that the landscape affords on the part of Wixárika speakers, and simply note within each section the conversational circumstances that prompted the given responses discussed here. In other words, place-talk stemming from discussion of placenames, place-talk stemming from questions about places themselves, and place-talk from natural situations are interspersed, but distinguished within the text. The focus of this presentation is ultimately on the meanings of the landscape, which I extrapolated based on content-analysis of what consultants said, which in most cases was documented word-for-word in a notebook after the speech event, or when possible, as the place-talk occurred. Because the landscape is understood in this study as a composition of places, I take consultants' statements about individual places to be representative of at least one way in which they conceptualize the landscape as a whole.

It is important to mention that oftentimes various statements were made by different consultants about individual places. Hence, any given place may have multiple meanings, all of which were documented. In the discussion that follows, I give several representative examples of statements made by consultants. Since talk of any kind is

bound to a specific context, along with each example below I also provide details of the conversational context in which the statement was made. My intention with this is to also take into account the speaker's motivation for making a given statement or other.

Landscape as Resource. When Wixárika people were asked to talk about places, they sometimes characterized them in terms of resources, which include any material put to practical use in the course of daily life. Resources may be food and non-food items, such as materials used in house construction or for the manufacture of household or ceremonial objects. So, what kinds of statements do Wixárika consultants make about places that are indicative of a resource-oriented conceptualization of the landscape? Examples from this study are included in the following, all translated from Spanish.

1. *"It's where people used to hunt turkeys and deer."*

The characterization of the place referred to in this first example was offered, in part, as an explanation of the meaning of its corresponding placename, *'Iniakwaxitia*, meaning 'Below/At the Foot of Ready Provisions.' It was explained to me that prior to sixty years ago, this name designated a place within a mainly uninhabited forest zone atop a broad mesa (2,269 m above sea level) where wild game was readily available. More recently, with the construction of an airstrip and roads stretching beyond the sierra, a large town called *Nueva Colonia* 'New Colony' has since been developed in this same place, and has become one of the largest settlements in the community of *Tuapurie*. Wildlife in the surrounding area has thus become scarce, and it is no longer a hunting destination, but its former name is still remembered and occasionally used by inhabitants of the town.

2. *"We gather grass for making brooms here."*

The description in this example was not prompted by any question, but offered spontaneously as we were walking on a path through an area covered with long, coarse grass. Brooms made from this material are ideal for sweeping outdoor patios and for cleaning ashes from kitchen hearths. It is interesting to note that although this place is a well known destination for harvesting the grass that grows there, it does not have a proper placename.

3. *"It's a place where there is a spring."*

This example describes a place on the higher mesa zone called *Tsi:ná Ma:yewe* 'Where Cypress Stands Within On the Surface.' Although cypress trees do, in fact, grow in the area, the water spring was the first detail mentioned by one of the consultants when asked about the significance of this place. Generally speaking, water is essential not only for drinking, but also for keeping animals, washing, food preparation, and house construction, therefore it is no surprise that most Wixárika houses are located within two hundred meters of a water source, be it a spring, river, or tank. What is unique about the spring referred to in relation to *Tsi:ná Ma:yewe*, however, is that it was brought about by means of the ritual efforts of a *mara'akame* who wanted to build his house where there had been no source of water previously. Hence, for some of the consultants, the spring itself has since become the most notable aspect of this place.

4. *"Some people use the grass that grows here to make roofs."*

The above statement was offered in response to my question concerning the meaning of the place called *Muyahaukuxaya* 'That Place Within Where *Haukuxa* Abounds.' *Haukuxa* is just one kind of grass that may be used as thatching material for roofs. While other roofing materials, including steel and concrete, are often used to cover houses nowadays,

grass is still used for other structures, most notably for the roof of the *tuki* at the ceremonial center, for *xirikite* everywhere, and for raised platform structures used for storage. Clumps of *haukuxa* grow along the banks of the shallow stream that flows through the place called *Muyahaukuxaya*.

5. "*We brought the rock from there.*"

This statement was offered spontaneously in reference to a place along the road called *Texunikayapa* 'Place of Abundant *Texuni* (?).' The precise meaning of *texuni* is not known at present, but it may have something to do with rock, given that the *te-* prefix in other Wixárika words indicates something made of stone, or "rocky." The road at this place is cut into the hillside where a sizeable deposit of large, angular rocks is exposed. People come to *Texunikayapa* to gather these rocks that are used in the construction of house foundations.

To summarize, these five statements about places, and the others like them documented in the course of this study, reflect a resource-oriented view of the landscape. Furthermore, they reveal that the landscape is thought of by Wixárika people not in terms of just one resource, but in terms of a variety, including food and other household materials. However, as the discussion that follows demonstrates, it is not the only way the landscape is viewed.

Landscape as Memory. How can something as tangible as the landscape be viewed in terms of something as ethereal as memory? By definition, memory entails the past in that it is something recalled from previous experience. However, time is not the only dimension of memory: memory is also spatial. Just as events occur at certain times, they are also tied to particular places. Places thus evoke memories. Therefore, in the

course of this study, when Wixárika people were asked to talk about places of the landscape, they often described specific memories associated with them. Some of the memories shared about places were personal, concerning one's individual experiences, while others were collective, involving more general events affecting the group as a whole. Following the same format as in the previous section, I provide examples from this study of both personal and collective memories, all translated from Spanish. In the interest of protecting people's identities, I omit personal names and some placenames in these accounts. I use pronouns in brackets in place of personal names and places.

1. *"When I was young my cousin and I went there to pick pitayas (saguaro cactus fruit) because a lot of them grow there. Our plan was to carry them back to town and sell them. We loaded are baskets full and headed back up. We didn't have any food besides pitayas, which we ate up along the way, and we didn't know where to find water. It was after dark when we finally met up with someone. The man was very drunk, but he still gave us tortillas. The tortillas were falling apart and moldy, but we were so hungry, we ate them anyway."*

This personal memory was evoked while discussing the significance a place called 'Aixetametia 'At the Base of Red Cliff.' It is a hot, dry place located near the base of a canyon.

2. *"We were on are way back home. [My husband] went on ahead and fell asleep at the house. I couldn't make it. I had to stop there, and that's where I gave birth to [him], my eldest son. Someone had to go wake [my husband] up to tell him that I was down there having the baby."*

The above account was offered in response to a question about the name of a house nearby.

3. *"The woman who lived there...didn't get along with her husband. She would sometimes leave him, even after their three children were born. They were all in a car accident, but only she died. They couldn't bring her back there to be buried because there were no roads."*

The memory in this third example was offered while discussing the meaning of the placename designating an abandoned house nearby.

4. *"My father used to tell us a story about this place when I was little. He said it was made by the Tutuma, the ancient ones, who were pushing each other, fighting."*

This memory was given as an explanation for the meaning of the name of a place called *Taimarita* 'Amid the Pushing.' It is located on a plateau near the bottom of a canyon, at the base of a prominent peak.

5. *"When [this man who lives there] was little, he left an offering of chocolate. Somebody took it, and he came back and saw that it wasn't there. He got mad and said he was going to tell the authorities...he never did get the chocolate back."*

This account was likewise offered as an explanation for the meaning of a placename. It is significant that the name of the place alluded to in this account is the only one in the study area that refers to an ordinary human being. Different consultants specifically stated that places are never named after people. The name of this place thus appears to be an exception to the conventional naming protocol. However, because the referential meaning of the placename is, in fact, a food item, and is a nickname and not a birth-given name of a person, perhaps this case does not really stand as a breach in naming protocol.

Numerous other memories shared in the context of place-talk likewise refer to key events people's lives, including the birth of children, deaths of family members, near-death experiences, incidents of sorcery, territorial struggles, and so on. These personal accounts demonstrate that the landscape is much more than a simply a backdrop for daily activities: it is an intimate repository of life experiences. Wixárika place-talk shows, in essence, how the landscape not only gives substance to the past, it also lends it endurance as it gets told and re-told upon every encounter with a given place.

Landscape as Identity. In this study I am concerned with the concept of identity in its social aspect, or more explicitly, how a person identifies with, or aligns himself or herself to, a particular group of people. Yet, if identity is a social phenomenon, that is, something that transpires among people, then what is the connection between identity and the landscape? The answer is straightforward: while social groups may be delineated in terms of any number of attributes, such as ethnicity, political view, or language, etcétera, place is also invoked as a means to define a group. In other words, groups are often defined on the basis of their affiliation to a particular place or region. For example, although I may define myself as a student, a native English speaker, or a skier, I also identify myself as a Central New Yorker (Not an *Upstate New Yorker!*). My place of origin (and how I choose to define it) is an important facet of my social identity.

Wixárika people likewise define themselves in relation to places, and it is in this way that the landscape is rendered as a source of identity. Examples from this study of place-talk that illustrate this conceptualization are shown below, all translated from Spanish. As in the previous section, where necessary, I omit personal names of people and places to protect consultants' privacy.

1. *"I'm from Taimarita. It's my home."*

The example above was offered spontaneously after I told the person that I had visited *Taimarita* 'Amid the Pushing.' It is significant that this person considers *Taimarita* to be home, yet he permanently resides with his immediate family elsewhere, and he no longer has any close relatives (parents or siblings) living there.

2. *"Taimarita is my wife's home. I'll be heading there later today for a fiesta (ceremony). We go there for it because she's from there."*

This comment was made while discussing the condition of the consultant's wife, who had been gravely ill. As was the case in the first example, the wife no longer resides in *Taimarita*, but it is where she was born and raised.

3. *"I was born at a place called Los Limones. It's not my home. I'm from here."*

In this example, the consultant made this statement as we were discussing various places of the landscape that I had visited. When he told me that he was born at *Los Limones* 'The Limes,' I asked if his family was from there. He clarified by saying that he only was born there, and that it is not where he is from; rather, his home is at *Keuruwitia* 'At the Base of Pine Pole,' where his parents once lived, and where he now resides.

4. *"It's my native home."*

The comment in this example was made in reference to a photograph of a named place in the study area. As with the first two examples, it is significant that the speaker does not reside at the place he saw in the photograph. In fact, he was born and raised at different house, and now resides in a large city in another part of Mexico. However, his mother grew up at the house pictured in the photograph, and thus, he regards it his home as well.

5. *"I have to go there because that's where we're from."*

This comment was offered as a means to explain the reason for a journey to another house. The purpose of the journey was to participate in a curing ceremony taking place on behalf of a sister who was ill. The sister was living at another place at the time, and was also too ill to attend the ceremony, yet the ceremony was held at the place where she and all her siblings were born and raised.

The examples above show that a common aspect of Wixárika social identity stems from the place they call home. What is most interesting about this idea is that in most

cases, what Wixárika people consider to be home is not necessarily where they reside. When asked about this apparent discrepancy, consultants explained that one's home is where the family *xiriki*, or adulatory, is located. *Xirikite* (plural form of *xiriki*) are a common feature of the majority of older houses in outlying areas, and they are viewed as the dwelling places of a family's deceased, biological ancestors. In fact, some of one's biological ancestors persist in the form of a dark "stone" or rock crystal, which is affixed to a gourd or clay bowl and kept in the *xiriki*. These dwellings, which resemble small houses, are the primary setting for, among other things, curing ceremonies, which involve supplications to the ancestors, who are considered to be able to bring about the well-being of living descendents. Every Wixárika individual belongs to the *xirikite* corresponding to both parents, and therefore may regard at least two places as home. The connection to one's home places, as well as to a spouse's home places, is maintained via participation in *fiestas* held at the *xirikite*. Consultants also pointed out that, as a family member (however remote), it is one's obligation to take part in such ceremonies. Thus, one's identity, defined in terms of the places of the landscape that one calls home and is from, also entails specific responsibilities to those places.

Wixárika place-talk reveals another facet of the connection between social identity and the landscape: just as places of the landscape form an important part of a person's identity, places likewise derive their meaning from the identities of the people who inhabit them. In other words, place-talk shows that places and people are mutually constitutive. The examples below illustrate how the significance of places stems from the people attached to them.

6. *"The first person to live here was called "Hiccup", [his] ancestor, probably a grandfather or great-grandfather. He thought it looked just like [that place], where xiunuri also grows."*

This statement was offered as an explanation of the meaning of a placename.

7. *"There's a good curandero ...who lives at the house right at [that place]. He's known for treating illnesses caused by kieri (the psychotropic plant Solandra Brevicalyx)."*

This example was given in the context of a conversation about an ill sister, who consulted with the *curandero* 'healer' over the debilitating headaches she had been experiencing.

8. *"Do you remember my friend who died? His baby lives there at [that place]. Do you remember? I called the baby [that name] because that was her father's name."*

The statement above was offered spontaneously while discussing the significance of some of the places we had visited.

9. *"[Her] grandfather's sister lives at [that place]. She makes clay griddles. My family used to buy them when I was little."*

This example was given after I mentioned to the consultant that I had recently visited a certain place.

10. *"The kawitero (elder council member) of Keuruwitia lives there."*

A consultant made this statement in the context of a conversation about the names of various places in a particular locality.

Although each place of the Wixárika landscape may be meaningful in various ways, it is noteworthy that consultants often first mention the identity of a person attached to a given place before discussing anything else about it, as was the case for the examples above. Thus, to reiterate, while Wixárika people may identify themselves in terms of a given place, they also ascribe meaning to places based on the people who

inhabit them. In short, place-talk reveals how the people and places of the Wixárika landscape are inextricably linked.

To this point, I have discussed Wixárika place-talk as it relates to one's identity within the community, that is, among other Wixárika people from the same geographic area. Other instances of Wixárika place-talk concern social identity in a broader, regional context, namely, in relation to non-Wixárika and to Wixárika from other communities.

The examples below illustrate how this other aspect of social identity is expressed.

11. *“[That place] is ours. It is part of [our community]. The documents prove it....People from [that community] surrounded [that place], and went in with sharpened sticks and pushed us out.”*

12. *“About one hundred and fifty of us went to [that place] in May. We were attacked three times by people from [that town]. They took all of our belongings, and threatened us with sharpened sticks. They also took a tractor.”*

The event referred to in these two example concerns a place that was the focus of a territorial dispute between Wixárika *comunidades* 'communities.' A Wixárika *comunidad* is not simply an organization of people, as the concept of "community" in English implies; it also has a territorial dimension. Although the primary focus of these accounts is the conflict itself, the effect of both is to establish and reinforce a distinction between Wixárika groups, the root of which is landscape-based. More explicitly, distinct Wixárika identities become pronounced in this situation because the connection to what is perceived as one's home place, which in this case is the home *comunidad*, is in jeopardy. Other examples of place-talk emphasize the distinction between Wixárika and non-Wixárika identity.

13. (dialogue) Speaker A: *"What is she doing here? Who is she here with?"*
Speaker B: *I think she's lost. She's here with [so-and-so].*
Speaker A: *What do they want from us? Why are they always coming here, asking us about things?*
Speaker B: *"I don't know, I suppose it's just their tradition."*

Example thirteen is a dialogue between two Wixárika speakers concerning my presence on a local road in the study area. Speaker A is a Wixárika from the area, but not a consultant, while Speaker B is an acquaintance of Speaker A and a consultant from the same area. This dialogue took place right in front of me, but it occurred in the Wixárika language, and so I did not understand most of what was said. Nevertheless, Speaker B shared the contents of this dialogue with me in Spanish immediately afterwards, once Speaker A was out of sight. The dialogue is meaningful for several reasons: not only does it show a reluctance on the part of the consultant to openly affiliate with me as an outsider, it also reveals an insider's perception of outsiders like me as burdensome, nosy, and out of place. I am so out of place, in fact, that Speaker B suggests that I could be lost! Albeit subtle, one of the effects of this dialogue is to highlight a place-based distinction between Wixárika people and non-Wixárika. As the comments made by Speaker A indicate, the fact that *they* (non-Wixárika) are *here* (in Wixárika homeland) is problematic. Speaker B acknowledges the characterization posed by Speaker A, yet is charitable in offering a reasonable explanation for our outlandish behavior -- namely, that it must simply be our *costumbre* 'tradition.'

14. *"The workers went in and told them that they had to leave. The very next day they knocked down their houses. If they left anything there, it was destroyed. They also destroyed the water lines. They're still without water there. We've been here for about twenty days now. They couldn't continue the work, but their equipment is still here."*

15. *“We camped out there for about two weeks. We had to bring everything there -- corn, grinding mills, something to sleep on. We stayed right there on the road. We got them to stop the machines. They (the Wixárika authorities) don't want a road going through our community.”*

Both of these examples recount different facets of a dispute between the state government and the Wixárika of *Tuapurie* over a road construction project initiated in 2007. In short, the authorities and members of *Tuapurie* are opposed to construction because of the potential, long-term damage it would inflict on the community. The first account was given by a consultant as an explanation for the lively protest gathering that we were witnessing at the time, while the second was offered spontaneously during a casual conversation with a different consultant in the home setting. The root of the conflict referred to above is the Wixárika people's connection to the landscape, which is not simply in danger of being lost in this case, it has already been severed for some, as example fourteen relates. It is their identity as Wixárika, and their perception as rightful stewards of the zone in dispute, that justifies the "sit-in" protest referred to in both accounts. The efforts of the Wixárika people were not in vain in this instance, since the federal government eventually intervened and halted work on the project. I must add, however, that the official reason given for the work stoppage was not a recognition on the part of the federal government of the Wixárika's claims; rather, it was the state's failure to carry out a proper environmental impact study beforehand that led the government to issue the halt, which is still considered to be just temporary.

To summarize, Wixárika place-talk reveals the landscape to be a source of identity, though not in a uniform way. More explicitly, there are multiple aspects of one's place-based identity, and those distinct aspects emerge under different conditions. In the

context of the community, one's identity is defined in relation to the home place, that is, where the family *xiriki* is located. In a broader regional context, one's identity is defined in relation to the home community or to the home territory. In short, Wixárika place-talk shows social identity to be a relational concept that gets defined and redefined according to different circumstances.

Landscape as Dwelling. The concept of "dwelling" is a prevalent theme in the everyday Wixárika language. The word *ki*, which is the standard word for 'house,' also serves as the root for many other concepts, including *kie* 'ranch' (literally, "house place"), *tuki* 'Great House,' *xiriki* 'ancestor-deity house,' *iki* 'granary' (literally, "corn house"), and *kiekari*, a word that means 'village,' 'homeland' (Liffman 2011:115) and, in its broadest sense, 'world' (Neurath 2002:146). Thus, it is no surprise that of all the conceptualizations of the landscape that are conveyed via Wixárika place-talk, the view of the landscape as a dwelling is the one most frequently expressed. There are two types of dwellings that are mentioned in reference to places: dwellings of ordinary people, and dwellings of ancestor-deities. In the context of place-talk, places marked by the dwellings of ordinary people are most often described either in terms of a known inhabitant, such as a relative or friend, or simply as "a family's house" or "where a family lives," if the inhabitants are not known personally. Places with a few or more houses are referred to as "localities" or "settlements" (Spanish, *poblados*) where a specified number of families live. For example, when asked about the significance of a place called *Taimarita* 'Amid the Pushing,' the consultant responded, "It's a locality in the community of *Tuapurie* where fifteen families live."

Places that are the dwellings of ancestor-deities are most often referred to simply as "sacred places" (Spanish, *lugares sagrados*) during place-talk. It is only with follow-up questions regarding their significance that their status as dwellings emerges.

Below are some examples from this study that refer to such places.

1. *"The name means "Where Kauyumari Stands." That's his place. That's where he is. (Kauyumari is an important ancestor-deity).*
2. *"There is a sacred place nearby [there]. Takusta is its name. It's where Takutsi Nakawe lives."* (Takutsi Nakawe is an important ancestor-deity).
3. *"Tatei Kiewimuka (an ancestor-deity) is at Kiewimuta. The original one is in [another place], far away. But there's a closer one. It's a cave just below [that place]. It has a xiriki, and also a spring."*

Although these accounts explicitly identify the ancestor-deity inhabiting a particular place, consultants tend not to emphasize it in place-talk largely because the identity of the ancestor-deity usually can be gleaned from the placename itself. Instead, it is more common for consultants simply to mention the presence of a *xiriki* in reference to sacred places that are considered the dwellings of ancestor-deities. Recall that a *xiriki* is a small, house-like structure where ceremonies are performed on behalf of the ancestor-deity associated with it. As mentioned in the previous section, *xirikite* (plural form of *xiriki*) are a common feature of the majority of older houses in outlying areas. *Xirikite* that are part of a household are viewed as the dwelling places of a family's deceased, biological ancestors. The *xirikite* found at sacred places, by contrast, are viewed as the dwellings of the primordial ancestor-deities who participated in the events of creation, and who are believed to be distant ancestors of all Wixárika people. Place-talk about sacred places also reveals some of the activities that constitute people's interaction with the ancestor-deities. The following are some examples.

4. "*E:katsie is just above [there]. It's where they kill goats in order to control the wind.*" (*E:katsie* means 'On Wind')
5. "*They leave offerings there, small clay dishes with campeche wax and beads -- just a few beads, maybe two or three beads.*"
6. "*It's the place where Tatewarí (Grandfather Fire) was born, the place where the jicareros begin their pilgrimage. They leave things there.*"

Aside from conveying a conceptualization of the landscape as a dwelling, place-talk reveals other insights about sacred places as well. For one, consultants pointed out that the sacred places of the Wixárika landscape comprise a category of place that is referred to in the Wixárika language as *nene:kate*, meaning "great ones," which is a reference to the ancestor-deities who reside there. Additionally, place-talk about sacred places reveals that they are a diverse group. Although they are all considered to be dwellings, consultants point out that they are not all the same; rather, they differ with respect to their significance, use, and physical form. Each sacred place harbors an individual ancestor-deity with a unique set of characteristics and ritual requirements. Some sacred places are the dwellings of ancestor-deities who are represented in the *tukipa* (large temple) by *xukuri'ikate* (temple cargo holders) and who have a role in *tukipa* ceremonies. Moreover, there are original sacred places, often located some distance from the Wixárika homeland, and there are surrogates to the original ones located nearby, where *xukuri'ikate* carry out the required ceremonies more frequently. Other sacred places are the dwellings pertaining to the patron-deities of ceremonial centers, and yet others are where *kieri* resides. *Kieri* is a psychotropic plant (*Solandra brevicalyx*) that was described to me as having magical properties. As one consultant put it, "It can help you do many things, like cure an illness...but it is also very dangerous." Sacred places where this plant grows, in fact, are called *kieri*, after the plant, and are

visited by *mara'akate* who gather and utilize it for ritual purposes. Another kind of sacred place is the dwelling place of wolves, where only *mara'akate* go to leave offerings, and where only certain *mara'akate* are buried upon death. Also, just as sacred places are diverse in terms of meaning, they likewise differ with respect to their material makeup. For example, while many contain *xirikite* (small, house-like), others may be marked only by caves, water springs, or large boulders. What is more, consultants explain that sacred places that correspond to one another between *tukipa* districts or regions are often not uniform. For example, an original sacred place may be a cave, whereas its surrogate place may be marked by a *xiriki*. In summary, although sacred places of the Wixárika landscape remain an elusive topic (perhaps necessarily so), place-talk offers some general insights about this unique category of place, and also sheds some light on the complexity of the relationship between Wixárika people and their landscape.

Landscape as civic entity. Another perspective that emerges in the context of place-talk is the landscape as a civic entity, by which I mean a territorial unit of governance. Although only one of the consultants consistently made explicit reference to the civic status of named places during place-talk, others indirectly corroborated this conceptualization with other comments about places. Examples are below, all translated from Spanish.

1. "*Tuapurie is the cabecera of the community. It has a church, of all the saints and Jesus, where they celebrate Semana Santa.*"

This example was offered in response to a question regarding significance of the place called *Tuapurie*. The community referred to in this comment is the administrative and territorial entity created under the Spanish in the colonial era. There are three primary Wixárika communities, and each has a *cabecera*, or administrative center, which serves

as the local government seat. The *cabecera* is also where churches were built in colonial times to serve as a base for Catholic missionary activities. Nowadays the church at the *cabecera* is tended to by Wixárika people who are elected to cargo positions related to the Catholic ritual cycle.

2. *"They were fighting then...Wautia and Tuapurie. My grandfather was killed when they were fighting."*

This account was offered spontaneously in the context of casual conversation about family history. It refers to *Wautia* and *Tuapurie*, two separate Wixárika communities at odds over land tenure in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This account is an example of an indirect reference to the landscape as a civic entity, and also an example of the severity that community affiliation may entail.

3. *"Tekatsata is an agencia, just like Nueva Colonia. There are seventeen agencias in the community of Tuapurie."*

An *agencia* is a Spanish term that in the context of the Wixárika refers to a territorial subdivision of the community where a local government representative, called an *agente*, presides (Neurath 2002:153). As discussed in the source language section above, the naming pattern exhibited among the *agencias* of *Tuapurie* suggests that they, too, were established in the colonial era, when there was still a presence of Nahuatl language speakers locally.

4. *"We have to go to Keuruwitia this morning. The nurse will be there...people from the clinic. They're going around giving out powdered milk to all the families with small children. Everyone has to go to the agencia to get it."*

The above account is a direct reference to *Keuruwitia* as an *agencia* made in the context of casual conversation. It also reveals one of the roles of an *agencia* as a conduit for dispensing government services.

5. *"Each agencia will send ten people here to keep watch. They will spend five days here."*

This comment was a general announcement issued at a community-wide assembly by a local Wixárika authority in light of the situation discussed above regarding the stalled highway project. Specifically, it describes the means that the community will take in order to prevent additional work at the site. It also serves to illustrate how the *agencia* as a category of place may impact members of the community.

6. *"The people here came up from La Manga. They used to be part of our community. They used to go to the ceremonial center at Las Latas. But this is a different municipality. It's the municipality of Huejuquilla. Ours is Mezquitic."*

The above comment was offered spontaneously during a brief visit to a place called *Haimatsie*, a Wixárika town located beyond the eastern border of the community of *Tuapurie*. It reflects how the municipality stands as yet another entity that serves to distinguish among places of the landscape. It is also an example of how the municipal affiliation of a place influences interactions among people: even though people of *Haimatsie* are Wixárika, because *Haimatsie* corresponds to a separate municipality, the people of the town no longer regularly participate in the activities of the ceremonial center in the other municipality.

To summarize, the focus of this chapter has been the identification of Wixárika landscape conceptualizations as rendered via place-talk, or what Wixárika people themselves say about the places that comprise their landscape. In short, as with the

placename data discussed in the previous chapter, place-talk indicates a multifaceted view of the landscape that in many ways parallels results from the analysis of placenames. In other words, the place-talk data presented here corroborate some of the landscape conceptualizations identified in the analysis of referential meanings of placenames, particularly with regard to the landscape as a resource, the landscape as a dwelling, and the landscape as memory. This indicates that both forms of data -- the placenames themselves, and the ethnographic accounts of places -- are useful for accessing how people view their landscape. It is interesting to note that the referential meanings of some placenames closely reflect the meanings and use of certain places. For example, the place called *'Iniakwaxitia* 'At the Foot of Ready Provisions' was, in fact, formerly a popular hunting locale. More often, however, the referential meaning of placenames represents only one aspect of why given places are meaningful. For example, although the place named *Hukutá*, meaning 'Amid Pine,' is indeed a pine forest zone and the former locale of a saw mill, it is now a place where people bring their cattle to pasture for part of the year. Place-talk indicates that places take on additional meanings as they are experienced in diverse ways over time. The landscape is also a source of both personal and collective memories, as with, for example, the place called *Taimarita* whose name and physical characteristics allude to the fantastic actions of the class of people from mythic times. The landscape is likewise a source of social identity, which the data reveal to be no straightforward matter. For example, Wixárika people, like people elsewhere, have multiple identities: they are Wixáritari (plural form of the Wixárika gentilic) as opposed to *Teiwari* (non-indigenous Mexicans and foreigners), they are *Tuapuritari* (from the community Santa Catarina) as opposed to *Tateikitari* (from the

community of San Andrés), and they are *Taimaritari* (from *Taimarita*, a place within *Tuapurie*) and opposed to *Kwe:tatari* (from *Kwe:ta*, another place within *Tuapurie*), for example. Each aspect of one's overall identity surfaces under different conditions and circumstances. Furthermore, each entails a separate set of landscape-related responsibilities. Place-talk data also show that just as people derive their social identity from places of the landscape, places themselves likewise derive their identities on the basis of the people who inhabit them. In other words, when Wixárika people reflect on places of their landscape, they are often referred to in the first instance in terms of the individual people associated with those places. It is in this way that places and people can be considered as mutually constitutive.

Through the course of this presentation, we have acquired a sense of the intimate and complex relationship the Wixárika people have with their landscape. In the following, we shall observe how their landscape is put to use linguistically for social ends.

CHAPTER FOUR: PLACENAMES IN ACTION

The ethnographic challenge is to fathom what it is that a particular landscape...can be called upon to “say,” and what, through the saying, it can be called upon to “do.”

-- Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 1996

Linguistic anthropologists and language philosophers alike have long recognized that language is not merely a means to refer to things in the world (Basso 1996:76), it is also a means of *action* (Mey 1998:110; emphasis in original). In other words, language is used by intentional, thinking, human agents to accomplish specific goals in the real world (Mey 1998:111). We make promises, issue warnings, make requests, give advice, cast bets, and perform an infinite number of other actions via language. In short, we “do things with words” (Bauman 1975:105), and it is in light of the pragmatic dimension of language use that placenames are examined in this section. Specifically, I evaluate the communicative activity of *placenames* among the Wixárika as a speech act, or an utterance whose purpose is to bring about a change in the existing state of affairs (Mey 1998:111). To clarify, what I mean by *the speech act of placenames* is the use of placenames in discourse. It does not refer to the process of conferring names to places, which is also a topic worthy of inquiry, but not addressed in this study. Viewed from the perspective of the speech act, data show that placenames among the Wixárika serves to identify people with places of the landscape, and to link people with the ancestor-deities and the cosmos.

The inspiration for examining placename use in context here comes from Keith Basso's seminal work, *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996), an ethnography that deals explicitly

with the intricate relationship between language and landscape among the Western Apache of Arizona. During fieldwork, Basso encounters a unique form of discourse that the Western Apache call "speaking with names" (Basso 1996:80), in which placenames are uttered at relevant points in conversation in order to evoke particular stories with which most are familiar, and which have a specific moral or message. He recounts, for example, a conversation in which a distressed woman shares a story about a young man who accidentally stepped on a snakeskin. Contact with snakes in any form is considered dangerous to the Western Apache, and hence the young man was warned that he should seek a specialist so as not to suffer harm from the incident. At the time, the young man smiled and then assured everyone that no harm would come to himself because of it. As the conversation progressed, it was disclosed that this young man had since fallen violently ill, and was now in the hospital. Upon hearing her account, the other participants in the conversation interrupted the sad woman by uttering a series of placenames (in italics), as follows:

Lola: "It happened at *Line Of White Rocks Extends Up and Out*, at this very place!"

Emily: "Yes. It happened at *Whiteness Spreads Out Descending to Water*, at this very place!"

Lola: "Truly, it happened at *Trail Extends Across A Red Ridge With Alder Trees*, at this very place!" (Basso 1996:79).

This seemingly nonsensical response of only placenames was explained afterwards as a means to encourage the sad woman to go to those places in her mind, and to reflect on the stories of the ancestors attached to each place. The specific stories that each place evoked were considered by these participants to be relevant to her situation, and were intended to be delicately instructive and consolatory. As one participant put it, "We gave her clear pictures with place-names....She could recall the knowledge of our ancestors"

(Basso 1996:83). In essence, "speaking with names" for the Western Apache is a face-saving strategy that "enables those who engage in it to acknowledge a regrettable circumstance without explicitly judging it...and to offer advice without appearing to do so" (Basso 1988:114). Stated another way, "speaking with names" constitutes a speech act that is intended to tactfully accomplish the remembrance of relevant ancestral knowledge in pertinent situations. Thus, Basso's study not only demonstrates the array of relational meanings associated with certain places, it also reveals the important social function served by the utterance of placenames in conversation within the Western Apache context.

In this portion of the study, I take up Basso's challenge posed in the quote at the beginning of this section: namely, I attempt to grasp what the Wixárika landscape "says," and what, in the process, it is called upon to "do." To illustrate the meaning of this challenge, I once again draw on the case of the Western Apache. Basso reveals that the landscape of the Western Apache is made up of places filled with stories that are recalled by people in the form of placenames. The Western Apache landscape thus "speaks," or rather, is drawn upon to communicate by means of placenames brimming with meaning. In this process of "speaking with names," the landscape is thereby called upon to address social issues in an indirect and delicate manner. Basso's study thus demonstrates that the landscape -- and how it is verbally put to work -- ultimately sheds light on matters other than geography (Basso 1996:75). The analysis of placename use in this study shows that the Wixárika also put their landscape to work for social ends, though in a way that is distinct from that of the Western Apache. I examine Wixárika placenaming in terms of a

speech act precisely because it brings into sharper focus the work that is "done" with the landscape in different situations.

The data for this portion of the study were collected principally by means of observation of native Wixárika speakers in real-life contexts. In light of Basso's work, I considered that the examination of placename use would potentially enable me to access *how* the landscape comes to mean for the Wixárika (by contrast, up to this point in the study, I have been concerned with *what* the landscape means). I had no preconceived notions, nor did I seek insights beforehand from native speaking consultants concerning the contexts of placename use or their social role. My task in the field therefore was simply to monitor how placenames were used. Although my review in advance of published works on the Wixárika language set an adequate foundation, my ability to identify placenames in the context of native discourse was honed both in the field, as I grew more familiar with the local landscape, and in the laboratory setting, where morphological analysis of placenames was carried out with the assistance of a native Wixárika speaker. What I discovered in the process is that this type of research is no quick venture. It was only after many stints of research in the field over the course of several years that certain patterns of placename use became obvious to me. To confirm my perceptions, I regularly sought input from Wixárika consultants, who in turn provided clarification and additional insights, which I incorporate into the presentation below.

To aid in the description of the speech behavior in this section, I rely on three basic units of analysis, which include the speech situation, the speech event, and the speech act (Hymes 1972). A *speech situation* refers to the context within which speaking occurs, such as a family meal, a birthday party, a committee meeting, or one of any

number of situations that take place in society and that are definable in terms of participants and goals (Salzmann 2004:227-8). A *speech act* is the minimal unit of speech for purposes of ethnographic analysis (Salzmann 2004:228). While speech acts are most often characterized in terms of greetings, questions, apologies, self-introductions, and the like, for reasons elaborated above, the minimal unit of speech examined in this study is the placename. A *speech event* refers to the basic unit of verbal interaction among speakers. Speech acts that follow each other in a recognized sequence and are governed by social rules are combined to form a speech event (Salzmann 2004:228). There are also non-linguistic components that need to be considered in the analysis of speech behavior, including participants and settings. Participants are not only the sender of a message and the intended receiver, but anyone who perceives the message (Salzmann 2004:229). Participants also have characteristics, such as age, ethnicity, rank, gender, and so on, that also must be taken into account in the analysis, since they are factors that may influence the course of a speech event. All speech events likewise occur at a particular time and place and under particular physical circumstances, all of which comprise the setting (Salzmann 2004:230). To summarize, the units for the analysis of speech behavior and its components provide a convenient way to discuss the activity of *placenames* among the Wixárika.

The Trail Encounter. The first placenaming situation to be discussed here is what I refer to as the “trail encounter.” As the label indicates, the setting of the speech behavior being examined is the *trail*. As mentioned previously, much of my fieldwork entailed travel from place to place along trails, and thus this speech situation came to light as a result. Trails are a ubiquitous feature of the Wixárika homeland and the

primary means of getting from one place to another. Although there are some roads for vehicle traffic in the sierra, they mainly connect larger Wixárika towns to Mestizo towns beyond the sierra, and to other nearby settlements located on the relatively flat terrain of the mesa. In the study area, the majority of older settlements and extended family residences, or *ranchos*, are located at lower elevations, dispersed along canyon slopes and in the valleys below, and are only accessible by trails. Trails are used by people on foot and by beasts of burden (bicycles and dirt bikes are out of the question, given the rough terrain), and even though most trails are relatively narrow, they are easy to follow since they are free of vegetation and forest debris. The speech situation that occurs on trails is the *encounter*. By encounter, I mean the meeting up of two or more people in close proximity, that is, a distance close enough for participants using a normal speaking voice to hear one another. Encounters may occur when participants are heading in the opposite direction, or when they are headed in the same direction, with one outpacing the other. In most cases, trails permit only single file foot-traffic, thereby forcing a face-to-face encounter.

Trail encounters almost always result in the speech event that I refer to here as a *greeting*. Recall, a speech event is the minimal unit of *interaction* between speakers, and thus a greeting is a verbal exchange whereby participants acknowledge one another's presence. Among the Wixárika, the speech act of *placenaming* occurs in the context of the greeting. However, not all greetings entail the act of placenaming, rather, they vary in accordance with the characteristics of the participants. In the following, I present the most common greetings observed during trail encounters involving only native Wixárika participants, and I describe the prevailing characteristics associated with the each type.

Each greeting type is numbered, and the transcription of the Wixárika expression is in italics. Approximate translations into English are in parentheses and to the right. The initiator of the speech event is designated as Speaker A, and the one who responds as Speaker B. Also, I stagger utterances on the page to convey the sequential nature of the exchange, and I indicate alternative forms between slashes. I discuss corresponding participant characteristics after each type of greeting is presented.

1. Speaker A: *Ke'áku!* (“Hello!”)
Speaker B: *'aixi! / 'aixiheyéme! / 'aixiyéme!* (Well!)

The expression used by Speaker A in the greeting above is a general one used in many different situations (group meetings, phone conversations, email correspondence, etc.), not just trail encounters. As far as consultants are aware, it has no specific meaning other than a general greeting. For people learning the Wixárika as a second language, “*ke'áku*” is also usually one of the first words learned. It is a greeting that may be used with anyone, at any time of day. Among native speakers, only the person who initiates the greeting uses “*ke'áku*.” Before entering the field, I was familiar with this greeting opener, and I thus expected to hear it often among native speakers. What I noticed during trail encounters, however, was that it was only occasionally used. Other types of greeting were used instead, which I discuss below, but the experience directed my attention to other factors potentially influencing the type uttered. After observing numerous other trail encounters, it became more obvious to me that this first type of greeting is reserved for participants who are well-known to each other, such as friends or relatives. Also, with respect to responses of Speaker B, the longer variants -- *'aixiheyéme* and *'aixiyéme* – were more emphatic, reflecting a degree of enthusiasm or pleasant surprise with the encounter. This first type of greeting was usually followed up with a brief conversation

about one's plans or state of affairs. It is important to add, too, that trail encounters involving friends or relatives sometimes yielded no established greeting whatsoever. Participants simply interacted about variety of familiar topics instead of relying on formalities.

2. Speaker A: *Ke'apaiti?* (Where are you going?)
Speaker B: "placename"

This second type of greeting is what I observed most frequently during trail encounters, and it is one that contains the speech act of placenaming. Interestingly, I never heard Speaker B in these situations reciprocate with the same question to Speaker A. Instead, after Speaker B responded with a placename, if anything more was stated, it was usually from Speaker A, who would comment on something about Speaker B's destination or about the people associated with it. The course of this type of greeting may be influenced by factors such as age, gender, and/or social identity of the participants. For example, at this point, it appears that either adult males or older participants tend to open this type of greeting. In any case, all of these potential factors need to be systematically evaluated in future study. One factor that is common to all trail encounters in which this greeting occurs concerns the relationship of the participants: namely, they are acquaintances or strangers, *not* close friends or family.

3. Speaker A: *Kepera:né?* (Where are you coming from?)
Speaker B: "placename"

This third type of greeting is essentially a variant of the second type, as it likewise includes the act of placenaming. This greeting was observed only rarely during trail encounters. Nevertheless, it shares characteristics with the second type in that it occurs among participants who are unfamiliar to each other. From my perspective as a native

English speaker from the United States, I considered that a standard greeting opening with a question concerning a participant's destination or origin to be somewhat unusual. Similar greetings in English, such as "Where are you going?" or "Where were you?" are not unheard of, but they would tend to occur between participants who are very familiar with each other. These greeting openers in English may even come across as intrusive, if not impolite. Consultants assured me, however, that for the Wixárika, these greetings are standard, and not inappropriate in any way. As discussed in the place-talk section of this chapter, the place where one calls home among the Wixárika is a key part of one's social identity. Indeed, places have an identity of their own more durable than the people residing there. The speech act of placenaming in the context of a greeting is thus an efficient way to link people to known places. Hence, during trail encounters, the Wixárika call upon their landscape to accomplish the work of identifying each other in terms of place. What is more, the fact that this work is accomplished in a situation so commonplace as a trail encounter reflects the priority among the Wixárika of establishing belonging in the local context.

In the above analysis of greetings occurring in the context trail encounters, I did not include those involving myself as a participant. It is interesting to note, however, that whenever I was alone on the trail, I was most often greeted with "*¿Adónde va? (Where are you going?)*," which is a translation into Spanish of the second greeting type, "*Ke'apaiti?*." In these situations, after I responded appropriately with a placename, the initiator of the greeting would usually follow up with an additional question regarding the identity of the person I was visiting. My characteristics as an unknown outsider thus likewise inspired a type of greeting that placed me on the local landscape and also linked

me to a known individual or family. The need for others to identify my local affiliations is understandable. Various people recounted to me how outsiders had become lost walking alone on trails. On one occasion, for example, an outsider who had spent nearly a year living in the sierra, and who was assumed to know the terrain well, was lost for over a day trying to get to a place that should have been only an hour's walk from town. It was explained to me that even locals could easily be led off course, especially if they mistakenly follow animal trails, which are often hard to distinguish from trails created by humans. Also present in people's minds is the tragic incident involving Philip True, a journalist from the United States who was killed in 1998 while traveling alone in a neighboring Wixárika community (Liffman 2011:166). While most locals do not remember the specifics of the incident, what they do recall is that the death of an outsider within Wixárika territory not only evoked a military response on the part of the Mexican state, it also led to criticism and condemnation of Wixárika people in general from mainstream Mexican society. It is with good reason therefore that Wixárika people from *Tuapurie* and elsewhere are leery of outsiders roaming their trails unaccompanied.

Outsiders from beyond the sierra both within Mexico and from other countries are all referred to as *teiwari* (*teiwarixi*, plural), which the Wixárika translate into Spanish as *vecino* 'neighbor,' and their presence within the community is problematic. Different consultants commented on separate occasions that *teiwarixi* may arouse suspicion and jealousy among local members of the community. During one trail encounter with a stranger, for example, I was greeted *not* with the usual Spanish phrase, "*Adónde va?*" (*Where are you going?*)," but with the Wixárika "*Kepetiyu:riéni?*," meaning "*What are you doing?*." I am not certain whether this greeting opener was a sincere question to me,

given that it was uttered in Wixárika, or whether it was more of a rhetorical question in light of my odd presence. Consultants state that locals often think that outsiders are there for personal financial gain, or to get peyote. Various acquaintances complained to me, for example, that outsiders come to take photographs and make books to sell in the United States for lots of money, which people in the community never receive. One consultant recounted a disturbing incident from long ago, during his grandfather's time, when a *teiwari* came into the community and took photographs and removed objects from sacred places. It is very telling that the actions of the early twentieth century ethnographers are not only still remembered, they continue to stir resentment. This same consultant also protested that, nowadays, too many Wixárika *mara'akate* (ritual specialists) from all parts of the sierra are inviting *teiwari* to visit sacred places, which he said is strictly forbidden. The idea that sacred places will continue to be photographed and pillaged remains a very real worry. Hence, it is within this milieu of both concern and suspicion of me as a *teiwari* that trail encounters with me as a participant often yielded a greeting that would link me to known peoples and places on the local landscape.

Follow-up discussions with consultants regarding trail encounters yielded additional possible greeting types that I did not observe during the trail encounters I witnessed. Although I am not able to address the conditions with respect to participant characteristics underlying these elicited greeting types, they nevertheless reveal the unique, spatial dimension of the Wixárika language in the context of everyday verbal interaction. Following the text of the elicited greetings described below, I include visual diagrams as a means to succinctly characterize the setting of the verbal exchanges.

4. Speaker A: *Ke'apaiti?* (Where are you going?)
 Speaker B: *Hukaiwá.* (Over where you come from).
 5. Speaker A: *Kepera:né?* (Where are you coming from?)
 Speaker B: *Hukaiwá.* (Over where you come from).



Figure 3. Spatial Attributes of Greetings 4 and 5

I present greeting types four and five together because they are essentially variants that yield the same response. Figure 3 illustrates the spatial characteristics of greeting types four and five. Speaker B's response in both greetings implies some degree of familiarity with Speaker A, at least with respect to where Speaker A is coming from (#4), or where Speaker A is going (#5), but the specific nature of the relationship between participants in these types of greetings remains to be evaluated with more research. What I aim to highlight with this set of elicited greetings, as well as the others that follow, is the fact that Speaker B's response is related to the physical aspects of the setting. Namely, the above response is uttered when the setting of the trail encounter is on flat terrain, that is, when participants come across one another on a level surface. The distinction becomes clearer when other greeting types corresponding to different trail settings are considered, as the examples illustrate below.

6. Speaker A: *Ke'apaiti?* (Where are you going?)
Speaker B: *Pewa:kanétsie.*(On where you're coming down from).
7. Speaker A: *Kepera:né?* (Where are you coming from?)
Speaker B: *Hukia nepa:tiné.* (I come from there below).

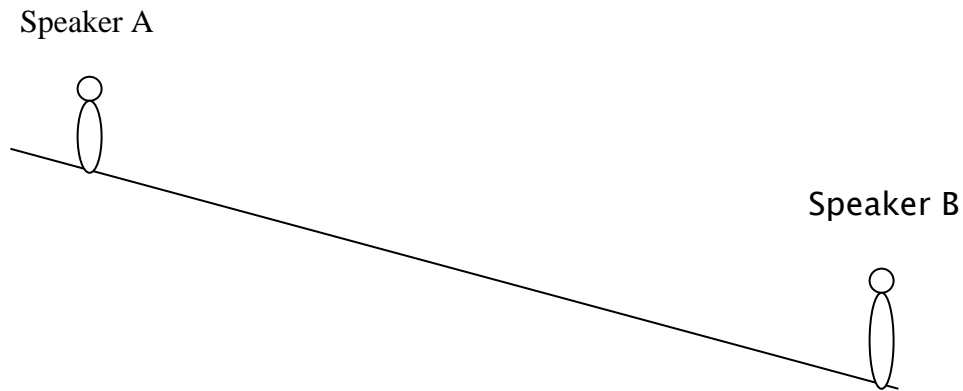


Figure 4. Spatial Attributes of Greetings 6 and 7

Figure 4 illustrates the spatial characteristics of greeting types six and seven. With these greeting types, Speaker A, the initiator of the verbal exchange, is situated at a higher elevation, and is descending toward Speaker B. The consultant added that, in this situation, an alternative response by Speaker B presented with the greeting in number six could simply be "*teiki*," meaning "*above*."

8. Speaker A: *Ke'apaiti?* (Where are you going?)

Speaker B: *Pewa:tinétsie.* (On where you're coming up from).

9. Speaker A: *Kepera:né?* (Where are you coming from?)

Speaker B: *Huteiki nepa:kané.* (I come from there above).

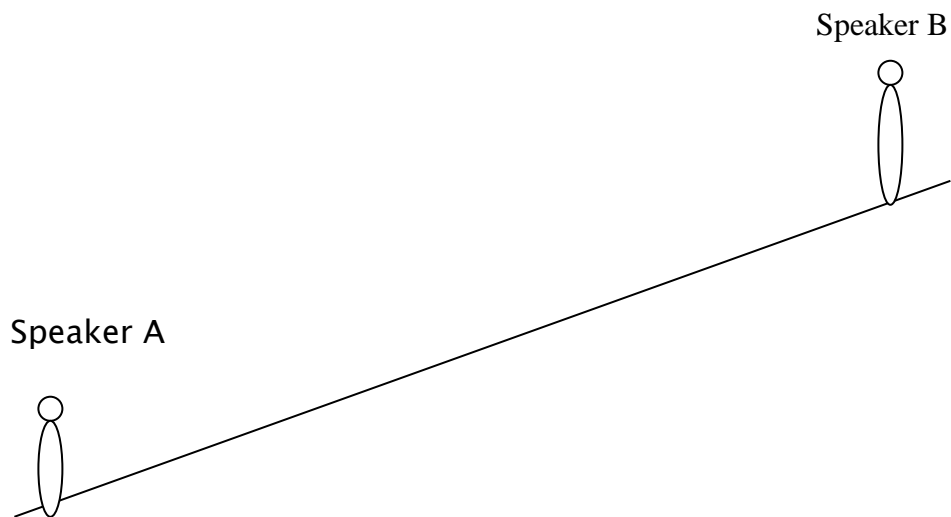


Figure 5. Spatial Attributes of Greetings 8 and 9

Figure 5 illustrates the spatial characteristics of greeting types eight and nine. With these greeting types, Speaker A is below, ascending toward Speaker B. What is significant about Speaker B's responses in all of these examples is that they incorporate characteristics of the landscape. In other words, a given response is determined according to whether one is headed toward or leaving from a place that is up, down, or at the same level as Speaker A.

While more research is needed concerning the characteristics of both participants and settings underlying these types of greetings, they nevertheless reflect a unique

characteristic of the Wixárika language, also witnessed in the placenames discussed above, which is its high degree of topographic specificity. In short, these elicited greeting types offer a glimpse into the spatial intricacy of verbal interaction among the Wixárika in everyday contexts, which itself constitutes an intriguing topic that warrants further research. For example, from the perspective of comparative linguistics, it would be worthwhile to evaluate the degree to which genetically related languages, such as Cora and Nahuatl, exhibit similar spatial features across different settings. Also, it would be valuable from a sociolinguistic standpoint to explore the extent to which the spatial specificity apparent in both placename morphology and greetings is characteristic of other domains of verbal interaction, such as narratives, traditional histories, and testimonies given at assembly meetings, to name just a few. Also of interest is whether it occurs equally across all registers (e.g., informal versus formal, ceremonial versus quotidian, etc.), and/or among speakers with different participant characteristics. From an applied linguistic perspective, it would be useful to examine how this unique feature of the language develops during first-language acquisition. In a nutshell, many more questions than definitive answers emerge as a result of this preliminary study into Wixárika verbal interaction.

Thus far, I have discussed the act of placenaming in the everyday context of the trail encounter. In the following portion of this chapter, I take up the speech act of placenaming in ceremonial contexts. It was on my very first visit to the study area, in fact, that I was clued in to the act of placenaming among the Wixárika during ceremonies. During that visit, a Wixárika acquaintance commented to me about the opening events of *Namawita Neixa*, the planting ceremony he had recently witnessed as a

bystander. He said that this ceremony began with all of the men sitting quietly within the *tuki* (main temple building), listening to the principal *mara'akame* (ritual specialist) chant "a series of names of places." Though I was not aware of it then, it turns out that this manner of placenaming is an important part of Wixárika ceremonial practice in general. In this section I discuss the speech act of placenaming as it occurs in three distinct Wixárika ceremonies, including *Teukaritsiya*, which is the newborn naming ceremony, *Tatei Neixa*, the harvest ceremony, and *Hítaimari*, the funeral ceremony. To qualify, it is not my purpose here to provide an exhaustive, blow-by-blow account of each ceremony. More complete descriptions exist elsewhere in the ethnographic literature, particularly with respect to the *Tatei Neixa* and *Hítaimari* ceremonies (see Fikes 2011: Chapter 3; Fresán Jiménez 2002; Gutiérrez 2002:146-153; Kindl 2003:127-8; Neurath 2002:35-37; Pacheco Bribiesca 2010; Preuss 1998c:272-273 [1908]; Weigand 2011). Instead, I give a general overview of events within each ceremony, and focus specifically on the speech act of placenaming within them.

When I first began fieldwork for this study, my interest in Wixárika ceremonies was centered on the ways in which they inform Wixárika conceptualization of the landscape. Although Wixárika ceremonial practice was not the exclusive focus of my research, I nevertheless was able to observe many household and community-level ceremonies over the course of fieldwork. This frequent exposure to ceremonies not only enhanced my understanding of the Wixárika landscape in terms of its meanings, contents, and scope, it also provided a rich theme to take up with Wixárika consultants during interview sessions. The data presented in this section were gathered primarily in the context of these sessions, consisting of unstructured interviews with consultants about

ceremonies that they had both participated in and witnessed, and to a lesser extent, from my own observation of ceremonies. Interviews were carried out in the private setting of the home or laboratory, and were written down in notebooks in the presence of consultants. By request of the consultants, no audio-recordings were made of these interviews, nor were photographs taken or audio-recordings made of any of the ceremonies I observed. As for the selection of ceremonies that are discussed in this section, it emerged organically during interviews about ceremonies I had observed. The selection of ceremonies also reflects the priorities of the consultants at the time of the interviews. Namely, some of the consultants with young children and grandchildren had recently participated in two of these ceremonies, which are centered on children. Similarly, the topic of the funeral ceremony came about after the death of a consultant's family member. Of the three ceremonies discussed in this section, I only observed the funeral ceremony (*Hitaimari*) first-hand, whereas as the other two (*Teukaritsiya* and *Tatei Neixa*) were recounted to me on multiple occasions by different consultants. All three of the ceremonies discussed here take place in the home setting, though one, *Tatei Neixa*, is also performed at the *tukipa*, for the entire community. As a means to organize the presentation of this data, I once again rely on the units of analysis of speech behavior outlined in the previous section, including the speech situation, event, and act, in addition to the key non-linguistic components of participants and settings (refer to pages 110 and 111, above). For clarity's sake, I first discuss the setting and main participants, and then give an overview of the ceremony, highlighting the speech act of placenaming that occurs within it.

Teukaritsiya. The ceremony whereby a newborn child is named is called *Teukaritsiya*, a word composed of the root *teukári*, which means both 'grandparent' and 'grandchild.' Interestingly, Schaefer (2002:310) and Liffman (2011:236) note separately that it is also the general term of address used among those who participate in the peyote pilgrimage, as well as the name of a flowering plant (*Asteraceae*) used to make yellow dye. Grimes and Grimes (1962:109) point out that the term *teukári* is related to the verb stem *-té:wa* 'to be called X,' and is included in the verb stem *-teukári-íá* 'to bestow a name.' They also note that *teukári* primarily refers to the grandparent or *mara'akame* that participates in the child's naming ceremony (Grimes 1962:109-110). The *Teukaritsiya* ceremony thus takes its name from the verb stem *-teukári-íá* identified by Grimes and Grimes (1962), but with the diminutive (or affective) *-tsi* (Iturrioz Leza 2006:4) added before the *-íá/-ya* suffix.

The setting of *Teukaritsiya* is the newborn's ancestral home. Where a newborn and his or her family reside is not necessarily their ancestral home; rather, the ancestral home is where the *xiriki* pertaining to the extended family is located. Recall, the *xiriki* is an adulatory resembling a small house that is part of the architectural complex that makes up the individual family *rancho*, and it is considered the dwelling place of a family's deceased, biological ancestors. Importantly, the *xiriki* is also a granary where maize kernels for consumption and planting are stored (Neurath 2002:142). Indeed, maize is also regarded as kin, and is referred to as "Our Mother" in ceremonial contexts. In the study area of *Tuapurie*, most of the older residential houses, or *ranchos*, dispersed along the canyons and in the valleys have *xirikite* (plural of *xiriki*), whereas the more recent houses on the mesa do not. Thus, regardless of whether a newborn resides with his or her

family in a city beyond the sierra, or in a town within Wixárika territory, the newborn must travel to his or her extended family's *xiriki* for the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony.

Before discussing the participants of the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony, I review the Wixárika conceptualization of personhood, since it holds implications for why *Teukaritsiya* and other ceremonies are performed in the first place. Although some of the notions regarding personhood discussed here emerged during casual conversations with consultants in the field, most of what I present stems from other studies specifically examining this facet of Wixárika belief. In brief, the Wixárika hold that within the body there exist three centers of vital energy: the *kipuri*, the *'iyari*, and the *tepari* (Islas Salinas 2011:59). With respect to the *kipuri*, its physical referent is the top of the head, and the fontanel of an infant (S. B. Schaefer, and Peter T. Furst 1996:525). Linguistically, *kipuri* shares its root with Wixárika word for hair, which is *kipá* (McIntosh 1951:259). As for its metaphysical meaning, the *kipuri* is a kind of spirit (Fikes 2011:117), sometimes translated into Spanish as *alma* 'soul' (Gutiérrez 2002:298; Kindl 2003:268), that endows a person with consciousness, and is linked with thought and dreaming (Islas Salinas 2011:60). A person's *kipuri* is considered to be able to leave the body without harm during the dream state (Islas Salinas 2011:59). The *kipuri* of a person is divided into five parts, each corresponding to one of the five cosmic regions of the Wixárika universe, which encompasses the four cardinal directions plus the center (Islas Salinas 2011:59). A person's physical health largely depends upon the status of one's *kipuri*. As one consultant explained, if one of the parts of the *kipuri* is misplaced within the body, or even lost outside of the body, then sickness may result, in which case a ritual specialist must be called upon to retrieve it and put it back into place, or the person may die

(Casillas Romo 1996:223). Though people are endowed with a *kipuri*, it is a vital entity that is considered to fundamentally pertain to the ancestor-deities and the celestial realm (Islas Salinas 2011:60). Indeed, when I asked another consultant if there is a word that means *dios* 'god' in Wixárika, he responded affirmatively, saying, "*kipuri*." Another consultant added that it may be referred to as a *kipuri* of rain, a *kipuri* of the sun, and so on. The *kipuri* associated with the ancestor-deities takes the form of water (Islas Salinas 2011:59). Fikes adds that *kipuri* is synonymous with divine or everlasting water, which is "obtained from specific places where water is always present and where particular ancestor-deities reside, or were born" (2011:119). The *kipuri* of a person must remain moist throughout one's lifetime, which is accomplished via the periodic sprinkling of water containing the *kipuri* of the ancestor-deities (Fikes 2011:118; Islas Salinas 2011:59-60). The Celestial Mother, or *Tatei Niwetikame*, is the ancestor-deity who inserts the *kipuri* into the human fetus (Fikes 2011:125; Schaefer 2002:310).

With respect to the two meanings of *kipuri* -- one being associated with the head of every person and the other pertaining to the water of the deities -- Pacheco Bribiesca (2010:72) notes, in fact, that there is a phonetic distinction between these two senses. *Kipuri*, he argues, refers to the vital entity of a person concentrated in the head, whereas *kupuri* refers to water that exists at sacred places. In this regard, most ethnographic sources do not recognize this distinction, but instead use either spelling for these concepts, while one even uses both interchangeably (e.g., Islas Salinas 2011). The possible phonetic difference is important to note, and is worth examining further, but it does not alter our understanding of the importance of *kipuri/kupuri* to Wixárika personhood.

The second center of vital energy in the human body is the *'iyari*, often glossed in the ethnographic literature as "heart-memory" (Schaefer 2002:306; S. B. Schaefer, and Peter T. Furst 1996:525), or "heart-memory-soul" (Fikes 2011:73). With respect to people, *'iyari* refers to the heart, the core circulatory organ of one's anatomy, which is regarded by the Wixárika as the center of thought, memory, and planning (Fikes 2011:77; Islas Salinas 2011:61). The term shares its root with the Wixárika word for lung or breath, *'iyá* (McIntosh 1951:269), and, in fact, one's *'iyari* is said to perpetually manifest itself through the act of breathing (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:53). The *'iyari* of a person is more than just the organ, however: it is a vital essence that, like the *kipuri*, travels outside the body during dreaming, and also survives death, when it travels through the underworld (Fikes 2011:77-78; Islas Salinas 2011:61). Although every individual has his or her own *'iyari*, it is also a collective and communal concept referring to an inherited body of knowledge (S. B. Schaefer 1996b:162), and to the traditions first established by the ancestor-deities in primordial times (Islas Salinas 2011:62; Neurath 2002:189). In fact, the expression *ta'iyari*, meaning 'our heart,' is a synonym for Wixárika tradition (Islas Salinas 2011:60), called *yeiyari* or *yeiyeri*, depending on one's dialect of the Wixárika language. A person can acquire the communal *'iyari*, that is, the collective memory of the ancestors, by following Wixárika tradition (Schaefer 2002:306). The trajectory of a person's *'iyari* after death is determined by the manner in which it is tended through the course of one's life. The *'iyari* of those who adhere to Wixárika tradition merge with the ancestor-deity *Tayau*, or Sun Father, whereas the *'iyari* of those who transgress the tradition remain trapped in the underworld for a time (Fikes 2011:77-78). An especially well-developed *'iyari* of a living or deceased person may become

transformed into a rock crystal to be kept in the family *xiriki*, where it is believed to watch over living descendants, as long as it is "fed" offerings and tended to properly (Fikes 2011:52; Islas Salinas 2011:131; Schaefer 2002:215). The Sun Father, *Tayau*, is the ancestor-deity who endows every human fetus with an *'iyari* (Fikes 2011:77).

The third center of vital energy is the *tepari*, also called the *yuriepa*, meaning "stomach" (Schaefer 2002:532), or 'place of the center' (Fresán Jiménez 2002:125). In relation to the body, the *tepari* refers to the navel and surrounding area (Fresán Jiménez 2002:58; Islas Salinas 2011:64). The navel represents the physical connection to one's origin, the mother's womb, and by extension, to one's biological ancestors. Also, by virtue of its location in the center of the body, the navel of a person is analogous to *Te:kata*, a sacred place that is regarded as the center of the universe (Islas Salinas 2011:64). The corporeal *tepari* has as its counterpart the ceremonial *tepari*, which refers both to the large stone disc with a cavity in its center and carvings of animals and other figures on its surface (Fresán Jiménez 2002:57; Schaefer 2002:310), as well as to the cavity over which the stone disc is set (Islas Salinas 2011:64). The original ceremonial *tepari* is at *Te:kata*, which is also the main dwelling-place of the ancestor-deity *Tatewarí*, or Grandfather Fire. Ceremonial *teparite* (plural of *tepari*) are also a feature of *tukipa* ceremonial centers, or temple complexes. The ceremonial *tepari* of the *tukipa* is set flat on the floor of the *tuki* (main temple building) over the cavity in which sculptures representing the ancestor-deities and offerings are kept, and which serves as a recipient for sacrificial blood (Islas Salinas 2011:65). The *tepari* of the *tukipa* also serves as the main hearth during ceremonies, and thus, is likewise associated with Grandfather Fire. Family and *tukipa* adoratories, or *xirikite* (plural of *xiriki*), also have ceremonial *teparite*,

but they are set within the wall of the *xiriki* structure, facing outward above the door. What is significant with respect to the array of ceremonial *teparite* mentioned here is that they are all symbolically connected to the corporeal *tepari* of every *Wixárika* individual. It is the responsibility of every *Wixárika* person to act on these connections by fulfilling ritual obligations on behalf of the family, the community, and the ancestor-deities. Failure to do so may result in an illness referred to as *teparíxiya* (Casillas Romo 1996:212; S. B. Schaefer, and Peter T. Furst 1996:529), which is manifest as inflammation, fever, and burning in the abdomen (Fresán Jiménez 2002:58; Islas Salinas 2011:129). The *tepari* of the body is associated with the ancestor-deity, *Tatewarí*, or Grandfather Fire (Islas Salinas 2011:64).

To summarize, the *kipuri*, the *'iyari*, and the *tepari* constitute the three vital elements of every *Wixárika* person. My purpose in describing them here concerns their significance with respect to the participants involved in the ceremonies to be discussed: Namely, they comprise some of the key characteristics that are relevant to understanding what is accomplished by the act of placenaming in the *Teukaristiya* and other ceremonies. It is important to note that during interviews in the field, consultants only rarely differentiated these three aspects of a person. Given that interviews were conducted in Spanish, consultants most often used the Spanish word *alma* 'soul' as a cover term in describing the course of events within the ceremonies. In this discussion, I use the term "soul" when recounting such statements by consultants, and I specify among *'iyari*, *kipuri*, and *tepari*, when possible based on additional consultant input, and on insights from other studies. As for those taking part in the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony, one of the main participants is the newborn baby, who is considered to be endowed with all three

vital elements -- *'iyari, kipuri, tepari* -- even while still in the womb. However, these elements in children are considered to be very delicate, and thus, until they reach the age of five years (Schaefer 2002:95), require special ritual attention. It is therefore the responsibility of the newborn's family, including parents and grandparents, to consult with a *mara'akame*, or ritual specialist, in order to arrange for the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony to take place soon after the baby is born. This ceremony is considered necessary for the health of the newborn baby, who may become ill otherwise. One consultant added that even though this ceremony should be performed for all newborns, it especially must be done for a couple's first born child. This same consultant also lamented that nowadays, not everyone holds this ceremony for their children.

Another main participant is the *mara'akame*, who is hired by the family to direct the ceremony. *Mara'akame* is the general term in the Wixárika language for a ritual specialist. The word *mara'akame* includes the agentive suffix *-kame*, which is present in many other Wixárika words, and refers to one who carries out an action that is in some way related to the root to which it is bound. The consultants with whom I collaborated were not certain of the meaning of the word's lexical morpheme, however. In fact, most simply translated the word *mara'akame* into Spanish as *chamán* 'shaman,' which is a term that I prefer not to use here because of its connotations from other cultural contexts. Nonetheless, all of the consultants shared the understanding of a *mara'akame* as one who is able to communicate directly with the *ka:kaiyarixi*, or ancestor-deities, and make their wishes known. In a detailed study of shamanism among the Wixárika, Islas Salinas adds that a *mara'akame* is someone who has obtained the "gift of sight," referred to as *nierika* in the Wixárika language, in which the true form of the world is perceived and

experienced (2011:80). While all *mara'akate* (plural of *mara'akame*) have the ability to communicate with the *ka:kaiyarixi*, their areas of expertise differ (Islas Salinas 2011:82; Schaefer 2002:86). People who choose to become *mara'akate* must develop their *'iyari* (Islas Salinas 2011:63) by undergoing years of apprenticeship and sacrifice in terms of fasting from food, salt, and water, and also sexual abstinence, sleeplessness, and pilgrimages. In this way, they are able to acquire *ta'iyari* 'our heart,' the collective, traditional knowledge necessary for performing ceremonies for the benefit of families and/or for the community as a whole. While training, apprentices may decide to specialize in curing certain illness, such as those caused by *kieri* (a hallucinogenic plant), the effects brought on by sorcerers, or birthing and midwifery (Schaefer 2002:86,88), for example. Thus, with respect to the *mara'akame* hired to perform a *Teukaritsiya* ceremony, the family must seek out one with the appropriate training and knowledge to carry it out.

The third main participant of the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony is the *ka:kaiyarixi*. There is some doubt as to the literal meaning of this word. It has been proposed that it is based on the root *ka:kai*, meaning 'sandal,' plus the derivation suffix *-yari*, followed by the plural marker *-xi*, which together mean 'sandal-wearers,' interpreted as an oblique reference to the deities (Fikes 1985:330). However, native speakers and other scholars do not agree with this interpretation (Liffman 2012). In much of the ethnographic literature about the Wixárika, the term *ka:kaiyarixi* is simply translated into Spanish and English as *dioses* or 'gods,' a translation that has been similarly criticized by some Wixárika people as inaccurate (Álvaro Uweli Ortiz, personal communication 2012). Consultants most often refer to them in Spanish as *antepasados* 'ancestors.' In their

broadest sense, the *ka:kaiyarixi* "are the creative forces of nature" (Álvaro Uweli Ortiz, personal communication 2012) who are regarded as the primordial ancestors of all Wixárika people (Preuss 1908:321). They include phenomena such as the sun, fire, rain, and wind, as well as deer and corn, and indeed are referred to using kinship titles like Father, Grandfather, Mother, and Elder Brother, when they are called upon individually. In their narrower sense, the *ka:kaiyarixi* are the deified biological ancestors, or blood relatives, of an extended family. In light of the fact that the *ka:kaiyarixi* are regarded as both ancestral and immortal, I refer to them as 'ancestor-deities,' following the example of others in the ethnographic literature. The Wixárika believe that the *ka:kaiyarixi* control environmental phenomena, and are responsible for the well-being of their human descendents (Gutiérrez 2002:48). In order to maintain favorable conditions, it is the responsibility of Wixárika people, in turn, to adhere to the traditions (*yeiyeri*) established by the *ka:kaiyarixi*, and to heed their advice. Consultants pointed out that things can go wrong if people fail to follow the precepts set down by the *ka:kaiyarixi*. Ordinary Wixárika are able to influence the *ka:kaiyarixi* by making objects and leaving them as offerings at their corresponding sacred places, and also by sponsoring ceremonies. The *ka:kaiyarixi* communicate directly through the *mara'akate* (plural of *mara'akame*) via dreams and visions brought on by fasting, peyote, and/or *kieri*, a hallucinogenic plant.

The *Teukaritsiya* ceremony itself constitutes the speech situation involving the abovementioned participants. As with most Wixárika ceremonies, the *Teukaritsiya* commences in the evening in the setting of the family *xiriki* and adjoining patio. Over the course of the night, and with the newborn present throughout, the *mara'akame* enters a dream state, during which he consults with the *ka:kaiyarixi* of the family *xiriki*

concerning the newborn. It is through the *mara'akame's* dreams that the names of the newborn are identified. In most cases, a newborn is given three or four Wixárika names, and the grandparents or parents decide which one they will use regularly (Schaefer 2002:95). Formal studies indicate that many are related to maize cultivation (Iturrioz Leza 2006:14), including proper names such as Corn Silk, Corn Spike, Corn Planter, and Corn Kernel. Others are related to the names of ancestor-deities, such as Young Arrow and Archer, while others refer to aspects or kinds of flora, including Bud, Orchid, and Marigold, to name just a few.

Once a newborn's names are identified, the *mara'akame* proceeds with the introduction of the newborn to the *ka:kaiyarixi*. This introduction initiated by the *mara'akame* comprises the speech event in which the speech act of placenaming occurs. More explicitly, the *mara'akame* utters the placenames where each *ka:kaiyari* resides, and in so doing, guides the newborn's "soul," that is, the *kipuri* and *'iyari*, to each place, where he introduces the newborn by name to the *ka:kaiyarixi*. To reiterate, the physical bodies of both the *mara'akame* and the newborn remain at the *xiriki*, but the detachable, incorporeal aspects of their personhood travel to sacred places by means of the *mara'akame's* utterances. What is most important about the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony, one consultant emphasized, is that "the baby is named in the *xiriki*, and the ancestors know him by name." It is in the context of the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony that the speech act of placenaming accomplishes the important goal of establishing a social bond between the newborn and the ancestor-deities. The landscape is thus called upon -- by means of the speech act of placenaming -- to incorporate the newborn not only into the immediate, biological family, but also into the extended family of primordial ancestor-deities.

Additional activities that occur in the context of *Teukaritsiya* involve the ceremonial *tepari* in the center of the patio adjoining the *xiriki*. For example, although my consultants did not mention this, Islas Salinas (2011:65) describes how the newborn is first bathed in the patio, and the residual substances and afterbirth are deposited in the cavity beneath the *tepari*, in the center of the patio, thereby establishing a permanent nexus between the newborn and the ancestors who dwell therein. Also during the ceremony, the *mara'akame* ties miniature pouches filled with tobacco onto the baby's wrist and ankle. Consultants explained to me that the woven pouches help keep the baby safe in the first year. In another study, these pouches are identified as *wainuri*, and, as containers of the sacred tobacco called *makutsi* (*Nicotiana rustica*), a substance considered to be part of *Tatewarí* 'Grandfather Fire,' they are believed to hold the '*iyari* of the ancestor-deities (S. B. Schaefer 1996b:154; Schaefer 2002:307). Thus, the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony not only accomplishes a metaphysical bond between the newborn and the ancestor-deities, it also leaves the newborn with a constant physical connection in the form of woven tobacco-pouches. What is more, this physical connection is reiterated via subsequent ritual activities carried out by the parents and grandparents. More explicitly, after completion of the *Teukaritsiya* at the *xiriki*, these adults are advised by the *mara'akame* to travel to sacred places that are the dwellings of certain ancestor-deities in order to leave offerings, such as wooden arrows with thread crosses, on the newborn's behalf (Schaefer 2002:95). Similar ritual practices involving the newborn and his or her adult relatives continue beyond the first year, as we shall see in the following section concerning the *Tatei Neixa* ceremony.

On the whole, what is accomplished for the newborn by means of the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony is akin to the process of "registration" that Liffman (2011:62) describes with respect to the Wixárika household, or *kie*. He notes that Wixárika people "register" their households by making sacrificial treks to ancestral places in the immediate locality, to the temple, and ultimately to *Wirikuta* and the other four cardinal sacred places. It is by means of these ritual practices that "the *kie* becomes part of a "root" extending from the hearth in front of the family shrine (*xiriki*) to the fire in the center of the twenty great temples (*tukipa*) to the cosmologically central cave at *Teekata*, where *Tatewarí* was first found, to the birthplace of the sun at *Reu'unaxi*, four hundred kilometers to the east" (Liffman 2011:63-64). Liffman's (2011) observations indicate that, just as newborns are identified and integrated into the realm of the ancestor-deities, so, too, are new households, which likewise acquire identities and names of their own, as we shall see in the next chapter. The ritual practice of making pilgrimages to sacred places thus enables the incorporation of both newborns and new home places into the Wixárika universe. What is more, the link that is made by humans and households to primordial sacred places is not just a one time event, but rather is a recurrent process. After the initial *Teukaritsiya* ceremony, both children and adults continue to participate in annual rounds of ceremonies that connect them -- either physically and/or 'in spirit' -- to the sacred places pertaining to the ancestor-deities. Significantly, consultants describe a similar process of "re-connection" involving the household *xiriki*, which must be renovated every five years in a ceremony called *Maxa Kwaixa*. This ceremony similarly includes treks to sacred places by occupants, as well as a deer hunt (in fact, *maxa* means 'deer'), and also entails re-thatching the grass roof of the *xiriki*, a ritual process that

likewise occurs at the *tukipa*. In short, the frequent connections that are made between people and places in ceremonial contexts, and the ritual parallels that exist between people and places reflect their intrinsic relationship, and also underscore the status of both people and place as social entities within the Wixárika universe.

Tatei Neixa. The literal meaning of *Tatei Neixa* is 'Dance of Our Mother' (*ta*- 'our,' plus *-tei* 'mother,' and *nei*- 'to dance,' plus *-xa*, a nominalizing suffix), and it is the ceremony that is performed just prior the harvest of maize and squash. It is also described as a children's initiation ritual (Kindl 2003:127; Liffman 2011:236). *Tatei Neixa* marks the end of the rainy season -- a time associated with fertility, primordial chaos, femininity, and the West -- and a return to the dry season, associated with Father Sun, light, order, and the East (Neurath 2002:235, 236). In an early ethnographic study by Lumholtz (1900:154), "Our Mother" in the title of this ceremony is identified as the Rain Mother of the East, but it is indeed more precise to regard it as a collective reference to several female ancestor-deities, including Our Rain Mothers, Our Corn Mother, Our Earth Mother, and others, who are considered responsible for health and growth of both children and plants. For this reason, Liffman (2011:236) translates the name of this ceremony using the plural, as "Dance of Our Mothers." Elsewhere in ethnographic literature, the name of this ceremony is translated in various ways, including *la fiesta de los Elotes Tiernos* 'festival of Tender Corn', *la fiesta de las Calabazas* 'festival of Squash' (Neurath 2002:286; Preuss 1998c:272-273), the feast of green squashes (Lumholtz 1900:155), the first-fruits ritual (Fikes 2011:121), and *la fiesta del Tambor* 'festival of the Drum' (Gutiérrez 2002:300; Kindl 2003:271; Neurath 2002:367), in reference to the prominent role the wooden drum, or *tepu*, plays in this ceremony. The *Tatei Neixa*

ceremony must take place before any corn can be harvested. In fact, one consultant added that *elotes*, or corn-on-the-cob, should not even be eaten before the *Tatei Neixa* has been carried out. It is a ceremony that is performed both at individual family households, or *kiete* (plural of *kie*), and at the community-level ceremonial centers, or *tukipa*, given that both entities have corresponding agricultural fields. The setting of the household-level *Tatei Neixa* is the outdoor patio located just west of the *xiriki*. Unlike most other ceremonies, which take place over the course of a night, a significant portion of the *Tatei Neixa* occurs in the daytime, perhaps owing to the involvement of children (Preuss 1998c:273).

Two of the main participants in the *Tatei Neixa* ceremony include Wixárika children that are five years of age and under, as well as bundles of freshly picked corn and squash representing the first fruits of the harvest. The *Tatei Neixa* ceremony effectively manifests an equivalence between young children and first fruits, and is indeed performed in order to enhance the growth process of children and the ripening of fruits when they are still tender (Kindl 2003:128). One consultant even made a point to mention that *elotes* 'corn-on-the cob' are regarded as "*nuestros hijos*" ('our children'), and thus need to be cared for as such. Indeed, plants such as corn and squash, as well as deer and other animals, are considered to be endowed with an '*iyari*, or "heart-memory," just as humans are (Islas Salinas 2011:61). Consultants explained that participation in the *Tatei Neixa* ceremony ensures the health of young children, who are expected to take part in the ceremony every year through age five. It begins in morning and lasts until the evening of the following day (Neurath 2002:288), though children are present primarily during the daytime phase of the ceremony. In the first phase of the ceremony, children sit

with their parents in the patio, facing east, and are required to shake gourd rattles throughout the duration (Neurath 2002:288; Preuss 1998c:273). Bundles of green corn and squash are likewise set upon an altar located on the east side of the patio (Neurath 2002:288). Seated just east of the children on a special woven chair called an *'uweni*, is the *mara'akame*, who is another of the main participants in the ceremony. The *mara'akame*, or ritual specialist, who leads the *Tatei Neixa* must be able to sing, a skill that is developed over many years of apprenticeship. Although the requirements for becoming a *mara'akame* are not standardized, one consultant noted that a person wishing to be a singing *mara'akame*, that is, one who leads ceremonies that include dancing, like *Tatei Neixa*, must serve the community as a temple cargo holder for at least three terms, which by itself represents a commitment of fifteen years. The *ka:kaiyarixi*, or ancestor-deities, described in the previous section, are also main participants in the *Tatei Neixa*, as well as in all other Wixárika ceremonies. Additional participants in the *Tatei Neixa* include a child's parents and grandparents, as well as other extended family members who cultivate in the vicinity of the family *xiriki*. At the *Tatei Neixa* of the *tukipa*, the additional participants include community members who hold temple cargo positions, along with their immediate families. Male participants typically take turns playing the drum for the duration of the ceremony, and others take part in the dance, which occurs in the nighttime phase (Neurath 2002:290, 291).

The daytime phase of the *Tatei Neixa* ceremony includes the speech situation of interest involving the aforementioned participants. During this first phase, the singing *mara'akame* chants the names of places where specific ancestor-deities dwell, and thereby guides the incorporeal aspects (*'iyari* and *kipuri*) of the children and first-fruits to them,

just as in the *Teukaritsiya* ceremony discussed above. The speech act of placenaming in the context of the *mara'akame's* chant accomplishes a metaphysical reunion with the ancestor-deities, and it serves to initiate the speech event of a greeting between living and immortal participants. Thus, by means of the speech act of placenaming during the *Tatei Neixa*, the Wixárika landscape is called upon to reunite young children and first fruits with the primordial ancestor-deities, who consequently attend to the growth of the children and to the ripening of fruits.

Although consultants were not explicit about the specific places invoked in the course of the chant, Neurath points out that this first phase encompasses all of the places visited on the pilgrimage east to *Wirikuta*, the sacred place where peyote is gathered in the state of San Luis Potosí, and to the sacred mountain of *Reu'unaxi*, the birthplace of the sun, and ultimately, back to the patio where the ceremony is being performed (Neurath 2002:290). Neurath adds that, unlike the corresponding pilgrimage carried out "in body" by cargo holders of each temple, not a single sacred place is omitted from the incorporeal pilgrimage carried out in the context of the *Tatei Neixa* (Neurath 2002:290). The nighttime phase of the ceremony entails an even longer metaphysical pilgrimage west to the place of *Tatei Haramara* 'Our Sea Mother' on the Pacific coast, through the underworld to *Reu'unaxi*, and ultimately, back to the patio (Neurath 2002:291). The pilgrimage that is chanted during this phase follows the route of the dead, and hence, young children do not participate in this segment. Only the first-fruits remain in the patio to experience "death" by being cooked and consumed, and to be guided on a round-trip journey through the underworld and back to the place of Father Sun, where their *'iyari* then remains to assist him (Neurath 2002:292).

Among the array of material objects utilized in the *Tatei Neixa* ceremony, the threaded cross, *ortsikiri*, is a prominent one (Schaefer 2002:95). Although *tsikirite* (plural of *tsikiri*) have often been referred to as "eyes" (Lumholtz 1900:154) or "god's eyes" in the ethnographic literature, the Wixárika themselves do not consider them as such (Álvaro 'Uweli Ortiz, personal communication 2012). Instead, as Preuss pointed out early on, the *tsikiri* represents the four directions of the celestial path of the sun (Preuss 1908:320), upon which the pilgrimage route to four corners of universe is modeled (Gutiérrez 2002:104). During the *Tatei Neixa* ceremony, a large *tsikiri* is placed on the altar to the east, representing the birthplace of the sun, and small *tsikirite* are tied to the headband or hat worn by each child (Neurath 2002:288). These *tsikirite* serve as a miniature maps of the Wixárika universe, and thus are considered to guide and protect the children as they embark on their metaphysical pilgrimage to *Wirikuta* (Gutiérrez 2002:102-103). The *tsikiri* also stands as a material record of a child's journey. Each year that a child participates in the *Tatei Neixa*, he or she acquires an additional *tsikiri*, which is then affixed to a larger cross. After five consecutive years, a child is given a completed *tsikiri*, embodying all five pilgrimages. Once a child becomes adult, he or she will again embark on the pilgrimage to *Wirikuta*, but at that point, it will occur in *both* body and spirit.

Hitaimari. The ceremony for a recently deceased person is called *hitaimari*, a word composed of the root *taima*, a verb meaning 'to wash,' used specifically in reference to the face (McIntosh 1951:67, 109), plus the prefix *hi-*, whose precise meaning has yet to be understood, but which may refer to the eyes or face (*hi:xite* 'eyes,' and *hi:xi* 'front' or 'face'). Elsewhere in the ethnographic literature, this ceremony is referred to as

Hutaimari (Fikes 2011; Weigand 2011), *Witaimari* (Neurath 2002; Pacheco Bribiesca 2010), and *Mi:kikwewixa* (Anguiano Fernández 1996:377; Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:3). The term *mi:kikwewixa* is composed of the noun *mi:kí-* 'dead person, deceased,' the verb stem *-kwewi-* 'to await' (McIntosh 1954:129), plus the nominalizing suffix *-xa*, which together mean 'Awaiting the dead.' Consultants explained that the *Hitaimari* ceremony explicitly refers to the act of washing or cleansing the soul of a deceased person. When a person dies, living family members gather at the house (*kie*) of the deceased to help with burial preparations, including washing and dressing the body in fine clothing, and placing personal items in the casket (Weigand 2011:209). Burial typically occurs immediately after the preparations, often within several hours of one's death (Weigand 2011:210). In the study area, people often are buried in the small cemetery, or *campo santo* (Spanish for 'holy ground'), closest to their house. Most small villages or hamlets have their own *campo santo*, marked only by intermittent heaps of stone and wooden crosses.

The ritual actions performed by a *mara'akame* just prior to burial and afterwards are directly related to the Wixárika conceptualization of personhood. Although the body of a person ceases all functioning and undergoes decay at death, its incorporeal aspects, including the *kipuri* and *'iyari*, are considered to survive death (Fikes 2011:73). While the early ethnographer Preuss (1998d:251) does not distinguish these two aspects of a person by name, he indeed mentions that at death, one of the "souls" of the dead person dries out and returns to what he calls the goddess of the sky, whom he refers to as *Xuturi 'Twiákame* 'She Who Has a Skirt of Flowers.' Fikes (2011:118) identifies this aspect as the *kipuri*, which he notes is destined to return to the Celestial Mother, or *Tatei Niwetikame*, upon the physical death of a person. The Celestial Mother will in turn send

that same *kipuri* back to earth when another human fetus materializes (Fikes 2011:118). The other "soul," Preuss (1998d:251) explains, is the one that is tracked down by the ancestor-deity called *Kauyumarie* in the context of the funeral ritual, and ultimately found in the land of the dead, located in the west. Fikes (2011:77) notes that it is the *'iyari* of a dead person that is retrieved by *Kauyumarie*, and then ultimately returned to the Sun Father, or *Tayau*, to dwell. As mentioned above, an especially well-developed *'iyari* may even become transformed into a rock crystal and set in the *xiriki* in order to protect living descendants in close proximity (Fikes 2011:52; Islas Salinas 2011:131; Preuss 1998c-3; Schaefer 2002:215).

The ceremonies that take place at death are thus a means to ensure to that the *'iyari* of a person reaches its final destination. In conversations about what happens to a person at death, consultants were not explicit with me about which aspect of a person remains. They simply mentioned that the soul lingers, and then becomes tired after a few days. Consultants added that if the soul of a dead person stays around too long, it may become dangerous and cause sickness among the living (see also Fikes 2011:113; Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:30). Ethnographic studies concerning the Wixárika treatment of the dead also indicate that the *'iyari* of the deceased must be dealt with expediently at death and afterwards. To illustrate, just prior to closing the casket, the *mara'akame* returns the roaming *'iyari* of the deceased back into the body, places a cotton bundle over the eyes and face, and covers it with a scarf "so that it no longer can see the family"... and "so then it can rise like a cloud" (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:52). In addition, leather sandals (*ka:kái*), are securely tied to the corpse "so that the feet do not hurt" during the dead's designated trek to the Pacific coast (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:59,64). A woven bag

(*kitsiuri*) containing miniature tortillas and a beverage is placed within the casket, and the body is then wrapped in a white sheet, thus taking on the form of a cloud (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:63). Once the casket is sealed and lowered into the pit, the *mara'akame*, followed by the others present, tosses handfuls of dirt onto the casket. Once everyone has contributed, the remainder of the pit is then filled in with the use of shovels (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:60). During the five-day interval between burial and the *Hitaimari*, the souls of dead are reported to go to the west and to all of the places where they walked in life, conversing with the ancestor-deities that they encounter along the way (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:82).

Consultants explained that after five days, the *Hitaimari* ceremony is performed in order for the the soul (*'iyari*) to be "washed away" from the area and guided to its final resting place. The main setting of the *hitaimari* is the patio of the ancestral home, though the burial plot in the *campo santo* is also visited once again during the ceremony. The participants of the *Hitaimari* include the *'iyari* of the deceased person, the *mara'akame* hired to perform the ceremony, and *Kauyumarie*, a main ancestor-deity (*ka:kaiyari*) and chief supernatural aide to the *mara'akame* executing the ceremony. Other ancestor-deities (*ka:kaiyarixi*) are also called to take part at certain points throughout (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:88). Additional human participants include an assistant to the *mara'akame* referred to during the ceremony as *Tititaka* (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:91), family members and friends of the deceased, as well as all of the people present at the initial burial. Although Pacheco Bribiesca (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010) refers to this assistant as *Tututaka* in his ethnography, consultants assured me that the proper name for this role is *Tititaka*, and is based on the Wixárika word for ember, which is *ti*. The

Tititaka is appointed by the *mara'akame* leading the ceremony, and is required to perform the same role at five separate *Hitaimari* ceremonies. Consultants noted that if someone who participated in the initial burial fails to attend the *Hitaimari*, he or she remains unclean, and thus may become ill (see also Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:84). Like all Wixárika ceremonies, the *Hitaimari* is multifaceted, involving hours of chanting in tandem with gestures and manipulation of objects laden with meaning. Several ethnographers, including Preuss (1998d), and more recently, Anguiano Fernández (1996), Neurath (2002), Pacheco Bribiesca (2010), and Fikes (2011), describe the ceremony in great detail with respect to the execution and significance of funerary rituals, and the meaning of the respective chants. I do not attempt to discuss every detail here, but instead provide an overview, focusing mainly on the act of placenaming that occurs in this ceremony.

The *Hitaimari* begins at dusk with the principal *mara'akame* sitting in the center of the patio, facing east toward the family *xiriki*. As the ceremony begins, *Tititaka*, the assistant to the *mara'akame*, lights a fire within a hollowed out ceramic pot (one with its base removed). This pot is laid on its side with its ends oriented east-west, and placed on the ground near the *xiriki*, where the assistant remains seated, keeping the fire lit throughout the duration of the ceremony. The light that emanates from hollowed pot is has a dual purpose: it is intended to attract and guide the *'iyari* of the deceased from the coastal region to the family patio, but it also is intended to blind the deceased, keeping him or her from seeing the family members gathered nearby (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:95). With the pot lit, the *mara'akame* begins a solo chant that will continue throughout the night. In the initial phase, the *mara'akame*, with the guidance of the

ancestor-deity *Kauyumarie*, sings of their travels through the underworld, following the path that the *'iyari* of the deceased has taken after burial. The objective of this initial chant is to retrace, and also to erase, the steps of the deceased's *'iyari* (Fikes 2011:76; Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:104). Once the *'iyari* has been found, guided by light of pot, it will then be coaxed back to the patio for a short time, where living family members are waiting to bid the deceased a final farewell. Recall that an alternative name for this ceremony is *Mi:kikweiwixa*, meaning 'Awaiting the Dead,' which is a reference to this phase of the ceremony, during which family members await the temporary return of the dead in its aspect as an *'iyari*. In terms of a speech event, the chant that occurs during this phase is a testimony of the deceased's journey west to the land of the dead. The testimony occurs over a period of several hours, and it is in the context of this testimony that the speech act of placenaming occurs. Specifically, as the *mara'akame* sings, he utters the names of the each place that the *'iyari* of the deceased has visited since burial of the body five days prior. Significantly, in conjunction with the utterance of each placename occurs a dialogue among key participants regarding the passage of the dead's *'iyari* from one place to another. The participants in the dialogue include *Kauyumarie*, the ancestor-deities associated with each place, and the *'iyari* of the deceased -- all of whom speak through the voice of the one *mara'akame* conducting the ceremony. Other studies of the *Hítaimari* show that this dialogue is unique from one ceremony to the next, since it concerns how the deceased lived his or her life, particularly with respect to Wixárika tradition (*yeiyeri*) (Fikes 2011; Medina Silva 1996). Fikes notes that the deceased's conduct in life largely determines whether the obstacles encountered on the journey through the land of the dead will be surmounted, and what the fate of the *'iyari*

will be. (2011:79). Those who fulfill ritual obligations and control sexual passions are entitled to enter the celestial realm of the Sun Father and Celestial Mother, whereas those who do not remain in the underworld (Fikes 2011:79).

As an observer of this ceremony, I was able to understand little more than a placename uttered every so often during the course of the *mara'akame's* chant. Nevertheless, as I was listening, consultants explained to me that the *mara'akame* was searching for the deceased at the places mentioned during the course of the chant, and that the dead was debating whether to return so that he could ultimately be brought back to address everyone present. The one published account that exists of a *Hitaimari* chant reveals the nature of the dialogue that occurs during this phase of the ceremony. I include an excerpt here to illustrate.

Deceased: I am making a journey. I came here to bid farewell for the last time because I will never again be present here. My own *'iyari* made me end it. Now you understand, my Rain mothers and my male relatives.

Singer [*mara'akame*]: I arrived at the aboriginal temple at Santa Catarina and asked if they had seen her come by there. They said they had only seen the shadow or ghost of the deceased...

Deceased: I take my leave because it is impossible for me to be with all of you again.

Singer [*mara'akame*]: Having said that, she arrived at *Kirixipa*, where the votive gourd bowls are placed... (Fikes 2011:88)

To summarize, during the first phase of the *Hitaimari* ceremony, human participants hear not only the names of important places, but also the verbal interaction between the deceased and the *ka:kaiyarixi* associated with each place. The speech act of placenaming that occurs during this phase thus enables human participants to identify key places and their corresponding ancestor-deities, and also to determine their relevance with respect to one's life choices. In essence, placenaming in this context accomplishes a practical awareness of the Wixárika universe on the part of human participants of the *Hitaimari*.

While the main focus of this study concerns the abovementioned speech events occurring in the first phase of the *Hitaimari*, what follows is a brief summary of the subsequent phases in order to provide a sense of the ceremony in its entirety. Beginning well after midnight, the next phase of the chant begins once the *'iyari* of the deceased has been located in the land of the dead. At this point, the ancestor-deity *Kauyumarie*, speaking through the *mara'akame*, engages the *'iyari* into a dialogue that is chanted, and ultimately persuades it to return to the patio where family members are eagerly waiting. What follows is an especially intense, yet moving phase involving the return of the deceased to the family patio. It entails a marked change in the ceremony: the chanting stops abruptly, and everything becomes still and quiet. The *mara'akame* then begins to speak with a booming voice, greeting everyone in attendance. It is the deceased, now present at the family patio, communicating through the voice of the *mara'akame*. The *mara'akame* then continues with a spoken -- not chanted -- monologue lasting for more than an hour. Consultants explained to me that it is at this point in the ceremony that the deceased publically declares the underlying reason for death, and also makes known his or her bequests to the living. Throughout the monologue human participants remain very still and extremely attentive, occasionally weeping in response to the tearful reflections offered by the deceased via the *mara'akame*.

At the conclusion of the monologue, the *mara'akame* once again begins to chant, but with a melody that is distinct from preceding ones. This next phase also involves choreographed movements of human participants. As the *mara'akame* chants, participants gather in the center of the patio around the *mara'akame*, who in turn brushes the head of each individual with the feathers of a plumed arrow (*muwieri*). While the

people are huddled together, two men holding a rope (*kaunari*) at each end temporarily bind everyone, and then encircle the group, trotting counterclockwise with rope in hand. The two men then separate from the group and trot into the *xiriki* with the rope extended. They exit the *xiriki* almost immediately, and again bind and encircle the group, but in clockwise fashion, and then enter the *xiriki* a second time. In another description of this ceremony, Pacheco Bribiesca (2010:99) points out that this same rope is used to tie the calf or goat that is to be sacrificed. For this reason, *kaunari* is defined in the ethnographic literature as a sacrificial cord (Neurath 2002:363; Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:137), but in other contexts, the term simply refers to an ordinary rope (McIntosh 1951:259).

The next phase of the ceremony occurs around daybreak, before the sun rises. Women sweep the patio clean, and the bull-calf or goat is then pulled with the *kaunari* rope to the center patio in front of the *xiriki*. The legs of bull or goat are then bound with the rope, and it is laid on its side with the head facing east, toward the *xiriki*. In the ceremony that I witnessed, people tending to the bull took special care to orient its eyes and mouth toward the flame-filled, broken pot that was placed on the ground in front of the *xiriki*. As the sun rises, the animal's jugular vein is slit, and people scramble to collect the blood in containers, which is later used to sprinkle on material offerings to the ancestor-deities. Shortly after the animal is sacrificed, standing before the offering table set up in front of the *xiriki*, the *mara'akame* tearfully speaks to the deceased, who is at this point invited to partake of the offerings and, for a short time, to mingle with everyone. Following the example of the *mara'akame*, family members all at once begin to speak to the deceased. Everyone sobs while expressing his or her individual

sentiments toward the deceased. It is the final farewell before the deceased is sent off to his or her final resting place. In the ceremony that I witnessed, after almost thirty minutes, this poignant phase address was abruptly ended with the joyful sound of a string band, harkening the next phase of the ceremony. This happy music was everyone's cue to gather baskets filled with food and beverages and depart on foot from the family patio to cemetery where the body of the deceased was buried. The musicians were also transported to the cemetery. At the tomb, people once again addressed the deceased, and then placed the contents of the baskets on the mounded earth while the band continued playing. Once all of the offerings were deposited, and the band played its final tune at the grave site, everyone dispersed and headed back to the family patio.

Recall that the name *hitaimari* literally refers to the act of washing the face. The *Hitaimari* ceremony accomplishes the act of 'washing' in two ways: For one, although the *'iyari* of the deceased is summoned for a short time, it is ultimately washed away, or "erased" (Fikes 2011), from the home environment. Secondly, human participants are likewise washed clean of the *'iyari* of the deceased via a ritual that occurs during one of the final phases of the ceremony. Upon returning from the cemetery, the flame in hollowed pot that had been tended to by the *Tititaka* for the duration of the ceremony is finally extinguished, and everyone present stands in line to wash their face, or to be sprinkled with water. Once washed, the assistant applies a small cross shape of carbon paste called *tixari* to everyone's cheeks, hands, abdomen, and ankles as a means to prevent the dead's *'iyari* from returning to see everyone. *Tixari* is made from the mixture of soot, water, and a type of flower called *tuxú*. One consultant pointed out that, as an attendee of a *Hitaimari*, is especially important to have small crosses of *tixari* painted on

the head and stomach, since it is through the head and mid-section of the living that the deceased's spirit returns to cause trouble. Once everyone is cleansed, meat-filled pots are set on cooking fires, and the *mara'akame* resumes chanting at the central fire. After a time, tortillas and tamales are distributed to everyone present. The *mara'akame* and the *Tiitaka* then fingerpaint small crosses of carbon paste from the hollowed pot to all of the objects on the table near the *xiriki*, to all of the doors of buildings, and at each of the cardinal points on the stone corral surrounding the homestead. The entrances of the corral are also "closed" with thorny branches, all as a means to keep the *'iyari* from returning (Pacheco Bribiesca 2010:118). Once the the homestead is secured, the festivities begin: the band once begins to play, and participants eat and drink in a relaxed atmosphere for the remainder of the day.

To summarize, in this chapter I have been concerned with *how* the landscape comes to mean in the context of landscape-related speech situations. In particular, I have examined how the *speech act of placenaming*, that is, the utterance of placenames in key contexts, consolidates landscape meanings, and puts the landscape to work for social ends. For example, the speech act of placenaming that takes place during greetings on trails serves to identify people in terms of places. This process reveals how the landscape serves as a source of social identity. Analysis of trail greetings also shows how such greetings entail references to spatial characteristics in ways that parallel the spatial information contained within certain classes of placenames. In addition, examination of the speech act of placenaming in ceremonial contexts, including the *Teukaritsiya*, or newborn naming ceremony, the *Tatei Neixa*, or first fruits ceremony, and the *Hitaimari*, or funeral ceremony, reveals how the landscape is put to use to consolidate one's

connection to the ancestor-deities, and to nurture a practical awareness of the Wixárika universe. The speech act of placenaming in these contexts thus underscores not only a cosmological conceptualization of the landscape, but also a conceptualization of the landscape as collective memory that is formed and reinforced throughout one's life via participation in these ceremonies, among many others. The insights discussed here also highlight the intimacy between personhood and landscape. The intricate ceremonies that take place from the birth to the death of every Wixárika individual forge a bond to the landscape, and are indeed necessary for "completing" all aspects of a person, that is, for being Wixárika. Indeed, Wixárika personhood is formed in relation to the landscape, and thus cannot be considered apart from it.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CONTENT AND PROCESS OF A WIXÁRIKA LANDSCAPE

Footsteps... weave places together.
-- Michel de Certeau,
The Practice of Everyday Life

While the previous chapters focused on what the Wixárika landscape means and how it is imbued with meaning via language, this chapter is concerned with the content of the landscape, and the process whereby it is produced. By *content*, I am referring to the cultural and physical makeup of the landscape, and by *process*, I am referring to the means, or courses of action, by which the landscape comes into being. I present *content* and *process* together in this chapter because they are mutually constitutive facets of the landscape: that is, the content of a landscape is ultimately produced by means of its process, which is in turn inspired by its content, and so on, in reciprocal fashion. For the sake of clarity, I first discuss the content, which is described here in terms of the places that comprise the landscape. In short, the data here show the Wixárika landscape to be made up of a wide variety of meaningful places, ranging from built-up to natural. In the second section, I focus on the *process* of the landscape, which I characterize here in terms of the customary movements of people among component places. In brief, the data indicate that the Wixárika landscape is actualized by a range of human movements laden with meaning, assuming a variety of forms and encompassing diverse places. I conclude the chapter with a discussion regarding the ways in which the physical content of a Wixárika landscape are consistent with how it is conceptualized, as described in the previous chapters. These topics then provide the basis for the final chapter concerning its archaeological relevance.

For purposes of this study, a landscape is a composite of places that is actualized by human movement. In the course of this presentation on the content and process of the landscape, I utilize native terminology. Not only do these terms stand as a convenient and concise way for me to organize the findings, they also inherently represent the indigenous perspective of the landscape -- the main goal of this study. I first describe the content of a Wixárika landscape in terms of kinds of places, and then discuss the range of movements that constitute that landscape. It is necessary to repeat the place categories discovered in earlier chapters in order to examine them from this different perspective. The movement data presented here show that movement for the Wixárika is not simply a means to get from one place to another; rather, it is a highly symbolic, ritual activity in itself. Furthermore, landscape-related movement among the Wixárika is multifaceted, assuming a variety of forms and encompassing diverse places.

The Content of a Wixárika Landscape

The data on places presented here were gathered over the course of ethnographic fieldwork, in tandem with the collection of placename and place-talk data discussed in previous chapters. During fieldwork, I traveled within a portion of the Wixárika homeland with native consultants, who identified and discussed important places encountered during our journeys, which took place in the context of visits with family and friends, farm tasks, and household and community-level ceremonies. In addition to the linguistic data associated with places, I also documented key cultural and physical characteristics, including function, history, and physical makeup, such as presence or absence of architecture, size, and surrounding landform elements and vegetation. In light of the justifiably guarded nature of the Wixárika people when it comes to researchers in

their homeland, I was only rarely able to take photographs of places, and I was not able to draw accurate maps of them, though I was able to sketch various sites from memory. With the aid of a global positioning system (GPS) device, I was also able to create a general map of the study area showing the precise location of places, and in track mode on the GPS, I was able to document the foot-trails connecting them.

Interestingly, attempts to elicit data on kinds of places with the native linguistic consultant prior to fieldwork were not very successful. The direct question, "What kinds of places are there in your community?," turned out to be too vague during the initial stage of research. It was only with direct observation through fieldwork, and subsequent reflection and discussion with native consultants about the characteristics of named places that native categories of place emerged. The description below thus reflects an indigenous point of view of a Wixárika landscape, and is organized on the basis Wixárika terminology for kinds of places.

In the discussion that follows, I introduce each native category of place in italics, followed by its English translation(s) in quotes, at the beginning of the corresponding paragraph. Translations between double quotes ("... ") specify loose approximations of the native term, indicating a figurative meaning, whereas translations between single quotes ('...') are literal renditions of native terms. So as not to confuse native categories of place with proper names for places, I do not capitalize native categories (which are common nouns), unless they begin a sentence. I begin the discussion of each native category with a review of its linguistic components, followed by description of physical characteristics associated with it.

Kiekari "the world" and "town." The Wixárika concept that most closely approximates the analytical concept of landscape used here is *kiekari*. In everyday speech, *kiekari* encompasses a variety of meanings, which are discussed in more detail below, but in its broadest sense, it refers to the entire world (Neurath 2002:146). The word *kiekari* is built on the root *ki*, which means 'house,' plus the locative affix *-e*, meaning 'at', and the suffix *-kari*, which Liffman (2011:115) has identified as a nominalizing suffix that implies abstraction or generalization. Here, I suggest an alternative interpretation of this suffix, because, for one, I have not found other examples of the suffix *-kari* with a generalizing function. Also, *kie* is a noun, and therefore, there is no motivation for adding a nominalizing suffix, whose function is to turn other classes of words (verbs, adjectives) into nouns. Thus, I propose that the *-kari* suffix is composed of the verb *-ka-* 'to be seated,' now lexicalized with a locative meaning, plus *-ri*, a plural marker in this case. *Kiekari* may be translated literally as "where there are house places," which underscores the fact that the Wixárika conceive of their world as a dwelling. To add to this point, and as first noted in Chapter Three, *ki* 'house' is also a root for other types of places, including *kie* 'ranch,' *tukipa* 'great house,' and *xiriki* 'ancestor-deity house,' to be discussed in more detail below. Aside from the dwelling concept of the landscape, it is important to acknowledge that alternative terms to *kiekari* came up during session with consultants, all of which are based on the root *kwie*, meaning land (in Spanish, *terreno*) and soil (in Spanish, *tierra*). They include *wakwie* 'their land,' *Tuapurie kwieyari*, 'land of *Tuapurie*,' and *kwiepa*, defined by Liffman (2011) as "Earth place"; lands; rural property. These terms based on *kwie* convey a territorial or

proprietary sense of the landscape, and thus tend to emerge during talk related to territorial disputes and boundaries.

The word *kiekari* has many meanings, but with respect to the immediate, inhabited landscape, it can refer to a range of settlement types, including a town, a village, or a small grouping of houses. The majority of the *kiekari* in the study area (Figure 1) are designated with two names, one in Wixárika and the other in Spanish or Nahuatl. A *kiekari* with more than one name often functions as an *agencia*, which is a territorial subdivision where a local government representative, or *agente*, presides (Neurath 2002:153). Most *agencias* in the study area are villages, or *rancherías*, made up of about 15 to 20 households. There are 17 *agencias* distributed throughout the community of *Tuapurie*, five of which are in the study area. Each has a public building where the *agente* official is based, and most also have a primary school. The term *kiekari* also designates settlements with five to ten households, with no public architecture. These small *kiekari* tend to be designated with only Wixárika names.

Kiekari is also a term referring to large towns, or settlements with fifty or more houses, which represents a relatively recent settlement phenomenon. *Kiekari* of this type also contain primary and secondary schools, a health clinic, and small grocery stores, and tend to be designated with only Spanish names. The two large *kiekari* in the community of *Tuapurie* are located on the mesa tops, where there is direct access to roads leading to large *mestizo* towns beyond the sierra.

Kiekari also refers to 'community,' established in colonial times, and which have a territorial, as opposed to a purely social, dimension. There were initially only three communities, but two additional ones were annexed from them during the nineteenth

century. It is important acknowledge this sense of *kiekari*, given that it is a significant source of one's personal identity, and one that frequently surfaces in conversation, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Tukipa 'great house' and *Wa'itsata* "among gourd-bearers." I include two native terms as the header of this section because they both refer to another kind of place that is an important constituent of the Wixárika landscape, the ceremonial center. According to consultants, these terms can be used interchangeably, though one consultant considered the term *tukipa* to be the more proper of the two. According to consultants, *wa'itsata* means "among gourd-bearers." A gourd-bearer is a temple official who is elected by a group of *kawiteros*, or elders, to perform ritual and work duties on behalf of the *tukipa* and the community for a term of five years. There are approximately thirty gourd-bearers attached to each *tukipa*, and each serves as the physical embodiment of a particular ancestor-deity. Each ancestor-deity is likewise embodied in the form of a gourd bowl, which is cared for by the gourd-bearer, and included in the rituals and pilgrimages carried out on behalf of the *tukipa*. Interestingly, the literal term for 'gourd-bearer' in the Wixárika language is *xukuri'ikame*, a word built on the root *xukuri* 'gourd bowl,' plus the agentive suffix, *-ikame* (analogous to *-kame* in other phonetic contexts). Thus, the translation of the term *wa'itsata* as "among gourd-bearers" is somewhat baffling, since it contains no direct reference to the term *xukuri* 'gourd.' The term *wa'itsata* is built on the lexical morpheme *wa'i*, whose precise meaning is not known at present, but which may simply be more of a figurative reference to *xukuri'ikame*, plus the suffix *-tsata* means 'among' or 'between.' When speaking Spanish, Wixárika people refer to the *xukuri'ikate* (the plural of *xukuri'ikame*) as *jicareros*, which is the plural agentive form of the Mexican

Spanish noun *jícara*, which is in fact a hispanicized pronunciation of the Nahuatl word, *xicalli*, meaning 'gourd bowl.'

On a side note, a *xukuri'ikame* is sometimes also referred to in Wixárika as *hi:kuritame*, which is another agentive form based on the word *hi:kuri* 'peyote.' Peyote is the hallucinogenic cactus that grows in the eastern desert region of San Luis Potosí, and is collected during the pilgrimage to *Wirikuta*. It is considered the embodiment of the *yeiyeri*, or footsteps of the first deer, associated with *Tayau* 'Father Sun,' or *Tawewiekame* 'Our Creator,' who in primordial times gave himself up to the '*awatamete* "first hunters" (Neurath 2002:228) to enable them access to his '*iyari* 'heart' (Gutiérrez 2002:113) and his *yeiyeri* 'footsteps' ("tradition"). It is by means the hallucinogenic experiences from peyote that Wixárika people communicate directly with the ancestor-deities. Speakers seem to use the Wixárika terms *xukuri'ikame* and *hi:kuritame* interchangeably. I suspect that if there is indeed a distinction, *xukuri'ikame* could refer specifically to a cargo holder, whereas *hi:kurikame* could refer to anyone who goes on a peyote pilgrimage (not necessarily attached to a particular temple, that is). With respect to the landscape-related term, it is necessary to investigate the *wa'i-* morpheme in other contexts to confirm its meaning in this category of place. An alternative form of the word *wa'itsata* is *wawa'ite*, which contains a reduplication of the initial syllable, with the plural suffix *-te*. In the related Nahuatl language, for example, a phonetically similar (though not identical) term, *huehue*, refers to 'old' or 'ancient one,' and *huehueyotl* is 'old age,' as well as "customs and property of elders" [translation by author] (Molina 2001:ff.157 [1555-1571]). Further analysis is necessary to determine whether there is indeed a semantic relationship between the *wawa-* prefix in Wixárika and the *huehue-* of Nahuatl.

As noted above, the other Wixárika term referring to the ceremonial center is *tukipa*. Although the precise meaning of the word *tukipa* in Wixárika has yet to be verified, the general sense of it can be inferred based on the Nahuatl loanword that Wixárika people often use in reference to it, which is *Calli Huey*, meaning "Great House" (Neurath 2000:7). The word *tukipa* is composed of the prefix *tu*, which may be a reference to the *tutuma*, or the ancient deities (McIntosh (1951:308) defines this term as *dioses* 'gods'), the stem *ki*, meaning 'house,' plus the locative suffix *-pa*, meaning 'at' or 'place of.' The *tukipa* is indeed a house, as it is considered the dwelling place of the *ka:kaiyarixi*, the primordial ancestors of all Wixárika people. There are approximately thirty *tukipas* distributed throughout the Wixárika homeland, four of which are in the community of *Tuapurie*.

Other ethnographic studies note that, for the Wixárika, every *tukipa* is a microcosm of the universe (S. B. Schaefer 1996a), and that all *tukipas* are regarded as merely copies of the original (Neurath 2000:7; 2002:151), located at a place called *Te:kata*, meaning 'in the roasting pit' (McIntosh 1951:250). *Te:kata* is the main dwelling of Grandfather Fire, and the center of the Wixárika universe. Though they are replicas, *tukipas* are not identical to each other. They often differ in terms of the number of architectural elements, yet they all conform to the same basic plan: All are on relatively flat ground, whether on mesas, piedmont areas, or valley bottoms.

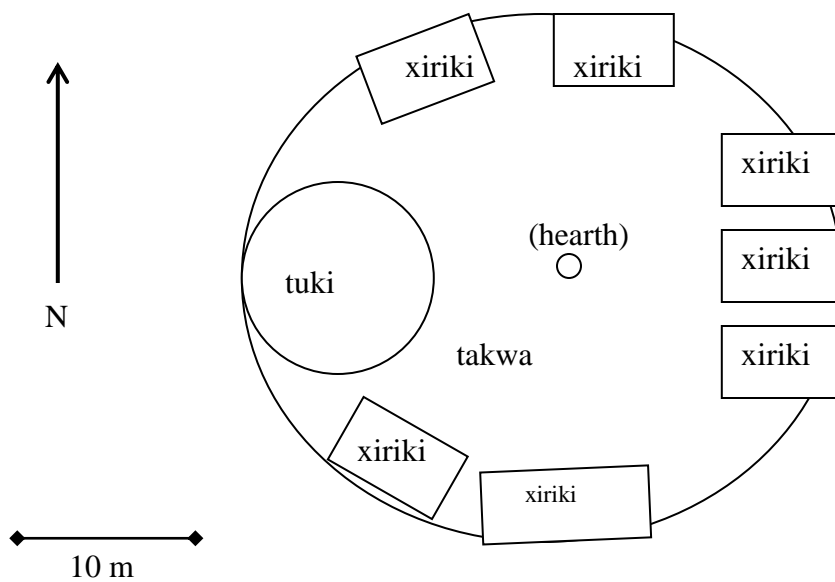


Figure 6. Schematic of *tukipa* architectural elements

Each contains a *tuki*, which is the large circular, thatched-roof structure with a diameter of approximately 10 meters. A schematic of *tukipa* architecture is provided in Figure 6.

The *tuki* represents the western sea and the underworld (Neurath 2002:207; S. B. Schaefer 1996a:342), and thus is always located on the west side of the complex. It also is considered a kitchen of sorts (Neurath 2002), and the main hearth near its center consists of a carved circular stone (*tepari*, or alternatively, *tepali*) covering a pit that is the local dwelling place of Grandfather Fire (S. B. Schaefer 1996a:342). The door of the *tuki* opens to the east onto the *takwa*, which is a large, open patio nearly twice the diameter of the *tuki*. The *takwa* represents the upper world, including the sky and eastern desert, and is the main setting for ceremonial dances (Neurath 2000:8; 2002:207). The *takwa* also contains a central hearth corresponding to Grandfather Fire, and is flanked by two or more *xiriki*, which are rectangular structures measuring roughly 4 by 2 meters,

almost the size of an ordinary house building. The Wixárika name for these smaller structures is likewise composed of the stem *ki*, or 'house,' though the meaning of its prefix (*xiri*) is not known. Each *xiriki* is the dwelling place of one or two ancestor deities, and is situated around the *takwa* in alignment with the distant geographic location of the deities' primordial dwelling (Neurath 2000:8). The *tukipa* also includes the *waxa*, which are agricultural fields tended to by the *tukipa*'s inhabitants, including the cargo holders and their families who temporarily reside there for the purpose of fulfilling ceremonial and work duties. It is important to emphasize that the place referred to as a *tukipa* or *wa'itsata*, does not just consist of a *tuki* and *xirikite*. It also encompasses the houses of the *xukuri'ikate* that are located just outside the patio and temple buildings, as well as the surrounding agricultural fields, and the neighboring hill, cliff, and sacred water spring.

Kie 'house-place.' Another basic component of the Wixárika landscape that is designated with a proper name is the *kie* (Liffman 2011; Neurath 2002:146). As mentioned above, the word *kie* is built on the root *ki* 'house', plus the locative affix *-e* 'at,' and roughly means 'house-place.' Significantly, just as *Te:kata*, the center of the Wixárika universe, has its counterpart in the *tukipa*, the *tukipa* likewise has its counterpart in the *kie*, which is the dwelling of ordinary Wixárika people (Neurath 2002:151). The term *kie*, or *kiete* in the plural, is generally used to designate individual family ranches, which are dispersed throughout the region, though usually not more than a day's walking distance from a *tukipa*. Most of the older *kiete* (meaning those built 20-plus years ago in the outlying areas) are typically more isolated from each other, and are usually located on the slopes or at the base of canyons, whereas the more recent *kiete* tend to be built close to one another on the tops of the surrounding mesas, where there is

direct access to roads. A schematic of the architectural elements of *kie* is provided in Figure 7, below.

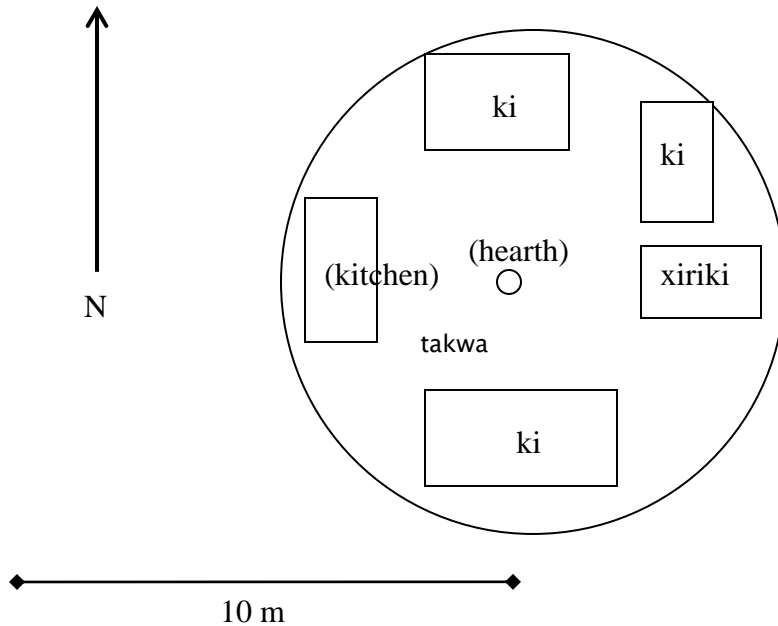


Figure 7. Schematic of *kie* architectural elements.

The older *kiete* also tend to share a number of features with the *tukipa*: For one, *kiete* have a *takwa* (patio) with a central hearth that is likewise important for the staging of ceremonies. The *takwa* of the *kie* is similarly flanked by a number of separate, typically rectangular structures, including a kitchen, dormitories, storage rooms, and a *xiriki*. The single *xiriki* pertaining to the *kie* is the dwelling of ancestor deities who were once the human, blood relatives of the *kie's* inhabitants, and it also serves as a granary for maize storage (indeed, maize is also regarded as kin). As noted above, Wixárika consultants commented that they socially identify with the *kie* that harbors the family *xiriki*, regardless of where they may reside. The family *xiriki* is always situated on the east, with its door opening west onto the *takwa*, akin to the *xirikite* of the *tukipa* that

correspond to the ancestor-deities associated with the upper world and the east. In contrast to the uniform position of the *xiriki*, the other buildings that comprise the *kie* tend not to adhere to a set pattern. It is interesting to note, however, that the kitchens of some of the older *kiete* are indeed situated on the west side of the *takwa*, like the *tuki*, where Grandfather Fire dwells in the *tukipa*.

Another component of most *kiete* in the study area is the agricultural field, or *waxa*. Wixárika land is communally owned, and thus *waxa* pertaining to individual families can be developed practically anywhere that is not already in use. Most families have more than one *waxa* due to fallow period requirements, and the distance between a *kie* and its *waxa* can vary widely. A *waxa* may be situated within the corral of the house compound, akin to the *waxa* pertaining to the *tukipa*, or it may be several kilometers away. Neurath (2002:142) also notes that some fields are located several hours away from their ranches, which therefore necessitates the construction of temporary shelters where people stay overnight during work periods. Data from four *kiete* in the study area show a range of anywhere from five meters to four kilometers between a *kie* and its corresponding *waxa*. In addition to the *waxa*, another integral part of all *kiete* is the water source, which for older *kiete* is usually either an '*aki* 'stream,' or *haixapa* 'spring,' which literally "place where water comes out."

Nene:kate "sacred place." Sacred places constitute another integral part of the Wixárika landscape. The general term of "sacred place" is *nene:kate*, which means "the great ones" (Paul Liffman, personal communication 2012). Linguistically speaking, *nene:kate* is a plural agentive noun, which is a type of noun that denotes an agent -- a human or human-like entity that acts with volition upon other entities (patients).

Examples of agentives with similar morphology abound in the Wixárika language, including *mara'akate* 'ritual specialists,' *xukuri'ikate* 'gourd bearers' (Spanish, *jicareros*), and *'itsikate* 'staff-bearers,' to name just a few. The use of the agentive form to refer to this category of place indicates that sacred places are viewed not as special activity sites or even just dwellings, but as sentient beings in and of themselves.

Nene:kate are the remote dwellings of individual ancestor deities, or are the sites of mythic events, and they assume a variety of physical forms, including caves, springs, cliff edges, rock formations, and hilltops. Significantly, the referential meanings of placenames used to designate individual *nene:kate* make explicit reference to the deity who resides there. For example, there is a sacred place in the study area called *Ni'arimanatawe*, 'Upon Where *Ni'ari* Stands,' which refers to the resident deity named *Tatei Ni'ariwame* 'Our Mother *Ni'ariwame*,' who is considered to bring life-sustaining rains from the east (Neurath 2002:367). With respect to their material contents, some *nene:kate* contain standard-size *xiriki*, whereas others are marked simply by the material offerings left there, such as gourd bowls, arrows, yarn designs, and candles. *Nene:kate* are dispersed throughout the Wixárika universe, which covers some 90,000 square kilometers of territory stretching across five states in western and north-central Mexico (Liffman 2011:59). Given such a large area, and given that traditional knowledge among the Wixárika is often safeguarded, the precise location and significance of most sacred places of the Wixárika remain unknown to outsiders.

Despite what little is known by outsiders about *nene:kate*, some broad distinctions among these sacred places have become evident in the context of this landscape study. For example, one kind of *nene:kate* that is part of every *tukipa* group in the community of

Tuapurie is the patron hill. All patron hills have their own proper name, and are in close proximity to their corresponding *tukipas*, and have only a small *xiriki* on the summit (Neurath 2002:217). The patron hill for the *tukipa* of *Keuruwitia*, for example, is called *Keuruwi*, and it is associated with Father Sun. In fact, its summit is the place on the horizon where the sun rises around the time of the summer solstice (Neurath 2002:217). The summit of this patron hill is also an important staging area for community-wide ceremonies of the *tukipa*.

Other *nene:kate* are satellite places that are integral to the ceremonial cycle of the *tukipa*, and thus comprise what I refer to as a *tukipa* group. As mentioned above, the *xukuri'ikate* 'gourd-bearers' elected to serve a given *tukipa* assume the identity of a particular ancestry-deity, and therefore must travel to its respective, original dwelling to perform ceremonies and leave offerings at least once over the course of the five year term in office. The original dwellings of the *ka:kaiyarixi* are often located very far from the *tukipa*, and indeed, many are beyond Wixárika territory altogether. However, just as *Te:kata* (the center of the universe) has its copies in the form of *tukipas* everywhere, the original dwelling places of the ancestor deities likewise have their local copies distributed throughout the homeland, typically within a day's walk to the *tukipa*. In fact, each *tukipa* in *Tuapurie* has its own set of copies where *xukuri'ikate* from each *tukipa* go to perform the necessary ceremonies on a more frequent basis. Significantly, *nene:kate* that are replicas of each other, but which pertain to distinct *tukipa*, share the same placename. For example, there is a sacred place of the Wind deity called '*E:ka:tsie*, meaning 'On Wind,' associated with the *Keuruwitia* ceremonial center, and there are corresponding sacred

places, also named '*E:ka:tsie*, located in the vicinity of each of the other ceremonial centers in the community.

Yet another kind of *nene:kate* consists of the actual five cardinal points of the Wixárika universe: *Wirikuta* (east), *Tatei Haramara* (west), *Xapawiyemeta* (south), *Hauxa Manaka* (north), and *Te:kata* (center). Each of these places is where key events of creation occurred, and it is the duty of *xukuri'ikate* from every *tukipa* in the sierra to journey to these places, just as their primordial ancestors first did, in order to leave offerings and to collect objects, including peyote, to bring back to the homeland. Two of these cardinal points are high places, including *Hauxa Manaka*, the northern point, where the canoe of *Watakame*, the first planter, landed after the Deluge (La Union Wixarika de Centros Ceremoniales de Jalisco 2008), and *Wirikuta*, the eastern point of the universe, where Father Sun first ascended into the sky. The western point is at the Pacific Ocean, and the southern point is on an island in Lake Chapala in Jalisco. The center, *Te:kata*, is at the base of a cliff in the heart of Wixárika territory. Although it may seem a stretch to include the mention of corners of the universe in the context of a study of only a portion of the Wixárika homeland, it is necessary to recognize that these places play an extremely important role in the ceremonial cycle of every *tukipa* in the sierra. The precise role is discussed in more detail below, in the section concerning the process of the landscape.

It is important to mention that certain features of these primordial places are also replicated within the immediate vicinity of each *tukipa* within the Wixárika homeland. On a footpath leading to *Keuruwitia*, for example, there is a large rock that serves as the "door" to the *tukipa*. *Jicareros* returning from the pilgrimage to *Wirikuta* camp out at this place for two to three days before crossing the threshold, which is a cliff (*tekia*), to the

tukipa below. Primordial places like *Wirikuta*, *Te:kata* and *Tatei Haramara* in San Blas, Nayarit, likewise have formal "doors" where pilgrims sojourn and make ritual preparations before entering the respective sacred places.

Other *nene:kate* within the Wixárika homeland are not a regular part of the *tukipa* ceremonial cycle carried out by the *xukuri'ikate*, but are the dwellings of ancestor-deities who are consulted for special purposes, such as success in conception and child-bearing, help with musical abilities, and healing of certain illnesses, for example. Another type of *nene:kate* are visited regularly only by *mara'akate*, who carry out rituals at these places as a means to enhance their ability to see and communicate with the *ka:kaiyarixi*.

In summary, although the *nene:kate* remain an elusive landscape entity, what is evident from this discussion is that they constitute an extremely diverse category of place within the Wixárika landscape. What is more, their diversity underscores the complexity of the relationship between the Wixárika and the landscape.

Miscellaneous Named Places. Other named places of the Wixárika landscape consist of various topographical features, including hills and mountains, sacred water springs, cliffs, river and stream crossings, and natural resource zones. The general term for hill or mountain is *hi:ri*, and those located within the study area, as well as those on the horizon in view of the study area, have their own names. Not all hills are considered *nene:kate*, however. Examples of named hills include *Pu:ta Manawi*, meaning "Upon Where Distillery-like Rock Hangs," and *Mata:mu:riti Manká*, meaning "Where Broken Metate Lies." Cliffs, or *tekia*, have already been mentioned here as an important component of the ceremonial center, but they are a named feature elsewhere in the region as well. It is interesting to note that many individual houses in outlying areas seem to be

situated either on top of or directly below cliff, or rocky ridge. Though several cliffs in the study area are named, ceremonies or other rituals are associated only with the cliff immediately adjacent to the ceremonial center.

Haixapa "place where water comes out." The *haixapa* is a ubiquitous feature of the region, and a component of every *kiete*, or 'house-place,' as discussed above. Most water springs are not considered sacred, that is, they are not sources of sacred water, and only sacred water springs are designated with their own names. There is no general term in Wixárika for a river or stream crossing, but they also are a kind of named place in the landscape.

There are also many places that are named according to a plant or other important resource that grows or is found there, as with the place called *Pi:riki:yatsie*, meaning "On Where *Pi:riki*: Flowers Abound," and *Muyahaukuxaya*, meaning "Down In Where *Haukuxa* Grass Abounds." The type of grass that grows at this place is used for thatching roofs.

Hu:yé 'trail.' The final feature of a Wixárika landscape to be discussed in this section is the trail, or *hu:yé*. Trails are a prominent component of the landscape, and they constitute the physical link between all of the named places described here. Trails do not have their own names but instead are linguistically identified in terms of the placenames of their destination points. For example, the phrase *Keuruwitia hu:yé* designates the trail leading to *Keuruwitia*. In the context of ritual pilgrimages to sacred places, the term for trail is *hu:yeyari*, meaning "sacred route." Thus the phrase *Keuruwitia hu:yeyari* means "the sacred route to *Keuruwitia*," describing the trail upon which *xukuri'ikate* approach the ceremonial center when returning from a pilgrimage.

The Process of a Wixárika Landscape

Recall that at the beginning of this chapter, I argued that what a landscape is cannot be considered fully without knowing how it "comes together" to form a unit. This is the *process* of the landscape, which I characterize here in terms of the customary movements of people among component places. The data on movement presented here were likewise collected during the course of ethnographic fieldwork. Although I had initially planned to approach the topic of movement right alongside the study of places, it turns out that it was not something that can be adequately accessed simply through eliciting language categories of movement. In light of the challenges that studying movement posed, I now fully appreciate an insight offered by Frake (1980 [1977]), who stated long ago that the *observation* of movements (as opposed to verbal elicitation alone) is required in order to interpret them, given that cues of movement often cannot easily be identified by those who use them. It was only after years of observation, and also participation, in both everyday and ritual contexts, plus careful review of the existing literature, that I was able to learn what questions to ask in order to identify significant movements -- movements that happen to be taken up or represented in language forms or categories in the Wixárika context, which is not always a given (Farnell 1996).

My attempt during fieldwork to also learn the basics of the Wixárika language proved essential to learning about place-related movements. In order to facilitate a practical, "real-life" knowledge of the language, I documented and attempted to interpret and verbalize daily activities in Wixárika. It turns out that many of the daily activities I was learning about entailed movements from one place to another. Also, my participation in a diverse set of experiences, ranging from daily household activities to

household and community-wide rituals, exposed me to a range of related language forms. Over the course of fieldwork, consultants became attuned to my interest in learning about native categories movement, and thus over time began to spontaneously discuss various movements related to diverse contexts. Documentation in the field was followed up by further linguistic analysis and discussion in the lab with native consultants. Spatial data regarding scale and patterning of movements among constituent places of the landscape was recorded using the GPS device. Like the discussion of the content of the landscape above, the following presentation of the movements that bring about a Wixárika landscape is organized on the basis of native Wixárika concepts.

yeiyeri 'footsteps,' "tradition." The Wixárika language does not have a word for "movement" to refer in a general, direction-neutral, way to the act of changing place or position. However, it has a related concept that perhaps even more precisely captures aspects of movement that are most pertinent to understanding the landscape. The name of this concept is *yeiyeri*, composed of the stem *yeyi-*, which is a form of the verb meaning 'to go,' plus the nominalizing suffix *-yeri*. Among the Wixárika of San Andrés Cohamiata, this concept is pronounced as *yeiyari*, which is composed of *yeyi* - plus *yari*, which is the more common form of this derivational suffix. In this presentation, I retain the form *yeiyeri*, since it is a pronunciation distinctive to speakers from *Tuapurie*, the community where this study was carried out. Phonetically speaking, I assume *yeiyeri* to be an instance of vowel-harmony between the first and second syllables, in light of the fact that *-yeri*, as a suffix, does not seem to occur elsewhere in the language. The form of this word might reflect that it is marked in the minds of Wixárika speakers as special, since it does not conform to the more typical *-yari* suffix.

In the context of everyday speech, *yeiyeri* means "footsteps" -- any kind of ordinary footsteps, either human or animal. These footsteps yield the integral component of the landscape called *hu:yé*, or trail, referred to in the previous discussion of meaningful places. In reference to ritual contexts, by contrast, *yeiyeri* specifically refers to the 'footsteps of the ancestors,' and is translated by Wixárika speakers into Spanish as *costumbre*, meaning 'custom' or tradition.' In addition, as noted above, *yeiyeri* also describes the peyote that is collected during the pilgrimage to San Luis Potosí, where it is considered a materialization of the footsteps of the first deer hunted in primordial times.

Wixárika ancestors, in turn, are called *ka:kaiyarixi*, and include ancestors of individual families, as well as the deities of the community as a whole. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Wixárika tend not refer to the *ka:kaiyarixi* as "gods," but rather call them "divinities," or "creative forces of nature" (Álvaro 'Uweli Ortiz, personal communication 2012; Angélica Ortiz, personal communication 2012), who are considered to be the true ancestors of the Wixárika people (Preuss 1908:321). In fact, as mentioned previously, these creative forces of nature are linguistically referred to in kinship terms. Some examples include the following:

Tayau 'Our Father Sun'
Tatewarí 'Our Grandfather Fire'
Tatei Yurienaka 'Our Mother Earth'
Tatei Niwetsika 'Our Mother Corn'
Tatei Ni'ariwame 'Our Mother Rain of the East'
Tamatsi Kauyumarie 'Our Elder Brother Deer'
Tamatsi 'Eeka Teiwari 'Our Elder Brother Neighbor Wind'

Various creation stories relate that these deities, or deified ancestors, transformed the aquatic underworld of primordial times to the orderly world of today by means of their footsteps. As creative forces of nature, these *ka:kaiyarixi*, or ancestor-deities, exercise

power over the environment. Recall that they communicate and offer advice to human beings by means of the *mara'akate*, who are specialists who guide the Wixárika community in questions of ritual. In order to please the *ka:kaiyarixi* and ensure the continuation of the world as we know it, human beings, in turn, must follow their footsteps. In other words, they must adhere to *yeiyeri*, or 'custom,' by means of imitating the original ritual actions of the deities.

In the following, I describe the movements specifically associated with *yeiyeri* in terms of their significance and formal attributes, including frequency, structure, and distance, and I discuss their connection to the kinds of places described in the content section of this chapter that make up a Wixárika landscape. *Yeiyeri* specifies customary practices of both the *kíe*, or individual homestead, and the *tukipa*, or *wa'itsata*, which is the ceremonial center pertaining to the community as a whole. In both cases, adhering to *yeiyeri* entails carrying out the various activities described below. As in the content section above, I organize the presentation primarily on the basis of native terminology for kinds of landscape-related movements. A comprehensive linguistic analysis and verification of Wixárika terms for movement remains incomplete at this point, though I attempt to identify key components whenever possible.

'imayarixa "working the fields." The phrase *'imayarixa* is built on the verb root *'imayari*, meaning to burn or to roast (McIntosh 1951:140), plus the nominalizing suffix *-xa*, and it is a general reference to preparing the fields for sowing. Growing crops is obviously a vital subsistence activity for Wixárika people, many of whom rely exclusively on what they grow, but tending fields also constitutes an important ritual activity (Neurath 2002:121). In order to maintain a beneficial relationship with their

ancestor-deities, including the Corn Mother (*Tatei Niwetsika*), Wixárika people today perform the same activities that the first cultivator, *Watakame*, carried out in the earliest times (Benítez de la Cruz 2008). Working the fields, or *'imayarixa*, consists of a series of tasks that entail periodic movements between *kiete*, or residential places, and *waxa*, or agricultural fields. The tasks include 1) the initial cleaning of the field, or *'imayarixa*, which involves clearing and burning the area, 2) planting, or *'etsixa*, 3) weeding, which is also referred to as *'imayarixa*, which is done on two separate occasions, and 4) harvesting, *'itsa:narixa*. Each task involves daily movements from the *kie* to the *waxa* over a period of several days.

Fields pertaining to the ceremonial center are located on the level ground immediately beyond the fenced in area of the temple compound, and are tended to by *xukuri'ikate*, comprising a brigade of about thirty men who are elected to represent the deities and work for the temple.

meteheweyetiwe "hunting deer." The expression *meteheweyetiwe* in Wixárika means "they go hunting." Interestingly, it is built on the the verb root *wei*, meaning 'to follow' (McIntosh 1951:169), but when it occurs with this particular series of prefixes and suffixes, it refers specifically to the deer hunt, which is strictly a ritual activity, and a mandatory part of all ceremonies. Following the example of the first hunters of mythical times, groups of Wixárika men hunt deer as a means to tap the *'iyari* of *Tayau* 'Father Sun,' and obtain blood for sprinkling on objects offered to the ancestor-deities. The venison is consumed by participants only during ceremonies. *Xukuri'ikate* go on hunts two or three times a year, prior to major fiestas at the ceremonial center, whereas members of family homesteads hunt approximately once a year prior to ceremonies

taking place at the *kie*. In the recent past hunters could travel on foot to nearby hunting grounds located within 10 km of ceremonial center, but since the deer population has become so sparse, hunters now must acquire permits from the municipal government, and travel by truck to hunting areas beyond the sierra.

tuaya "leaving offerings." *Tuaya* refers to "leaving offerings," and is built on the verb root *tua*, which means 'to carry or to leave something' (McIntosh 1951:103). Offerings may include a variety of objects, such as gourd bowls, arrows, yarn designs, wooden or stone carvings, and paper drawings, and they serve as petitions to the ancestor-deities for well-being. Leaving offerings entails movements between individual *kiete*, the *tukipa*, and *nene:kate*, or sacred places both near and far. Most *kiete* in the outlying areas have small family temples, or *xiriki*, where an extended family's ancestors are worshipped and also where seeds for the coming year are stored (Neurath 2002:142). Inhabitants of a homestead with a *xiriki* leave offerings in it on a daily basis, and family members and spouses who live elsewhere travel to the temple to leave offerings during homestead ceremonies, which may occur once or twice a year. Family members also sometimes travel to communal sacred places throughout the region to leave offerings in preparation for homestead ceremonies.

Leaving offerings is an activity that is also carried out by *xukuri'ikate* who, as part of their duties to the temple district, are required to travel to designated *nene:kate* for that purpose. *Nene:kate* are communal, that is, they pertain to the community as a whole, and thus anyone within the community may visit them to leave offerings. As described above, they assume a variety of forms and are considered to be the houses of particular

deities, and thus, *xukuri'ikate* who are representatives of those deities must visit their respective *nene:kate* each year to leave offerings and to perform ceremonies.

Kinitixa "going on a pilgrimage." *Tuaya*, or the act of leaving offerings is also an important activity embedded within a pilgrimage, which is referred to as *kinitixa*. A *kinitixa* encompasses movements between the *tukipa* and *nene:kate* that are dispersed throughout virtually the entire northern portion of Mexico. The term *kinitixa* literally means "time of going," and semantically makes no explicit or overt reference to the pilgrimage activity as it we know it. It is built on the verb root *ki*, meaning "go" for plural subjects, and includes the nominalizing suffix *-xa* that also appears in the movement terms related to planting and tending crops, mentioned above. Individuals or families may go on a pilgrimage to distant *nene:kate* to leave offerings, but most regularly it is the *xukuri'ikate* from a particular ceremonial center who go for the benefit of the entire community. The first ancestors established the pilgrimage in mythical times for the purpose of bringing about the creation of the sun, the birth of deer, and peyote (Gutiérrez 2002). As representatives of the original ancestor-deities, *xukuri'ikate* re-enact the events of creation when they go on the pilgrimage (Gutiérrez 2002:279). What is more, their movements to the four corners of Wixárika the universe replicate the original journey of the Father Sun, who after rising for the first time in the east, hopped to all four corners of the universe, thereby creating it (Gutiérrez 2002:207). Pilgrimages are considered essential not only to the social life of the *tukipa*, but also the reproduction and maintenance of the entire world. In the community of *Tuapurie*, pilgrimages from each *tukipa* to the cardinal points, and a multitude of other sacred places in between, take place three times over the course of a five year term. Along the pilgrimage route, *xukuri'ikate*

leave offerings at the sacred places where important events occurred in primordial times, and at those places, they also collect peyote, sacred water, grass, and roots to bring back to the ceremonial center. In fact, it is the return of sacred water and other objects to the homeland, and the performance subsequent ceremonies that occur upon arrival, that the seasonal cycle first established by the ancestor-deities is believed to be sustained. The pilgrimage is carried out every other year, and the *xukuri'ikate* walk the same sacred path (*hu:yeyari*) as the very first ancestor-deities. Pilgrims walk in single file and each is positioned according to his place in the hierarchy (Neurath 2002:226), which they adhere to throughout the pilgrimage. About thirty years ago and before, *xukuri'ikate* traveled long-established footpaths to the cardinal points, but nowadays they travel by bus.

Both *tuaya* 'leaving offerings' and *kinitixa* "going on a pilgrimage" are landscape-related movements that are an integral part of all ceremonies. The ceremonies that take place in the *kiete*, or individual households, please the family ancestors and thus achieve the wellbeing of the family. *Kiete* rituals (some of which are discussed at length in Chapter Four) include the following:

Teukaritsiya, presenting a newborn to its ancestors in the *xiriki*, and bestowing a name;

Tatei Neixa, celebrating the first fruits and commencing the harvest;

Maxa Kwaixa, when the family *xiriki* is renovated;

Tika'ixipitarieni, a ceremony for curing someone who is ill; and

Hitaimari, a funeral

Yeiyeri requires that the relatives of those who put on a ceremony in the family *xiriki* also participate in the ceremony and bring offerings and food to feed the ancestors and living relatives. This practice establishes links among *kiete* on a local scale.

Yeiyeri also entails the ceremonies that take within the *tukipa* "ceremonial center." These ceremonies satisfy the communal ancestor-deities, and are a class or ritual movement referred to as *neixa*, meaning 'dance,' or *mitote*, in Mexican Spanish. *Neixa* ceremonies include the following:

Hikuri Neixa, 'Peyote Dance,' representing the culmination of the pilgrimage to the four corners of the universe, which serves to bring rain from *Wirikuta* to the sierra;

Namawita Neixa, 'Cover-in-the-Rain Dance' (Liffman 2011:234), initiating the planting season;

Tatei Neixa, 'Dance of Our Mother,' celebrating the first fruits and commencing the harvest

Neixa dances take place within the temple and adjoining patio of the ceremonial center. The patio, or *takwa*, itself is a replica of the Wixárika universe, embodied in all *tsikiri*, the rhomboidal objects made of crossed sticks and yarn, and the circular dances around it mimic the pilgrimage to the four corners, and also commemorate the first travels of Father Sun. *Neixa* ceremonies occur over a period of up to five days, and are primarily performed by *xukuri'ikate* and their families. These ceremonies are also attended by hundreds of community members who come to watch or participate in the energetic dances around the patio and temple. For the Wixárika, *neixa*, like the *kinitixa* 'pilgrimage,' are generative acts in that they bring about key transitions in the yearly agricultural cycle.

Nautsárika "foot race." The final ritual movement that I describe here is the foot race, called the *Nautsárika*. It is only race that regularly takes place in this part of the sierra, and it occurs on two occasions -- on the fifth and final day of the *Hikuri Neixa*

(Peyote Dance) ceremony at the ceremonial center, and on the first day of the *Namawita Neixa* (Cover-in-the Rain) harvest ceremony. At the *Hikuri Neixa* of the ceremonial center of *Keuruwitia*, for example, this short race starts at the *tuki*, or main temple, and then proceeds to the sacred place on the summit of *Keuruwi*, the name of the adjacent peak to the east. The race symbolizes a deer hunt, and the victor is the person who reaches summit first and grabs the plumed arrow, or *muwieri*, representing the deer (Neurath 2002:264). The *Nautsárika* thus brings the five-day long *Hikuri Neixa* ceremony to a dramatic conclusion. The race that commences the *Namawita Neixa* ceremony is the inverse of the one that takes place at the close of the *Hikuri Neixa*. Participants of this race first congregate at the summit of the peak of *Keuruwi*, and then rapidly descend to commence the three-day long *Namawita Neixa*. As fascinating as these events are, a great deal more research into their timing, geographic distribution, and symbolism is needed.

Circular Movements. A Wixárika expression referring specifically to circular movements has yet to be encountered, yet their significance is evident in a variety of contexts. Circular movements occur during *neixa* ceremonies, such as those described above, and obviously hold great significance in that context, but they are also meaningful in contexts that are otherwise utilitarian. In other words, circular movement is a signifying act regardless of the context, it seems. For example, early on in the course of fieldwork, I was told that a person becomes ensnared, *hamuyuhieni* 'to ensnare oneself,' by enclosing a *xiriki* within a circular path, even if the enclosing circuit is several kilometers in distance. The only way to untangle oneself from the duties to the *xiriki* is to retrace the path in the opposite direction, *hamuyuta:wená* 'to untangle oneself.' Likewise,

circling the central fire, or Grandfather Fire, in counterclockwise direction during the *Hikuri Neixa* ceremony at the close of a five year cycle is also a means of binding a new group of community members to service to the temple. Significantly, the final act of the outgoing temple officers is to encircle the central fire in the opposite (clockwise) direction. These patterns are not only intriguing, but they suggest that more detailed study of movement, in general, within the Wixárika homeland would be a very fruitful endeavor.

Other Miscellaneous Movements. Other movements that are a significant part of the Wixárika landscape, but that are not specifically ritual in nature, include *hanixa* 'fetching water,' *inixaxa* 'gathering fruit,' *ki'aixa* 'hauling firewood,' and collecting building materials, such as sand, adobe, and grass for thatching roofs, which are activities take place within the general vicinity of residential places. Tending and moving livestock is another significant activity of the Wixárika landscape that occurs on a regular, seasonal basis.

Among the non-ritual movements mentioned here, *hanixa*, or fetching water, is perhaps the most ubiquitous and frequent of movements associated with individual *kiete*, *kiekari*, and the *wa'itsata ortukipa*. In addition to being a vital subsistence resource, water must be on hand for food preparation, washing, and house construction. Although some of the large towns and small villages now depend on water tanks and piping, the older and more isolated residential places rely exclusively on water springs, or *haixapa*, usually located on a main trail just beyond the village or homestead. Water is typically fetched once a day by one or two people who transport it in large plastic jugs from the spring to the home-place, where it is kept in buckets in the kitchen building. Data from

twelve different residential places in this study reveal that the average distance traveled for fetching water is approximately 200 meters, with a median distance of 101 meters.

To summarize, examination here of the Wixárika landscape in terms of its *content* and *process* reveals it to be an extremely diverse entity that is formed by means of a range of translocative movements. What is more, native landscape-related terms reflect a unique view of the landscape in terms of the kinds of places that are meaningful to the inhabitants themselves. Also, native terminology for kinds of movements not only justifies attention to movement in a variety of contexts (e.g., ritual and utilitarian, *kiete* and *tukipa*, etc.), it elucidates how the Wixárika landscape as a unit is produced and reproduced. Though varied, it is also significant that many of these movements correspond to the practice of the native concept of *yeiyeri* 'tradition,' which encompasses not only rituals in the context of ceremonies, but also everyday activities, such as tending crops. Overall, this study of landscape-related movements among the Wixárika highlights the potential of more detailed research of movement in the Wixárika homeland. For example, while the focus of this study is on movements between places in the construction of the landscape, a focus on the movements within places, and their comparison, would be an enlightening complement. Also, while there is some attention given to the choreography of the *neixa* in the ethnographic literature (Neurath 2002), a study designed specifically to address movement in a variety of contexts would go far in elucidating the intricacy and depth of Wixárika tradition, its connection to the landscape, and the formation of Wixárika personhood.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RELEVANCE

To understand the past we must understand places.
--L.R. Binford, *The Archaeology of Place*

The main goal of this study has been to identify how the Wixárika conceptualize their landscape, and to assess the relevance of that conceptualization to the understanding the ancient past. In brief, this analysis reveals a multilayered conceptualization that is conditioned by the many uses of a living landscape. These layers are unified experientially by a *habitus* in which the landscape is effectively a dwelling. Like houses documented elsewhere, it contains resources, memories, and elements of identity. Moreover, in keeping with the Wixárika interest in an animate physical world, the landscape is firmly embedded in a cosmology. Furthermore, the physical manifestations of Wixárika landscape conceptualization provide a range of insights that are pertinent to the approach and interpretation of ancient landscapes. In the following, I provide an overview of the some of the key meanings with which the Wixárika landscape is imbued. I then discuss how the Wixárika landscape may serve as a basis for comparison that may ultimately enhance our understanding of the content and scope of ancient settlement systems. I conclude the chapter with reflections about the general significance of this study.

Conclusion

I organize the first part of this discussion on basis of the conceptualizations of the landscape, including cosmology, memory, identity, and dwelling. These

conceptualizations articulate with themes addressed in other landscape-related studies; therefore, I incorporate findings from other studies into this discussion as a means to introduce and evaluate related outcomes from this study.

Landscape as cosmology. The word cosmology stems from the Greek *κόσμος* [kósmos], 'world,' plus *λόγια* [lóγια] 'words.' Thus, *cosmology* is literally a way of rendering the world with words, that is to say, a way of systematically making sense of it. Cosmology is more than worldview. It represents an understanding of the world that is interpreted and refined, distinct from an understanding that stems simply from viewing. Cosmology articulates beliefs about the origin of the world, and the relationship of the entities that comprise it. I regard cosmology as a type of collective memory that may be expressed and consolidated in a number of ways simultaneously, including by means of talk, ritual, and the landscape.

Landscapes imbued with cosmological significance embody notions of origins and world order. Rich ethnographic accounts describing cosmological beliefs and their material manifestations have inspired archaeologists to address cosmological matters in related ancient contexts. Among many present-day Maya groups, for example, the principal deity is the 'Earth Lord' whose name in *Q'eqchi'* Maya is *Tzuultaq'a*, which translates literally as "hill valley" (Brady 1997; Brady 1999; Hernando Gonzalo 1999). *Tzuultaq'a* is considered the master and source of valued resources, including maize, wild animals, and water (Brady 1999; Hernando Gonzalo 1999). He assumes the form of mountains, but is approached through caves (Brady 1999), where people perform rituals requesting permission to partake in his bounty (Hernando Gonzalo 1999). Caves are also

portals to the underworld, and among many Maya communities, they serve to define the center of a four-cornered universe (Brady 1997).

The meanings imputed to features of the landscape among the *Q'eqchi'* and other Maya groups have been taken to account for the material patterning among the Maya of both past and present. Brady (1997:603) notes, for example, that house, field, and town of present-day Maya groups are laid out according to a four-cornered model, with a *cenote* or other cave feature at the center. Hanks (1990) demonstrates that altars and domestic space among the Maya of Oxkutzcab, Yucatán, are arranged according to similar principles. In his discussion of the archaeological site of Dos Pilas, Petexbatún Region, Guatemala, Brady (1997) proposes that the cosmological importance of caves and mountains explains settlement configuration. Specifically, he finds several caves associated with both large, pyramidal architecture and residential architecture, which renders them "an extension of and interwoven into the sacred landscape" (Brady 1997:614). Brady (1997) goes on to suggest similar cosmological principles account for patterning at other ancient centers in Mesoamerica, including Tenochtitlan and Teotihuacan, with its Sun Pyramid and associated cave, and calendrical layout (Sugiyama 1993).

Archaeologists working in the U.S. Southwest likewise draw upon Ortiz's (1969) ethnography of the Tewa as a basis for making sense of the cosmological significance of ancient landscapes in the region. For instance, Fowles (2009:449) examines shrine features surrounding *T'aitöna* (Pot Creek Pueblo), a late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century settlement in the Rio Grande del Rancho valley of north-central New Mexico. Ortiz (1969) describes the Tewa conceptualization of the cosmos as a series of nested

tetrads centered on main village, and organized according to the four cardinal directions, and materially manifested as "earth navel" shrines, which appear as bermed rock circles with an opening out of which extends a path in the direction of the home village (Fowles 2009:250). The purpose of these shrines was to facilitate communication with the spirit world dwelling within the shrines, and to redirect blessings of the cosmos back to the home village (Fowles 2009:450; Ortiz 1969). Archaeological evidence in the Rio Grande del Rancho valley reveals a distinct group of rock shrines that occur in north-south pairs and are located in seemingly explicit reference to the main residential area" (Fowles 2009:460), and which are also centered on *T'aitöna* itself. Fowles (2009:463) concludes that the *T'aitöna* shrine system, despite being based on pairs and not tetrads, made explicit a sociospatial logic comparable to that described by Ortiz for the Tewa, and thus may have conveyed a similar set of cosmological ideas.

A conceptualization of the landscape as cosmology is likewise present among the Wixárika, though core beliefs and their material manifestations are distinct from the Tewa and other Puebloan groups of the American Southwest. Wixárika consultants did not explicitly articulate the cosmological significance of the landscape, but rather, it was implied on the basis of their descriptions of key places, especially the *tukipa* ceremonial center, and also on the basis of placenames designating the dwellings of ancestor-deities. The cosmological significance of the *tukipa*, a kernel feature of the Wixárika landscape, is discussed by Schaefer (1996a), and also described by Neurath (2000:1), who states that each of the architectural structures of the *tukipa* ceremonial center itself represents a particular corresponding site in the larger Wixárika geography, so that the *tukipa* serves as a social and architectural model of that ritual universe. Furthermore, the architecture

of the *tukipa* sets the stage for rituals, identified in the context of this study as the practice of *yeiyeri* (footsteps of tradition), in which *xukuri'ikate* revive the original community of ancestors and represent ancient cosmic processes (Neurath 2000:1-2). The analysis of placenames and place-talk in this study reveals that it is not only the architectural elements of *tukipa* groups that are replicated, but also their corresponding placenames. Thus, for the Wixárika, the mere utterance of certain placenames, along with the likely physical encounter with such places in the context of ritual practices and in daily life, together serve to evoke a memory of the cosmic order on a continual basis.

Landscape as memory. In addition to embodying the remembrance of the cosmos, landscapes are sources of memories that are historical in nature, or that refer in some way to an earlier state of affairs. Landscapes imbued with memory fix social and individual histories in space (Knapp 1999). Places are inscribed with meaning, usually as a result of some past event or attachment (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Places of the landscape therefore comprise a materially accessible medium through which memories are commonly constructed and observed (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Van Dyke (2003) provides clear examples of this memory-making process in an archaeological context where cosmological beliefs and ritual knowledge were expressed through architecture and landscape features. In an analysis of large-scale masonry architecture at Chacoan sites (A.D. 850 to 1150) in the U.S. Southwest, for example, Van Dyke (2003) detects a dramatic increase in the construction of great kivas, or large circular structures (15-20 m in diameter) used for ritual purposes, during the Classic Bonito phase (A.D.1040-1100). She characterizes Classic Bonito phase great kivas as a revival of antecedent architectural forms of the earlier Pueblo I (A.D. 700-900) and Basketmaker III (A.D. 400-700) phases,

but which had been formalized to a greater degree in terms of size, orientation, symmetry, and interior features (Van Dyke 2003). Van Dyke (2003) interprets the boom in earlier architectural forms as a means on the part of Chacoan leaders to evoke the historical memory of a more communal and egalitarian past, while at the same time naturalizing new and unequal distributions of labor, surplus, and prestige that characterized the Classic Bonito phase.

The *landscape as historical memory* is a conceptualization that likewise emerges in settings where multiple groups are in contact. The analysis of the source language of placenames in Chapter One, for instance, shows the landscape as a repository of historical memory, both immediate and remote. In the latter sense, these names attest to the contact between the Wixárika and speakers of Spanish and Nahuatl centuries ago, and when evaluated with other sources of linguistic evidence, contribute a more detailed account of not only the nature of contact, but also its geographic extent. To illustrate, the use of Spanish and Nahuatl names to designate places that are *agencias*, or subdivisions of local government, suggests that both Spanish and Nahuatl speakers were involved in establishing the system of local government that exists to this day. The source language data in this study corroborates the observation that "the land is part of a historical process that produces shifting images, place-names, and events as the people using the land change through time" (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006a:28-29).

The conceptualization of the *landscape as memory* is a meaning that also becomes consolidated in the context of movement. In a study of the history, landscape, and tribal traditions in the San Pedro Valley of Arizona, for example, Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006b:95) recount the directive

given to the Hopi people by *Màasaw*, the owner of the Fourth World, who told the ancestors of the Hopi to "*ang kuktota*," meaning, "Along there, make footprints." They were ordered to leave the *itaakuku* 'our footprints' as evidence they had fulfilled their spiritual responsibilities. Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2006b:95) go on to explain that these footprints, which take the form of ruins, potsherds, petroglyphs, and other remains, are associated with Hopi accounts of origin and migration that are carried in a specific type of oral tradition that has been identified elsewhere as *navoti* (Bernardini 2005:23). These *itaakuku* 'our footsteps,' which are themselves the products of movement, are thus a meaningful feature of landscape that preserves the memory of clan migrations, an important facet of social identity among Hopi people.

The *itaakuku* of the Hopi constitutes the historical metaphor by which Hopi people comprehend the past (Ferguson 2006b:95). In a remarkably similar manner, the Wixárika concept of *yeiyeri*, likewise meaning 'footsteps,' but understood as "tradition," also serves as a means for comprehending the past. In this sense, *yeiyeri* refers to the footsteps of the primordial ancestor-deities whose movements are understood to have created the world as it exists today. Adhering to *yeiyeri* is to literally follow in the footsteps of the ancestor-deities, in form of pilgrimages (*kinitixa*), mitote dances (*neixa*), traveling to leave offerings (*tuaya*), hunting (*meteheweyetiwe*), and tending crops (*imayarixa*). For the Wixárika, following *yeiyeri* not only evokes the memory of the ancestor-deities and their achievements, it also is the prescribed means for sustaining the present. *Yeiyeri* is a lived example of how the present reproduces itself in to form of the past (Ferguson 2006b:29). With *yeiyeri* as a guiding principle, being Wixárika entails a state of remembrance that permeates every aspect of daily life.

Landscape movement is also materialized in the form of trails, which not only reinforce the memory of those who have literally gone before, but also provide structure and meaning to ongoing movements. Through an examination of Ancestral Pueblo trail networks (c. A.D.1100) on the Pajarito Plateau of north-central New Mexico, Snead (2009:48,58) shows how movement played a role in the construction and maintenance of an orderly world structured by deep concepts of place, and reinforced tradition through consistent travel along ancient routes. These trails became places in and of themselves, as fundamental to the world view of its inhabitants as mountains and springs (Snead 2009:58). What is more, these networks were sometimes purposefully altered via the building of gateway trails, which were stairways constructed to physically *resemble* the worn trail segments produced by generations of movement (Snead 2009:59), thereby changing the order of the world, but creating an illusion of antiquity and evoking historical memory.

In another study involving landscape movement and memory, Darling (2009:61-62) examines the way in which the social intersection of trails and traditional song cycles among the present-day *O'odham* of central and southern Arizona serve to produce and reproduce social spaces. Trails are an integral part of the O'odham landscape, and traveling along them is more than simply going from one place to another: it is a part of tradition and a metaphor for life (Darling 2009:64). In fact, the *O'odham* word for "tradition" is *himdag*, which can also be translated as "to walk a (good) path" (Darling 2009:65), and is akin to the Hopi concept of *itaakuku* and the Wixárika concept of *yeiyeri*, discussed above. Through the analysis of the Oriole Song series shared by a member of the Gila River Indian Community in central Arizona from 1983 to 1985, in

combination with more recent archaeological survey data, Darling (2009:80) is able to relate geographic referents in this song series to segments of trails. In other words, he demonstrates that "[t]he ideological domain of *O'odham* song is mapped onto the domain of experience (and vice versa) via the facilities or trails that make journeys possible" (Darling 2009:80). What is more, the social space defined by the Oriole Songs correlates with physical remains of the older *Hohokam* landscape (A.D. 950-1450), thereby indicating that physical journeys enumerated in song were routine for at least a thousand years prior to the recordings analyzed for this study (2009:82). Overall, study indicates that *O'odham* landscape, as invoked in song and experienced on foot, anchors social memory of meaningful places, as well as the trails themselves.

Trails are indeed an important feature of the Wixárika landscape, as they are the physical manifestations of the footsteps, or *yeiyeri*, of the ancestor-deities. Although trails for everyday purposes are not designated with proper names, the same trails take on new meaning in ritual contexts, and are named in terms of the sacred places they connect. Despite their central role in carrying out important rituals, including pilgrimages to the four corners of the universe, remarkably little is known about Wixárika trail networks themselves, and much less about how these networks may articulate with other cultural domains. Analysis of the speech of act of placenaming in this study revealed that chants that occur in the context of ceremonies, including the *Teukaritsiya*, the *Tatei Neixa*, and the *Hítaimari*, indeed incorporate geographic places of the landscape, akin to the process described by Darling for the Oriole Songs *O'odham*. However, an understanding of the structure of the Wixárika chants, and possible trail references within them, is lacking at

present. In short, Wixárika trail networks thus stand as a promising direction for future research.

Landscape as identity. The theme of identity emerges often in the context of landscape studies given the power of place as a source from which to draw social identity. People's intense connections to the places they inhabit also render them a ready source of conflict if those connections become threatened, or if people are displaced. In fact, it is often within the milieu of such conflict that *territorial* identity is developed. Territoriality is thus a focus of many landscape-related studies. For example, through the analysis of diverse documents pertaining to the nineteenth century Siouan-speaking Hidatsa and Mandan of North Dakota, Zedeño et al. (2009) examine the role of landscape movement and social identity. They (Zedeño 2009:131) find that in this context of social upheaval and change, landscape journeys, and their corresponding tales of war and victories not only served to boost the prestige of the traveler, but also consolidated a new territorial identity incorporating the traversed lands.

The notion of landscape as identity also comes to light in archaeological contexts. For example, with the aid of GIS tools, Llobera (2001) evaluates the perceptual characteristics of Late Neolithic to Late Bronze Age archaeological landscape features in the Yorkshire Wolds. He measures perception in terms of topographic prominence, defined as "the percentage of locations that lie below the individual's location (terrain altitude plus individual's height) within a certain radius" (2001:1007). Analyses of the topographic prominences of round barrows, linear ditches, and square barrows at various scales (radii) reveal that "close to 90-percent of round barrows are located in high-medium prominent locations" (Llobera 2001:1011). This shows that perception was an

important consideration in the design and use of these landscape features. Furthermore, Llobera (2001:1011) suggests that in light of this evidence, "round barrows might have been an effective means of delimiting a territory," thereby evoking a territorial identity.

Another archaeological example illustrates the expression of another kind of landscape-based identity, derived not only from territorial notions, but also from group affiliation. In an attempt to explain the factors behind the ill-fated outcome of the thirteenth-century community of Castle Rock Pueblo of southwestern Colorado, Ortman (2008:127) examines the strategic actions made by community leaders as they defined an innovative cultural landscape around the edges of their territory during a period of social conflict and migration. These actions included moving into a new central village, constructing houses in an unusual and defensive location, building a system of towers on the settlement's periphery, and constructing a series of four C-shaped stone arrangements that demarcated the community territory and defined the cultural landscape centered on Castle Rock Pueblo (Ortman 2008:132,134). What is notable about these C-shaped stone arrangements, in particular, is that they were not typical for this time period in the region, and that their form is similar to symbolic features documented in association with Chacoan roads constructed a few hundred years prior to Castle Rock Pueblo (Ortman 2008:136). Ortman (2008:148) suggests that this directional shrine system of C-shaped stone arrangements may represent an appropriation by Castle Rock leaders to map Chacoan notions about middle-place onto the Castle Rock community. Thus, by means of landscape features, leaders of Castle Rock attempted to overtly identify with the legendary Chaco Canyon, the primate center of the Pueblo world between A.D.1000 and 1150. The strategy of creating a center akin to Chaco Canyon at Castle Rock Pueblo

ultimately failed for a variety of reasons, including isolation, drought, unproductive lands, and above all, hostile neighbors, who ended up killing off the entire community of Castle Rock sometime after A.D. 1277.

The theme of landscape as identity also emerges in the context of how Wixárika (Huichol) people represent themselves to make claims for territorial rights to diverse publics. Liffman (2011:63) describes a ceremonial process that is referred to by the Wixárika themselves as "registration" (also discussed in Chapter Four) of the *kie* 'household,' which involves making sacrificial treks to ancestral places nearby, to the temple, and ultimately to *Wirikuta* and the other four cardinal sacred places. The *kie*, with its hearth in front of the *xiriki*, thus becomes cosmically rooted to all of the *tukipa* and to the sacred places at the corners of the Huichol universe (Liffman 2011:65). This process can be interpreted as a form of resistance, and it highlights that fact that, for the Wixárika, places of the landscape, like people, have a social identity. What is more, the identity of places as *Wixárika* must likewise be maintained accordingly.

Similar notions of territorial identity likewise emerge in the context of the present study. In the analysis of place-talk in Chapter Four, for example, territorial identity surfaces during the course of talk relating to specific land disputes with the municipal government and with another Wixárika community. What place-talk shows is that territorial identity is not uniform, but rather is shaped and re-shaped according to the parameters of a situation. One's identity as a *Tuapuritari* (someone from the community of *Tuapurie*) is bolstered in the context of disputes with the Wixárika community of San Andrés, for example. Similarly, one's identity as Wixárika takes shape in the context of interaction with *vecinos*. Wixárika place-talk also reveals the prominence of a place-

based identity that is not always territorial, but family based in connection to the ancestral *xiriki*. In short, the analysis of place-talk in the study shows that there are indeed multiple aspects of place-based identity, and different aspects may be emphasized under different sets of circumstances. Although several layers of landscape-based identities have been identified in the course of this study, what is not well understood at present, however, is the extent to which some or all of those identities are manifest in material terms. Although my observations are impressionistic at this point, I know that community identity is expressed in terms of dress. Even though I am an outsider to the Wixárika homeland, and even though time there has been relatively limited, I am able to identify with a fair degree of certainty whether someone is from the community of *Tateikie* or *Tuapurie*, simply based on what they are wearing. Based on my exposure to both communities, it also strikes me that the architectural contents of the *tukipa* and *kiete* are distinct between the two communities. In essence, these vague observations indicate Wixárika homeland is rich setting for exploring issues of place-based identity.

Landscape as Dwelling. This conceptualization resonates particularly well with a philosophical approach that aims to shed the notion of people as disembodied intellects moving in subjective space (Ingold 2000:186). Drawing on the idea in phenomenology of 'being in the world,' Ingold (2000:173) articulates a philosophical position that he indeed refers to as the 'dwelling perspective.' This perspective holds that the world becomes a meaningful environment for people through being inhabited. In other words, what people do and what they build arises within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings (Ingold 2000:186).

Punzo Díaz (2011) offers an example of how this dwelling perspective is put to work in an archaeological context. In the analysis of the Cueva de Maguey cliffdwelling in the Sierra Madre Occidental of Durango, Punzo Díaz (2011:352) takes into account all of the experiential aspects of the landscape as a means to enhance understanding of its past inhabitants. For example, through the systematic observation of daily and seasonal changes in light, the fluctuations in temperature, shade, humidity, and wind, and also the orientation of the cave on the horizon, and proximity to water sources and fields, Punzo Díaz (2011:353) achieves a deeper understanding of how the ancient inhabitants found the place that best served their way of life.

With respect to the Wixárika, it is interesting to note that the notion *dwelling* is at the core of how they conceptualize their world. Recall, that the Wixárika term for "world" is *kiekari*, built on the root *ki*, meaning 'house.' As noted above, this root proliferates in other landscape-related terms that refer to dwellings, including *kie* 'home,' *tukipa* 'great house,' *xiriki* ' "ancestor"-house,' and *'iki* 'corn house,' to name a few. What is more, the idea of dwelling as an living entity, as articulated by Ingold (2000:187), is accomplished through placenaming and periodic rituals of renewal (*Maxa Kwaixa*), described by Liffman as "registration," which establishes the social identity of the place -- a specifically Wixárika identity. The Wixárika conceptualization of the *landscape as dwelling*, developed organically, thus lends credence to this philosophical perspective.

Suggestions for Archaeological Relevance

In this section I offer discuss insights about how the Wixárika landscape may serve as a general basis for comparison with respect to the content and scope of ancient settlement systems. Secondly, I show how the organization and logic of the Wixárika

landscape may serve not only as a general guide to the understanding of ancient landscapes, but also in the symbolic interpretation of specific features at known archaeological sites, such as La Quemada, in northwest region of Mexico.

There are several aspects of the landscape as it is described here that underscore its potential to serve archaeological ends. A general insight that can be gleaned from the Wixárika landscape relates to its content. Namely, the Wixárika landscape consists of diverse kinds of places, only some of which contain architecture. The Wixárika landscape data underscore the significance of topographical features, especially in the context of the ceremonial center (*wa'itsata /tukipa*). In the effort to make sense of ancient settlement systems, as archaeologists we focus on how settlements relate to one another and to valuable resources, such as arable land or water sources (Peeples 2006). This focus has proved to be a highly productive endeavor that has shed light on important aspects of a group's dynamic relationship to the natural environment. The Wixárika example suggests that it might also be fruitful to consider other, symbolic aspects of the surrounding topography, including cliffs, hilltops, and water springs, in our account of a given settlement system.

The *configuration* of the Wixárika ceremonial center is a case in point. The hill to the east, the water spring at its base, and the rocky outcrops to the north comprise key ritual components of the center, and the fact that ancient centers elsewhere in Mesoamerica share these features implies the existence of a longstanding, widespread notion about the appropriate setting in which to establish a ceremonial center. Also, the data here stress the fact that meaningful places -- *nene:kate*, the dwellings of ancestor-deities -- may be distributed throughout a broad region, and they may exhibit a variety of

physical forms. Therefore, while the *tukipa* ceremonial centers are indeed a significant feature among the Wixárika, so are nearby *nene:kate*, located on hilltops, caves, springs, and other areas, most of which exhibit little or no modification. The only indication that these are places of importance may be the few offerings and footpaths leading to them. Thus, the content of the Wixárika landscape emphasizes that it is necessary to consider the possible importance of remote, unmodified sites in addition to those with architecture.

Analysis of settlement patterns in the Malpaso Valley, Zacatecas, Mexico, including the monunmental center of La Quemada (A.D.500-900) and its environs, suggests that its ancient occupants inhabited the landscape in a manner similar to the Wixárika (Medina González 2000a). Aside from the monumental center of La Quemada, Medina González (2000a:323), notes that the vast majority of settlements in this region are located on the floodplain of the valley floor. Notable exceptions, however, are the non-habitation sites located on the tops of isolated peaks flanking the valley (Medina González 2000a:325). Many of these hilltop sites contain isolated altars or sunken patio complexes (Medina González 2000a:325) that are likewise prominent features of the La Quemada center. In light of the Wixárika landscape evidence, it is possible to interpret hilltop sites not as isolated and peripheral, but as essential components, akin to the *nene:kate* of the *tukipa*, and integral to the ceremonial practices of the monumental center.

With respect to the Wixárika landscape, the *number* and *diversity* of elements that make up each *tukipa* group underscore the need to consider a wide range of site-types that may have been important to ancient groups. The core ceremonial centers are indeed a significant feature among the Wixárika, for example, but integral to those centers are

the nearby hilltops, caves, springs, and other places, most of which exhibit little or no modification. The only indication that these are places of importance may be the few offerings and footpaths leading to them. In general, the Wixárika landscape example underscores the idea that what archaeologists see as landforms may have been residence of deities, or even the deities themselves, akin to the *nene:kate* of the Wixárika.

In addition, the *recursive nature* of the Wixárika landscape, expressed repetitively in the *tukipa*, as well as the physical and symbolic connection between *tukipas* and other places that make up the Wixárika landscape, including ordinary houses (*kie*) and primordial sacred places (*nene:kate*), illustrate the value of an integrated approach to archaeological contexts. In other words, the Wixárika example emphasizes the potential of examining all components of a landscape, and seeking parallels among them. Focusing on just one feature of a settlement system -- say, for example, the ceremonial center only -- may limit one's ability to identify the key similarities or differences among other components.

As archaeologists, we are also concerned with identifying the scale of ancient settlement systems, and the Wixárika landscape as it is described here stands as an approximate example of a settlement system corresponding to a single ceremonial center. The possibility that there are aboriginal *tukipa*-centered territories (referred to as *tukipa* districts by Weigand) is based on the fact that every ceremonial center has its own replicate set of *nene:kate* sacred places in the area surrounding it. In the study area, which encompasses the *tukipa* of *Keuruwitia* and immediate surroundings, for example, consultants pointed out that the *nene:kate* corresponding to the neighboring *tukipa* of *Xawepa* are just beyond the western edge of the study area. Specifically, the adulatory

atop the cerro *Kixaimuka*, and another *nene:kate* to the south of it, both of which are just west of the village of *Taimarita* (in the study area), correspond to the neighboring *tukipa* of *Xawepa*, whereas sacred places to the east of *Kixaimuka* (one on *Kixaurikatsie*, one near *Tekatsata*, two near Nueva Colonia, one near La Manga, and several others in *Keuruwitia*) all pertain to the *tukipa* of *Keuruwitia*. These are local *nene:kate* attended to by *xukuri'ikate* (in contrast to the original *nene:kate*, located in far away regions), and all are likewise located within the communal territory of *Tuapurie*, and not in Tenzompa directly to the east, or in Huejuquilla directly to the north (Figure 1). In short, the distribution of *nene:kate* connected to a given *tukipa* suggest the former existence of a territorial unit centered on the *tukipa*, but which is no longer emphasized in light of the other territorial subdivisions that have emerged since the colonial era. In any case, the *tukipa* territorial unit "of old" can still be delineated, and thus could stand as an especially useful basis for comparison with archaeological settlements.

The specific patterning of *nene:kate* sacred places needs to be further scrutinized in order to be more certain of these claims concerning a territorial unit based on the *tukipa*. For example, it would be useful to investigate if there are recognized *tukipa* territorial boundaries, and if they overlap. It would also be useful to know the extent to which *nene:kate* attended to by *xukuri'ikate* are shared between centers. The notion of a *tukipa* territory is also complicated by the fact that each of the four ceremonial centers can hypothetically elect *xukuri'ikate* from anywhere within the entire community, thus the *tukipa* might be integrating a much larger territory of people, though ceremonial practices are more centered. I have been told that, for practical reasons, most *xukuri'ikate* are drawn from nearby. In any case, it would be very useful to identify not

only the specific distribution of *nene:kate* used by *xukuri'ikate* (not to mention other types of sacred places), but also the home turf of the *xukuri'ikate*. With respect to archaeology, by the standards of ancient centers in the Northwest region and elsewhere in Mesoamerica, the size of the present-day Wixárika ceremonial center itself is small, yet it integrates an area of approximately 78 km², containing settlements of various sizes (1 town, 7 villages, and countless individual houses) that are linked by a web of trails. Having an idea of the scale and components of a Wixárika settlement system presents a useful basis for comparison with ancient sites. If ancient groups were in any way similar with respect to their utilization of the landscape, then the Wixárika case provides us with a realistic notion of the possible scale and organization of ancient settlement systems, assuming a comparable population density.

Regarding landscape movements, many of the key movements discussed in the course of this study and that help to fashion a Wixárika landscape bring to light several points that may enhance our approach to movement in ancient contexts. For one, it promotes an awareness of the *diversity* of movement, in terms of both manner and meaning that may also have been the case at ancient sites in the region. Thus, when presented with evidence of movement archaeologically, we should be cautious about assigning uniform explanations, rather, we should be attuned to the possibility of an inventory of movements with distinct meanings.

Secondly, the data here highlight the fact that ritual movements, in the manner of formalized pilgrimages (*kinitixa*) and races, and the less formal treks to leave offerings (*tuaya*), as well as mitote dances (*neixa*), are all associated not only with the *tukipa* ceremonial center, but also with the *kie*. What is more, both *kinitixa* and *tuaya*

movements involve the use of trails. Considered together, these facts encourage us to consider the ritual dimension of not only monumental centers, but residential sites and other non-habitation sites, akin to the *nene:kate* sacred sites of the Wixárika. Moreover, the fact that a key dimension of Wixárika ritual is movement along *trails* (*hu:yeyari*) emphasizes the need to likewise focus on trails and roadways in the examination of ancient sites of all magnitudes.

Archaeological study of the monumental center La Quemada and the surrounding Malpaso Valley region has indeed focused on its network of roads (Medina González 2000a; Nelson 1995; Trombold 1991). Some of the roads are paved masonry and are several meters wide, built on a carefully prepared surface elevated about 50 cm from the ground. These roads are thus a prominent feature of the ancient Malpaso Valley landscape (Trombold 1991:159). The road network encompasses an area of about 10 x 12 km, and consists of segments that connect the monumental core of La Quemada to much smaller sites in the valley (Nelson 1995:611). While initial interpretations emphasized a military and defense function of the road network and associated smaller sites (Trombold 1991:164), others have proposed a more symbolic and/or ritual function (Medina González 2000a; Nelson 1995). The symbolic function is further suggested by the fact these roads terminate at geographic prominences (Nelson 1995:611), many of which contain ritual architecture (Medina González 2000a). In contrast, Chacoan roads, which are much more extensive (90 x100km) in comparison, always seem to lead to settlements (Nelson 1995:611). This is not to suggest that Chacoan roads served practical functions only. In fact, Chacoan roads were very likely symbolic, with a focus on the village, however small, as the center. This is in sharp contrast to the roads of La

Quemada, whose symbolic focus is apparently a relative place on the landscape. The differences between the two road systems highlight a very distinct set of organizing principles. In any case, when La Quemada roads are viewed in light of the Wixárika landscape, however, it is easy to view these roads as formalized trails (*hu:yeyari*) marking the footsteps of the ancestors (*yeiyeri*), and constructed for the display of movements, including processions and races, all integral to enactment of the ceremonial cycle, and thus the reproduction of the cosmos.

Third, the geographic magnitude of Wixárika ritual movement, which sometimes encompasses an extensive portion of the northern Mesoamerican zone, provides us with a concrete basis for evaluating the possible extent of ancient settlement systems. It also inspires us to consider rituality itself -- in the form of pilgrimage (*kinitixa*) and leaving offerings (*tuaya*) -- as possible mechanisms of interregional interaction at play in antiquity.

While it is useful to identify similarities between the Wixárika and their ancient counterparts, it is also extremely informative to contemplate the differences that emerge in the process. For example, the Wixárika emphasis on round *neixa* dances within the circular, open patio of the temple compound contrasts with the relatively confined, rectangular patio of the temple complex of Terrace 18 at the site of La Quemada, Zacatecas. The ancient patio also contains a ball-court, which indicates that the ritual activities of the inhabitants of La Quemada were at least sometimes centered on the ball game, as opposed to the round dance. In general, movement data from the Wixárika area motivate us to more closely ponder the use of architectural space in archaeological contexts.

Similarities and differences with other archaeological traditions come into sharper focus when other details of the *tukipa* group are considered. For example, it is possible circular architecture of the Wixárika *tukipa* implies affinities to the Teuchitlan tradition to the south, which prominently features circular elements amid rectangular forms. The circular or oval shape of the *tukipa*, with its rectangular buildings, and their arrangement around a sunken patio also suggest connections to places like La Quemada, to the east, in which rectangular architecture and sunken patio complexes dominate. The Wixárika indeed share an architectural inventory with ancient groups in the region, and thus it would be useful to systematically examine the degree to which other architectural properties and material culture is shared between the Wixárika and ancient groups. Furthermore, as with La Quemada and the ancient cultures associated with *cerros de trincheras*, high places are very significant feature of Wixárika *tukipa* groups. Yet, unlike La Quemada and *cerro de trincheras* sites, hilltops among the Wixárika are used for ritual purposes only, and are not inhabited by people, only ancestor-deities. Although these distinctions may seem basic, a careful accounting of such similarities and differences over a broad geographic region may serve to shed further light on the nature of social changes through time in the region.

Concluding Thoughts

A key contribution of this study is that it renders the living landscape linguistically and ritually from an indigenous point of view. This perspective reveals the intimate, indeed familial, connection between Wixárika people and the land they inhabit, and thus exposes a central tenet of Wixárika identity – the home place. Thus, for the Wixárika, the landscape is, above all, a dwelling from which necessary resources and

diverse aspects of memory and identity are nurtured. The presentation in this study of a living landscape that is constructed linguistically, ritually, and in terms of movement, also serves as a framework for contemplating past landscapes.

Aside from the archaeological interests this study may serve, knowing how the Wixárika conceptualize the landscape is intrinsically valuable. Deeper awareness of a perspective and traditions that differ from our own may enable us to develop a greater appreciation for the diversity of the the human experience. Being aware also means that it is less likely that we will be indifferent to the territorial and cultural challenges that the Wixárika, and groups like them, face in their efforts to go on being themselves. The practical side to this awareness and appreciation is advocacy. Knowledge of what the landscape means for the Wixárika better equips us to offer genuine support should the need and opportunity arise.

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APPENDIX A: SPANISH LANGUAGE PLACENAMES OF THE WIXÁRIKA
LANDSCAPE

The Spanish placenames identified in the study area include the following, listed alphabetically and translated into English:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Agua Zarca</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Blue Water | <i>Translation:</i> The Limits? (possibly from the Spanish, <i>colmos</i>) |
| 2. <i>Buena Vista</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Good View | 21. <i>Los Espejos</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Mirrors |
| 3. <i>Casa Nueva</i>
<i>Translation:</i> New House | 22. <i>Los Márcigos</i>
<i>Translation:</i> ? (meaning unknown) |
| 4. <i>Chula Vista</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Pretty View | 23. <i>Los Limones</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Limes |
| 5. <i>El Celoso</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Jealous One | 24. <i>Los Lobos</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Wolves |
| 6. <i>El Dorado</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Golden One | 25. <i>Los Pedernales</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Flints |
| 7. <i>Katuritsi</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Fourteen (from Spanish <i>Catorce</i>) | 26. <i>Los Órganos</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Organs (musical instrument) |
| 8. <i>Kaxa Manaká</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Where Box Sits (from Spanish, <i>caja</i>) | 27. <i>Los Zapotes</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Naseberry Trees |
| 9. <i>La Curva</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Curve | 28. <i>Melon Ma:kawe</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Upon Where Melon Stands |
| 10. <i>La Guacamaya</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Macaw | 29. <i>Nueva Colonia</i>
<i>Translation:</i> New Colony |
| 11. <i>La Laguna</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Pond | 30. <i>Piedra China</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Scorched Stone |
| 12. <i>La Loma</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Hill | 31. <i>Pueblo Nuevo</i>
<i>Translation:</i> New Town |
| 13. <i>La Manga</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Net | 32. <i>Puente Manká</i>
<i>Translation:</i> On Where the Bridge Lies |
| 14. <i>La Peña Colorada</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Red Cliff | 33. <i>Puritu Manawe</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Atop Where the Little Donkey Stands |
| 15. <i>Las Guayabas</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Guayabas | 34. <i>San José</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Saint Joseph |
| 16. <i>Las Latas</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Pine Poles | 35. <i>Santa Catarina</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Saint Catherine |
| 17. <i>Las Toro</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Bulls | 36. <i>Santa Cruz</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Holy Cross |
| 18. <i>Los Baños Públicos</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Public Baths | 37. <i>Soledad</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Solitude |
| 19. <i>Los Bules</i>
<i>Translation:</i> The Gourds | 38. <i>Tatei Wi:nu:ya</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Wine of Our Mother |
| 20. <i>Los Colomos</i> | 38. <i>Tierra Colorada</i>
<i>Translation:</i> Red Earth |

39. *Tsikurati Manka*

Translation: On Where Chocolate Sits
(*tsikurati* from Spanish *chocolate*)

40. *Xira Mukama*

Translation: There Upon Where the
Saddle Is (*xira* from Spanish *silla*)

APPENDIX B: WIXÁRIKA LANGUAGE PLACENAMES AND THEIR
MORPHOLOGY

Pattern One: noun stem only

1. *Hanari* : *ha* (water) + *na* (precise meaning unknown, but possibly 'forth') + *ri* (noun suffix)
Translation: Water Flowing Forth?
2. *Keuruwi* : Pine Pole
3. *Tateiwi:nu:ya* : *ta* (our) + *tei* (mother) + *wi:nu* (wine, from Spanish *vino*) + *ya* (possessive marker)
Translation: Wine of Our Mother

Pattern Two: noun stem followed by a locative suffix of place or direction

With the suffix -e 'in or at'

1. *Hutsekie* : *hutse* (bear) + *ki* (house) + *e* (in or at)
Translation: At Bear House
2. *Kwe:tanakatenie* : *kwe:ta* (type of tree?) + *naka* (gentilic suffix [to check!!!]) + *teni* (edge, mouth) + *e* (at)
Translation: At the Edge of Acacias?
3. *Tuapurie* : *Tuapuri* (Soap plant or Amole?) + *e* (in or at)
Translation: At Soap Plant

With the suffix -pa 'place of'

4. *Ha:púripa* : *ha:puri* (willow) + *pa* (place of, in)
Translation: Place of Willow
5. *Mixipa* : *mixi* (catfish) + *pa* (place of, in)
Translation: Place of Catfish
6. *Taupa* : *tau* (sun) + *pa* (place of, in)
Translation: Place of Sun
7. *Teiwarixipa* : *teiwari* (Mestizo) + *xi* (plural) + *pa* (place of, in)
Translation: Place of Mestizos
8. *Texunikayapa* : *texuni* (a kind of rock?) + *ka* (unknown meaning) + *ya* (abounds/is in abundance)
Translation: Place of Abundant *Texuni*

9. *Xawe:pa* : *xawe* (Pochote tree, genus *Ceiba*) + *pa* (place of, in)
Translation: Place of *Pochote*

With the suffix -ta 'inside, amid'

10. *'Aikutsita* : *'aikutsi* (gourd bowl) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: In Gourd Bowl
11. *Haxuta* : *haxu* (mud or clay) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Mud/Clay
12. *Ha:yuka:rita* : *ha:yuká:ri* (a type of short grass) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid *Ha:yuká:ri* Grass
13. *Hukutá* : *hukú* (pine) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Pine
14. *Kanarítá* : *kanari* (hand-made guitar) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: In the Violin

15. *Kewimuta* : *Kewimu(ka)* (Proper name of Rain Deity, phonological change with suffix]) + *ta* (amid, inside)
Translation: Amid *Kewimuka*
16. *Kwa:rupa:ta* : *kwa:rupa:* (plum) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Plum
17. *Kwe:ta* : *kwe* (type of tree?) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid *Kwe* (tree)?
18. *Me:kita* : *me:ki* (mesquite) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Mesquite
19. *Taimarita* : *taima* (to push) + *ri* (nominalizing suffix) + *ta* (amid, inside)
Translation: Amid the Pushing
20. *Takusta* : *Takutsi* (Grandmother Nakawe Growth, phonological change with suffix: *ts* > *s* before *t*) + *ta* (amid, inside)
Translation: Amid Grandmother Growth
21. *Te:kata* : *te:ka* (roasting pit) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: In the Roasting Pit
22. *Tsi:natá* : *tsi:ná* (cypress tree) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Cypress
23. *Tuwameta* : *Tuwame* (proper name of ancestor-deity?) + *ta* (inside, amid, in midst of)
Translation: Amid/In the Midst of *Tuwame*
24. *Wexuta* : *we:xu* (a wild acacia tree) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Acacia
25. *Yua:rixita* : *yuari* (macaw) + *xi* (plural) + *ta* (inside, amid)
Translation: Amid Macaws
26. *Yirameta* : *yira* (sprout) + *me* (agentive) + *ta* (amid, inside, in the midst of)
Translation: Amid/In the Midst of *Yirame* (is proper name of an ancestor-deity)

With the suffix *-tia* 'at the base of, below'

27. *'Awatsaitia* : *'awatsai* (San Blas Jay bird, *Cyanocorax sanblasianus*) + *tia* (below, at the base)
Translation: At the Base of San Blas Jay Bird
28. *'Aixetametia* : *'ai* (rocky outcrop or cliff) + *xetá* (red) + *me* (possible adjectival form) + *tia* (below, at the base)
Translation: At the Base of Red Cliff
29. *'Iniakwaxitia* : *'inia* (provisions) + *kwaxi* (ready) + *tia* (below, at the base)
Translation: Below Ready Provisions?
30. *Keuruwitia* : *keuruwi* (pine pole) + *tia* (below, at the base)
Translation: At the Base of Pine Pole

31. *Naixiutia* : *nai* (all) + *xiu* (small-leaf oak tree or yucca) + *tia* (below, at the base of)
Translation: All Small-leaf Oak Below
32. *Metsatia* : *Metsa* (variant of "moon"?) + *tia* (below or at the base)
Translation: Below the Moon
With the suffix -tsata 'among, between'
33. *Tekatsata* : *teka* (flint) + *tsa:ta* (among)
Translation: Among Flint
With the suffix -tsie 'on'
34. *'E:ka-tsie* : *'e:ka* (wind) + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On Wind
35. *Haimatsie* : *haima* (variant of "cloud"?) + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On Cloud
36. *Kiipitsie* : *kiipí* (neck) + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On the Neck (of a stream)
37. *Kixaurikatsie* : *kixauri* (drinking gourd) + *ka* (precise meaning unknown, possibly lexicalized affix derived from the verb 'to sit') + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On Drinking Gourd
38. *Maxaiyarieyatsie* : *maxa* (deer) + *iyari* (heart) + *ieya* (third person sg. possessive marker) + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On Heart of Deer
39. *Miiya:kametsie* : *miiya* (poison) + *kame* (agentive marker) + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On Poisoner
40. *Pi:riki:yatsie* : *pi:riki* (a type of flower) + *ya* (abundant) : *tsie* (on)
Translation: On Abundant *Pi:riki* Flower
41. *Xakixatsie* : *Xakixá* (a wild huckleberry-like, edible fruit) + *tsie* (on)
Translation: On *Xakixá* Fruit

Pattern Three: noun stem followed by a relative clause conveying locational information related to the pre-posed noun stem

1. *'Awaukuri Manwe* : *'awaukuri* (a type of tree) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where *'Awaukuri* tree Stands ? On the Surface
2. *Haxi Mutiniere* : *haxi* (crocodile) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ti* (up) + *niere* (appear/is seen)
Translation: Where Crocodile Is Seen Up at That Place
3. *Hukú Mu:yewe* : *hukú* (pine) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (inside/within) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where Pine Stands Within That Place
4. *Kauyumarie Mu:yewe* : *Kauyumari* (Proper name of an important deity) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (inside/within) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where *Kauyumarie* Stands Within That Place

5. *Kaxa Manaká* : *kaxa* (box, from Spanish *caja*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *ká* (lies)
Translation: Where the Box Lies Hither On the Surface
6. *Ku:ka Manawi* : *ku:ka* (bead) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *wi* (hang, plural form)
Translation: Where Beads Hang Hither On the Surface
7. *Kuxai Muka* : *kuxai* (a type of worm) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ka* (sits)
Translation: Where *Kuxai* worm Sits
8. *Kwa:xa Manawe* : *kwa:xa* (a type of tree) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where *Kwa:xa* Stands Hither On the Surface
9. *Mai Mankatéi* : *mai* (maguey) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *ka* (down/downward from above) + *téi* (sit, plural form for round things)
Translation: Where Magueys Sit ? Down On the Surface
10. *Mai Mu:yeka* : *mai* (maguey) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (inside/within) + *ka* (sits, singular for round things)
Translation: Where Maguey Sits Within That Place
11. *Mata:mu:riti Manká* : *matá* (grinding stone, or metate) + *mu:riti* (broken) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (thither?) + *ká* (lies)
Translation: Where Broken Metate Lies Thither On the Surface
12. *Melon Ma:kawe* : *melón* (melon, from Spanish) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ka* (down/downward from above) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where Melon Stands Down On the Surface
13. *Metsa Manakama* : *metsa* (variant of moon) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *ka* (down/downward from above) + *ma* (to be, for something flat and round)
Translation: Where Moon Is Up ("Looking" Down) Hither On the Surface
14. *Na:kari Ma:kawe* : *na:kari* (nopal cactus) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ka* (down/downward from above) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where Nopal Stands Down On the Surface
15. *Nierika Ma:yewe* : *nierika* (ritual offering) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ye* (inside/within) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where *Nierika* Stands Within On the Surface
16. *Ni'ari Manata:we*: *Ni'ari* ("servant", personal name of ancestor-deity) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *ta*: (on the same plane) + *we* (stands)
Translation: Where *Ni'ari* Stands Over Hither On the Surface
17. *Puente Manká* : *puente* (bridge, from Spanish *puente*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *ká* (lies)

Translation: Where the Bridge Lies? On the Surface

18. *Puritu Manawe* : *puritu* (little donkey, from Spanish *Burrito*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *we* (stands)

Translation: Where the Little Donkey Stands Hither On the Surface

19. *Pu:ta Manawi* : *pu:ta* (an object used for making a native alcoholic beverage) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *wi* (hang, plural form)

Translation: Where Distillery-like objects Hang Hither on the Surface

20. *Teiwariyuawe Munkaniere* : *teiwari* (neighbor/mestizo, or "spirit") + *yuawe* (blue) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *n* (?) + *ka* (down/downward from above) + *niere* (appears/to be seen)

Translation: Where Blue Spirit Is Seen Up ("looking" down) at That Place

21. *Tsapú Mankwe* : *tsapú* (*zapote* or *nasberry tree*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *k* (down/downward from above) + *we* (stands, for an oblong thing)

Translation: Where *Zapote/Nasberry* Stands Down ? On the Surface

22. *Tsapú Mu:yewe* : *tsapú* (*zapote* or *nasberry tree*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (inside/within) + *we* (stands, for an oblong thing)

Translation: Where *Zapote/Nasberry* Stands Within at That Place

23. *Tsikurati Manka* : *tsikurati* (*chocolate*, from Spanish *chocolate*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *ka* (sits)

Translation: Where *Chocolate* Sits ? On the Surface

24. *Tsi:ná Ma:yewe* : *tsi:ná* (*cypress tree*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ye* (inside/within) + *we* (stands, for an oblong thing)

Translation: Where *Cypress* Stands Within On the Surface

25. *Tu:tú Ma:yekate* : *tu:tú* (*flower*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ye* (inside/within) + *ka* (is, for something flexible) + *te* (plural marker)

Translation: Where *Flowers* Are Within On the Surface

26. *Wakanari Mamati'ú* : *wakana* (*chicken*) + *ri* (plural marker) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *ma* (to be, for something flat and round) + *ti'ú* (to stand, for plural things)

Translation: Where *Chickens* Stand On the Surface

27. *Xira Mu:kama* : *xira* (*saddle*, from Spanish *silla*) + *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ka*

(down/downward from above) + *ma* (to be, for something flat and round)

Translation: Where the *Saddle* Is Up ("looking" down) at That Place

Pattern Four: a relative clause structure with an incorporated noun

1. *Ma:kuhe:kwa* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ku* (flat area below) + *hekwa* (something new)

Translation: On the Flats Below Where It Is New (The Spanish name for this place is *Casa Nueva*, New House)

2. *Ma:katenuxaya* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a*: (on the surface) + *ka* (down/downward from above) + *tenuxa* (tuff) + *ya* (abound)
Translation: On Up Where Tuff Abounds
3. *Manakixiya* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *na* (hither) + *kixi* (unknown meaning) + *ya* (abound)
Translation: On Hither Where *Kixi* Abounds
4. *Ma:nyexawá* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *a* (on the surface) + *n* (?) + *ye* (inside/within) + *xawá* (something hollow)
Translation: On ? Within Where It is Hollow
5. *Mu:kutira:ni* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ku* (flat area below) + *tira:ni* (forest)
Translation: That Flat Place Below Where There Is Forest
6. *Mu:kuwa:riya* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ku* (flat area at below) + *wa:ri* (a type of grass) + *ya* (abound)
Translation: That Flat Place Below Where *Wa:ri* grass Abounds
7. *Muyahaukuxaya* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ya* (inside/within, variant of *ye*) + *haukuxa* (a type of grass) + *ya* (abound)
Translation: That Place Within Where *Haukuxa* Grass Abounds
8. *Muyatuxá* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ya* (inside/within, variant of *ye*) + *tuxá* (white, referring to the color of the local volcanic tuff)
Translation: That Place Within Where It Is White (where there is white volcanic tuff)
9. *Muyayiawe* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ya* (in/within, variant of *ye*) + *yiawe* (blue)
Translation: That Place Within Where It Is Blue
10. *Muyakiayerie* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u* (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (in/within) + *kiayeri* (orchid) + *e* (in or at)
Translation: At That Place Within Where There Is Orchid
11. *Mu:yexiki:raiye* : *m* (relative clause marker) + *u*: (specific location/circumscribed area) + *ye* (inside/within) + *xiki:r(i)* (mirror) + *aiye* (adjectival suffix)
Translation: That Place Within Where It is Round (*lit.*, "mirror-like")

Pattern Five: a locative noun with the composition marker *-yari*, indicating the contents or source of something

This pattern was not exhibited within the corpus of this study.