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Place Names in the Valparaíso Territory: what they tell us about Apurinã (Arawak) history

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Abstract

This study investigates place names in the Apurinã territory of Valparaíso, Brazil, to uncover the linguistic properties of this domain of the language and make inferences on the history of the Apurinã people as it relates to the occupation of their territory. Employing qualitative, semi-quantitative, linguistic and ethnographic methodologies, including interviews and mental map analysis, the research analyzes 71 toponyms. The findings reveal how these names reflect the Apurinã people's deep connection to their land, cosmology, and history, highlighting the importance of toponymic restoration for preserving Indigenous heritage amidst ongoing threats to their territory and language vitality.

Keywords:
Apurinã, toponymy, Arawak, Valparaíso, cultural heritage

Introduction

In this report, we will present the results of a survey and analysis of place names in the Apurinã territory of Valparaíso, located mainly on the banks of tributaries of the Purus River, in the municipality of Boca do Acre, Northwestern Brazil (Fig. 1):

Fig. 1 Aerial image of the Village of Apurinã Valparaíso (Google Earth® in November 9, 2023).

The study of place names or toponyms reveals information not only about a subset of a language's vocabulary, morphology and semantics, but also about a people's history, culture and customs, including regional, natural, or "anthropocultural" properties that reflect the identity traits or even the specific role of individuals within the social history of a community. The research that led to this paper follows the methods and tradition of the field of onomastics, more specifically toponymy. As such, it fits into the field of lexicology, rather than anthropological linguistics or ethnology. In our research, historical, cultural or sociological implications are possible interpretations based on linguistic data—which require validation from the pertinent fields of study.

According to Dick (1990), toponyms allow the visualization of their inscription within a determined space-time. Santos and Costa (2023) state that there is, initially, a binding correspondence between names and designated places, linked by geographical areas, which can be altered over time, so that in toponymy studies of a territory, it is important to analyze the historical perspective. Cambraia and Seabra (2024) reinforce the understanding that toponyms, whether rural or urban, can be considered symbols: geographical, environmental, historical, and social testimonies of an era. The study of toponymy involves not only analyzing the relationship of place names in a specific geographical area, but also investigating the etymology of these names, as they are the main providers of elements for conclusions regarding the history of a place. However, the etymological traits of a word do not constitute the only classificatory criterion for a toponym, as other aspects must be considered, such as the inspiration behind a name of cosmological beliefs or historical processes influencing place names. Navarro (2023) corroborates this understanding by stating that the complexity of classifying toponyms due to their multiform nature makes it possible to use different criteria, intralinguistic and extralinguistic, organizing them along cultural, etymological, sociolinguistic or ontological lines, for example.

Toponyms aim to distinguish geographical areas in spaces that delimit a land surface with specific characteristics. Furthermore, toponyms can reveal communicative factors that make direct reference to the areas that were named. They attribute importance that surpasses the act of naming, serving as an instrument of temporal projection. Thus, through reconstructing the inherent characteristics of each naming, it is possible to capture the mentality of the time and the living conditions of people, albeit partially.

Dick (1990) states that the toponymic sign can be essentially motivated by various triggering factors, as different semantic contents allow relationships to be established between the topographic locations and the respective geographical-cultural areas.

The naming of beings can show the understanding of the reality that surrounds them, highlighting the communicative act through the registration of what was assimilated, although they may be rare among some communities, as Michael (2008, 52) explains: “All the personal names I use for the Nantis mentioned in this study are Nanti adaptations of Spanish names they received from Matsigenkas or mestizos. Prior to being given Spanish names in the early 1990s, personal names were apparently very rare among Nantis.” Isquerdo (2019), highlights the importance of considering that in its essence, the toponym is a linguistic sign, as it integrates the lexicon of the language, carrying all its linguistic and extralinguistic characteristics. Therefore, regarding the choice of designators, the perception of reality is subordinate to the linguistic patterns that obtain within each speaker's community, based on different influential factors, such as customs and habits. According to Dick (1990), naming is configured in conceptual fields that illustrate the object-reality, causing these referential representation schemes to have form and content, expression and substance, in the symbolic language system, reflecting various cultural aspects that compose an organic whole. Thus, when relating the sign to toponymy, a plurality of aspects emerges, as this linguistic element will be endowed with a place-identifying function, integrating a motivating process and allowing the deduction of connections between the name itself and the area designated.

Toponymy involves various scientific areas, including a people's language and culture. It is linked to Onomastics (the study of proper names) and, in addition to studying linguistic signs, it delves deeper by verifying their significant functions. Therefore, when using the verbal communication code, besides defining the conceptual field, speakers also examine internal geographic features. In this context, Dick (2007) says that research in the field of toponymic onomastics conceptually investigates cultural, historical, geographic, and especially linguistic values.

According to Dick (1990), the toponymic motivation comprises a dual aspect, composed of intentionality and the semantic origin of the chosen name. The first is configured in the immediate motive (subjective—beautiful, ugly, good, bad—or objective—color, shape, dimension) according to which a specific name is chosen for a geographical feature; the second is directly linked to the revealed meaning with diverse origins. These two perspectives influence the formation of place names. We then reach an understanding of reality through the combination of the linguistic sign with the toponymic function, revealing its semantic nature, which results in a more direct relationship between the terms involved, allowing the visualization of the physical or anthropocultural aspects of these designations.

The Apurinã Language and its Speakers

Apurinã belongs to the Purus branch of the Arawak language family. In Apurinã the term Pupỹkarywakury is used to name both the language and its speakers. The term “Apurinã” is, in general, only used by them while talking in Portuguese, and was thus most likely given to them by another language group. According to the Indigenous Health Organization of Brazil (SESAI), in 2020, there were 10,228 people belonging to this nation, dispersed, mainly, across the states of Mato Grosso, Rondônia, Amazonas, and Acre. The extent of the

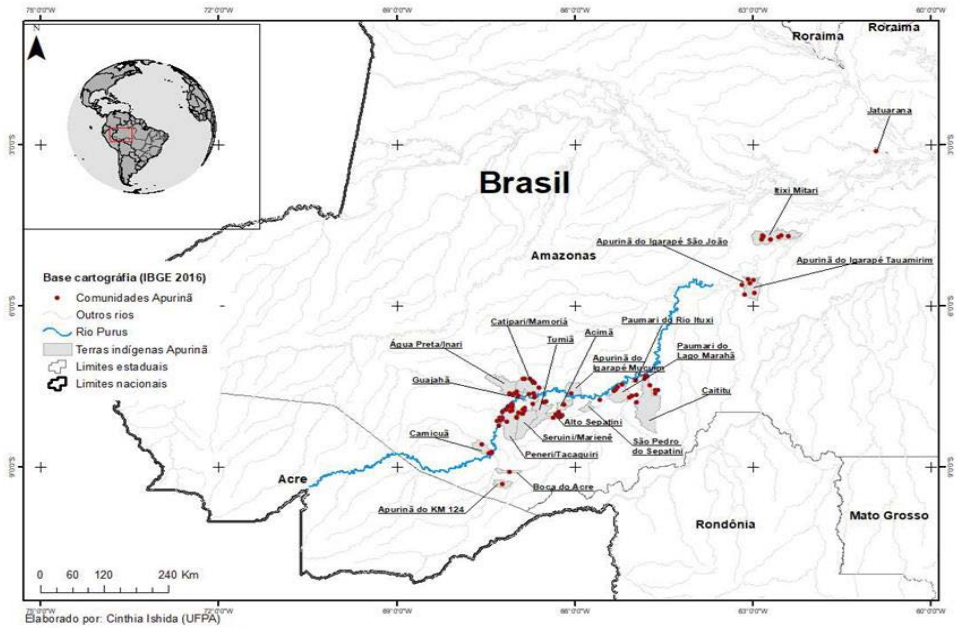

Fig. 2: Distribution of the Apurinã Indigenous Territories (Ishida 2021).

Apurinã territory is vast, with 24 Indigenous territories; most of them have been approved by the Federal Government and others in the identification and delimitation study process, dispersed in over 100 communities across the municipalities of Boca do Acre, Pauini, Lábrea, Tapauá, Manacapuru, Beruri, Manquiri, and Manicoré. The Apurinã territory which is the locus of our study is located in the municipality of Boca do Acre, state of Amazonas. The lack of demarcation of some areas contributes to the dispersion of the people. Facundes (2000) explains that their migratory nature (due to various factors, including historical and sociocultural ones) contributes to the formation of various communities, often composed of people who migrated from their original communities to establish new villages. Figure 2 lays out the distribution of the Apurinã Indigenous Territories, along the Purus River and its tributaries. When this map was designed, the Valparaíso Territory, which is next to the Camicuã Territory, had not been officially recognized.

In the Valparaíso Indigenous Territory, there are 136 residents, divided into 22 families. In addition to these Apurinã families, there are also around 25 non-Indigenous people residing there, who are trying to expel the Apurinã people from their lands. In this region, economically influential people are promoting the destruction of the area and invading spaces that traditionally belong to the Apurinã Indigenous people, for this Indigenous Land is namely still in the process of regularization and therefore suffers many environmental, social, and cultural consequences caused by large-scale developmental enterprises and the growth of agribusiness. Regarding the traditional language, in Valparaíso, only three speakers remain: the Chief of the Apurinã Indigenous Land, an elderly Apurinã woman, and another Indigenous person who no longer resides in Valparaíso, but who was born in the Valparaíso community and visits it frequently. The Apurinã woman understands Portuguese but does not speak it, and the two male Indigenous individuals

speak and understand Apurinã and Portuguese well.

Research into Toponyms in Indigenous Languages of Brazil

Toponyms in Indigenous territories usually reflect the natural characteristics of each locality where Indigenous peoples traditionally lived. It should be noted that this does not occur in every case. Rybka's study (2015) shows that some place names in the Amazon are not analyzable or do not refer to natural/geographical characteristics. However, Dick (1990) states that the relationship between places and everyday Indigenous facts can be presented analogously. Also, toponyms may provide clues about language vitality and historical contact with other groups:

"(...) in an initial phase, the Indigenous name was altered due to missionaries and colonizers' religious convictions, and later, the change became an authoritative measure by the Portuguese government, through a royal charter issued by the Marquês de Pombal, realizing that maintaining Indigenous place names indirectly kept alive the native languages, which were prohibited from spreading." (Dick 1990, 55. Our translation.)

In this sense, it is important to recover toponyms and conduct toponymic restoration, as a way to preserve Indigenous peoples' history and characteristics, considering that a toponym should/could carry information about the reality in which these people live/lived and their linguistic contexts. This further reinforces the idea that perceived historical facts allow us to understand how different languages in the same territory, with their respective sociological implications, may gain various connotations when exposed to diverse conditioning factors.

According to Apurinã (2019), for the Apurinã people, the relationship between Indigenous people and their land is different from that of non-Indigenous people, as the latter, for the most part, do not establish a spiritual connection with the land, unlike some Indigenous peoples. In this sense, Santos (2018) also contributes, adding that the original peoples did not see the land as belonging to them, but on the contrary, felt they belonged to the land. Silva (2018) and Souza and colleagues (2015) also highlight the role of the territory for Indigenous peoples, as well as their direct relationship with nature. Thus, the Apurinã understand that sacred places nourish not only their physical bodies, but also their minds and spirits.

The relationship of the Apurinã with their territories is also identity-based, as their cultural values and their villages are preserved there, establishing a strong relationship with their lands of origin. Apurinã cosmology itself reinforces this feeling of belonging, making the relationship between Indigenous people and the environment intrinsic, primarily through their beliefs and rituals. Thus, we presume that the choice of place names—geographical designations for the surrounding environment integrating physical/cultural spaces—plays an important role as a record of Indigenous peoples' history. Following this line of thought, Dick (1990) notes the existence of fossilized terms that reflect a diversified or multifaceted experiential environmental reality, keeping cultural traditions alive. However, despite the importance of toponymic research addressing Indigenous realities, studies on the subject are quite scarce. The studies on Apurinã toponyms started recently with our own work (Monteiro, 2024; Oliveira e Facundes, 2019), although Apurinã is an Indigenous language of Brazil with extensive documentation, including educational materials for teaching the language, a detailed grammar describing its phonetics, phonology, morphology, dialectology, lexicology, and syntax (Facundes, 2000),

dictionaries (Facundes et al, 2017; Lima-Padovani, 2020), in addition to other articles and senior students' monographs, master's theses, and doctoral dissertations on various language domains (Freitas, 2017; Lima-Padovani, 2016).

Data Sources and Methodology of Toponymic Research in the Valparaíso Apurinã Indigenous Land

The research results presented in this paper are primarily based on the MA Thesis of the first author (Monteiro, 2024), and the fundamental contribution of Souza, as a native Apurinã speaker and profound knowledge holder of the local history and cultural traditions of the Apurinã people of the Valparaíso territory, in the Southern Amazon. The third author is the main linguist studying the Apurinã language, who has been working for over three decades on the description, documentation and development of teaching materials in Apurinã; his contribution included the morphosyntactic and semantic analysis of the place names.

The toponymic research conducted in the Valparaíso Apurinã Indigenous Territory followed a qualitative, semi-quantitative, and ethnographic methodology. The procedures adopted involved bibliographic, documentary, and field research. The methodological procedures used in the research are derived from a study of the mental maps of the Valparaíso territory produced by Apurinã teachers from the Boca do Acre communities during a language teaching materials orientation workshop in 2022, as part of a collaboration between Virtanen, Apurinã and Facundes, with the participation of all the remaining authors of the present study. The map cannot be displayed here due to a collective decision by the Apurinã people present at the workshop. They made this choice because the map shows locations considered sacred by the Apurinã people and areas with important natural resources, which cannot be publicly disseminated due to the current threats to Indigenous lands in Brazil. The second author of this paper was the main author of the map, which was the basis for this paper.

Data Description and Analysis

The cataloged research data correspond to the 71 terms listed in Table 1[1].

The toponyms that occur most frequently are phytotoponyms (15 occurrences), referring to vegetation, which can be represented by clusters of the same or different species, followed by anthropotoponyms (11 occurrences), which are constituted from personal designators.

We followed the classification scheme of Dick (1990) and sorted the 71 place names into categories defined by her. Sixty-three place names could be classified as belonging to a single category in this system, while six belonged to multiple categories and two could not be classified. Out of the 63 place names that we could classify, the largest group was phytotoponyms, or toponyms referring to plant species, the second largest group was anthropotoponyms, formed from personal designators (first names, family nicknames, combined or not). These toponyms were analyzed based on the research of Dick (1990) and other authors, such as Isquerdo e Oliveira (2001), Nadin (2017), Pereira (2017), Prezia (2017) and Tibiriçá (1985). They were then classified into the taxonomies and morphologies proposed by Dick (1990), whose classificatory model is

[1] Some terms for which an English translation is not provided have no semantic equivalent in English; for others, a translation has not yet been identified.

ideally suited to the study of toponymy because it organizes and classifies the elements that motivate geographical names, which allows for a broader understanding of toponymic motivations.

One aim of the lexicographical and etymological research on these place names, following Isquerdo e Oliveira (2001) and Nadin (2017), was to propose a semantic analysis and classification of the various terms. These methodological procedures and theoretical concepts provide an understanding of toponymic motivations and the relationship of the Apurinã people with the geographic space in the context of Valparaíso, their cultural traditions, history, and geography. In the case of taxonomies, results were obtained for terms classified in anthropocultural taxa, related to human historical and cultural specificities, and in taxa linked to the natural environment, as shown in Table 2 and Table 3.

The records for each toponym included the following fields: Municipality; Location; Toponym; Geographical Feature (F/H); Taxonomy; Etymology; Lexical Entry; Morphological Structure; Encyclopedic Information and Sources.

According to the morphological classification proposed by Dick, toponyms can be classified in three ways: i) Simple Specific Element: defined through a single formative (noun or adjective), possibly followed by a suffix (e.g. diminutive, augmentative); ii) Compound Toponym or Compound Specific Element: features more than one forming element, with content of various origins; iii) Hybrid Toponym, or Hybrid Specific Element: designator composed of linguistic elements from diverse sources (Portuguese + Indigenous formation or vice versa). Hybrid toponyms can be further subdivided into two items: Simple Hybrid: formed from a single element with more than one linguistic layer; Compound Hybrid: formed by two or more linguistic elements from different languages.

The results from the taxonomic classification of toponyms in the Indigenous Territory of Valparaíso took distinct forms and were described in terms of their coverage fields, toponymic taxa, and the morphological structure proposed. They were divided according to three criteria: i) toponyms classified in a specific taxon; ii) toponyms classified simultaneously into more than one taxon, considering their meanings and interpretative possibilities; iii) terms classified as inconclusive or undefined due to the lack of knowledge about the meanings of some lexical items and/or morphemes, and the absence of references or theoretical contributions for their precise definitions. Table 4 specifies the results, totaling the 71 (seventy-one) toponyms studied.

In terms of grammatical analysis, considering the morphological aspects of Dick (1990), 27 (twenty-seven) toponyms were classified as simple elements (examples: “Sãkuã” and “Castanhal”) ; 23 (twenty-three) were classified as compound toponyms or compound specific elements (examples: “Igarapé Miriti” and “Canudo Velho”); 2 (two) received the classification of hybrid specific element (examples: “Puxabala” and “Valparaíso”) and 17 (seventeen) of compound hybrid elements (examples: “Igarapé Preto” and “Maloca do Retiro”). The 2 (two) toponyms classified as inconclusive/undefined were not categorized in taxa nor was their morphological constitution verified.

After analyzing the data of place names in Valparaíso, it was found that the most common incidence of morphological classification corresponds to simple specific element toponyms, since they are composed of a single formative, sometimes accompanied by suffixations. This group represented 33.3% of the analyzed data, mostly consisting of lexical elements from Indigenous languages, curiously not from the Apurinã language, but borrowings from Tupian languages, which entered the

Apurinã language via Portuguese. In Table 5, we present the list of toponyms in Apurinã, hybrid toponyms and toponyms in Portuguese (including those of Tupi origin that entered Apurinã via Portuguese) in the Apurinã Indigenous Territory of Valparaíso.

Among the results of the analyses and classifications of the names of places in the Apurinã Indigenous Territory of Valparaíso, there are toponyms that are not of Apurinã origin. The inclusion of these toponyms in our analysis follows from the fact that they are part of the memory of these people, reflecting the history of occupation of their territory by non-Indigenous people, and thus the history of their territory.[2] It is only by including the toponyms of non-Apurinã origin in our analysis that we can fully evaluate the role of the toponyms of Apurinã origin.

Due to space constraints and considering the objectives of this study, we will present only a few toponymic records. More examples can be found in Monteiro (2024). In Table 6, we present the record of the toponym “Aldeia Central Karuá.” This designator was chosen for the area as a tribute to a great female Apurinã leader named “Karuá.” Karuá was the founder of the Karuá Village, so the toponym was classified as an anthropotoponym. This village is the “mother village” of the Indigenous Territory of Valparaíso, where significant battles between the region's Indigenous people took place. Apurinã ancestors lived in this location, which was the center of the Indigenous traditional territory. For various reasons, many Apurinã individuals subsequently left to occupy different spaces. In addition to the conflict between the Indigenous people living here, another motivation for the Apurinã people to migrate in increasing numbers to the interior of the Indigenous territory was the felling of trees that took place on the land, also caused by the strengthening of agribusiness in the region.

Table 7 presents information about the area named Igarapé Miriti. Miriti is the name of an area where there used to be a stream called "Igarapé Miriti" (Miriti palm tree stream), which dried up due to deforestation in the territory. This area once had many Miriti palm trees. Currently, there are none left. This toponym is classified as a phytotoponym. Additionally, it is considered a fossilized toponym, as the area no longer exhibits the characteristics that initially inspired its name, meaning that the distinctive features motivating the designation are no longer present.

Table 8 presents a toponym simultaneously classified under the taxonomies of animotoponym and hodotoponym. In view of the Apurinã narratives in which kymapury is the sacred path that interconnects all the Apurinã people, linking aspects related to nature and the mystical, or signifies the totality of the arcs or paths of the shaman’s walk—the trail of everything—it is possible to classify the toponym as an Animatoponym, as it relates to the taxon that deals with the mental and spiritual life of human beings. In this light, kymapury is connected to the Apurinã culture, involving the feelings and beliefs of these people. On the other hand, given that Kymapury means “trajectory” or “path” in Apurinã, being the generic name assigned to strips of land that connect one place to another, it can also be classified as a hodotoponym, or a name related to urban or rural communication routes.

[2] The history of the occupation requires investigation and is beyond the scope of this paper.

Toponyms in the Valparaíso Indigenous Territory			
1	2 Bocas (2 Mouths)	37	Karuaru
2	Aldeia Central Karuã (Karuã Central Village)	38	Karuá
3	Aldeia Joary (Joary Village)	39	Kayanamari Encantados Valentes (Kayanamari “Brave enchanted being”)
4	Barreiro do Juarí (Clay pit of Astrocaryum jauari)	40	Kaykuarety Encantado (Enchanted Kaykuarety))
5	Barreiro do Tibuçu (Clay pit of Tibuçu)	41	Kãxãry
6	Boa Vista 1 (Nice View 1)	42	Kymapury (path)
7	Boa Vista 2 (Nice View 2)	43	Kytãrery
8	Boa Vista 3 (Nice View 3)	44	Lago do Bom Lugar (Lake of the good place)
9	Boca do Acre (Mouth of Acre)	45	Lago Conceição do Desterro (Lake of the conception of banishment)
10	BR 317 (Federal road 317)	46	Lago Sãkuã (Snook-fish (Hoplias malabaricus) lake)
11	BR 319 (Federal road 319)	47	Makoã
12	BR do Banco do Brasil (Bank of Brazil Br)	48	Maloca do Igarapé Preto/ Pupurery (Hut of black creek/ Pupurery)
13	Buritizal (Buriti palm trees (Mauritia flexuosa) grove)	49	Maloca do Retiro (Hut of retreat)
14	Campo (Field)	50	Mamão (Papaya)
15	Canudo (Straw)	51	Manẽe (Swamp)
16	Canudo Novo (New straw)	52	Mapongapá
17	Canudo Velho (Old straw)	53	Maruquê
18	Castanhal (Brazil nut grove)	54	Miriti (Miriti Palm Tree (Mauritia flexuosa))
19	Chavascal (Swamp)	55	Mucuim (Tick)
20	Coqueiral (Coconut grove)	56	Pajaú
21	Cruzeiro (Cross shape)	57	Paranã (Stream)
22	Cruzerinho (Little cross shape)	58	Patoazal (Patoá tree (Oenocarpus bataua) grove))

23	Fazenda União (Union Farm)	59	Piquiá (Piquiá tree (Caryocar brasiliense))
24	Fazenda Riachão (Big stream farm)	60	Poço do Arroz (Well of Rice)
25	Igarapé Anury (Anury creek)	61	Pula-Pula (Jump-Jump)
26	Igarapé Cajari (Cajari-river creek)	62	Puxabala (Bullet Pull)
27	Igarapé Grande (Large Creek)	63	Retiro (Retreat)
28	Igarapé do Jiju (Jeju-Fish (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus) Creek)	64	Retiro Velho (Old Retreat)
29	Igarapé Maruquê (Maruquê Creek)	65	Rio Purus (Purus River)
30	Igarapé Karuaru (Caruaru creek)	66	Sãkuã (Snook-fish (Hoplias malabaricus) creek))
31	Igarapé Miriti (Miriti palm (Mauritia flexuosa) creek))	67	Terra de Antônio Caboco (Land of Antônio Caboco)
32	Igarapé Preto (Black creek)	68	Terra do Açaí (Land of Açaí)
33	Igarapé do Retiro (Retirement creek)	69	Terra Nova (New Land)
34	Igarapé São Francisco (San Francisco Creek)	70	Tibuçu
35	Iquirema	71	Valparaíso
36	Joary		

Table 1. 71 Toponyms in the Valparaíso Indigenous Territory. Source: Monteiro (2024, 56).

Types of Toponyms	Concepts
Astrotoponyms	Relating to celestial bodies;
Cardinal Toponyms	Relating to geographical positions in general;
Chromotoponyms	Relating to colors;
Dimensional Toponyms	Relating to dimensional characteristics of geographical features, such as length, width, thickness, height, and depth;
Phytotoponyms	Relating to the composition of terrestrial vegetation;
Geomorphological or Orotoponyms	Relating to landforms (includes elevations and depressions);
Hydrotonyms	Possessing hydronymic nature;
Lithotoponyms	Having a mineral origin, reflecting the constitutive nature of soils or terrains;
Meteorological Toponyms	Relating to atmospheric phenomena;
Morphotoponyms	Reflecting the sense of geographical shapes;
Zootoponyms	Relating to the presence of animals as motivating sources.

Table 2. Toponyms of physical nature proposed by Dick. Source: Monteiro (2024, 62), based on the toponymic classification established by Dick (1990).

Types of Toponyms	Concepts
Animotoponyms	Relating to mental life and spiritual culture, encompassing products of human cognition;
Anthropotoponyms	Have a historical character. Formed from personal designators (first names, family nicknames, combined or not);
Axiotoponyms	Formed by proper names with added personal titles;
Chorotoponyms	Relating to names of cities, countries, states, or continents;
Chronotoponyms	Consist of place names that address chronological indicators;
Ecotoponyms	Relating to habitation in general;
Ergotoponyms	Relating to elements of human material culture;
Ethnotoponyms	Relating to ethnic groups, cities, states, countries, regions, continents;
Dirrematotoponyms	Formed by phrases or linguistic statements;
Hierotoponyms	Relating to religious toponymy, including associations;
Hagiotoponyms	Relating to names of saints and holy figures from the Roman hagiology;
Mythotoponyms	Relating to mythological entities;

Hodotoponyms	Relating to rural or urban communication routes;
Historiotoponyms	Related to designators that encompass historical-social movements, their members, and dates relative to these events;
Numerotoponyms	Composed of numeral adjectives;
Poliotoponyms	Formed by populated clusters;
Sociotoponyms	Relating to professional activities, workplaces, and meeting points for any group;
Somatotoponyms	Related to designators in analogy to parts of the human or animal body.

Table 3. Toponyms of anthropocultural nature proposed by Dick. Source: Monteiro (2024, p. 62), based on the toponymic classification established by Dick (1990)

General Toponymic Classification of Place Names at TI Apurina Valparaíso	**Data Quantity**
i) Toponyms classified into specific taxonomies	63
ii) Toponyms with multiple classification possibilities	6
iii) Inconclusive/undefined classifications	2
TOTAL	**71**

Table 4. Results of the classification of toponyms from the Apurinã Indigenous Territory of Valparaíso in the toponymic taxa proposed by Dick (1990). Source: Monteiro (2024, 127).

Toponyms in Apurinã	**Hybrid Toponyms**	**Toponyms in Portuguese (including those originally from Tupian languages which entered Apurinã through Portuguese)**
Karuá (*Neoglaziovia variegata*)	Aldeia Central Karuã (Karuã Central Village)	Karuaru (proper name)
Kãxãry (itch)	Aldeia Joary *(Joary (Astrocaryum jauari*) Village)	Miriti (Miriti palm (Mauritia flexuosa) creek)
Kymapury (path)	Barreiro do Juarí (Clay pit of Juari)	Mucuim (Tick)
Kytãrery (water basket)	Igarapé Grande (Large creek)	Pajaú (*Triplaris Pachau*)
Makoã (proper name)	Igarapé Maruquê/Maruky (Maruquê/Maruky creek)	Paranã (River stream)
Manẽe (swamp)	Igarapé Preto (Black creek)	Piquiá (Piquiá tree (Caryocar brasiliense))
Maruky (proper name)	Igarapé Retiro (Resting creek)	Tibuçu

Sãkuã (Snook-fish (*Hoplias malabaricus*) creek))	Igarapé São Francisco (St Francis creek)	Retiro (Resting place)
Kaianamari (Canamari - ethnonym)	Kayanamari Encantados Valentes (Kayanamari Brave Enchanted)	Mamão (Papaya)
Kaykuarety (related to alligator)	Kaykuarety Encantado (Enchanted Kaykuarety)	Patoazal (Patoá tree (*Oenocarpus bataua*) grove))
	Lago Sãkuã (Snook-fish (*Hoplias malabaricus*) Lake))	2 Bocas (Two mouths)
	Maloca do Igarapé Preto (Longhouse of black creek)	Barreiro do Tibuçu (Clay pit of Tibuçu)
	Maloca do Retiro (Hut of retreat)	Boa Vista 1 (Nice View 1)
	Rio Purus (Purus River)	Boa Vista 2 (Nice View 2)
	Terra de Antônio Caboco (Land of Antônio Caboco)	Boa Vista 3 (Nice View 3)
	Terra do Açaí (Açaí (Euterpe oleracea) land)	Canudo Velho (Old straw)
		Canudo Novo (New straw)
		Fazenda Riachão (Big stream farm)
		Igarapé Anury (Anury creek)
		Igarapé Cajari (Cajari-river creek)
		Igarapé do Jiju (Jeju-Fish (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus) creek)
		Igarapé Karuaru (Caruaru creek)
		Igarapé Miriti (Miriti palm (Mauritia flexuosa) creek))
		Lago Conceição do Desterro (Lake of conception of banishment)
		Lago do Bom Lugar
		Poço do Arroz (Rice well)

		Pula-pula (jump-jump)
		Retiro Velho (Old port)
		Terra Nova (New land)
		BR 317 (Federal road 317)
		BR 319 (Federal road 319)
		BR Banco do Brasil (Bank of Brazil national road)

Table 5. List of toponyms in Apurinã, hybrid toponyms and toponyms in Portuguese. Source: Monteiro (2024, 130).

Municipality: Boca Do Acre/Am Location: Ti – Valparaíso	
Toponym: Aldeia Central Karuã	**Geographic Feature**: Village
Taxonomy: Anthroponym	
Lexical Entry/Encyclopedic Information:	
Village. [From Arabic ad-daya(t).] N. f. 1. Small settlement, inferior to a town; rustic settlement; hamlet. 2. Brazil. Settlement exclusively made up of Indigenous people; maloca. 3. Brazil. BA Rel. Terreiro (7), in caboclo candomblés; roça. 4. Anthro. Social unit consisting of a multi-family collective dwelling or a group of homes in the same place, organized politically and spatially according to its society. 5. By extension, the location occupied by this community. 6. Archaeol. Archaeological site, generally circular from 20 to 100m in diameter, with evidence such as dark soil patches, charcoal, stone and ceramic objects, construction remains, etc. 7. Brazil. RS. Group of very poorly built houses near barracks or camps where soldiers' families live. [Irregular dim.: aldeola and aldeota.]	
Central. [From Lat. centrale.] Adj. 2 g. 1. Located in the center. 2. Related to center; centric. 3. Fig. Main, fundamental, essential: central figure.~V. angle-heating-, bank-, heating-, field-, castle-, cylinder-, conic-, crater-, eclipse-, force-moment-, rib-, nucleus-, part-, peak-, point-, processor-, symmetry-, nervous system- and vowel-. N. f. 4. Place or building where certain installations are centralized: power plant. (FERREIRA, 2009, p. 439)	
Karuá name of a female Indigenous Apurinã leader living in the Apurinã TI of Valparaiso.	
Source: Apurinã Dictionary (in preparation); Ferreira (1999, p. 89, 439); FLEx Program; Chief Wãtu (Apurinã Indigenous leader of TI Valparaíso).	
Morphological Structure: Hybrid Toponym/ Specific Hybrid Element, formed by the lexical units ALDEIA + CENTRAL + KARUÁ.	

Table 6. Toponym Record for **Aldeia Central Karuá**. Source: Monteiro (2024, 77).

Municipality: Boca Do Acre/Am	**Location:** Ti – Valparaíso
Toponym: Igarapé Miriti	**Geographic Feature:** Af - River Stream
Taxonomy: Phytotoponym	
Lexical Entry/ Encyclopedic Information: **Igarapé**. From Tupi.] N. **m**. Braz. Amaz. MS Small river that shares the same characteristics as large ones and is usually navigable; the larger ones are called igarapés-açus and the smaller ones, igarapés-mirins. **Miriti.** [From Tupi mbyrytý Variant of buriti.] N. **m**. Braz. Amaz. Bot. Very tall palm tree (30-50m), native to swamps (Mauritia flexuosa), with globular fruits, whose split trunk yields a sweet and starchy juice, and whose leaves are used for roofing.	
Source: FERREIRA (1999, 1073,1343); Chief Wãtu (Apurinã Indigenous leader from the TI of Valparaíso).	
Morphological Structure: Composite Toponym/ Specific element composed of the lexical units: igarapé + miriti	

Table 7. Toponym Record for Igarapé Miriti. Source: Monteiro (2024, 99).

Municipality: Boca Do Acre/Am	**Localização:** Ti – Valparaíso
Toponym: Kymapury	**Geographic Feature:** Path
Taxonomy: Animotoponym/Hodotoponym	
Lexical Entry/ Encyclopedic Information: **Kemapury ~ Kimapury** (n.m) trajectory, path. A generic name for all land strips that lead from one place to another.	
Source: Apurinã Dictionary (in preparation); Apurinã Lexical Database ; Chief Wãtu (Apurinã Indigenous leadership of TI Valparaíso).	
Morphological Structure: Simple specific element, formed by the lexical unit: Kemapury	

Table 8. Toponym Record for Kymapury. Source: Monteiro (2024, 121).

Final Remarks

The study of Indigenous toponymy considers the significance of cultural and sociological implications, resulting in a faithful reflection of the relationship between the chosen names and the named areas. In this context, toponymic studies demonstrate that knowing certain motivational factors that lead to the choice of a specific name as a designation for a geographic area allows for more precise taxonomic analyses and classifications. Thus, awareness of extralinguistic (e.g. historical or cultural) factors facilitates the taxonomy process. In the case of linguistic aspects, we can affirm that for the accurate classification of a toponym, a set of knowledge involving semantic and morphological aspects is necessary.

Addressing the discriminative nature of the toponym in its physical-geographic aspect, the toponymy of the Apurinã Indigenous Territory of Valparaíso presents a higher quantity of phytotoponyms (toponyms related to vegetation), followed by anthroponyms (toponyms derived from personal names). From this observation, we can deduce that the relationship with the environment directly influences the cognitive and social universe of the Apurinã community of the Valparaíso Indigenous Territory. For the Apurinã culture of this Indigenous Territory, contact with flora in various contexts (medicinal, nutritional, or spiritual, for instance) is notably significant in their daily life. It is the significant interaction with flora that explains the pervasive use of words for elements of flora to label places in the Apurinã territory. As to the use of personal names, it is determined by the role of particular people in historical events that are representative of the history of the community of Valparaíso. Such people include the earliest inhabitants, and those who were often identified as significant leaders of the community.

The fossilization of toponyms in the geographic space of the Valparaíso Apurinã Indigenous Territory has occurred due to environmental destruction in this area from various development and agribusiness projects. These contexts altered the characteristics initially found in the localities at the time of naming. The toponym Igarapé Miriti, previously mentioned, names an area that has suffered intense environmental damage, and whose topography no longer corresponds to the name initially chosen; the stream has dried up and no miriti (*Mauritia flexuosa Mart*) are to be found there any more. Among the morphological classifications of toponyms, there is a prevalence of names classified as simple elements in Indigenous languages. In the category of compound toponyms, there is a greater prevalence of names in Portuguese. Since the latter are semantically more transparent, they may have been more recently coined, thus under the influence of the dominant Portuguese language. Although there are clear threats and attempts to silence the Indigenous discourse, history and cultural traditions, the Apurinã people of the Valparaíso Indigenous Territory resists by insisting on maintaining some place names within their territory in their traditional language.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that the choice of names and the drive to preserve some toponyms, especially among those belonging to the Apurinã language, on the part of the Apurinã Indigenous people themselves, are directly linked to aspects of the struggle to safeguard the identity of this people, given that these names carry with them original motivations, memory, historical aspects and constituents of this Indigenous nation. ♦

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