



Anthroponymic innovation in Bahia in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries: An interface between Anthroponomastics and Historical Morphology

A inovação antroponímica na Bahia dos séculos XIX, XX e XXI: uma
interface entre Antroponomástica e Morfologia Histórica

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to trace a historical panorama of anthroponomic innovation in Brazil by analyzing research data on the uses of anthroponyms in the State of Bahia in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. The comparison between data from other studies, such as those by Rodrigues (2016; 2019), Cunha and Souza (2017), Lopes and Soledade (2018), Simões Neto and Soledade (2018), Conceição (2018) and Soledade and Simões Neto (2020), provides an understanding of the frequency of the innovative phenomenon and its increase over the years. The article also envisions a morphological characterization of the first names found, under the perspective of the Construction Morphology framework (BOOIJ, 2010; GONÇALVES, 2016). The results point to a vertiginous growth of anthroponomic

RESUMO: Este artigo tem como objetivo traçar um panorama histórico da inovação antroponímica no Brasil por meio da análise de dados de pesquisas que abordaram os usos de antropônimos no estado da Bahia, nos séculos XIX, XX e XXI. A comparação entre os dados de pesquisas, como as de Rodrigues (2016; 2019), Cunha e Souza (2017), Lopes e Soledade (2018), Simões Neto e Soledade (2018), Conceição (2018) e Soledade e Simões Neto (2020), permite entender a frequência do fenômeno inovador, observando se há incremento deste no decorrer dos anos. O trabalho também vislumbra uma caracterização morfológica dos prenomes encontrados, tendo como aporte teórico o modelo da Morfologia Construcional (BOOIJ, 2010; GONÇALVES, 2016). Os resultados apontam para um crescimento

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innovation, starting from the mid-20th century, as well as to the setting of a biformative pattern that has been recurring since the first cases of innovative names.

vertiginoso da inovação antroponímica, a partir da segunda metade do século XX, e para a fixação de um padrão biformativo que se revela recorrente desde os primeiros casos de nomes inovadores.

KEYWORDS: Onomastics. Anthroponomastics. Anthroponymic innovation. Historical morphology.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Onomástica. Antroponomástica. Inovação antroponímica. Morfologia histórica.

1 Introduction

Onomastics, as a science, is dedicated to studying proper nouns in their various natures, such as the names of people, places, plants, saints, literary characters, trademarks, etc. Among its most recognized subareas are Toponomastics – which is concerned with proper nouns for places, known as “toponyms” – and Anthroponomastics – the study of people’s names, the “anthroponyms”. In this research, we deal more specifically with anthroponymic innovation, that is, the process that involves the creation of new first names – namely, the element(s) that make(s) up the individual’s civil registry and that precedes the surname(s) or family name(s).

There are two main objectives for this work. The first is to historicize Brazilian anthroponymic innovation based on research data on the uses of anthroponyms in the state of Bahia in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. The following ventures stand out: Rodrigues (2016; 2019), Cunha and Souza (2017), Lopes and Soledade (2018), Simões Neto and Soledade (2018; 2020) and Conceição (2018). Comparing these studies’ data allows us to understand the frequency of in the occurrences of the innovative phenomenon and its potential increase over the years.

The second objective is to characterize such data morphologically, explaining the word-formation processes involved in the creation of these innovative names in Brazilian anthroponymy. This approach aims at contributing to the number of studies in Anthroponomastics that have taken the morphological approach to proper nouns in recent times. Some of these studies are Monteiro (2002), Soledade (2012; 2018; 2019),

Rodrigues (2016; 2019), Cunha and Souza (2017), Simões Neto and Rodrigues (2017), Simões Neto and Soledade (2018; 2020), Conceição (2018), Soledade, Lopes and Rodrigues (2019), Alves de Souza (2019) and Benfica da Silva (2019).

Particularly, Soledade (2012; 2018; 2019), Rodrigues (2016; 2019), Cunha and Souza (2017) and Soledade, Lopes and Rodrigues (2019) articulate morphological and historical aspects of Brazilian anthroponymic innovation and agree that there is a proximity between the Germanic model of anthroponymic formation – the bithematic composition (PIEL, 1989 [1960]) – and the contemporary trends of anthroponymic formation in Brazil. Because of this, in this article we emphasize the Germanic pattern of anthroponymic creation. According to Soledade (2018), this model, in addition to persisting in the structuring of innovative Brazilian anthroponyms, serves as the basis for organizing new morphological models of lexical creation related to people's names.

This article is organized as follows: Section 2 addresses the Germanic legacy for Brazilian anthroponymy and its relationship with the anthroponyms' bithematic constructions; Section 3 explains the theoretical and methodological differences between bithematic and biformative creations; Section 4 presents the corpora from which the names analyzed in this work were obtained, as well as the analysis criteria; Section 5 reports data analysis; Section 6 lays out this paper's final considerations, followed by our references.

2 The Germanic legacy: the bithematic model

The reason for the specific consideration of Germanic onomastics revolves around historical aspects and is given, in this research, in line with the reasons pointed out by Rodrigues (2019, p. 9), “[...]part of the Portuguese onomastic personative lexical framework is related to Germanic influence, a result of the contact with Latin (and,

later, with Portuguese in formation) in the Iberian Peninsula”¹. The author considers that this influence does not occur from a synchronic perspective, but from the linguistic contact that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula in the period of German invasions (5th century AD). This influence must have been established after the domination of the Arab peoples from North Africa (from the 8th century AD to the 15th century AD). Such statement would thus be based on ideological and religious reasons, as we will explain below.

It is difficult to determine exactly when contact between Germanic and Roman peoples in the Iberian Peninsula began. Some researchers, such as Molinari (2009), point to the late 2nd century and the mid-3rd century, when Germanic warriors began to integrate the Roman army to strengthen it (the *foederati*, or “federates”, “allies”). We use this generalizing concept of “Germanic peoples” for didactic purposes, since it would not be possible to deal with certain particularities regarding the subject in this article. However, we are aware that grouping them together gives a false idea of common identity. According to Piel (1933, p. 105), these Germanic peoples were “[...] a heterogeneous mixture of peoples from different origin: Suevos, Vandals (Silingos and Asdingos), Alanos, Godos, and so on, today friends, tomorrow enemies, with little more in common than the extremely vague designation of ‘Germans’”².

It is in the 5th century, however, that we will find some determining facts concerning this relationship. After the weakening of the Roman Empire, the so-called Germanic peoples (particularly the Suebi and Visigoths) scattered throughout the Iberian Peninsula and started ruling it in a monarchical political organization. They joined the former inhabitants of the region, giving rise to the Hispano-Goth population

¹ “[...] uma vez que parte do arcabouço lexical onomástico personativo português está relacionada à influência germânica, fruto do contato com o latim (e, posteriormente, com o português em formação) na Península Ibérica”

² “[...] uma mistura heterogênea de povos de diferente origem: Suevos, Vândalos (Silingos e Asdingos), Alanos, Godos, etc., hoje amigos, amanhã inimigos e que pouco mais têm de comum do que a designação extremamente vaga de ‘germanos’”

of the Christian religion. However, due to political crises and problems of different orders, they lost administrative control in 711, with the arrival of the Arabs, who started to command the territory.

After this conquest, which interrupts the Christian kingdom due to the adoption of Islamism, part of the Hispano-Goth people who did not join the new administration took refuge in the North of the Iberian Peninsula, where they organized, for more than 700 years, the retaking of the territory, a period in history known as “Reconquering”. In the context of this dispute between Arabs and Hispanic-Goths, the relegated Hispanic-Goths, mostly to the North of the Peninsula, often used, for many centuries, anthroponyms linked to German origins as a form of prestige, as opposed to the Arab anthroponyms. This reflects the fact that the greatest influence of the Arab lexicon is found in the common lexicon, whereas the German influence stood out in the lexicon of proper nouns, something which is confirmed by Teyssier (1998, p. 17): “[...] a large number of names of people (Fernando, Rodrigo, Álvaro, Gonçalo, Afonso, etc.), as well as toponyms (Guitiriz, Gomesende, Gondomar, Sendim, Guimarães, etc.) go back to the Suebi and the Visigoths”³.

This brief historical section explains why, until today, first names such as “Francisco”, “Fernando”, “Eduardo”, “Adelia”, “Adalgisa”, and many others are still frequently observed in Brazilian onomastics, as they have become part of our anthroponymy through the colonizer-colonized linguistic flow. Having explained this context, we discuss in the next section why we understand that the anthroponymic model used to form Germanic names still finds reverberation in the current Brazilian personal nouns’ system.

³ “[...] grande número de nomes de pessoas (Fernando, Rodrigo, Álvaro, Gonçalo, Afonso, etc.), assim como de topônimos (Guitiriz, Gomesende, Gondomar, Sendim, Guimarães, etc.) remontam aos Suevos e aos Visigodos”

3 From the bithematic model to the biformative model

Soledade (2018) addresses more closely what she identifies as a “biformative hypothesis”. The author argues that biformative constructions, among which we can also include constructions with formatives that occupy the right end, are key for understanding the anthroponymic revolution of the 20th century. These are processes of a different nature, which are organized around a prototypical behavior that consists of considering the confluence of two anthroponymic morphic components as the basic process of the Brazilian first names’ formation.

The biformative constructions seem to have a close relationship with the bithematic model of names of Germanic origins. This is because, on the one hand, these names of Germanic origins, which were left to us by the colonization process or later incorporated through the influence of foreign languages, such as French or English, present a wide set of examples capable of providing bases for schematic generalizations, even offering recurrent formatives for the construction of anthroponyms, for example: *Ed-*, *Ad-*, *Adal-*, *-aldo*, *-berto*, *-mir*, among many others. On the other hand, the bithematic/biformative model of names of Germanic origins presents a very significant frequency in Portuguese, and we can consider them to be so largely embedded in the Brazilian anthroponymic system that it is being increasingly reinforced by innovative constructions. For example, the frequency of names like Adalberto (47,995 m.), Alberto (108,018 m.) and Roberto (435,832 m.) allowed for the generalization that originates the scheme $[[X]_{F1} [-berto]_{F2}]_{NP} \boxed{\leftrightarrow}$ [male first name]_{NP}, through which names like Ariberto (618 m.), Felisberto (3,680 m.), Joberto (385 m.), Joseberto (156), and Vanberto (555 m.) have been created.⁴

⁴ In this paragraph, the indications in parentheses with numbers followed by the expression “m.” refer to the number of Brazilian male individuals registered with this first name according to the 2010 IBGE Census’ Names in Brazil page. Throughout the article, we shall again present numbers indicated in parentheses with the same function; however, when they do not present the expression “m.”, it is because they refer to first names of both genders.

According to Piel (1989 [1960]), the Germanic naming system, as well as the Greek and the Indo-European models, has frequently used the bithematic formation, with two common lexical elements used to form one personal compound. This is the, for instance, of *Teodorico* (*Teodo* “people” + *rikus* “rich, powerful”), with the second component amenable to removal (*Teoda*) or replacement with another formative (*Teod* + *-ila*).

The data we took from Volume II about the proper nouns in the *Etymological Dictionary of the Portuguese Language*, by Nascentes (1952), validates Piel’s assumptions (1989 [1960]), as most of the names listed there as of Germanic or Gothic origins have a bithematic structure. Out of the 450 names whose etymon is registered as having Germanic origin (indicated in its entry as “From Germanic” or “From Gothic”), 86% have its formation based on the combination of two themes of the common or proper lexicon, as we can see in the examples taken from Nascentes (1952):

- ANSELMO – male noun. Male name. From the Germanic *Anse*, name of gods from Germanic mythology, and *helm*, helmet, the the Anses serve, from *elmb*, protected by the Anses (LV, Op., III, 82, Antr., 69, Nunes, RL, XXXI, 55 Weekley, Surnames)⁵.
- BERNARDO – male noun. Male name. From the Germanic *bern*, variant of *ber*, bear, and *ardo*, de *hart*, strong, strong bear of strong as a bear (LV, Lições, 220, Antr., 55, 449, Nunes, RL, XXXII, 64. Drummond, Cortesão, Subsídios, Diez, Gram., I, 289, Dauzat, NP, 30)⁶.
- EDUARDO – male noun. Male name. From the Germanic: Anglo-Saxon *ead*, wealth, goods and *ward*, guard, guard of wealth (Nunes, RL, XXXII,

⁵ ANSELMO- s.m. Nome de homem. Do germânico *Anse*, nome de deuses da mitologia germânica, e *helm*, elmo, aquele a quem os Anses servem, de *elmb*, protegido pelos Anses (LV, Op., III, 82, Antr., 69, Nunes, RL, XXXI, 55 Weekley, Surnames).

⁶ BERNARDO- s.m. Nome de homem. Do germânico: *bern*, variante de *ber*, urso, e *ardo*, de *hart*, forte, urso forte ou forte como um urso (LV, Lições, 220, Antr., 55, 449, Nunes, RL, XXXII, 64. Drummond, Cortesão, Subsídios, Diez, Gram., I, 289, Dauzat, NP, 30).

104, Century. Leite de Vasconcelos, Op., III, 96, Antrp., 59. According to Leite de Vasconcelos, the name came through Spanish)⁷.

- FERDINANDO - male noun. Male name. From the Germanic: old. high german *fridu*, modern german *Friede*, peace, and gothic. *Nanthjan*, dare, daring in or for peace (Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, Meyer-Lubke, *Die alportugiesiche Personennamen*, I, 28, 72, qtd. in Leite de Vasconcelos, Antr., 39)⁸.

Therefore, we identified the adaptation of this bithematic model to the biformative model in the first names of the vernacular innovative type. However, the biformative constructions in Brazil are reinforced in names that follow construction patterns with formations on the right end, several of them of Latin/Romanesque origins, such as -ano (Marceliano), -ane (Franciane), -ana (Adilana), -ele (Franciele), -ino (Marcelino), -ito (Carlito), among others.

In the Brazilian anthroponymic system, biformativity arises both from the use of common lexicon themes – such as Brisamar (60), Luzimar (12,272), Mariluz (827), Rosaflor (2), Rosaluz (2) – and the use of formative elements from the personal names system, such as Cristinaldo (147), Carlealdo (2), Francleide (122), Julisson (67), Micaele (17,571), Narajulia (2), Analice (16,400); combinations of common themes with anthroponymic formations, as in Analuz (110), Flormaria (6), Luzana (270) and Luzemilia (1)⁹.

The prevalence of the biformative structures hypothesis has found support in the data set collected from *Novo Dicionário de Nomes em Uso no Brasil* [New Dictionary

⁷ EDUARDO- s.m. Nome de homem. Do germânico: anglo-saxônio ead, riqueza, bens e ward, guarda, guarda da riqueza (Nunes, RL, XXXII, 104, Century. Leite de Vasconcelos, Op., III, 96, Antrp., 59. Segundo Leite de Vasconcelos o nome veio através do espanhol.

⁸ FERDINANDO- s.m. Nome de homem. Do germânico: ant. alto al. fridu, al. mod. Friede, paz, e gót. Nanthjan, ousar, ousado na ou pela paz (Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, Meyer-Lubke, *Die alportugiesiche Personennamen*, I, 28, 72, apud Leite de Vasconcelos, Antr., 39).

⁹ Examples with an occurrence number above 10 were collected on the *Names in Brazil* platform (IBGE), while examples with a frequency below 10 were collected on *Facebook*.

of Names in Use in Brazil].¹⁰ The innovative names found in the aforementioned project instantiate a biformative construction in more than 90% of cases. As an example, 83 instances were found with the formative *Ade-* on the left end, which is added to a formative or first name that occupies the right end of the word, as is the case of: *Adegildo, Adeilma, Adeilton, Adejanira, Adelaine, Adeliana, Adelina, Ademara, Ademiro, Adenice*, among others.

We have used the term “biformative” to replace the term “bithematic”, which is traditionally used to refer to anthroponyms of Germanic origin that use two common lexicon themes for the most part. This stance is based on the consideration that it would not be theoretically appropriate to use the term “bithematic” for the innovative constructions in Brazilian anthroponymy. This is due to two main factors: a) regarding the innovative anthroponymic constructions in Brazil, it is not always possible to find a theme, that is, a free form in the language, because what we have are often fixed forms, which have high recurrence rate in the first name system in more or less stable positions, like an affix (such as *Ade-* on the left end, and *-ilma* on the right end); b) the terminology used by traditional lexical morphology does not seem to elegantly and efficiently fit the theoretical/descriptive assumptions of constructional morphology, considered here as a basis for the study of the construction of innovative anthroponyms.

In other words, the biformative constructional schemes of innovative anthroponyms in Brazil, according to the parameters of Booij’s constructional morphology (2010), can be formally described as: <[[X]_{F1} [Y]_{F2}]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [person’s name]_{NP}>. Therefore, we have, for example: <[[Franci]_{F1} [ele]_{F2}]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [female person’s name]_{NP}> and <[[Franci]_{F1} [valdo]_{F2}]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [male person’s name]_{NP}>.

¹⁰ The *Novo Dicionário de Nomes em Uso no Brasil* project currently integrates a group of 10 professors and 12 research students, under the coordination of Professor Juliana Soledade, at the University of Brasília.

4 Methodology and corpora

In this article, we evaluate Soledade's (2018) hypothesis that Brazilian anthroponomic innovation is guided by a productive pattern of biformative structuring, based on anthroponomic uses in Bahia from the 19th to the 21st century. To this end, data from previous studies that have used varied approaches to people's names were revisited, namely: Rodrigues (2016; 2019), Cunha & Souza (2017), Lopes & Soledade (2018), Simões Neto & Soledade (2018), and Conceição (2018).

Some criteria were established to classify a first name as innovative. In this article, we used the criteria proposed in the extinct project *Todos os Nomes* [Every Name], carried out from 2007 through 2009 at the Federal University of Bahia and coordinated by professors Ariadne Almeida, Juliana Soledade and Tânia Lobo, members of the Programa para a História da Língua Portuguesa [Program for the History of the Portuguese Language] (PROHPOR).

In the previous project, a first name was considered innovative when it was not in the etymological onomastic dictionaries by Antenor Nascentes (1952), José Pedro Machado (2003) or in the Bible (Biblical names are considered traditional). We added the dictionary by Mansur Guérios (1981) to this list of reference for its representativeness in terms of lexicographic works focused on Portuguese-speaking anthroponymy.

The following table presents the works whose data were revisited and reanalyzed, as well as the sources (dated and localized) and the phenomena investigated in each work.

Table 1 – Studies on first names in 19th, 20th, and 21st-century Bahia.

Authors	Sources	Phenomena studied
Rodrigues (2016)	List of those who passed the UFBA ¹¹ entrance exam in 2005 (21st century)	Anthroponymic innovation with Germanic formatives
Cunha and Souza (2017)	Entry requirements for new members of <i>Sociedade Protetora dos Desqualidos</i> (Salvador/BA), from mid-19th century to the first decades of the 20th century	Etymological, socio-historical, and morphological study of anthroponymic uses
Lopes and Soledade (2018)	Wedding book of Freguesia de São Braz de Taperoá/BA in 1856 and 1857 (19th century)	Etymological, socio-historical, and morphological study of anthroponymic uses
Simões Neto and Soledade (2018)	List of those who passed the UNEB ¹² entrance exam in 2016 and 2017 (21st century)	Traditional and innovative male names with the formative <i>-son</i>
Conceição (2018)	List of those who passed the UEFS ¹³ entrance exam in 2017 and 2018 (21st century)	Anthroponymic gallicisms and neologisms with formatives of French origin
Rodrigues (2019)	Names in four volumes of <i>Livros dos Termos dos Irmãos</i> , from 1893 to 2014 (19th-21st century)	Anthroponymic innovation with German-based formatives

Source: produced by the authors.

To trace the phenomenon's history, we present the works chronologically. The first work belongs to Lopes and Soledade (2018), who studied anthroponomic uses in the city of Taperoá/BA in 1856 and 1857, which helps us reflect upon the diffusion of anthroponyms in that territory in the 19th century. Data consists of personal items in the Wedding Book of Freguesia de São Braz de Taperoá in the abovementioned years. Lopes and Soledade (2018) comment the following about this corpus:

¹¹ Federal University of Bahia.

¹² State University of Bahia.

¹³ State University of Feira de Santana.

Of the *corpus* of 556 full personal names (excluding repetitions), 308 refer to male nomination, while the remaining 248 are linked to female identification. 212 first names and 146 different surnames are found, excluding repetitions and spelling variations (LOPES; SOLEDADE, 2018, p. 150, emphasis given by the original authors)¹⁴.

None of the 212 first names analyzed by Lopes and Soledade (2018) could be considered innovative, as they reflect the Lusitanian-Catholic tradition. One might wonder why we consider this database as it contains no records of innovative names. The answer is simple: no data is also data. The absence of innovative anthroponyms in Taperoá's 19th-century onomastic framework leads us to the realization that anthroponymic innovation, which was often used to differentiate Brazil from Portugal (CASTRO, 2004; 2005), was not yet widespread at that time.

This observation is corroborated by Cunha and Souza (2017), who worked with anthroponyms registered in the entry requirements for new members of Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos (SPD), a brotherhood of color (Salvador/BA). Their data of 649 first names cover part of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. Also following the criteria of the *Todos os Nomes* project, the authors proposed that 627 out of these 649 first names were traditional names, while the remaining 22 were considered neologisms/innovative. These 22 so-called innovative names – which do not make up 4% of the sample – were included in this article.

The corpus analyzed by Rodrigues (2019) corresponds to the archives of Terceira Ordem do Carmo [*Third Order of the Carmo*], located in the Historic Center of Salvador/BA. Such archives are composed of 10 volumes of *Livros dos Termos dos Irmãos*; the last four books were analyzed due to the historical period they comprised. Books 7, 8, 9 and 10 cover the period from 1893 through 2014, i.e., from late 19th

¹⁴ “Do *corpus* de 556 nomes personativos completos (excluídas as repetições), 308 fazem referência à nomeação masculina, enquanto os 248 restantes ligam-se à identificação feminina. Depreendem-se 212 prenomes e 146 sobrenomes diferentes, excluídas as repetições e as variações ortográficas (LOPES; SOLEDADE, 2018, p. 150, grifo dos autores).

century through early 21st century. These books are composed, respectively, by 796, 500, 500 and 164 application forms, making up a total of 1960 first names for analysis. However, only 807 were considered first names from the state of Bahia. The application forms, when complete, contain information about the application date, the date of taking up the habit, profession, place of birth, age, and marital status. Rodrigues (2019) raised the hypothesis that there would be an increase in innovation in Bahian anthroponomy after two events, both in 1888: 1) the establishment of Decree No 9886, according to which all Brazilian municipalities should have a registration office, removing this power from the Catholic Church, and 2) the Abolition of Slavery.

After analyzing the four books, Rodrigues (2019) found that 46 first names met the criteria for innovation by using formatives that are partially or fully linked to Germanic origin. The distribution of these occurrences were as follows: 3 first names in Book 7, 10 first names in Book 8, 20 first names in Book 9, and 13 first names in Book 10, which confirms that time was indeed an important factor for the timid – yet growing – increase in the tendency to use innovative first names. Furthermore, Rodrigues (2019) considers that these numbers could have been even more expressive had it not been for the vast presence of first names such as *Maria, José, Ana, João, Antônio* and *Manoel*, which would have influenced his work quantitatively. These numbers could also be higher if individuals born in other states or innovative first names that did not contain formatives partially or fully linked to Germanic origins had not been discarded.

Rodrigues (2016) worked with a corpus of 3,986 first names taken from the list of candidates approved in the UFBA entrance exam in 2005. Following the methodology of the *Todos dos Nomes* project, the author focused on the first names considered innovative that had in their morphological structure formatives of Germanic origin. He worked with all letters of the alphabet, with the exception of the letter A, which had already been studied by Priscila Possidônio in the unpublished

2007 article “A criação de nomes próprios no português brasileiro: aspectos mórficos da neologia antroponímica” developed within the scope of *Todos os Nomes*. Overall, 96 out of the 897 first names considered innovative contained formatives of Germanic origin.

Simões Neto and Soledade (2018) also worked with a list of approved students for a university in the state of Bahia, UNEB. They analyzed 96 male names ending in *-son* in the 2016 and 2017 entrance exam list of approved applicants, including *Anderson, Jefferson, Emerson, Radson, Talison, Erickson, and Esteferson*. The names were analyzed from an etymological point of view based on the Portuguese onomastic dictionaries by Nascentes (1952) and Machado (2003), in addition to English dictionaries, such as those by Arthur (1857) and Reaney and Willson (2006). As a result, 16 first names were considered traditional, while 80 were treated as innovative.

Simões Neto and Soledade (2018) also used the list of approved names in Portugal, which can be found on the Instituto dos Registos e do Notariado de Portugal website, and the platform Nomes no Brasil, available on the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística website. Based on these sources, they were able to observe the trajectory of the anthroponymic pattern *X-son* in the creation of innovative first names in Brazil, from its English importation to the development of splinters (which is a fragment of a word that is used in the formation of new words), such as *X-erson (Kleverson), X-irson (Wivirson), X-elson (Edielson) and X-ilson (Natailson)*.

Finally, Conceição (2018) worked with traditional first names of French origin and innovative names created with French formatives, such as *-ane, -ele, -ene, and -ine*. These data were obtained through a selection made from a list of approved candidates in UEFS entrance exam in the first terms of 2017 and 2018. Overall, the author worked with 90 different first names, which were consulted on the abovementioned Portuguese onomastic dictionaries. Through this process, 32 names were considered traditional Gallicisms, such as *Aline, Ane, Carine, Catarine, Denisei, Danielle, Gabrielle,*

Francine, Juliete, Louise, Monique and Viviane, while 58 were treated as “Brazilianisms” with French origin formatives, such as *Aldeane, Camiliane, Edianny, Indiane, Joceane, Joseane, Suleane, Tatiane, Tailane, Franciele, Janyelle, Jussielly, Mariele, Nathielle, Tatiele, Valnielli, Cheyenne, Ediene, Eliene, Francilene, Lucilene, Adrine, Djauline, Juline, Sabrina*, and *Noeliny*.

5 Data analysis

In Cunha and Souza’s (2017) study about 649 first names from the SPD’s list of applicants, the data are analyzed quantitatively without considering repetitions. Table 2, in which the author analyzes the most recurring root words, shows that innovation in Bahian anthroponymy in the 19th century is restricted to a small percentage, with only 4% of first names without identifiable root words.

Table 2 – Data from the SPD requirements.

ANTHROPONYMS AND THEIR ROOT WORDS		
Root word	Occurrences	Percentage (%)
Anthroponyms of Latin etymology	242	37%
Anthroponyms of Greek etymology	156	24%
Anthroponyms of Hebrew etymology	91	14%
Anthroponyms of Germanic etymology	83	13%
Anthroponyms of Gothic etymology	13	2%
Anthroponyms of Syro-Hebrew etymology	10	2%
Anthroponyms of Italian etymology	9	1,38%
Anthroponyms of Slavic etymology	8	1,23%
Anthroponyms of Norse etymology	7	1,07%
Anthroponyms of Aramaic etymology	6	0,92%
Anthroponyms of Celtic etymology	1	0,15%
Anthroponyms of Russian etymology	1	0,15%
Anthroponyms without identification	22	4%
TOTAL	649	100%

Source: produced by the authors and adapted from Cunha & Souza (2017).

Out of the 22 first names with roots that were classified as “without identification”, 13 do not seem to represent intentional innovations, as they are

apparently the result of a graphic-phonetic alteration of traditional names. Consider the cases below:

- *Colnel*: possibly a variant of *Coronel*;
- *Damário*: possibly a variant of *Damásio*, perhaps by influence of *Mário*;
- *Furtuoso*: possibly a variant of *Frutuoso*, perhaps by influence of the word “furto”, which means *theft*;
- *Guardino*: possibly a variant of *Galdino*;
- *Ludugero*: possibly a variant of *Ludgero*;
- *Martiliano*: possibly a variant of *Martiniano*;
- *Miquilino*: possibly a variant of *Miquelino*;
- *Noberto*: possibly a variant of *Norberto*;
- *Timote*: possibly a variant of *Timóteo*;
- *Tintiliano*: possibly a variant of *Quintiliano*;
- *Tintino*: possibly a variant of *Quintino*;
- *Simião*: possibly a variant of *Simeão*;
- *Sinfônio*: possibly a variant of *Sinfrônio*.

In these first names, almost all changes in spelling are justified by metaplasmatic processes of phonic alteration. For example, in *Tintiliano* and *Tintino* we would have an assimilation process in which /k/ > /t/; we will not, however, address this level of analysis.

However, the most relevant part of the data concerns the eight first names with formation processes in which we can find biformative constructions: *Bibiano*, *Idalino*, *Berenito*, *Miguelino*, *Crecentino*, *Braziliano*, *Sisniano* and *Astêncio*. Two of these first names stand out initially for employing the formative *-o* to make the transcategorization from female to male gender. Therefore, we have:

- *Bibiano*: <[[Bibian]_{F1} [o]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (from *Bibiana*)
- *Idalino*: <[[Idalin]_{F1} [o]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (from *Idalina*)

In another case, the transcategorization from female to male gender is made by the formative *-ito*:

- *Berenito*: <[[Beren]_{F1} [ito]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (probably from *Berenice*)

Four first names are generated by biformative processes that consider the right-end affixes *-ino* and *-ano*, namely:

- *Miguelino*: <[[Miguel]_{F1} [ino]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (from *Miguel*)
- *Crecentino*: <[[Crecent]_{F1} [ino]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (from the adjective *crescente*)
- *Braziliano*: <[[Brazil]_{F1} [iano]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (from the toponym *Brazil*)
- *Sisniano*: <[[Sisni]_{F1} [ano]_{F2}]_{NP} ⇔ [male first name]_{NP}> (the origins of the first formative were not identified, but perhaps it comes from *cisne*).

The authors report a single case that they identified as lexical blending, which they consider to be “[...] a phenomenon quite common in neological anthroponyms created in Brazil, such as, for example, *Adilana* (*Adilson* + *Ana*), *Luzemile* (*Luiza* + *Emílio*)” (CUNHA; SOUZA, 2017, p. 279, emphasis added). This would be the case for:

- *Astêncio*: <[[Ast]_{F1} [êncio]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}> (from the possible combination of *Astolfo* and *Juvêncio* or *Gaudêncio*)

Finally, Cunha and Souza (2017) report a name for which it was not possible to identify the creation process. The name is *Vinisimo*, which is no longer in use in Brazil.

Rodrigues (2019) found 46 innovative first names created through formatives that are partially or fully linked to a Germanic origin. Table 3 provides the list of these first names and the period in which they occurred.

Table 3 – Innovative first names and time of their occurrences according to Rodrigues (2019).

Innovative first names	Period of occurrence
<i>Durvalgisa, Eterelvina ~ Etirelvina, Hormina</i>	1897-1902
<i>Athalydio, Cardulina, Carlito, Ederval, Hildeth ~ Hyldeth, Loroastro, Lyderico, Raulinda, Reine, Vilobaldo</i>	1922-1936
<i>Adalicio, Clemilton, Crisaldete, Dilza, Eurivalda, Everalina, Gelsa, Genebaldo, Gilton, Hildélia ~ Hyldélia, Hildete, Hyldéa, Ironilde, Lindinalva, Marinaldo, Norete, Rahilda, Waldelir, Wiveraldo</i>	1937-1980
<i>Adailton, Ailton, Avanildes, Deuzimar, Edval ~ Edival, Ilma, Joilson, Nilzete, Nilzete, Railda, Valdiva, Valney, Waldete</i>	1980-2014

Fonte: produced by the authors and adapted from Rodrigues (2019).

The author analyzed these first names according to the Germanic formatives identified in their constructions. He found the following set of items: *Adal-*, *Ald-* ~ *ald/Nald-* ~ *-nald/Vald-* ~ *-vald*, *-astr*, *Bald-* ~ *-bald*, *Ed-* ~ *Ede-* ~ *Edi-*, *-elza* ~ *-ilza* ~ *-ilze*, *Gil-*, *Ild-* ~ *-ild*, *-lin*, *Lind-* ~ *-lind*, *Mar-* ~ *-mar*, *-ric*, *-son* and *-ton*, *Val-* ~ *-val*¹⁵.

Rodrigues (2019) considered: a) the origin or etymology of each formative – according to the etymological dictionaries by Förstemann (1900), Nascentes (1952),

¹⁵ The use of the graphic element "~" in the formatives indicates that the same item appears occupying different positions in the innovative compound or in the formative in an allomorph situation, as is the case of *Ed-* ~ *Ede-* ~ *Edi-*. When the "~" appears in the data of Rodrigues (2019) in reference to two innovative first names, such as *Eterelvina* ~ *Etirelvina*, it means that the same first name appeared in the corpus with both spellings as the author has worked with handwritten documents.

Guérios (1981), Machado (2003), as well as the findings of Piel (1933), in addition to the presentation of traditional first names found in the aforementioned works, which probably served as a model for innovative first names; b) comparisons between innovative names and their formatives, and Rodrigues's (2016) conclusions, including those regarding the frequency of each formative in both works; c) the frequency of use of first names in the Brazilian onomastic framework, according to the page *Nomes no Brasil*, whose data refer to the 2010 IBGE Census; d) the morphic segmentation of the innovative first names found, in order to identify the bithematic/biformative inheritance, as they are believed to have been inherited from Germanic peoples; e) matters specific to each first name, such as cases of gender transcategorization, graphic-phonetic changes, and so on; f) the understanding of constructional schemes, considering the position occupied (initial position/base towards the left, final position/base towards the right, or absolute position) by the formatives in the innovative first names also in comparison to the traditional first names of the same formative that might have served as a model for the emergence of innovative constructions.

In addition to investigating each formative, Rodrigues (2019) did specific analysis for certain first names, because he believed that these also fit specific situations, namely: 1) the use of diminutive formatives *-ito* and *-ete*, seen in the names *Carlito* and *Norete*; 2) the construction of the name *Durvalgisa*, which, instead of being created through formatives being put together, involved the use of the traditional name *Durval* in its structure, as it was found in the Brazilian onomastic lexicon; 3) the similarity of the innovative name *Eterelvina* ~ *Etirelvina* to the traditional names *Etelredo* and *Etelvina*, a consideration made by the author to accomplish the morphic segmentation [ETE(RE)L- + -VINA ~ ETI(RE)L- + -VINA], marked by the insertion of *-re-* to what could have corresponded to the Germanic *ethel*; 4) the similarity of the innovative name *Hormina* to the traditional names *Hermina* and *Hirmina*,

characterizing a lightly graphic-phonetic alteration; 5) the consideration of the name *Ilma* as being a transcategorization of the Germanic *helm*'s gender. Rodrigues (2019) also noted that, although *Ilma* was not found in any consulted Portuguese onomastic and etymological dictionary, it is already a recognized name in Brazil's onomastic collection since before the 1930s, appearing in the register of more than 30 thousand individuals; besides, as the formative *-ilma*, it appears in the construction of innovative first names in a way that there is not an aspect of neology to them; 6) the hypothesis of a case of transcategorization of the common name in German *reine*, which is an inflection of *rein* and means "clean", "pure", "noble", for the first name *Reine*.

Furthermore, Rodrigues (2016) presented a proposal for data analysis similar to that in Rodrigues (2019), also considering formatives that are partially or fully connected to a Germanic origin, aiming to identify the inheritance of the bithematic/biformative model in the innovative first names that he found in his corpus. Likewise, the author made use of the dictionaries by Nascentes (1952) and Machado (2003) to identify not only the first names considered innovative, but also the formatives involved in these constructions, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 – Innovative first names and its formatives, according to Rodrigues (2016).

Formative	Occurrences in the corpus
-aldo ~ -naldo ~ -valdo	<i>Ederaldo, Edinaldo, Elivaldo, Enaldo, Erisvaldo, Florisvaldo, Francinaldo, Lenivaldo, Rosinaldo, Serivaldo, Zenaldo</i>
-berg	<i>Ivanberg, Jhosemberg</i>
Del-	<i>Delci, Deleni, Delma, Delsilene, Delson</i>
Ed- ~ Edi- ~ Ede-	<i>Edclea, Edeilice, Edemario, Edenildo, Edenilton, Ederaldo, Ederoval, Ediana, Edie, Edijane, Edileide, Edilene, Edilla, Edinaldo, Edineia, Edirlainne, Edjane, Edmagno, Edmara, Edmildes, Edvania, Edwardes</i>
-elma ~ -ilma	<i>Delma, Elenilma, Gracielma, Odeilma</i>
-elza ~ -ilza ~ -ilze	<i>Dailze, Ilza (2 occurrences), Gilza, Jailza, Joelza</i>
Franci-	<i>Franciane, Francielle, Francinaldo, Francineia, Francislai</i>
Ger-	<i>Gersinio, Geroal</i>
Gil-	<i>Gilcimar, Gilmar (5 occurrences), Gilmara, Gilneia, Gilsie, Gilsimar, Gilza</i>
-ilda ~ -ildes ~ -ildo	<i>Cazildete, Edenildo, Edmildes, Ivanilda, Ivanildes, Josenilda, Nildes, Renilda, Roquildes, Wanildo</i>
-land	<i>Cleslandir, Giorlando</i>
Lind-	<i>Lindomar</i>
-mar	<i>Damares, Edmara, Eliomar, Gilcimar, Gilmar (5 occurrences), Gilmara, Gilsimar, Josimara, Lindomar, Lucimar, Lucimara (2 occurrences), Neomar, Neumar, Nilmara</i>
-mir	<i>Valmiro</i>
Val- ~ -val	<i>Ederoval, Gerval, Josival, Julival, Rudival, Sonival, Valdelia, Valdir (2 occurrences), Valmiro, Valnei</i>
Van- ~ -van	<i>Denivan, Vandilson</i>

Source: produced by the authors and adapted from Rodrigues (2016).

Rodrigues's (2016) data analysis focused on identifying bithematic/biformative inheritance through morphic segmentation, which, according to his data and considering the traditional first names that possibly acted as models (even though the

author does not propose construction schemes), also enabled us to infer the position occupied by each formative, as well as the presentation of quantitative data about productivity. Rodrigues (2016) also addresses specific issues, such as cases of gender transcategorization, graphic-phonetic alterations, diminutive formations (such as *-ete* and *-ita*) and innovative first-name morphological formation processes, such as acronyms (i.e., mixture of syllables or phonemes of onomastic items). In general, we can say that Soledade's hypothesis (2018) regarding the existence of a biformative pattern involving the creation of innovative first names in Brazil is also confirmed by the data analyzed by Rodrigues (2016; 2019) referring to Germanic formatives.

Simões Neto and Soledade's (2018) data were extracted from the list of approved students at the UNEB entrance exam in 2016 and 2017. The authors worked with 96 names ending in *-son*. The first step was to identify those originated in English, functioning as patronymics in that language. Considering the graphic variants, 16 names fit this situation¹⁶: *Abson, Adson, Alisson, Anderson, Edson, Emerson, Erickson, Harrison, Hudson, Jackson, Jefferson, Madson, Neilson, Nelson, Nilson, and Robson*. If we think of the original functioning of these names in English, we can assume the following scheme:

(a) <[[X]_{F1} [-son]_{F2}]_{NP} \square [surname that denotes the offspring of X]_{NP}>

The diagram in (a) shows a variable part: the slot X is filled with the name of the family patriarch. This would be the first formative (F1). The patronymic suffix *-son* is added to that name, the second formative (F2). In this scheme, the predicted meaning is "a surname that marks X's offspring". This meaning did not remain when

¹⁶ The 16 names listed have been found in "A Dictionary of English Surnames", by Reaney and Wilson (2006). In some cases, there are graphical variations, as in *Adeson* and *Madison*.

these names were exported to Brazil. According to Simões Neto and Soledade (2018), the English patronymics were interpreted as male first names. This change in how names are used and analyzed requires the organization of a new scheme:

(b) <[[X]_{F1} [-son]_{F2}]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [male first name]_{NP}>

When we compare the schemes in (a) and (b), we notice a change in both the characterization of the semantic-functional pole and the formal pole. The change in the semantic-functional pole reflects the change in how it is used, as those names are no longer read as patronymics – they are now read as male first names. The change in the formal pole results from this change: the orientation for slot X to be filled with the father’s name no longer makes sense. Thus, slot X can now be filled by several formatives in use in Brazilian anthroponym.

Examples of this are the first names that Simões Neto and Soledade (2018) characterized as “Brazilianisms”: *Ackson, Agenson, Alecson, Deivison, Frenisson, Erisson, Evisson, Gedson, Gilson, Gledson, Gleison, Gleydson, Ingrisson, Ivison, Jandesson, Jildson, Martson, Nadson, Naisson, Radson, Talison, Wadson, Walisson, Walesson, Wandesson, Webson, and Welison*.

Traugott and Trousdale (2013), scholars who study change under the constructional perspective, point to two types of change: constructional change, and constructionalization. Constructional change entails that only one of the poles changes, while constructionalization entails changes in both poles. When we compare the schemes in (a) and (b), we notice changes in both poles, which suggests that the scheme for names ending in *-son* in Brazil results from a constructionalization process.

Another change regarding Brazilian names that end in *-son* concerns the appearance of splinters that, according to Gonçalves (2016), are non-morphemic pieces of words that start to appear with recurring meanings in somewhat fixed positions,

resembling, to some extent, the morphemes themselves. Simões Neto and Soledade (2018) identify two splinters related to names with *-son* in Brazil: *-elson/-ilson* and *-erson/-irson*.

Traditional names like *Nelson*, *Nilson*, *Emerson* and *Jefferson* have been present in Brazilian Portuguese for a long time. According to IBGE, there were people in Brazil with that name before the 1930s. For Simões Neto and Soledade (2018), the splinters – *elson/-ilson* and *-erson/-irson* emerged from names like these. Some examples with these formatives are: *Adelson*, *Adilson*, *Deilson*, *Dielson*, *Edielson*, *Elielson*, *Joelson*, *Joilson*, *Nailson*, *Natailson*, *Renilson*, *Ronielson*, *Ronilson*, *Cleverson*, *Deiverson*, *Demerson*, *Enderson*, *Esteferson*, *Jamerson*, *Wilkerson*, and *Wivirson*. The schemes in (c) and (d) represent these new uses:

(c) <[[X]_{F1} [-elson/ilson]_{F2}]_{NP} \square [male first name]_{NP}>

(d) <[[X]_{F1} [-erson/-irson]_{F2}]_{NP} \square [male first name]_{NP}>

There are, among the data analyzed by Simões Neto and Soledade (2018), names that, according to the authors' understanding, were formed by other processes: *Adinailson*, *Dioandson*, *Edjamilson*, *Gilmeikson*, *Joadisson*, and *Joedson*. The authors comment on these:

[...] we have a strong conviction on the hypothesis that creative names are generated based on the combination of two themes, two names or two formatives, therefore being preferably a binary structure. [...] Our hypothesis is reinforced by the argument that it is possible to find all the second formatives as free forms in IBGE's data, that is, first names with records in Brazil: *Nailson*, 8,063; *Andson*, 1,265; *Meikson*, 47; *Jamilson*, 5,261, *Adisson*, 562 and *Edson*, 431,543. In turn, the formatives on the left end are also elements of great recurrence in Brazilian onomastics: *Adi-*, *Dio-*, *Ed-*, *Eli-*, *Gil-*, *Jo-*. Thus, it is evident that there is no lack of systematicity in the formation of neological anthroponyms; on the contrary, there seems to be a set of well-structured schemes that are organized around a general pattern, which is the use of two formats

that are available in the anthroponymic lexical system. (SIMÕES NETO; SOLEDADE, 2018, p. 1328-1329, emphasis given by the original authors)¹⁷.

Given the above, the names *Adinailson*, *Dioandson*, *Edjamilson*, *Gilmeikson*, *Joadisson* and *Joedson* can be classified as instances of the aforementioned generic scheme <[[X]_{F1} [Y]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [person's name]_{NP}>.

<[[Adi]_{F1} [Nailson]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}>

<[[Dio]_{F1} [Andson]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}>

<[[Ed]_{F1} [Jamilson]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}>

<[[Gil]_{F1} [Meikson]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}>

<[[Jo]_{F1} [Adisson]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}>

<[[Jo]_{F1} [Edson]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [male first name]_{NP}>

The biformative schemes also seem to account for the innovative names studied by Conceição (2018) in a study dedicated to anthroponymical Gallicisms and “Brazilianisms” with French-origin formatives present in the 2017 and 2018 UEFS entrance exam list. The author does not use the constructional approach, but groups four innovative productive patterns: *X-ane*, *X-ele*, *X-ene*, and *X-ine*. In our view, the morphological procedures through which these patterns become productive are no

¹⁷ [...] temos forte convicção acerca da hipótese de que os nomes criativos são gerados com base na combinação de dois temas, dois nomes ou dois formativos, sendo, portanto, preferencialmente, uma estrutura binária. [...] Nossa hipótese pode ser reforçada pelo argumento de que é possível encontrar nos dados do IBGE todos os segundos formativos como formas livre, ou seja, prenomes com registros no Brasil: *Nailson*, 8.063; *Andson*, 1.265; *Meikson*, 47; *Jamilson*, 5.261, *Adisson*, 562 e *Edson*, 431.543. Por sua vez, os formativos da margem esquerda também são elementos de grande recorrência na onomástica pessoal brasileira: *Adi-*, *Dio-*, *Ed-*, *Eli-*, *Gil-*, *Jo-*. Desse modo, fica evidente que não há falta de sistematicidade na formação de antropônimos neológicos, pelo contrário, parece haver um conjunto de esquemas bem estruturados que se organizam em torno de um padrão geral que é o uso de dois formativos que estejam disponíveis no sistema lexical antroponímico (SIMÕES NETO; SOLEDADE, 2018, p. 1328-1329, grifos dos autores).

different from those seen in Germanic or specifically English formatives, as is the case of *-son*: Brazilians are faced with traditional names that are in use in the language for a long time, and by analogy, they create new forms.

Based on Conceição (2018), we see that traditional female names, such as *Aline*, *Ane*, *Caroline*, *Daniele*, *Eveline*, *Francine*, *Gisele*, *Isabele*, *Janine*, *Jaqueline*, *Jeane*, *Liliane*, *Luciane*, *Mariane*, and *Viviane*, have been used in Brazil for over 90 years. From this set of names, let us first take those formed by *-ane*. This suffix is the French female correspondent of *-ano/-ana*, which has Latin origin (lat. *-anus, -a, -um*) and appears both in the common lexicon (*baiano, australiano, americano, italiano*) and the anthroponymic lexicon (*Juliana, Mariano, Cristiana, Luciano*).

Given the formal similarity, it was not difficult for Portuguese speakers to establish a connection between French and Portuguese. Thus, names ending in *-ane* start to behave as recurrent and predictable variants of names ending in *-ana*, since we have *Liliana/Liliane*, *Luciana/Luciane*, *Mariana/Mariane*, and *Viviana/Viviane*. Therefore, there was no problem for the Portuguese speaker to establish the following scheme:

$$\langle [[X]_{F1} [-ane]_{F2}]_{NP} \boxed{\leftrightarrow} [female\ first\ name]_{NP} \rangle$$

Given the Latin origin of most traditional first names instantiated by this scheme, the slot X, which corresponds to F1, is initially composed by names from the same origin. When innovation starts to appear on the scene, formatives from any source are accepted. F2 is fixed, it is the formative *-ane*. Innovative examples found by Conceição (2018) are: *Aldeane*, *Aleane*, *Camiliane*, *Ediane*, *Edilane*, *Eduane*, *Joceane*, *Joseane*, *Juliane*, *Leilane*, *Nadjane*, *Naiane*, *Raiane*, *Roseane*, *Tatiane*, *Tauane*, and *Tailane*. Consider some of these names applied to the proposed schemes:

<[[Camil(i)]_{F1} [-ane]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Edi]_{F1} [-ane]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Rai]_{F1} [-ane]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Rose]_{F1} [-ane]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Tail(a)]_{F1} [-ane]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

The name *Camiliane* has the root form *Camil-* in F1 in names such as *Camilo/Camila*. The /i/ looks like a connecting vowel, but we can consider the possibility of the F1 slot being filled with the name *Camili* (variant of *Camile*). The case of *Ediane* seems to be a case of hybridism, since the F1 *Edi-* is a German format that is very common in Brazilian innovative anthroponymy. The same classification applies to *Raiane*, which has *Rai-* as the F1, also Germanic, appearing in *Raimundo*. In *Roseane* and *Tailane*, we consider that the suffix *-ane* adjusts to the first names in use, *Rose* and *Taila*.

Let us now move on to the first names with *-ene* and *-ine*. In Conceição's (2018) data on traditional names, we do not see data with the suffix *-ene*, only with *-ine*. Like *-ane*, *-ene* and *-ine* are French female correspondents to suffixes of Latin origin, in this case *-enus*, *-a*, *-um* (> *-eno/-ena*: *agareno*, *chileno*, *esloveno*, *nazareno*) and *-inus*, *-a*, *-um* (> *-ino/-ina*: *belo-horizontino*, *londrino*, *campesino*, *Celestino*, *Agostino*, *Setembrino*).

In White's (1858) view, the Latin suffixes *-anus*, *-a*, *-um*, *-enus*, *-a*, *-um* and *-inus*, *-a*, *-um* are all in the same semantic and etymological network and, it seems, with the same ease with which the *X-ane* pattern was originated. The same applies to *X-ene* and *X-ine* patterns, as follows:

<[[X]_{F1} [-ene]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[X]_{F1} [-ine]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

With the *X-ene* pattern, we find in Conceição's (2018) data: *Chaiene*, *Ediene*, *Eliene*, *Francilene*, and *Lucilene*. With *X-ine*, there are: *Adrine*, *Djauline*, *Juline*, and *Noeline*. These innovative names ending in *-ene* and *-ine* recurrently have a consonant /l/ preceding these suffixes. We can suggest two hypotheses for the presence of this phoneme: it is a connecting consonant or part of a splinter *-lene/-line*, derived from names like *Madalene*, *Jaqueline*, *Aline* and *Helene*.

Let us look at some innovative names with *X-ene* and *X-ine* applied to the proposed schemes.

<[[Edi]_{F1} [-ene]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>
 <[[Eli]_{F1} [-ene]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>
 <[[Lucil(a)]_{F1} [-ene]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>
 <[[Adr(i)]_{F1} [-ine]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>
 <[[Noel]_{F1} [-ine]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>
 <[[Djaul-]_{F1} [-ine]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

In *Ediene*, we see the Germanic formative *Edi-* taking the F1 position again. *Eliene*, in turn, uses *Eli-* as the first formative. *Eli-* appears in innovative names such as *Elivaldo*, *Elivan*, and *Elimar*. As for *Lucilene*, two analyses fit: 1) the F1 slot is filled by the radical of a name like *Lucila* and F2 corresponds to the *-ene*; or 2) the F1 slot is filled by the radical of names like *Lucio* and *Luciana* and the F2 is a splinter *-lene*. Further research may answer which analysis is more appropriate.

Regarding the names with *-ine*, we can see that *Adrine* uses the radical of traditional names like *Adriano* and *Adriana*. The radical *Adr(i)-* then occupies the F1 slot, and the *-ine* occupies the F2. In *Noeline*, the F1 position seems to be occupied by the common first name *Noel*. This is a more transparent analysis, in which the elements are easily identified, different from the one used for *Djauline*, a name for which we can

suggest two hypotheses: 1) F1 is filled by a *Djaul-* splinter (extracted from a *Djaulma* variant) and F2 is filled by *-ine*; 2) or F1 is filled by the *Djau-* splinter (extracted from a *Djauma* variant) and the F2 is filled by *-line*, a splinter of names like Aline and Jaqueline. From this second hypothesis, we could assume that the name is in fact a lexical blending.

The last pattern approached by Conceição (2018) is the *X-*ele**. We can think of two possibilities of origin for the names, as commented by Soledade (2012). The first is that the suffix *-ele* is a female French correspondence of the Latin suffix *-ella*, from which *-ela* emerged in Portuguese, forming diminutives such as *viela*, *olhadela*, *cidadela*, *piscadela* etc. The name *Graziela*, of Italian origin, is formed by the radical *Grazi-* (from *grazia* 'grace') and the suffix *-ella* (diminutive) in that language. The *Graziele* form, very common in Brazil, is a French variant that is etymologically linked to this diminutive meaning.

A second etymological hypothesis about first names ending in *-ele* starts from the observation that these traditional French female names are often originated from Hebrew names, as are the cases of *Daniele*, *Gabriele* and *Isabele*, which were later imported to Portuguese via the French language. Regardless of the origin of the formative that has become usual in Brazil, we note a convergence to a scheme like the following:

$$\langle [[X]_{F1} [-ele]_{F2}]_{NP} \boxed{\leftrightarrow} [female\ first\ name]_{NP} \rangle$$

Names created under this scheme would be *Adrielle*, *Franciele*, *Janiele*, *Juciele*, *Mariele*, *Micaele*, *Natiele*, *Tatiele* and *Valniele*, all present in Conceição (2018). We can also propose an application of the scheme with some of these names.

<[[Adri]_{F1} [-ele]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Franci]_{F1} [-ele]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Mari]_{F1} [-ele]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

<[[Tati]_{F1} [-ele]_{F2}]_{NP} ↔ [female first name]_{NP}>

In *Adrielle*, we see in the F1 slot the same root form *Adri-*, the one we saw in *Adrine*, now applied to another scheme. *Franciele* uses the root form *Franci-* as F1, which carries Germanic origins, this being a case of hybridism. The name *Mariele* seems to use the root form *Maria* as F1. Finally, in *Tatiele*, we notice the root form *Tati-* in the F1 slot, used in the names *Tatiana* and *Tatiane*.

In general, we observe that Soledade's (2018) hypothesis that innovative first names in Brazil are characterized by a biformative pattern can be applied to Conceição's (2018) data on formatives of French origin. This shows that the biformative pattern of Germanic origin extends to formatives from other sources.

6 Conclusions

Although partially representative of the Brazilian reality, the present data can be a starting point for some reflections and questions. As we said, Brazilian anthroponymy, since the early 20th century, has been enriched with countless contributions, the result of the lexical creativity produced in the vernacular. And the data analyzed here ratify the hypothesis that Brazilian anthroponymy was essentially conservative in the 19th century.

On the one hand, the data show that there are few and rare innovative contributions in the 19th century. On the other hand, innovations in this period seem to be linked to three fundamental processes: 1) graphic-phonetic changes, 2) transposition of common lexicon to onomastic lexicon, and 3) addition of anthroponymic formatives in the final position or on the right end.

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