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HUICHOL LIFE FORM CLASSIFICATION I: ANIMALS

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1. The sibling principle
2. Huichol classification of life forms
 - 2.1. Animals
 - 2.2. Plants (Part II)

1. Defining criteria, rather than class names, are what speakers of Huichol have in their language for referring to most groupings of living beings in their environment that resemble each other in form or behavior or use.¹ A few class names exist, but for most well defined groupings of life forms there is no cover term, hyperonym, or generic or superset name.

P. David Price came up against this problem when investigating how the Huichol classify plants (1967). He succeeded in finding attributive verbs that applied to classes of plants, but was not able to use covering nouns like tree to get at the same groupings.

Some covering nouns are actually used. I have had no difficulty when eliciting data monolingually in asking for, or in having offered to me, lists of trees, shrubs, vines, grasses, fish, birds, snakes, flies, and worms, all associated with cover terms. Furthermore, the cover terms that exist come up naturally and constantly in conversation.

On the other hand, even such biologically obvious groups as what we call the mammals and the conifers lack cover terms, and most subgroups of the birds and insects have no cover terms. The groupings are there, clear and well recognized; but they are identified via their attributes, and those attributes are most often expressed by verbs or complete sentences.

The cover term for one group is sometimes used as part of the definition of another group. This happens even when the group being defined has no cover term of its own. For example, the sentence translated they do not eat FISH contains the cover term fish and is part of the characterization of small shore birds, even though there is no cover term for that group of birds. The significance of this is that it shows the use of cover terms in defining contexts, even though no cover term may be sufficient by itself to designate the members of the group in question.

Out of this interplay between defining criteria on the one hand and generic naming on the other there comes a question that suggests further theoretical investigation. Some of the Huichol covering nouns fit the implicational scales that have been proposed for life forms (Brown 1979, Witkowski and Brown 1978):

fish, bird, and snake for animals, and tree, shrub, vine, and grass for plants. Those terms, however, are somewhat scattered about in the tree-like network of life forms that is implied by the defining criteria, rather than being concentrated near its root. As can be seen in detail in 2, correspondence between position in the definition tree and use of covering nouns is decidedly spotty. Why, then, should the few covering nouns that are used fit the schemata of Brown and others at all?

The answer seems to be independent of the classification system as such. It probably has more to do with the things classified, seen in terms of practical necessity to relate to certain life forms in a uniform way without having to differentiate among them.

The key to getting at the indigenous principle of classification in Huichol is the term 'iváa sibling, brother, sister, cousin. It is an animate noun, obligatorily possessed. It refers, in speaking of humans, to any person of either sex in one's own generation who is related by ties of blood (Grimes and Grimes 1962). It applies by extension to friends and age mates who might not be strictly speaking in the same generation, but whom one wants to treat as if they were. Applied to living beings who are not necessarily humans, it denotes that they share characteristics of form or behavior. It can even be applied to non-living things such as medicines that share therapeutic characteristics, like penicillin and erythromycin, or to Volkswagen Beetles and vans.

The procedure for classifying a life form in Huichol, developed by trial and error, boils down to three points:

- (1) What are its siblings? ('iivaa. -máa-ma quee me-te-tĩ. tá-mee-xi sibling-plural-its how they-question-what-nominal-plural; hyphens indicate relevant morphemic segmentation)
- (2) What shows that they are its siblings? (quee me-té-máa. siücü queenaame me-'ivaa. -máa-ma how they-question-recognizable that they-sibling-plural-its)
- (3) How do you tell one sibling from another? (quee me-tée. -paasře how they-question-segregated)

The answers are consistent from one speaker to another, though there was no opportunity in this study to test ranges of variability. Answers are phrased in terms of either appearance or behavior.

The same life form may be classified in more than one way: cuáasa crow is put both with the carrion birds and with the birds that rob seed from fields, because it does both. One consequence of this cross classification, which is noted wherever it occurs, is that the overall life form classification does not have the form of a tree, but of a network that is very much like a tree in most places. That is, between most pairs of nodes there is only one path, but where one node is cross classified there may be more than one path to some other node.

2.0. A preliminary sketch of the Huichol life form classification established on this basis follows. Indentation with leading dots shows the groupings. Order

of forms or groups is not significant, though it is possible that the form given first within some groups will turn out to be prototypical of that group. Cover terms are labelled as such, and their glosses are written in capital letters.

The discriminating criteria that distinguish brother from brother cannot be given here because of space limitations. The classification has, however, been worked out as the basis for the definitions in a forthcoming study of lexical semantics, which will include the differentiators that have been found.² Even where no identification of a species has been made in terms of English, Spanish, or Latin nomenclatures, the Huichol differentiators exist.

Name doublets are common. 'üüpáa is the name for skunk and also for a species of tree, maarúí is the name of both a kind of turtle and the anhinga, a cormorant-like water bird, húuse is both bear and tarantula. There are also near doublets like máxá deer and máaxa, a species of wild fig. Some doublets include háa water as the first member of a compound, as in túvé jaguar and haa, túvé (water-jaguar) = ocelot. For plant names there are a number of doublets in which one member has the suffix -xa, which I include in glosses as plant. The members of the pair may be quite close together botanically, as is the case with yéuca avocado and yéu, cáxa (avocado-plant) = aguacatillo (Spanish), or farther apart as is the case with caríu walnut and cáariuxa (walnut-plant) = Mexican cedar.

A number of names are compounds. They are recognized pending further analysis of tone and rhythm shifts by a difference in tone or rhythm between one or both of the parts of the compound and the corresponding simplex form. Phrasal names do not show such a change. Compounds are written without space and are glossed in parentheses with hyphens separating the parts.

The reader should be aware that this classification was made by a linguist fluent in Huichol, not by a biologist. My knowledge of land animals is better than my knowledge of bugs and water animals, and botanically speaking I know only a little. This weights my species identifications. On the other hand, when it comes to recording the way people talk about a particular species in monolingual Huichol conversations, it makes little difference whether I can identify that species or not.

2.1. Animals are treated as animate in the grammar; that is, when more than one animal is referred to, they take plural cross reference as verb subjects and objects, and are inflected with plural noun endings (Grimes 1964). The same is rarely the case with plants, which are treated as inanimate. Normally they are not pluralized, and they take singular subject and object cross reference even when more than one is being referred to.

Naa, nári cuieta pucaráa, vñiya no root runs in the ground, vepü'yúu, nü'aa
they direct themselves (in regard to motion)

. 'Uumée vepée, xéiya xúurñiya they have bones and blood

. . Cayúu, yúurime vepü'cuá'aa they eat things that are not green

. . . Sűücüüpaü vepü'áa, néne they are like a dog

. . . . Vepü'ca'f, 'ávieta yüxüüté they do not hide their claws

. Vái vepü'cuá'aa they eat meat (carrion): yaavi coyote, Canis latrans, cauxai gray fox, Urocyon cinereoagenteus, 'úráave wolf, Canis lupus, sűücü dog³

- Vái vepücacuá'aa they do not eat meat (carrion): háisü coatimundi Nasua narica together with xüaru solitary male coatimundi, húuse black bear, Ursus americanus, m'éeta raccoon, Procyon lotor, yéxuxu common opossum, Didelphis marsupialis, 'üüpáa skunk, Mephitis macroura and other species, haa. rúca river otter, Lutra
- Vepñi. 'ávieta yüxüüté mñisuupau they hide their claws like a cat: túvé jaguar, Felis onca with the two related forms haa. túvé (water-jaguar) = ocelot? Felis pardalis and tuuríe margay? Felis wiedii, máaye mountain lion, Felis concolor, capuvi bobcat, Lynx rufus, mñisu house cat, 'úunisa jaguarundi (Spanish onza), Felis yagouarundi
- Sűücüüpaü vepüca'aa. néne they are not like a dog, cuieta vepü. táváaya they lay eggs in the ground
- Vepüu. xűüte they have claws
- Haapa vepücaýú. vaurñiya they do not like to go in the water, vepütáa. náusa they run: quee. sée small iguana and the related haa. quéesé (water-iguana) = large coastal iguana with crest, Iguana iguana, 'ñi. múcui = 'úu. múcui Gila monster, 'átáacuai iguanita (Spanish), maataica pata de res (Spanish), unidentified cátépuaca, tácuáasi (case for ceremonial paraphernalia from pattern on back) caasáa, haarñi, cáicú
- Cűyee. sñe vepüu. 'úuva they go about in trees: 'úcu lagartija (Spanish, considered female), quíeráaca lagartija grande (Spanish, considered male), xññcui
- Haapa púu. yéica it goes in the water, pütáa. náusa it can run: háaxi alligator
- Haapa vaa. qufcú púu. yéica it goes in water or on land, pücaýuu'uu. náve it cannot flee: 'aayée turtle, maarú another kind of turtle
- Vepüca'u. xűüte they have no claws
- Cúu. terñixi (COVER TERM which sometimes is extended to include all small crawling things) vepühaarú. rúani SNAKES are smooth: xáyé rattlesnake, Crotalus, 'úrñecai copperhead? sidewinder? Agkistrodon bilineatus?, xainfü cascabelillo (Spanish), háicü vñbora azul (Spanish), Drymarchon corais? and the associated háicü cñaaya = háicü muunieya (husband of háicü = father-in-law of háicü)?, múuxéeca = cúsfuri vñ. vñeri (bag strap second name) Salvadora lemniscatus? 'úipu Spilotes pallatas? Coniophanes piceivittis? Xenodon rabdocephalus? 'ái. táa. ráme (cliff-breaker) = coral snake, Micrurus affinis affinis, vñ. cúxaü Oxybelis aeneus? vñexu boa, Constrictor constrictor, püu. xée = cúu. 'ivñi-

- páme (snake-needle second name) = víhora aguja (Spanish), Leptotyphlops phenops, saarúxí vaatéi, saarúxí váa, varúusi (aunt of the leafcutting ants, mother of the leafcutting ants) = Leptodeira annulata? maculata?, and unidentified species which were nevertheless turned up by asking about siblings: haa, sñi, cáaraa, váatu, and saa, cuéyuu, péu
- Vepáa, súna, váve they jump: temúu frog, toad, xúcuá tree frog, haa, cúuxi vaatei (aunt of háacu) = bullfrog, cuaaxaa ?
- . . . Tñta mütíyúu, yúuri vepücüá, aa they eat what is green
- . . . Vepúu, carúusa müxfcüü, ráuye they have a round hoof: caaváaya horse, púuxu donkey, múura mule, máasiu macho (hybrid out of donkey), from Spanish caballo, burro, mula, macho
- . . . Váa, carúusa pánútáa, húhúuta their hoof is double
- Púu, ca'áava 'uuquñi the male has horns (even when in some varieties he doesn't): muxáa sheep with hornless variety cuaa, tesúuni, sñipu = caa, púraa goat, máxa white-tailed deer, Odocoileus virginianus with phases 'uu, sñquü, came with straight horns and cuaa, temuu, cáme with spread-out horns, váa, cáxi cow with varieties seevúu zebu, Brahma and hornless cuaa, tesúuni: the Spanish terms are cuatezón, chivo, cabra, vaca, cebú
- Püca'u, cá'áava 'uuquñi the male lacks horns: tuixu pig, tuixu yéu, tána-caa (wild pig) = collared peccary, Pecari tajacu
- . . . Vepúu, xúute they have claws
- Vepéuyú, méméeni they have soft bodies: sñimúaca gray squirrel, Sciurus colliaei? teecú fox squirrel, Sciurus nayaritensis? muu, tiráa rock squirrel, Citellus variegatus? háisiu coatimundi, Nasua narica, cross-classified, tásiu Mexican cottontail, Sylvilagus cunicularius? téuxa gopher?
- Yaaxei, cúa vepütéu, cuaaxñi they have the same tail: naica mouse, several varieties, sñivíme small mouse, huusá field mouse with cheek pouches, haasu rat, vii, cácaí field mouse? xñrñi chilondrina (Spanish)
- Vepéu, naráani they have hard bodies: xúyé armadillo, Dasyopus novemcinctus
- . . Téevñi, paü púráa, cá'éri it looks like a person: sáanicuu spider monkey, Ateles geoffroyi? (Spanish chango)
- . . Páa, 'áana pücahéu, húuxa it has wings but no feathers: 'ási bat
- . . Vii, quiixi (COVER TERM) vepáavúu, váave, 'ánú veepee, xéiya BIRDS fly and have feathers
- . . . Cüyee, sñe vepücahii, pñte, cuiepa vepüitúata 'üxaapa they do not sleep in trees, but make their nests on the ground in the grass: naavñi, xáaváa = haa, xú'au (skin-punctured = water-quail) = rufescent tinamou, Crypturellus cinnamomeus, xú'au Montezuma quail, Cyrtonix montezumae called tuu, rirñi in the east, paaxü, cuári elegant quail,

- Lophortyx douglasii (Spanish pascual)
- . . . Vepúháu. véé they swim : caanéé pied-billed grebe, Podilymbus podiceps, haaráa. marfi double-crested cormorant, Phalacrocorax auritus, maarúí Anhinga anhinga? páatu duck, Dendrocygninae, Anatinae, Aythinae, tuurfi. váame, cáccáa. vaame? tuurii. ríí? goose, Anserinae
- . . . Cuaa. xúrí (COVER TERM) haapa vepüyé'uu vepüyúxüü. 'éríe CRANES stand in the water and seek food : cuaaxúu cranes and others, Ardeidae, Cochleariidae, Ciconiidae? Threskiornithidae, Gruidae, váaríí. müü. cáme = váaríí. müüxi wood ibis, Mycteria americana, sñi. píta northern jacana, Jacana spinosa, cayinéeta American coot, Fulica americana (Spanish gallineta), sáaqui ?
- . . . Háa téesítaa vepéu. 'úuva, queesü. téé (COVER TERM used to define this group) vepücaváa. cuá'aa, xai. púú si (COVER TERM used to define this group) xeicúa they live at the edge of the water, but do not eat FISH (cover term) but only FLIES (cover term) : haa. vñixi (larger) semipalmated plover, Charadrius semipalmatus; (smaller) sanderling, Crocethia alba, cüü. sivíu black phoebe, Sayornis nigricans
- . . . Vaaquñcú vepüqufe. cátaari they are inhabitants of dry land
- Vái vepü. cuá'aa they eat carrion : vii. rúccü turkey vulture, Cathartes aura, máaráica black vulture, Coragyps atratus, cáarai crested caracara, Polyborus plancus, cuáasa common raven, Corvus corax; Mexican crow, Corvus imparatus
- Vái vepücaa. cuá'aa, túccáa. cütaa. vepéu. 'úuva they do not eat carrion, and they are abroad at night : peexáa parauque, Nyctidromus albicollis, náacate. tupírai = nacadú. tupíra buff-collared nightjar, Caprimulgus ridgwayi, xii. cuácuái common potoo, Nyctibius griseus, cuu. cuvíí ? cuiixi barn owl, Tyto alba? mii. cüríí great horned owl, Bubo virginianus, núü. rúpe barred owl, Strix varia, núpe said by some to be another name for núü. rúpe, by others to be different, possibly spotted owl, Strix occidentalis, sñi. rípu vermiculated screech owl, Otus guatemalae, túxí. pu. púu whiskered screech owl, Otus trichopsis? maa. terúí least pygmy-owl, Glaucidium minutissimum? ferruginous pygmy-owl, Glaucidium brasilianum?
- Háapa vepúhaque vepüyúxüü. 'éríe they enter the water and get their food : viurii osprey, Pandion haliaetus, háasáacui ringed kingfisher, Ceryle torquata; Amazon kingfisher, Chloroceryle amazona; green kingfisher, Chloroceryle americana

- Huu. cúrí. siixi (WEAK COVER TERM) vái quee. sú vepücaá. cuá'aa, hée. cúta vepéu'úuva HAWKS (not widely used as a cover term) do not eat carrion or fish, and are abroad during the day, vii. quiixi vepüvää. cuá'aa they eat birds: huu. cúri (larger) sharp-shinned hawk, Accipiter striatus; (smaller) pigeon hawk, Falco columbianus, cuñixü red-tailed hawk, Buteo jamaicensis with dark phase cuñixü yúú. yáari and related cuñixü méutáa. xáuye (yellow cuñixü) = black-collared hawk, Busarellus nigricollis, váacau laughing falcon, Herpetotheres cachinnans, túxá white-tailed hawk, Buteo albicaudatus, haapúuri zone-tailed hawk, Buteo albonotatus, xñü. rícuai=xúú.- rícuai great black hawk, Buteogallus urubitinga, vñise (large) aplomado falcon, Falco femoralis; (small) bat falcon, Falco ruficularis, síca sparrow hawk, Falco sparverius, vee. ríca solitary eagle, Harpyhalietus solitarius, pñi. váame gray hawk, Buteo nitidus, yáa goshawk, Accipiter gentilis
- Vii. rúcüüpaü vepü'áa. néne they are like buzzards: xaa. túú golden eagle, Aquila chrysaetos, taamáü common black hawk, Buteogallus anthracinus
- Háüri naa. rúca vepücuá'aa, vepücuáiva they eat capomo and figs, and are edible: cuámuu crested guan, Penelope purpurascens, cuñápíi = vítápíi western chachalaca, Ortalis poliocephala, 'áru turkey, wild or tame, Meleagris gallopavo, váa. cánaa chicken with associated píxüü. xñi chick, xú'au = tuu. rirñi Montezuma quail, cross classified, páatu duck, cross classified, tuurñi. váame goose? cross classified
- Maa. terúí vepee. xéiya, 'imñari pütüxü teeteexi they have a crop; stones grind seeds, yuusúuri vepéuháa. túva haapa, mepñi. yui. néni veháarée. tüveetü they put their beak in the water and suck when they drink
- Vepütecuaa. túvé cuñepa metee. síquée. túveetü they eat by scratching on the ground: véurai mourning dove, Zenaidura macroura, cúu. curúu white-winged dove, Zenaida asiatica, háü. túxii white-fronted dove, Leptotila verreauxi with related háü. túúxi méutáa. xáuye (yellow háü. túúxi) = ruddy quail-dove, Geotrygon montana, véupu Inca dove, Scardafella inca, 'uyéi ground dove, Columbina passerina
- Vepücaá. síquée. tüve, 'imñari tácaari 'icuáxi vepücuá'aa they do not scratch, but eat seeds, berries, and fruit: háümü band-tailed pigeon, Columba fasciata, tñu. tésú. 'üa = paataa.- cúuna (first name smells-like-tamales from the call) = red-billed pigeon, Columba flavirostris (Spanish patagona)
- 'Aaxei. cúa vepüté. naavaaya they steal things (grain) in flocks: sánáati

- great-tailed grackle (Spanish zanate), Cassidix mexicanus with related sánáati 'esi, memüpépe (small sánáati) = ?, cuáasa common raven, Corvus corax; Mexican crow, Corvus imparatus, cross classified
- Vepéu. sísfü. rávi, váayée. caráu páacáa. tutúsi, 'imúari vepücúume they are green, their beak is hooked, they eat seeds: yúari military macaw, Ara militaris, húri red-crowned parrot? Amazona viridigenalis, perficu lilac-crowned parrot, Amazona finschi (Spanish perico) and related perficu 'esi, müpée (little parrot) = orange-fronted parakeet, Aratinga canicularis, pürúí ?, sfi. púrai blue-rumped parrotlet, Forpus cyanopygius, cácáa.-vaame thick-billed parrot? Rhynchopsitta pachyrhyncha
- Vepücuáxi. tütü they are long-tailed: 'úuru. cáasi = 'uuru. cáasi = 'uurú. cáaxi = xée. táaquieca squirrel cuckoo, Piaya cayana, 'úúraa lesser roadrunner, Geococcyx velox, vaa. múvferii black-throated magpie jay, Calocitta formosa, váinu yellow-winged cacique, Cassiculus melanicterus, sfcúuxa groove-billed ani, Crotophaga sulcirostris (Spanish socorra?), túccári. viiqui (night-bird) = blue mockingbird, Melanotis caerulescens
- 'Ái. táa vepúhfi. píte. xai. púsi (COVER TERM used to define this group) vepúvaa. cuá'aa they live in cliffs and eat FLIES (cover term): sii. sítáame = sísi. táame = tíi. sitáame = 'ísi. táame = 'ii. vfváame swallow, swift, Hirundinidae, Apodidae
- Tuu. túrf pü' fise it sips flowers: túü. pñina hummingbird, Trochilidae, xáaqui yellow grosbeak, Pheucticus chrysopeplus; hooded grosbeak, Hesperiphona abeillei; wrens, Troglodytidae
- Yaaxei. cúa cüyee. sfe vepéu. yáaxe they perch in trees in the same way: xau. cuftá eared trogon, Euptilotis neoxenus; citreoline trogon, yellow-eyed form, Trogon citreolus, púu. rítu = púrftu = túrúcuai = túürii. cuñina russet-crowned motmot, Momotus mexicanus
- Suráacái. siixi (WEAK COVER TERM) cuñisí. teriixi (COVER TERM used to define this group) púvúa. náaque cüyée (COVER TERM used to define this group) múxáine. sfe, 'icuáxi (COVER TERM used to define this group) pucaa. tñxaü WOOD-PECKERS (not widely used as a cover term) like WORMS (cover term) in rotten TREES (cover term), but not FRUIT (cover term): súrácái pale-billed woodpecker, Campephilus guatemalensis; lineated woodpecker, Dryocopus lineatus; imperial woodpecker, Campephilus imperialis; ladder-backed woodpecker? Dendrocopus scalaris with related súrácái máatí. tuxá (white-throated woodpecker)

- = pitorreal (Spanish), súrácaci méutáa. xáüye (yellow woodpecker) = ivory-billed woodcreeper, Xiphorhynchus flavigaster, súrácaci méu. sñü. máüye (striped woodpecker) = white-striped woodcreeper, Lepidocolaptes leucogaster, sii. mácái golden-cheeked woodpecker, Centurus chrysogenys; gray-crowned woodpecker? Piculus aricularis; Gila woodpecker? Centurus uropygialis, cuéetaacü yellow-bellied sapsucker, Sphyrapicus varius; ladder-backed woodpecker? Dendrocopus scalaris
- Cuñisñ. teexi (COVER TERM used to define this group) vepüváa. cuá'aa they eat WORMS (cover term): pñisñ. tuxáa great kiskadee, Pitangus sulphuratus, suuvñura tropical kingbird, Tyrannus melancholicus, vñitee. cuxúu dusky-capped flycatcher, Myiarchus tuberculifer; Nutting's flycatcher, M. nuttingi; brown-crested flycatcher, M. tyrannulus, pñisñ Northern beardless tyrannulet, Campostoma imberbe, pñixai blue-gray gnatcatcher, Poliop-tila caerulea
- Púutáacuii. cávé, pücaa. cuáiva it sings and is not edible: cúuca. 'imüa-rñ = cúuca. müarñ = húuca. müarñ (bead-? first name) brown-backed solitaire, Myadestes obscurus, túccári.-viiqui blue mockingbird, cross classified, sñtui gray silky-flycatcher, Ptilogonys cinereus
- Cuñisñ. teriixi (COVER TERM) püváa. cuá'aa. péu. cáxe. tá it eats WORMS (cover term) and has a red breast: tái. váame = 'útái. yaame = 'ítái. yaame vermilion flycatcher, Pyrocephalus rubinus, vii. quñ. xúure (crimson-bird) = ?
- 'Üxaa. vñquñixi (COVER TERM) (grass-birds): 'üxaa. táina = 'üxaa.-vñiqui (grass-? = grass-bird) = miscellaneous small species, taapñ. cucuvñ = taapñ. cuvivñ rock wren? Salpinctes obsoletus, tee. sñürai (larger) russet nightingale-thrush, Catharus occidentalis; white-throated robin, Turdus assimilis, (smaller) canyon wren, Catherpes mexicanus
- . . Quee. sñté (COVER TERM) vepáavee. quñü. vepñitáa. sñque yucuaaxñ FISH (cover term) have fins and shake their tail straight: queesñü méu. yúavi (blue = catfish with related müuxñ catfish), sáapa mojarra (Spanish), sáquñ trout, xüvñaru bass (Spanish robalo), páarüvu parvo (Spanish), queesü. túixu = xuu. carúuri (fish-pig first name) = roncador (Spanish), xñeve ? with related xievee. 'ucaráasi (xñeve-old-lady) = enterrador (Spanish), siiviiri chiguil (Spanish), cuaaté. parái = cúuté. parái cuchara (Spanish), cáapú. tarñ burrichi (Spanish), xñuri tadpole
- . Xuurñiya vepücahee. xéiya 'uumée they have neither blood nor bones

- . . Yuu.taavfma pücu.yéica, pñ.cúháa.nánee yuuqufi it walks on its chest, it pulls its house along: cúü.rüpu snail, xüü.péeri sea shell, with or without inhabitant
- . . Yuyuu.rřepa péixéiya yuhau.véeme, paavee.qufü yucuaxii. sře it has the thing it swims with on its stomach, it has a fin on its tail: tuucü crayfish, Cambarellus montezuma; fresh-water shrimp, xietúucü fresh-water shrimp?, háacü jauque (Spanish), máuru mula (Spanish)
- . . Péu.naráani, páamámáa.túcáa it is hard on the outside and has arms: 'áina crab
- . . Haapa pŷyéé.yéica it lives in the water: cuiindü leech, Hirudinea, haraa.-pái giant water bug, Belostomatidae, vaina.rúuri (Spanish bailador) = haa.cúu.cumfi whirligig beetle, Gyrinidae, tee.túí dobsonfly larva, Corydalus cornutus
- . . Xái.pŷsi (COVER TERM) vepáa.'ánáa.túcáa yuhee.yémecü FLIES (cover term) are permanently winged: xáipü housefly, Musca domestica, same as cover term, with related xáipü 'amünéna. (big fly) = enjambre (Spanish), xaayúu blow fly, Phaenicia, nácaaa.tárf horse fly, Tabanus atratus with related naaca.tárf 'ivaaya (horse fly's brother), 'řtúurai = 'úttúurai = 'átúurai mosquito, Culicidae, sii.xái kissing bug, Reduviidae, xéecüi biting gnat, Accacta furens, húuna stinging gnat
- . . . Xře.téexi (COVER TERM) xřete háa.yári vepŷvéevie BEES (cover term) make honey: xřete = třisica honeybee, Apis mellifera, same as cover term with associated caasi.-třiya Castile (domesticated) strain and vaavéeme colmena gorda (Spanish), haayúu bumblebee, Bombus, possibly also carpenter bee, Xylocopa, pñisř.tee small variety of bumblebee or wasp? táaxa.vři.cári lazana (Spanish), tee.pŷnáí chacuaco (Spanish), siuri chacuaco (Spanish), yeenáa.méte (smokers) = small bee
- . . . Mŷü.ráaca.sřixi (COVER TERM) wasps, criteria not clear: mŷü.ráaca wasp, possibly specific species, with related mŷü.-ráaca méu.xétáa (red wasp)?, vii.rúccü = tuupřirř.-siixi (buzzard = police)? véé.rřca (eagle) = guitarrrón (Spanish), Synoeca surinama, cunúa.cáme trompeta (Spanish), varřisi guarichi (Spanish) Polistes? mŷü.mŷi huevo de toro (Spanish), xáa.cáasi = caa.caixi (sandal, second name, Eastern dialect) huarachón (Spanish), xúuma larva of xáa.cáasi, huu.vái = 'uu.-vái sphecid wasp, possibly also Scoliidae with varieties huu.vái méu.yŷŷvi (black sphecid) = Sphex procerus and huu.vái méutáa.xáŷye (yellow sphecid) = taran-tula hawk, Pompilidae, sáraa.quéeti? cŷpii.rúí = cŷpéeme? tée.yúavi?
- . . 'Áu.ráacaacu vepŷ'áa.náta mŷtáa.vřenicü háqué méé.cávee.nř before the rainy season they get wings to make a flight to where

- they land, yuuqufi vepee. xéiya they have their own home: sarúu leaf-cutter ant, Atta, 'auté army ant? Eciton, 'áicúu black ant? Monomorium nigrum with related maate. súrái and maate. táarí ?, máarúüva carpenter ant? Camponotus herculeanus, cúu. yaaxi (soldiers) ?, cáusi = caaváyu fire ant? Solenopsis, téepa termite, Isoptera
- . . ? : háaca ? xüamu ?
- . . Xuu. ríya püvaa. 'icuai blood is their food: 'até louse, Mallophaga and related 'até túxáme (white louse) = crab louse, Phthiris pubis, teepüü flea, Ctenocephalidae, máa. térúu = méé. túrúu = sfinise bedbug (Spanish chinche), Cimex lectularis, siixái kissing bug, cross classified
- . . Xuu. ríya püvaa. 'icuai, 'úusi. táa mepúu'úuva blood is their food, they live in the brush: máte tick, Ixodoidea with related máte méu. sfináüye (spotted tick) = garrapata plateada (Spanish), vñina mite
- . . 'Uu. sfcáari (COVER TERM) vepúu. ca'ána, vepáa. sunávave, vepüca'u. qufi GRASSHOPPERS (cover term) have wings, they jump, they have no home: 'úsiica grasshopper, Brachystola with related 'úsii ca méu. cútúu. xě (beige grasshopper) = Oediponidae and 'úsiica méu. sfináüye (spotted grasshopper) = Cyrtacanthacridinae, sřquí = 'acüü. véeme katydid, Phaneropterinae, xaa, sřqui Conocephalinae ?, 'úuca grasshopper, Conocephalus, túüpu cave cricket? Rhaphidophorinae, xuu. xúí cricket, Gryllinae, maayéesai Mormon cricket, Decticinae, and unidentified grasshoppers viináa niño (Spanish), vaa. sicái niño (Spanish), súuye, cuaatúu
- . . Vepütéena. naaváaya they rob: haa. sñi cockroach, Elattidae
- . . Cufisř. teexi (COVER TERM) = cufisř. teriixi xai. pñsi (COVER TERM used to define this group) vepüváa. 'úitúave, maamáa mepü. caheexéiya WORMS (cover term) make FLIES (cover term) come up; they have no hands: cufisi worm, several kinds including caterpillar, haaréecu earthworm; intestinal worm, Ascaridae, cuř téemu larva of vii. rúu June beetle, Melolonthinae, cuusři ?, xietée. puraa. rař (bee-?) = ant lion, Myrmeleontidae larva, yeetee. pñsř = yeetee. cufisř caddisfly larva, cáavi (horned caterpillar)
- . . . 'Iicúu cuúüsř. maama the owners of the maize: 'iicúu cufisř. yaari = háamúucui (corn worm first name) = Heliothis zea, saaráu = náa. saráú = náa. quisaráú earwig, cüüpf méu. túxa (white moth) ? cüümúu weevil
- . . . Raa. návii. yárii. síe mepúu. 'úuva they go about in one's skin: haamřiva chigoe, Tunga penetrans, néerüi scabies? roña (Spanish), curáaru ringworm? tuxaríiya

- (whiteness) = dandruff, háaxü, rúumu arlomo (Spanish)
- . . 'Üücaa, téeya cüüpáapáü pütíyú, xéxeiya its legs look like hairs: xñ, xñca
daddy long legs, Phalangida
- . . Tuu, cásf (COVER TERM) yuu, vññiyari vepüvéevie SPIDERS (cover term)
make their webs: tuucáa spider, most species,
tée, yúavi black widow, Latrodectus mactans, húuse
(bear) = tarantula, Theraphosidae; trapdoor
spider, Ctenizidae
- . . Cuieta vepüqúfeca, cuñínf mñeme vepütehée, máama they live on the ground
and have large arms: tee, rúca Durango scorpion,
Centruroides suffusus, nü'aari (messenger)
scorpion-like insect, cuie, téerü = cuie, teerúca
(ground-scorpion) large non-poisonous scorpion,
caanáa vinegarone, Thelephonus giganteus
- . . Cüü, pñsf (COVER TERM) tuu, túri vepüséna BUTTERFLIES (cover term)
suck flowers: cüüpñ butterfly or moth, most
varieties, vátúuxa ?, táráara ?, cuüüsñ ?, cüüpñ
túü, váinu silk moth? Philosamia walkeri
- . . Yapütñi, ta'áa it burns: táa, táveeme lightning bug, Lampyridae, tai, váame
glowworm, xáipü cüü, sápaana máatáa, táve (a fly whose
abdomen glows) ? casáa ?
- . . Naavñi püccüüme it eats skin: cai, múrñ weevil that eats leather
- . . 'Aaxei, cúa vepütñnúu, nuiva haapa they are born together in the water:
'áü, cuérúcaa = 'áü, cuérúcaa dragonfly, tepüavi =
nü'aari máa, vñive (flying messenger second name) =
correa (Spanish), vaarái = tepúsñ muvácaa, xúrúüva
(lays flea eggs second name) ?
- . . Vaaqueetáa pümñire they have many legs: mai, xéeca centipede,
Chilopoda, cuu, rúí millipede, Diplopoda
- . . Criteria not clear: túqui worm that lives in cornsilk ?
- . . Túuca nisúarímücü máayucü at noon it will cry in May: suurñi Cicada
- . . Yaaxei, cúa mepüté'ú'aana, púnáaraa, ráani heerñe, tée, túata páyée-
úu, túcáa they have the same wings, hard on the
outside, figured on the inside: cuñitaa, púrñ dung
beetle, Scarabaeidae, hñiru stag beetle, vii, rúu
June beetle, Melolonthinae, with larva cuñ, témuu,
tuu, rámá ?
- . . Yaaxei, cúa mepéu, cáaraa, ráa they have the same shell: puutñixa
blister beetle, Meloidae, túcuñixa click beetle ?
Melanotus, caatáu = caasáu click beetle? Elateridae
with related caatáu 'esi, müpée (small caatáu) = ?,
taa, táaveeme lightning bug, Lampyridae, cross
classified, cuáipe Lucanidae
- . . Tuu, pirñiyaa, sñe mepúu'úuva, cuñi vepüváváqui they live on shrubs
and are very thin: maarñi, cüccüi praying mantis,
Mantis religiosa, caa, nárñ = maa, cúree, ré (guitar
first name) = Chinese mantis? Tenodera aridifolia
sinensis, cüüri walking stick, Phasmatidae

2.2. Huichol plant classification is given in the sequel to this paper, Huichol Life Form Classification II: **Plants**.

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NOTES

1. Huichol is a Uto-Aztecan language of west central Mexico, most closely related to Cora. Huichol forms are written in the orthography used by the Huichols who worked on this project, augmented to show tone and rhythm. The vowels are a e i u ü; e is mid open to low close, u is high open to mid close; ü is high back to central, unrounded. The consonants are c (always pronounced k), h, m, n, p, qu (pronounced k in que, qui combinations following the Spanish practice, but palatalized as que, aspirated as qui), r (retroflexed like the rt combination in Midwestern American English party, often with an l-like quality), s (affricated like Náhuatl tz except when the vowel following it is elided), t, v (pronounced w before a and ü, bilibial fricative elsewhere),

x' (a retroflex grooved fricative similar to Spanish rr, but with less voicing than Spanish in the west and nearly voiceless with lip rounding in the east), y, and ' (glottal stop, acting as a consonant). Sequences of two vowels, whether identical as in aa or different as in au, give the syllables they are in a rhythmic value of long, while single vowels give short syllables (Grimes 1959). A period within a word indicates a rhythmic hiatus, as does space between words. High tone syllables carry an acute accent on the first vowel as in téví person, which is high-high, short-short. Low tone syllables are written without accent, as in haaráa, marĩ cormorant, which is low-high, low-high, long-long, short-long, with a rhythm break after the second syllable.

2. The last year of field work on which this paper is based was partially supported by the National Science Foundation. The classification presented here was worked out with Pedro de la Cruz Avila, Román Díaz, Filiberto Díaz, and José Carrillo Vicente, with occasional help from a number of others, in 1979-80. All discussions were held in Huichol. The sources of the species identifications are given in the bibliography. To them should be added work on Mexican flora and fauna names made available to me in manuscript by Louise Schoenhals, who also brought most of the other sources to my attention.

3. Equivalent Huichol terms are separated by equals signs. Glosses may include a literal rendering of the Huichol term in parentheses followed by an equals sign, followed by the common English name if it is known, or by the Spanish name tagged as such, or by a question mark. Loans from Spanish are identified if recognized. The Latin taxonomic name is given where possible. Semicolons mark off separate species that belong to a single Huichol term. Question marks, used liberally, indicate points of uncertainty.