

## Language and culture in dimension: dialogues between Linguistics and Anthropology in the study of Parkatêjê Onomastics

### Língua e cultura em dimensão: diálogos entre a Linguística e a Antropologia no estudo da Onomástica Parkatêjê

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**ABSTRACT:** Onomastic studies in general—and the studies of the onomastic systems of indigenous languages in particular—require interdisciplinary investigations that address properly the diversity inherent in the field. In this vein, the present work discusses how linguistic concepts dialogue with anthropology and ethnography in the study of the onomastic system of Parkatêjê, an indigenous language spoken by the people of the same name, who currently inhabit the area called Reserva Indígena Mãe Maria (RIMM), close to the municipality of Marabá (Pará, Brazil). We will discuss aspects observed in the description of the anthroponyms known and used mostly by native speakers of the Parkatêjê language. The methodology of the study consisted of bibliographic research and ethnographic research with

**RESUMO:** Os estudos onomásticos, de modo geral, e, em especial, os estudos dos sistemas onomásticos de línguas indígenas exigem investigações interdisciplinares que retratem a diversidade inerente à área em questão. Dessa forma, o presente trabalho discute como conceitos linguísticos dialogam com a antropologia e a etnografia no estudo do sistema onomástico da língua indígena *Parkatêjê*, falada pelo povo de mesmo nome que habita atualmente a área denominada Reserva Indígena Mãe Maria (RIMM), às proximidades do município de Marabá-Pará/Brasil. Serão discutidos aspectos observados na descrição de antropônimos conhecidos e utilizados, em sua maioria, por falantes nativos da língua *Parkatêjê*. A metodologia utilizada consistiu em pesquisa bibliográfica e pesquisa

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data collection in the indigenous area inhabited by the indigenous communities in question.	etnográfica com coleta de dados na área indígena em que vivem as comunidades indígenas em estudo.
<b>KEYWORDS:</b> Anthroponymy. Parkatêjê language. Interdisciplinarity.	<b>PALAVRAS-CHAVE:</b> Antroponímia. Língua Parkatêjê. Interdisciplinaridade.

## 1 Introduction

Onomastics is a subfield of linguistic/lexical studies which is concerned with the study of typologically diverse proper names of any kind (ROOM, 1996). According to Eckert (2016), the term *onomastics* originates from Greek *onoma* (name) and *tékne* (art), which resulted in *onomastiké*, meaning ‘the art of meaning’.

As an area engaged in a constant dialogue with other subfields of linguistics and of human knowledge, onomastics has established itself as an interdisciplinary research field. It interacts with disciplines such as historical linguistics, anthropology, logic, geography, and language philosophy, to mention just a few. Zamariano (2012) makes the following statement regarding the inherent interdisciplinary nature of onomastics:

Works dedicated to proper names call for research of a kind which does not restrict itself to any single specific discipline, given that it cross-cuts multiple theoretical fields, and the field boundaries—which would appear to delimitate the disciplines—dissolve with one’s first thoughts about the topic (ZAMARIANO, 2012, p. 359, our translation).

In this vein, this paper aims at demonstrating the importance of the interaction between the field of linguistic studies and disciplines such as anthropology for our understanding of the onomastic system of the indigenous language *Parkatêjê*, spoken by the people of the same name who currently live in communities located in the south-east of the state of Pará, Brazil.

Among the study fields of onomastics, we will be more specifically concerned with anthroponymy, that is, the subfield of onomastics which studies proper names of human beings. We will discuss certain aspects observed in the description of the anthroponyms of the *Parkatêjê* language, emphasizing the contributions of Linguistics and Anthropology to the data analysis.

Despite the fact that onomastic studies in general have been consolidated as a rich and diversified research field in Brazil, the onomastic research of the indigenous languages of the country is still rather incipient. Most published studies on the topic have been carried out within the field of anthropology. In contrast, properly linguistic studies related to the onomastics systems of the indigenous communities are less numerous, despite the fact that they constitute an interesting and necessary field of linguistic/cultural research.

Therefore, this study is justified by the necessity of carrying out and promoting research which would testify to the diversity of the Brazilian onomastics (and especially of the onomastics of the indigenous peoples), given that many of them are severely endangered.

We also aim at contributing to the strengthening of the *Parkatêjê* language and culture by presenting aspects related to the proper names of the language and stimulating a conversation between the linguistic and anthropological knowledge related to the *Parkatêjê* onomastics.

The discussion over the next few pages is based on broader studies by the authors on different aspects of the *Parkatêjê* onomastics.

This paper is subdivided into six parts. Section 1 includes this introduction. Section 2 describes the methodological procedures employed in this work. Basic information about the *Parkatêjê* people and language are presented in section 3. In section 4, we discuss the importance of the relationship between language and culture to the onomastic studies, highlighting linguistic and anthropological approaches. In

section 5, we describe aspects observed in the study of the *Parkatêjê* onomastics, focusing on phenomena related to the traditional anthroponymy of that indigenous people. Finally, section 6 concludes the paper.

## 2 Methodology

The methodology employed in this study follows the usual guidelines of descriptive and anthropological linguistics, which seek to establish fact-based generalizations informed by ethnographic research. It includes the following stages:

- I. Survey, reading and a critical analysis of bibliography relevant to the topic of this paper;
- II. Fieldwork, which has involved data collection at various stages of the research with the community: the data were collected by means of interviews with bilingual *Parkatêjê*/Portuguese speakers and archived in audio and video. The entirety of the data was recorded in the indigenous community and informed by questions asked directly to our consultants;
- III. Transcription and organization of the data: the material collected during fieldwork has been transcribed orthographically both in Portuguese and in the *Parkatêjê* orthography<sup>1</sup>;
- IV. Presentation and analysis of linguistic and cultural aspects observed in the study of the *Parkatêjê* anthroponyms.

## 3 The *Parkatêjê* people: basic information

The *Parkatêjê* – also known in the specialized literature as the Gavião *Parkatêjê* or the Gavião of Pará – are a community composed of what has remained of the

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<sup>1</sup> The *Parkatêjê* orthography has been proposed by the linguist Leopoldina Araújo (ARAÚJO, 1993).

indigenous groups *Rôhokatêjê*, *Akrãtikatêjê*, and *Kyikatêjê*, who traditionally lived in the southeast of Pará and in the west of Maranhão (Brazil).

In mid-1970, these groups united in order to warrant their survival, given that at that time they were in a devastated condition both physically and culturally. Currently, their joint population is approximately 627 individuals<sup>2</sup>, who form together the *Parkatêjê* indigenous community.

The *Parkatêjê* currently inhabit a demarcated area called *Terra Indígena Mãe Maria*, which is located in the municipality of Bom Jesus do Tocantins, 20 km to the north from the city of Marabá, on the federal motorway BR-222, in the southeast of the state of Pará, Brazil (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 — Satellite image of the Terra Indígena Mãe Maria.

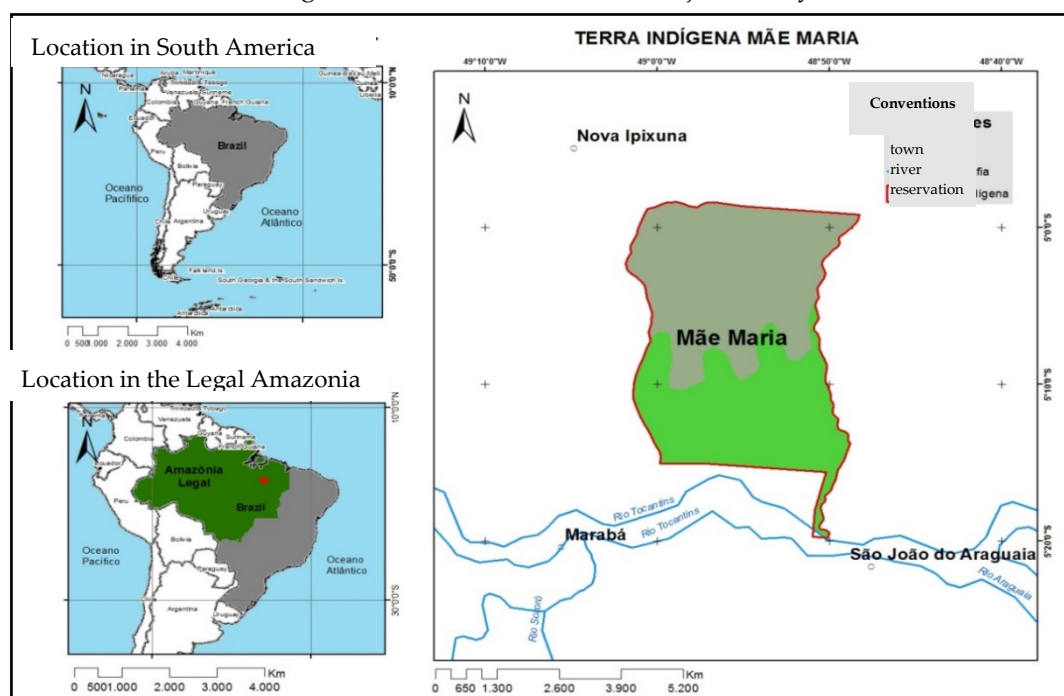


Source: maps.google.com.br

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<sup>2</sup> Siasi/Sesai, 2012.

Figure 2 – Location of the Parkatêjê territory.



Source: Lopes (2017).

The *Parkatêjê* language is spoken by the indigenous people of the same name. According to Rodrigues (1986), it belongs to the Timbira dialectal complex, which, in turn, is classified as a member of the Jê language family (Macro-Jê stock). Other languages that compose this dialectal complex are *Krahô*, *Apaniêkra*, *Krenye*, *Pykobjê-Gavião*, among others, which are overall quite similar to each other. The speakers of these languages share traits such as the use of a long haircut with a furrow around the head, approximately at the level of the fringe; production of artifacts made of interwoven straw (baskets, mats, belts); organization of the village in the shape of a large circle, where houses are constructed next to each other along the circle and are connected by paths to the plaza located in the middle of the circle; rituals such as log races; body ornamentation; male initiation feasts (*Pêp*); languages which are mutually intelligible to variable degrees.

The *Parkatêjê*, as is common among the speakers of the Timbira languages, have an elaborate system of name-giving practices, which involves traditional knowledge

that goes back centuries. In general, upon receiving a *Parkatêjê* name, the name-receiver simultaneously gains almost all the relationships of the name-giver along with the name itself.

The aforementioned name-giving system is closely tied to the *Parkatêjê* kinship system, as will be discussed in more detail in the upcoming sections of this paper, where the transmission of proper names within the community will be discussed.

In the next section, we complement the information about the *Parkatêjê* people presented here with a discussion regarding the relationship between language and culture within the field of onomastics, approaching these themes based on the contributions of the disciplines of Linguistics and Anthropology.

#### **4 Language, speech, and culture in onomastic studies**

The study of the relationship between language and culture has for centuries intrigued the minds of linguists, anthropologists, philosophers, and other researchers interested in the language–culture interface. Despite the emergence of multiple hypotheses and discussion on this topic over the years, the issue remains largely unresolved.

Before delving into the discussion on the relationship between language and culture within the context of onomastic studies, it is necessary to present certain concepts involved in this debate, based on linguistic and anthropological studies.

Broadly, the speech (Fr. *langage*) may be understood as the natural ability of the individual to communicate by means of a code. It is nevertheless impossible to speak about speech without establishing its intrinsic relationship with the language (Fr. *langue*).

The language constitutes the central object of study and attention within the discipline of linguistics. Ferdinand de Saussure presents, with the publication of his *Cours de linguistique générale*, the conception of language which conceded the status of



a scientific discipline to linguistics. In his proposal, the language is a system of linguistic signs and can be considered a social fact. Saussure establishes the language (*langue*) and the speaking (*parole*) as constituent parts of the speech (*langage*), the former conceived as an essential constituent and the latter as a secondary one. For Saussure (1970), the faculty of constructing a language is a natural ability of humans, even though the language itself is a mere convention (SAUSSURE, 1970).

By conceiving the language as a social fact, Saussure defends that the language may only exist, be created or modified within social groups and asserts that “[i]t is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never create nor modify it by himself; it exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community” (SAUSSURE, 1970, p. 22).

From an anthropological point of view, Carneiro da Cunha (1986) claims that the language issue is particularly enlightening. For Carneiro da Cunha, the language of a people is a symbolic system which organizes their perception of the world, in addition to being a distinctive feature of a people by excellence.

In turn, the term language may be applied to sign systems other than human languages, such as the “languages” of animals or traffic sign systems, for example. According to Perini (2010, p. 2, our translation), the “concept of language (*langage*) is much broader than that of *langue*: the *langage* includes the languages among its manifestations, but not only them”. This idea instantiates a conception of language opposed to that of Sapir (1929 *apud* LYONS, 1981), among others; for Sapir, the language is a purely human institution.

What is true for the concepts of language/speech/*langage* is also true for that of culture: it is recognized as one of the most complex topics of interest to the humanities and has been envisaged from multiple perspectives over the centuries. Geertz (1989), for example, refers to the culture as a “web of meanings”.



Among the multiple interpretations of the notion of 'culture', Lyons (1981) distinguishes between two main ones. The first interpretation considers 'culture' to be a rough synonym of 'civilization', or, even more extremely, an opposite of 'barbarism'. In this classic conception, the 'culture' must represent excellence in art, literature, as well as manners and social institutions.

The second interpretation of the notion of culture, as stated by Lyons, has to do with the usage of this term which stems from the discipline of anthropology, according to which the notion should be employed without any connotations as to the human progress or civilization, and without any value judgment as to the quality—be it aesthetic or intellectual—of the respective art, literature, music, etc. "In this sense of the term, which has spread from anthropology to the other social sciences, every society has its own culture; and different subgroups within a society may have their own distinctive subculture" (LYONS, 1981, p. 274).

Frawley (1992) defines culture in the following way:

Culture is the set of general meaning that a people uses to make order of its experience, to explain its origins, and to predict the future. Insofar as languages is the principal means for transmitting information from one generation to next and the principal means of representing information (FRAWLEY, 1992, p. 45).

Among well-known researchers who have contributed to the debate on the relationship between language and culture we can mention the anthropologist Edward Tylor (1871), who understands the language as a part of the culture, and the American linguist Benjamin Whorf (1964), who, in turn, believes that the culture is a product of the language.

As the studies of the aforementioned relationship progressed, many hypotheses have sprung about the topic. One of them has achieved considerable prominence and still occupies a central place in the discussions regarding language, culture and ways

of thinking; it is known as the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis<sup>3</sup>. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf formalized the idea whereby culture and thinking are considered to be dependent on the language.

In Lyons' (1981) opinion, the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis combines in it the idea of linguistic determinism, whereby the language employed by an individual for communication determines his or her ways of thinking, seeing and interacting with the world, and the idea of linguistic relativity, which considers that there are no limits on the structural diversity of the languages. That is, for the relativists, every language constitutes a unique universe and must be studied on its own.

Ullmann (1964), in the line of thought of the anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski, who worked extensively on the language and the culture of the dwellers of the Trobriand Islands in the Southern Pacific, states that “in order to investigate any language spoken by a people whose living conditions and culture differ from ours, one must conduct its study simultaneously with a study of the culture and of the environment of the respective people” (ULLMANN, 1964, p. 106, our translation).

Sapir (1961, p. 21) claims that “[i]n a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization”, from a perspective of the language as a kind of a cultural/social deposit of a given people.

Ferrarezi Jr. (2013) highlights the fact that the language is, after all, a human construction and, therefore, is a part of a culture. The language helps construct the culture, warranting the inseparability of the relations between language, culture, and ways of thinking.

In this vein, the onomastic studies do not refrain from considering the importance of the relation established between a language and its culture. On the

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<sup>3</sup> This hypothesis is also known in the specialized literature as the *Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity* or the *Principle of Linguistic Relativity*.

contrary, this issue is frequently revisited and extensively defended by numerous researchers.

In Tavares and Isquerdo's (2006) opinion,

For the study of a culture, understood as the sum of the values of a human group, it must be a priority to take into consideration the respective language, given that it constitutes an instrument capable of shedding light on the thinking and the costumes of its users [...] (TAVARES; ISQUERDO, 2006, p. 274, our translation).

According to Borba (1984), it is possible to translate an entire culture, an entire particular universe with its psychological and philosophical implications by means of the language. The lexical wealth of any given language is an endless source of the respective people's knowledge, which endures over centuries.

Moreover, as Paz (1993 *apud* DICK, 1997, p. 98, our translation) claims: "the language is not a merely cultural phenomenon; it is also the foundation of every society and the social expression of the human being in its perfection". A careful analysis may thus help us reveal collective attitudes, dominant ideologies, beliefs, etc. of a given epoch and civilization.

In this vein, Tavares and Isquerdo corroborate that it is

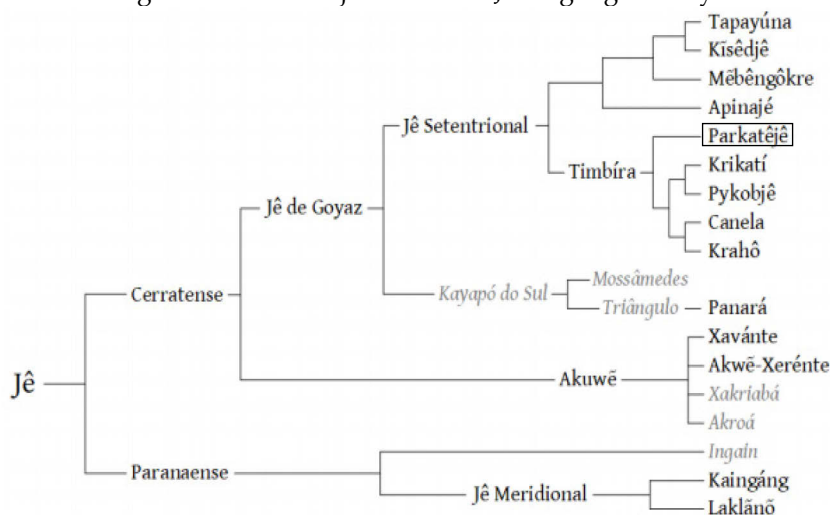
[...] by means of the language that every social group nominates their environment in order to satisfy their immediate necessities. This denotes the influence exerted by the physical and social environment on the language and on the worldview of a given linguistic community (TAVARES; ISQUERDO, 2006, p. 274, our translation).

In addition, it is important to emphasize that onomastic studies, in general, reveal important clues which lead us to the origins of a group, reflect its customs and habits, and define, in Dick's (1997, p. 99, our translation) words, the "macrovision of its culture".

## 5 Parkatêjê anthroponymy: language and culture intertwined

Parkatêjê is classified as a language of the Timbira group, which belongs to the Jê language family of the Macro-Jê language stock. The position of Parkatêjê within the Jê family is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 — Parkatêjê within the Jê language family.



Source: Nikulin (2020, p. 83).

For a meaningful discussion of the *Parkatêjê* anthroponyms, it is vital to present first some basic facts about the name-giving system of the Timbira peoples, which comprises, among others, the name-giving system of the *Parkatêjê*.

According to Ladeira (2012), the Timbira universe presents a type of social organization which is fundamentally dualist in nature, with various domains forming binary oppositions whereby the opposites complement each other.

All Timbira individuals belong to one or another moiety. This distribution materializes based on the procedure of name-giving: “It is by means of the name-giving that the individuals get to know their ceremonial roles, their places and functions in the village plaza” (LADEIRA, 2012, p. 33, our translation).

Coelho de Souza (2002, p. 428) highlights other types of established relationships based on the procedure of name-giving: “receiving a name—a Timbira

name, of course—implies acquiring, at least virtually, Timbira “relatives” (that is, specific human relatives), in addition to the ceremonial relationships (formal friendship) and ritual positions (prerogatives)” (our translation).

That way, for the Timbira, the name is understood as a prerequisite for the insertion of a new individual in the village, as by means of the procedure of name-giving it is possible for that person to gain kinship ties, even if they are virtual.

The same can be said of other Jê-speaking peoples, given that the name is a key piece for the Jê which allows one to enter or quite the kinship universe, as explained below:

...to call someone by their personal name is a way of doing one of the following two things: when that person is a stranger, it can be the first step towards inserting them into the kinship network and into the ceremonial relationship network; in contrast, when that person is a “relative” which should be, in principal, referred to by the appropriate kinship term, it can be a way of rejecting the relationship, making it a starting point for new transformations (COELHO DE SOUZA, 2002, p. 433, our translation).

In sum, the proper name may be used both for the purposes of establishing and reaffirming closer ties and for the purposes of distancing and negation. The name-giving system of the Timbira and some other Jê peoples is directly linked to the kinship system, influencing it and modifying the conventional relationships.

Concerning specifically the *Parkatêjê*, it is possible to observe that their name-giving system is intrinsically related to their kinship relations, as described above and as is common in most Timbira peoples.

Upon receiving a *Parkatêjê* name, the name-receiver potentially gains all social relationships of the name-giver, including his/her relatives both by consanguinity and by affinity, his/her ritual positions (moieties), as well as his/her ceremonial relationships of formal friendship and potential spouses (COELHO DE SOUZA, 2002).

The transmission of the proper names in *Parkatêjê* occurs in the following way, according to Arnaud (1964) and as has been confirmed by the authors of this paper in the field:

...may occur from the mother's brother (maternal uncle) to the sister's son (sororal nephew) = (keti – itua) and from the father's sister (paternal aunt) to the brother's daughter (fraternal niece) = (katuí – itua), preferentially, and also from the father's or mother's father (grandfather) and from the mother's or father's mother (grandmother), which are designated by the same terms (keti, katuí) (ARNAUD, 1964, p. 4, our translation).

At the moment of the name-giving, the name-giver chooses a trait of their own behavior, which may be positive or negative, and creates a name based on that trait which is assigned to the name-receiver.

In this sense, Carneiro da Cunha (1986) clarifies that the name received by a child does not have any relation to the personal attributes of that child and does not aim at designating him/her as an individual.

We suggest that the fact that the name-giver refers to his/her own particular traits when creating names to be assigned to the respective name-receivers may be interpreted as a way of staying in the memory of the community, given that his/her traits will be remembered by the future generations through the medium of the proper names transmitted by him/her.

Regarding the linguistic properties related to the formation of the proper names in *Parkatêjê*, we observed that the anthroponyms may contain elements which belong to different word classes, combined by the way of joining sequences of simple roots.

Lopes (2017) considered the *Parkatêjê* anthroponyms as compounds, which may be headed either by a noun or by a verb, as shown in a selection of examples below:

#### *Anthroponyms headed by a noun*

1) Pàrhyti 'the one who is bad for others', lit. 'pepper'  
*Pàrhy* *ti*  
 pepper INTENS

2) Hàkti 'hunter', lit. 'hawk'  
*Hàk* *ti*  
 Hawk AUM

The data in 1 and 2 instantiate anthroponyms which consist of simple nominal stems accompanied by the derivational suffix *-ti* (augmentative, respectively). The opposite suffix, *-re* (diminutive), is also frequently found in the Parkatêjê names.

It is appropriate to point out that the aforementioned suffixes appear extensively in the *Parkatêjê* anthroponyms. The suffix *-re* denotes small size or conveys the idea of something being thin/fragile/slim, etc. In turn, the suffix *-ti* refers to big size and conveys the idea of something being fat/big/strong, etc. Note that the size suffixes sometimes occur as parts of proper names or kinship terms, where they refer to the physical appearance of the referent of the name.

The data in 3, 4, and 5 exemplify the formation of anthroponyms whose structure is Noun + Noun. In 5, the nominal base is reduplicated.

3) Awarkwỳi 'young woman who likes to eat maripa fruits', lit. 'maripa maid'  
*Awar* *kwỳi*  
 maripa maid

4) Kôkaprôti 'blood flowed in the river', lit. 'blood in the water'  
*Kô* *kaprô* *ti*  
 water blood AUM

5) Kaikaiti 'basket maker', lit. 'basket, basket'  
*Kai* *kai* *ti*  
 basket basket AUM



The occurrence of the structure Noun + Particle was also observed in the formation of some anthroponyms. The particles which are found in such constructions can be of different types and occur in different positions, as shown in the examples below:

- 6) *Krĩnareti* 'the one who moves between villages all the time',  
lit. 'the villageless'  
*Krĩ* *nare* *ti*  
village NEG INTENS
- 7) *Ropkatêre* 'the one who hunts jaguars'  
*Rop* *katê* *re*  
jaguar AGENT DIM
- 8) *Katêjõkware* 'the one who calls personally to talk'  
*Katê* *jõkwa* *re*  
AGENT person DIM

Among the anthroponyms of the nominal type, there are some examples which contain occurrences of postpositions:

- 9) *Amkronã* 'sun/day', lit. 'in the daytime'  
*Amkro nã*  
day LOC
- 10) *Nãkruwati* 'arrow in him'  
*Nã kruwa ti*  
LOC flecha AUM
- 11) *Kãm kruwati* 'the one who was shot', lit. 'arrow in him'  
*Kãm kruwa ti*  
LOC arrow AUM

*Anthroponyms headed by a verb*

Personal proper names headed by verbs also exhibit a variety of structures of varying complexity. In our data, verbs of different classes occur as heads of such anthroponyms.

The first possibility is that of having an anthroponym formed by a single verbal element, accompanied by one of the suffixes *-ti* or *-re* which function as intensifying particles:

12) Nākôti ‘the one who sweats a lot’, lit. ‘to sweat’

*Nākô ti*

sweat INTENS

(descriptive verb)

13) Kurēkti ‘killer’

*Kurēk ti*

pierce INTENS

(active verb)

14) Awỳre ‘the one who asks a lot’, lit. ‘to ask’

*Awỳ re*

ask INTENS

(intransitive verb)

The data below instantiate the formation of anthroponyms composed of a noun or a verb. The verbs which head such anthroponyms may belong to different verb classes of the language.

15) Tuxêre ‘the one who ties the belly’, lit. ‘tied belly’

*Tu xê re*

belly tie DIM

(transitive verb)

16) Jakànràti ‘the one who extracts palmito well’, lit. ‘to extract palmito’

*Jakàn krà ti*  
 palmito extract AUM  
 (transitive verb)

17) Kôkupati ‘the one who is afraid of water’, lit. ‘to fear water’

*Kô kupati*  
 water be\_afraid  
 (descriptive verb)

18) Akrôtyi ‘the one who extracts strong vines’, lit. ‘strong vines’

*Akrô tyi*  
 vine be\_strong/hard  
 (descriptive verb)

Verbal sequences of different classes may combine as anthroponyms, as the following examples show:

19) Kāmtaihoprāmre ‘the one who likes to write’

*Kāmtaiho prām re*  
 write like DIM  
 (transitive verb + descriptive verb)

20) Amrĩkupati ‘fearless/brave’

*Amrĩ kupati*  
 NEG.EXIST be\_afraid  
 (descriptive verb + descriptive verb)

Pronouns and particles may also occur as elements of proper names headed by verbs. In 21, one can observe the appearance of the reflexive pronoun *amji*; in 22, a negation particle is present.

21) Amjipeire ‘the one who likes to show up neat/tidy’

*Amji pei re*  
 REFLEX be\_good DIM

- 22) Awỳinõre ‘the one who doesn’t ask’  
 Awỳ inõ re  
 ask NEG DIM

At this point, it is appropriate to introduce relevant ethnographic information regarding the expression of the gender in the *Parkatêjê* anthroponyms.

Namely, we can observe that the personal proper names of said language may be subdivided into exclusively masculine, exclusively feminine, and suitable for both genders.

It was observed, both during the fieldwork stage and during the data analysis, that the meaning of a proper name may be dependent on the situational context experienced by the godfather or godmother, which motivated him/her to create a specific anthroponym. The comprehension of this context is of vital importance to the correct semantic interpretation of the given proper name. Therefore, the semantics of the name and the community context are essential for establishing the gender of the anthroponym.

Activities or traits which, in the *Parkatêjê* cultural context, are restricted to a specific gender give rise to anthroponyms which are either exclusively masculine or strictly feminine. For example, agricultural activities such work in the garden are associated with women by the *Parkatêjê*. Therefore, the names derived from such activities are given exclusively to women, as in the following examples:

- 23) Purpãmre ‘the one who likes the garden’  
 24) Purkôre ‘the one who sows while it rains’  
 25) Purhêre ‘the woman who works in the garden’

In turn, typically male activities or traits associated with men give rise to anthroponyms restricted to that gender. For example, activities which involve hunting

are always associated with men. Names which refer to such activities are exclusively masculine, as exemplified below:

- 26) Hãkti 'the hunter', lit. 'the hawk'
- 27) Krôxũmti 'the pig killer'
- 28) Ropkatêre 'the one who hunts jaguars'
- 29) Ropkukuti 'the hunter'

Activities which are not subject to any cultural gender restrictions can be used to form names suitable for both genders, as the following examples show:

- 30) Pamapĩ 'the one who walks slowly'
- 31) Kôkupati 'the one afraid of water'
- 32) Kãmtaihoprãmre 'the one who likes to write'
- 33) Awÿinõre 'the one who doesn't ask'

Thus, it becomes evident once again that the name-giving is directly and intrinsically related to the numerous and diverse cultural aspects of the community, making it entirely impossible to carry out an onomastic study dissociated from the culture.

Semantically, as was already mentioned above (when the name-giving system of the *Parkatêjê* was discussed), the meaningful component of the proper names generally refers to the personal traits of the name-given, regardless of whether they are negative or positive.

Araújo and Ferreira (2001) state that in what concerns the content, the proper names of *Parkatêjê* can be denotative or figurative. In this vein, Lopes (2017) argues that the main signification system employed in denotative proper names is the

*denotation*, whereas the proper names of the type labeled as figurative by Araújo and Ferreira (2001) include, as a rule of a thumb, metaphors or metonymies.

The *Parkatêjê* proper names which are considered denotative can be illustrated by the following examples:

- 34) Atôkàre 'eldest brother'  
*Atô* *kà* *re*  
 brother eldest DIM

'*Atôkàre*' is an anthroponym supplied by a name-giver who is the eldest among his siblings.

- 35) Purprãmre 'the one who likes the garden'  
*Pur* *prãm* *re*  
 garden like DIM

'*Purprãmre*' is an anthroponym transmitted by a female name-giver who likes to work in the garden.

Among the proper names classified into the figurative type in *Parkatêjê*, there are examples of expressions with a metaphoric or a metonymic value. Both metaphoric and metonymic anthroponyms of *Parkatêjê* are exemplified below:

- 36) Pàrhyti 'the one who is bad for others', lit. 'pepper'

'*Pàrhyti*' is a name supplied by a female name-giver described as someone "bad for other people". In the words of the *Parkatêjê*, that person was "bad just like a pepper", which instantiates, therefore, a metaphoric comparison which serves as a base for the attribution of the reference (Lopes, 2017).

- 37) Kreixàre 'the one with a constant stomachache'  
*Krei* *xà* *re*  
 guts pain DIM

*Kreixàre* is an anthroponym supplied by a name-giver who often suffers from long-lasting stomachache. In this datum, one can observe a relation of the type part/whole of sorts, whereby the proper name in question contains among its constituting elements the generic term for ‘guts’ in order to convey the meaning of ‘stomachache’ (LOPES, 2017).

In Lopes and Ferreira (2018), an analysis focused specifically on the semantic properties of the *Parkatêjê* anthroponyms was presented, so that the semantic side is reprised here for illustrative purposes only, in order to clarify how—in general terms—the meaning is attributed to the anthroponyms.

In sum, the discussion of the different aspects of the *Parkatêjê* anthroponymy in this section demonstrated the importance of the language–culture relationship to the studies of the onomastic system of this language. Our study clearly demonstrates that the values and the cultural knowledge of the *Parkatêjê* people are intricate and are encoded in their language.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, linguistic and cultural aspects of the onomastic system of the *Parkatêjê* people were considered, with an emphasis on the importance of the dialogue between linguistic studies and anthropology in the onomastic studies of indigenous languages.

Within our analysis of the anthroponyms of the *Parkatêjê* language, it was possible to highlight ethnographic particularities related to the name-giving system of the group as well as morphosyntactic and semantic aspects involved in the act of creation of the personal names of the language.

In light of the relevant literature and the data analysis, it was possible to elaborate on the idea that the onomastic and semantic components of the *Parkatêjê*



language exhibit properties related to the cultural organization, traditional knowledge and worldview of its speakers, the *Parkatêjê*.

Investigations of linguistic/cultural issues, such as the one presented here on the *Parkatêjê* onomastics, need to be carried out in an interdisciplinary fashion in order to enable a more complete comprehension of the phenomena involved. Furthermore, documenting this type of knowledge and tradition is imperative within the context of languages such as *Parkatêjê*, whose degree of endangerment has reached alarming levels.

We conclude by citing Seki's (2007) words:

The disappearance of a language results in the disappearance of a culture and of an epistemology to which that culture is related directly. Therefore, it is never too much to emphasize the importance of studying those languages, be it for purely scientific purposes or for a better comprehension of our socio-cultural reality, as the description of every language is a step towards our understanding of the human language (SEKI, 2007, p. 17, our translation).

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