

On Huni Kuĩ (Kaxinawá) anthroponyms¹

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Resumo

Neste estudo apresento um primeiro inventário dos nomes próprios de pessoa – Kena kuĩ – na sociedade Huni Kuĩ (Kaxinawá). Mostro sucintamente como esses nomes se distribuem segundo as duas metades dessa sociedade exogâmica e explico como se dá e quais os critérios que fundamentam a sua escolha através de gerações.

Palavras-chave: Kena kuĩ, Huni Kuĩ (Kaxinawá), família linguística Pano, antropônimos, língua, cultura e sociedade.

Abstract

This study presents a first inventory of personal proper names – Kena kuĩ – in the Huni Kuĩ (Kaxinawá) society. It offers a brief account of how personal names are distributed according to the two moieties of this exogamic society and explains the criteria basing their choice and how they are attributed across generations.

Keywords: Kena kuĩ, Huni Kuĩ (Kaxinawá), Panoan linguistic family, anthroponyms, language, culture and society.

1. Introduction

Huni Kuĩ anthroponyms have been defined, since the origin of this people, on the basis of the characteristics and meanings of its division into two moieties: Cougar and Jaguar.

The Cougar moiety is composed of *Rua*, men, and *Banu*, women; whereas the Jaguar moiety is constituted of *Inu*, men, and *Inani*, women. This is the basis of Huni Kuĩ social organization, and this division has ever since its origin determined marriage in this society, for men and women of one moiety can only marry someone of the opposite moiety.

This paper will demonstrate that in this society ascribing personal names ensures the continuity of a balanced social organization which rests upon the compliance with well-defined marriage rules.

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2. The attribution of personal names

Huni Kuĩ personal names are ascribed to children at birth according to their gender – male or female. A male child will belong to its father's moiety: if he is Inu, he will be ascribed an Inu name, if he is Rua, he will be ascribed a Rua name. A female child will be attributed a name according to the female onomastic of the mother's moiety.

The first child of a couple will be ascribed the name of the father of its father, if the child is a boy, or the name of the mother of its mother, if it is a girl. The following male children will be named after their paternal uncles, according to a decreasing order of age. Similarly, the following female children will be named after their maternal aunts, according to a decreasing order of age.

3. Failure to comply with marriage rules and its implications to the maintenance of the personal name attribution system

The attribution system can only work properly if marriage rules – based on exogamic alliances – are fully complied with: Inu (Jaguar men) take Banu wives (Cougar women) and Rua (Cougar men) take Inani wives (Jaguar women). If marriage does not follow this rule, the couple may give the son his paternal grandfather's name, or, if it is a baby girl, her maternal grandmother's. However, disrespect of these rules may have drastic consequences to social relations. Huni Kuĩ society has two distinct forms of treatment determined by the moiety system. The Huni Kuĩ do not use personal names in their direct face-to-face relationship, but rather terms related to age-based statuses – older and younger. There are specific terms for each moiety. If traditional marriage rules are not observed, there will be situations in which the children of endogamic marriages will not be socially classified or they will be misclassified by those who are not aware of their parent's origin.

Children of endogamic marriages do not identify themselves with the traditional patterns of affiliation and, therefore, have social identity problems related to the disruption of Huni Kuĩ social rules, since intermarrying divisions of society not only describe kin relationship but also guide social behavior.

4. Inventory of Huni Kuĩ anthroponymy

According to the elders Huni Kuĩ, during the establishment of the anthroponomic system it was decided that there would be 77 personal names.

These names would be attributed to men and women of both moieties as follows:

Txashu inu ‘Cougar’

KENA KUÏ XARABU

RUA BAKE ‘cougar son’

- 1 - Siã, txūpi, bake peuwa
- 2 - Bixku, hina kene, mǎi xukiti
- 3 - Ixã, petxiwã, txana dunĩ,shatxĩ beseya,
- 4 - Busẽ, sheta maiti, yawa bitxi
- 5 - Mana, txana maiti, shurubau kubati
- 6 - Bane, mai tũku, misi tiú, itxa dua, txatxa puĩki, yawa shatxibu
- 7 - Ibã, mane hene, muku baĩ, txitimã
- 8 - Yube, yawa napu
- 9 - Tene, nixi waka, txitu nawabu
- 10 - Txuã, txatxa puĩki,
- 11 - Pae, pekati, tau binuya
- 12 - Tuĩ, mane hene, shawã hina mexu,
- 13 - Tau binuya, nea bushka *
- 14 - Txanu, mai rerati, xiabu, panuti, txana hãpis
- 15 - Tue, kutsũ, maĩ tamu, mãku taxi
- 16 - Maya, mashe istubĩ, kere mapua
- 17 - Kixtĩ, uteti, teskã nawa, maniuma
- 18 - Iskẽti, maru
- 19 - Metũ, hema,*(ixã rua)
- 20 - Yasã, baka pasha, pinuã

BANU BAKE ‘cougar daughter’

- 1 - Rani, barã tatxauma, nawa tximiti, txukani
- 2 - Baka yuãni, mashe,
- 3 - Pai, natsuani, nawe mani,
- 4 - Bina, natxuani, babeani, shẽkũ,
- 5 - Mai beshati, pĩpĩ
- 6 - Awa txixa,*duvida

- 7 - Yaka, yawa yaka, nixpu teke, yuriani
- 8 - Shemã tima, mau, txarani, nãti binuani
- 9 - Same,
- 10 - Maxi, rākani
- 11 - Parã, heuwani, kuxiani
- 12 - Txana pai, beisani, mūti beanaka
- 13 - Bismani, pai
- 14 - Bimi, mawa pai, tikū sheta,
- 15 - tamani
- 16 - basa yasa
- 17 - tue, yawa rika, māku taxi*
- 18 - Pãteani, kãmani
- 19 - Itã, yawa txanu

Inu keneya ‘Jaguar’

INU BAKE ‘jaguar son’

- 1 - Muru, rume kuru, punu bena, kari meshte
- 2 - Txana mashã,
- 3 - Bina, atxi baĩ,
- 4 - Siã, sebi rua, kuni siã, bixati,
- 5 - Isaka, awa kayawã, teskãbãĩ, isa bari
- 6 - Xupĩ, bai shenabu, mani shaka, shenãbu
- 7 - Shemãtima, makeyã, mau, hashka,
- 8 - Makari, nui, mai tũku, hãpimawã
- 9 - Meka, banĩ tia,
- 10 - Sakuti,
- 11 - Isa mema,
- 12 - Keã, bukũ mapua, amẽ
- 13 - Shane, txana shane, tawa teke
- 14 - Rasu,
- 15 - Naxima, aya txurãti (rua)
- 16 - Yukã, kepunu, nĩ nawa,
- 17 - Atxi baĩ
- 18 - Kupi, maru paisma, kiristuba
- 19 - Iskubu, tuĩ, habaina

20 - Itsairu,

21 - Awa xiru, shenābu, xupĩ

INANI BAKE ‘jaguar daughter’

1 - Mukani, shane bana, kanawã,

2 - Ibatsai, txureani, inawã pini, habani

3 - Buni, txashu sheta, batani, ĩka besuani

4 - Maxi, awa beRua,

5 - Yãka, sheki ĩku, ĩka tapani

6 - Siriani, ayani, shekiwã txirixpi, ĩka bushabu, tama txumi, metuani, tsĩkiani, pamani, mesiani

7 - Mushani, isa mema, memani,

8 - Nãke, tubĩ nawa, bistuani, kariani

9 - Txana kayani, (mukani, txana biski

10 - Txira Betuya, ĩkani, txana txixĩ,

11 - Same,

12 - Txima,

13 - Baxiku, shekuani, shaburua

14 - hashuani ĩka tsauwani

15 - Yeke, reweani, inu bai

16 - Nete, ĩka bana

17 - Mãkuani, shuniani, runu maxa, barã tatxauma

The total number of names are: 20 Rua, 19 Banu, 21 Inu, and 17 Inani. The moiety Cougar has 39 names, whereas the moiety Jaguar has 38 names in total. Each child receives one name of one of these sets at birth; one can be assigned other names during his/her life, but it will always be a name of the same set of the first name attributed to him/her.

5. Some final remarks

According to my grandmother, in the past, marriages were decided by the parents before the girls could choose a husband for themselves, for this prevented choosing a husband from the same moiety. The increasing contact situations with non-Indians in the last century stimulated part of the Huni Kuĩ to disrespect traditional marriage rules and, therefore, changes have been

introduced to the personal name attribution system. Although compliance with intermarriage rules is nowadays an issue among the Huni Kuĩ concerned about strengthening traditional custom, endogamic marriage has been so common as to create irreversible situations, which reveal strong disruption of social organization as a whole. Some families still abide by traditional intermarriage rules, though.

6. Sources of information

Txirá, a.k.a. Luzia, c. 90 year-old maternal grandmother of the author, the eldest person in Terra Indígena do Rio Jordão, State of Acre, Brazil.

Erondina Sales Kaxinawá, c. 70 year-old woman, Terra Indígena Praia da Carapanã, State of Acre, Brazil.

Leonço Kaxinawá, c. 70 year-old man, Terra Indígena Alto Purus, State of Acre, Brazil.

Alfonso Manducas Mateus, c. 60 year-old man, Terra Indígenas da Colônia 27, State of Acre, Brazil.