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The quest for interdisciplinarity in the Brazilian Onomastics

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Sumário

Editorial

Proper names between logos and praxis[1]. The quest for interdisciplinarity in the Brazilian Onomastics

Nombres propios entre logos y praxis. La búsqueda por la interdisciplinariedad en la Onomástica brasileña

Patricia CARVALHINHOS*
Cezar Alexandre Neri SANTOS**

ABSTRACT: The editors' target is much more than introducing the papers of this Thematic Issue to the reader. It can be considered a space devoted to discussing the Onomastics studies in Brazil, its status, and interdisciplinarity. Initially, we outline a tenuous sketch about interdisciplinarity and onomastic research in Brazil. We also discuss the terminological disagreements among researchers, in general, and among authors for this Issue, precisely – not a welcome scenario. Secondly, we revise the concepts related to

RESUMEM: Más que una presentación del Número Temático "La búsqueda de la interdisciplinariedad en la Onomástica brasileña", este artículo es un espacio de reflexión de los editores sobre los artículos presentados a los lectores, sobre el estado de la investigación onomástica en Brasil y también sobre la interdisciplinariedad. En un primer momento, se presenta una trayectoria de estudios onomásticos en el país, subrayando investigaciones y acciones desarrolladas en las últimas décadas, así como las iniciativas más

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[1] Even though the title of this issue was conceived based on the material that the editors had at hand, this is a tribute to Professor Dick, who, in addition to being a fundamental exponent of onomastic studies in Brazil, had guided one of the guest editors, Carvalhinhos, throughout her academic career in a total of eight years (in addition to many more years of acquaintanceship). It is worth remembering the theme in Dick's own words (1999, p. 125, emphasis in original): "From the perspective of onomastic literature, the Greek philosophy brought out various approaches concerning proper names. As an *onoma*, the name involves the notions of *logos* and *praxis*, opposite to *phýsei/nomói*; to *organón*, to *kyrión* (Latin n. p., similar to onoma, the name par excellence), and to *prosegorikon* (the appellative, what it is meant to name).".

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interdisciplinarity, as multidisciplinarity, pluri-disciplinarity, and transdisciplinarity. This review emphasizes its application in onomastic studies in Brazil by presenting attempts to implement inter (or trans) disciplinary routines in research, quoting French and Canadian onomasticians. Finally, the last section introduces the papers that make up the issue, inviting the reader to read the whole issue and reflect on the discussed themes.

recientes. Asimismo, se discute la diversidad terminológica en general – no siempre bienvenida en el escenario actual – y la posición particular de los autores del Número Temático. A continuación, se realiza una revisión de los conceptos relacionados con la interdisciplinariedad, a saber, pluri, multi y transdisciplinariedad, enfatizando su aplicación en los estudios onomásticos en el país y buscando, en la literatura específica, intentos de implementar rutinas inter/transdisciplinarias. Finalmente, la última sección presenta al lector los textos que componen este número, invitándole a leer el conjunto y a reflexionar.

KEYWORDS: Onomastics in Brazil. Interdisciplinarity. Onomastic terminology. Toponymy. Anthroponymy.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Onomástica en Brasil. Interdisciplinariedad. Terminología onomástica. Toponomástica. Antroponomástica.

1 Research on Onomastics[2] in Brazil and the editorial process

There is a certain distance between expectation (one of the definitions of logos) and reality (praxis in the sense of practice). There are some differences between the expected and the developed at the beginning of any project. In academic contexts, it is quite common to sugarcoat, as one may say, to disguise difficulties in an investigation. However, it would not be possible to start this introductory paper in a different way. This thought would be interpreted as

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[2] Once the current Brazilian Portuguese spelling agreement authorizes the use of capital letters in certain circumstances, we have chosen to refer to all sciences and disciplines with an initial capital letter. When we use it in lowercase, it means that it is not the discipline itself. So, *Onomastics* refers to science; while in *onomastics* its use is adjectival or complementary (nominal complement), in structures such as *onomastic research*.

frustration in its negative sense, but it constitutes a moment of reflection to editors and authors.

We were looking for interdisciplinary unpublished papers. Nevertheless, the ones submitted to this thematic issue (Volume 15, N. 2, 2021) of Domínios da Lingu@gem journal, or just Domínios, lead us to build a different issue. The results allow us, as Editors, to talk about the current state of research on Onomastics in Brazil and about the future challenges.

It is a fact that logos and praxis do not always go side by side. Therefore, the previous Call for Papers title Onomastics: the depth of names in Portuguese in an interdisciplinary perspective has been replaced by a new one: The quest for interdisciplinarity in the Brazilian Onomastics.

Effectively, the quest for interdisciplinarity is a pursued challenge though not always an achieved one. As we will postulate further on, this may occur for several reasons. In Brazil's current situation of research, interdisciplinarity is much more a demand than a factuality. Maybe it happens because of the bureaucratic and economic barriers. Alternatively, it could be a misunderstanding of what interdisciplinarity means once there is an ambiguity between this idea and related concepts such as pluridisciplinarity or transdisciplinarity.

Onomastics can be submitted to several inquiries regarding its ontology and its subdivisions. Although traditionally known for Toponymy and Anthroponymy studies, the realm of Onomastics is broader and can reach other categories that also include common nouns. For example, the phenomenology of deonymization, which explains the transition from a common name to a proper name, highlights how a name ceases to identify a class of beings (or objects) with similar morphosyntactic and semantic attributes and becomes particularizing a single being/object. It has come a long way since the institution of the concept by Greek

grammarians. Around the 2nd century BC, Dionysius of Thrace was the author of a manual considered the first grammar in the western world, the Téchne Grammatik. His ὄνομα (onoma) referred not only what we now know as proper names and common nouns, but also abstract concepts and adjectives.

Despite what one might think, names have their theory, influenced not only by Linguistics but also by Philosophy and Logic. Linguists have constantly proposed theories and classifications regarding proper names, which is what interests us. For example, Van Langendonck (2007, p. 183-255) proposes a typology of proper names, identifying prototypical onomastic signs, which always act, in form and function, like proper names, such as toponyms and anthroponyms. He also identifies less or not prototypical names, such as account names (temporal names, works of art, books, periodicals, films, etc., institutions associated with buildings, brand names, coins, numbers, and letters). Finally, he points out countless (names of languages, of colors, of diseases) and onomastic sentences. This second group corresponds to what Vasconcelos (1928, p. 2) classified as panteonímia ("pantheonymy"). Thus, the constitution of a linguistic element as a proper name is contextual, based on its use in specific linguistic constructions.

The diversity of terminological uses for the concepts of the field in the Portuguese language should not be overstated. To illustrate the point and justify our position regarding the terms used by the authors of this issue, Toponymy and Anthroponymy do not have a uniform nomenclature. Like the editors of this issue themselves, some prefer to keep the terminology consolidated in our tradition, Toponymy and Anthroponymy; others usually update these nomenclatures to Toponomastics and Anthroponomastics, aligned with the suggestion of the United Nation Group of Experts in Geographical Names (UNGEGN). Two papers that foreign researchers wrote also drew our attention to this matter. One term adopted

by one of the authors, potamonímia ("potamonymy"), is not used in Brazil. This terminological example must be explored to explain our point of view. In Brazil, we have preferred to use the term hydronymy – even though the Greek root hydro is more generic than potamos. Another example refers to the double terminology for the disciplinary field name in Spanish (Onomástica and Onomatología), just like in Portuguese (Onomástica and Onomatologia).

Despite such differences, all authors are correct in their choices. We highlight the matter because young researchers and students might think that these are different terms/concepts, but they are not. At last, terminological divergences portray the status of onomastic research in the country, with the intensification of dialogues and the flourishing of (salutary) questionings. To indicate a few efforts, we mention the foundation of the Observatory of Onomastic Studies (Federal University of Minas Gerais – UFMG) and the Onomástica desde América Latina Journal (Western Paraná State University – UNIOESTE). May these recent proposals expand and consolidate themselves as exponents, effectively bringing together Brazilian researchers.

Such initiatives incidentally relate to what happened in France in the 1930s, when from Dauzat's efforts (as well as Charles Rostaing's and others') several papers were published, and the foundation of the International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy occurred, currently, the International Congress of Onomastics Sciences, linked to the International Council of Onomastics Sciences (ICOS). This successful initiative stemmed from a joint effort to study French toponymy (and anthroponymy), still closely linked to dialectology, philology, and the external history of the French language.

We apologize for the digressing. It is a good lesson for Brazilians: there are no great goals to reach without a union, so let us look at the path we have yet to follow based on tradition.

1.1 The French and the Portuguese tradition in the Brazilian Onomastics

Even though it was originated in Brazil from studies developed in language (Philology and Etymology) and in Geography (by the analysis of geographical nomenclature), Onomastics got recognized by the work of Maria Vicentina de Paula do Amaral Dick, especially after the 1990s. Historically, Leite de Vasconcelos proposed, still in the 19th century, the term Onomatology – which translates the concept "science of names" – and his extensive work highlights the two most studied subjects, Anthroponymy and Toponymy.

The French tradition was born simultaneously with the proposal of Leite de Vasconcelos (1887), although in the 19th century France several studies had been carried out. Auguste Longnon proposed, in 1878, Toponymy as a subject. In the 20th century, Albert Dauzat promoted the study of place names (Les noms de lieux, 1928) and anthroponyms (Les noms de personnes, 1934). When we recognize that not only Linguistics studies the proper noun, we highlight how other sciences, such as Philosophy and Anthropology, are dedicated to this study and contribute with particular views, as depicted by Jean Molino (1982):

> It is with the works of Frege and Russel that the proper name has become a logico-philosophical problem. More recently, it has become an anthropological problem: let us quote, for France, *La Pensée Sauvage*, by Cl. Lévi-Strauss. It is important to recall this history quickly because it explains the difficulties of studying the proper name in a clearly defined framework. Each discipline considers a problem from a specific perspective, and it is often difficult or dangerous to transport without modification the results

of an investigation from one field to another, from logic or anthropology to linguistics.

Logic is currently in dialogue with the most recent scientific publications on the linguistic status of the proper name (VAN LANGENDONCK; VAN DE VELDE, 2016; SMITH, 2017). On the one hand, there are still debates among logicians about connotation and denotation. On the other hand, cognition has added the symbolic dimension to the name, energizing what used to be placed in tight blocks.

As for the studies related to Onomastics in our country, we have always been making up lost ground. Before 1934, research dedicated to the study of names was carried out independently. After that date, with the systematic beginning of undergraduate teaching and toponymic research at the University of São Paulo, its advance was slow, with a significant increase after the introduction of graduate courses in the country. Even more so, after the 1990s, with the exchange between researchers from several Higher Education Institutions, especially from Letters and Linguistics. The more significant number of investigations in the area, in the last decades, can be justified by the incorporation of technological databases, by the bibliographic expansion promoted by the democratization of access to knowledge, and by the already mentioned growing interlocution among professors-researchers from several universities, both in congresses and publications.

Due to the limitations in academic funding programs in Humanities in Brazil have made it difficult, although not unfeasible, initiatives of interinstitutional projects, we can affirm that Brazilian researchers dedicated to onomastic studies suffer both widespread discredit and prejudice from their peers, as there is a certain lack of knowledge concerning this disciplinary field. One factor that contributed to this situation, even among linguists, was its "late" discovery since those studies

were limited to a few institutions, and their circulation was slow. Another reason is that because it is somehow linked to Etymology – a relevant tool for the recovery of Native, African, or foreign proper names –, Onomastics has often been regarded as a curiosity, sometimes taken as "futile," unserious or just a dilettante by the general public, generating an erroneous perception regarding the status of this science.

The growth of Onomastics in the country has been due to the development of research in public universities in the five regions of Brazil, little by little dismissing this preconception. After all, amid so much dryness in the linguistic field – it is not rare that the hermeticism and metalanguage present in more theoretical fields of Linguistics give an impression of harshness –, Onomastics strives to refresh the landscape without giving up the rigid principles of science, distinguishing itself, in this sense, by its character peculiarly inclined towards interdisciplinarity. Although there is a specific terminology and a theoretical and methodological apparatus as it occurs in other sciences, the empiricism present in most onomastic research seems to refresh this dryness, especially for the beginner student or researcher.

Focusing back on the beginning of research in Brazil and the traditions from which it draws, we can identify at least three distinct moments. The first of them, from the beginning of the 20th century until the 1960s, is characterized by research that was not yet called onomastic since the guideline was the search for the meanings of names related to Native Brazilian languages (see studies by Frederico Edelweiss, in Bahia, Priest Antônio Lemos, in Rio de Janeiro, and Plínio Ayrosa and Carlos Drumond, in São Paulo, to name a few). Philology and Etymology were the guiding principles of this research, and, in the case of names from the languages of traditional peoples, Ethnology was added to these disciplines.

The second moment, around 1970, with the onomastic subjects already characterized as a disciplinary body regularly offered by the University of São Paulo, is typified by the broadening of the scope of proper names and not only autochthonous names are vigorously studied, but also Iberian Onomastics in its intersection with the Portuguese language, with the rare studies by Erasmo D'Almeida Magalhães. Here is a resumption of the Portuguese tradition inaugurated with Leite de Vasconcelos and a dialogue with the French tradition (Auguste Longnon, Albert Dauzat, and Charles Rostaing), the Canadian tradition, with Henri Dorion, and the North American tradition, with George Rippey Stewart.

All the "limitatâns" concerning the circulation of knowledge, based essentially through travels and exchanges between libraries and researchers, made the echoes of the international academic community seem distant. Nevertheless, proceedings of associations (such as the American Name Society and the International Council of Onomastics Sciences) circulated from hand to hand.

Despite the industrious context, the dialogue took place. This resumption of the tradition by Magalhães and the consequent interchange with inner facts impact Dick's early studies (supervised by Drumond and co-supervised by Magalhães; inaugurating the third moment), who, in 1980, wisely takes advantage of the tradition. Influenced by these, Dick searches, among the taxonomies already existing and registered by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, for the terms that best suited the Brazilian place-name reality bequeathing us the classificatory model still in use in the 21st century.

The resonances of these traditions reverberate in our core until the present moment, and we find ourselves at a crossroads, for building our Brazilian tradition based on the paradigms of the 20th century does not seem feasible. Nevertheless,

in the last century, we did not advance in basic research in Onomastics in time to prepare ourselves for the new century's challenges. Furthermore, this articulation between the past and the future constitutes the basis of onomastic studies today. It is slow progress, but if there is coordination between these two axes, the academic community can only gain.

1.2 The Editorial process

In the meantime, we regard scientific exchange as an urgent matter. On the one hand, it tends to be favored by Digital Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), but on the other, the linguistic proficiency jeopardizes it because the mastery of foreign languages is not unanimous, especially among Brazilian students. Moreover, unlike what occurs in other areas of knowledge, it is not yet common practice to read and much less publish in foreign languages, which has limited both the expansion of theoretical-methodological perspectives and practices and the visibility of projects produced in Brazil.

Considering these factors, the guest editors proposed to Domínios a bilingual issue in Portuguese and English3, the first in the history of this journal. Although the editorial process was completed, there were no duplicates in all articles – 7 of the 10 articles (70%) presented versions – this initiative captured contributions from authors from non-Lusophone countries, such as Russia and Lithuania. The process demanded a joint effort from the Editor-in-Chief and the guest editors to draw up evaluation sheets and guidelines that, until then, only existed in Portuguese, among other actions. Therefore, the outcome will be availed by colleagues who venture to organize entirely bilingual or multilingual issues in

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3 In this issue, two papers by foreign, non-Lusophone authors are published only in their original language.

the future. Thus, we highlight the importance of internationalization of both the journal Domínios da Lingu@gem and onomastic research in the country, in which globalization has been debated, and English is still the lingua franca. In this sense, it is worth pointing out that the production published in foreign languages is the entire responsibility of the authors and that any eventual vices of language, although they may be perceived by native speakers or by proofreaders, do not diminish the importance of the contributions.

Editing a thematic issue formerly intended to be bilingual required contacting reviewers from foreign universities in the blind peer review, such as Mexico, Spain, Hungary, Canada, and Russia. Finally, we must also mention the invaluable collaboration of Brazilian colleagues, who contributed both by reviewing the submitted manuscripts and by proposing unpublished originals, without which it would not have been possible to compose the present issue.

One deadlock faced by the editors was terminology. As we have already mentioned, there is no uniformity in terminology usage, not only in Brazil, we must emphasize. The UNGEGN makes efforts to reduce divergences, with recommendations published by its Working Group on Terminology, but the fact is that it is often complex to change the use of an already established term (such as Toponymy, as explained above). Nevertheless, there are other cases to be considered.

As editors, we respect the authors' options, but we cannot look away from one or two words in occasional cases. One term worth mentioning, because it may surprise the readers, is potamonímia, present in the paper Para um perfil da potamonímia do Centro e Sul de Portugal (Towards a profile of potamonymy in Central and Southern Portugal), by Carlos Rocha. The author explains his choice

and relies on other works to justify the election of this term in the first note of his text:

> Neste trabalho, ao nome próprio de um rio aplica-se o termo potamónimo, equivalente a hidrotopónimo no sentido 'nome próprio referente a rio' (cf. RAPOSO et al., 2013, p. 1019; see also ROCHA, 2017, p. 30). Os potamónimos ou hidrotopónimos denominam, portanto, uma classe de nomes próprios que se distingue dos hidrónimos, classe de nomes comuns que denotam diferentes modos de apresentação ou acumulação da água – fonte, rio, ribeiro, regato, arroio, lagoa, lago, golfo, mar, oceano etc. Refira-se que o termo hidrónimo é usado por A. Almeida Fernandes (FERNANDES, 1952) para a designação de qualquer forma de extensão aquática, enquanto hidrotopónimo é aplicado pelo mesmo autor a um topónimo que inclua um hidrónimo4 (ROCHA, 2021, this issue).

This example highlights a terminological matter in this area of specialization. The Greek root hydros embrace a more general and comprehensive meaning than photamos. Dick's (1980) stance is similar to Fernandes's (quoted by Rocha), and there is a logic to this position. UNGEGN (2002, p. 13) defines hydronym as a "toponym applied to a hydrographic element." Although it is quite objective, this definition offers margins for various interpretations and digressions because it is not very well explained. In a literal reading, and considering the Greek roots, one can interpret that topos is the root for terrestrial 'places' and that hydros, on the

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[4] Rocha's excerpt translation: "In this paper, the term potamonym is applied to the proper name of a river, equivalent to hydrotoponym in the sense 'proper name referring to the river' (see RAPOSO et al., 2013, p. 1019; see also ROCHA, 2017, p. 30). The potamonyms or hydrotoponyms denominate, therefore, a class of proper names that is distinguished from the hydronyms, a class of common names that denote different ways of presentation or accumulation of water - fountain, river, stream, brook, creek, pond, lake, gulf, sea, ocean, etc. The term hydronym is used by A. Almeida Fernandes (FERNANDES, 1952) to designate any aquatic feature, while the same author applies a hydrotoponym to a toponym that includes a hydronym.".

other hand, is equivalent when there is an aquatic geographical feature. Following this line of reasoning, potamonym is more restricted than hydronym, since it is reserved only for rivers or other linear geographical features. Still, and considering the etymology, it is defined as "the name of the river." The divergence is that the author considers potamonymy a term that denotes "a class of proper names," using an alternative term: hydrotoponymy.

Those readers used to Dick's toponymic taxonomies will be surprised because we hardly use the terms hydronym and hydrotoponym as synonyms. We claim that hydrotoponym is not on the same level as potamonym in its formal constitution and cannot be regarded as a synonym of hydrotoponym. Obviously, the author does not state this. However, the very etymology of the term makes us infer that they are different objects. We affirm that because hydrotoponyms is a term that can be applied to any geographical elements, including man-made features: see DICK 1990, p. 31, "[...] Ribeirão Preto ' Black Stream' (State of São Paulo municipality); [...] Braço do Norte 'North River Arm' (State of Bahia municipality); [...] Foz do Riozinho 'Little River Mouth' (State of Amazonas municipality)."

Mathematically arranging what Rocha states, we have the major premise A=B (hydrotoponym=potamonym). The minor premise is deduced by the constitutional logic of the term, B=C (potamonym=hydrononym, where we have Greek roots joined to the onoma class, indicating that they are common names). Moreover, the obvious conclusion is A=C (hydrotoponym=hydrononym) because by the syllogism rule, if A=B and B=C, then A=C. Thus, it is mathematically correct, but we claim that, terminologically, the equivalence A=C proposed cannot be considered, as these are different realities.

This deadlock may be due to what Coates (2011, p. 9) has realized: are we using our encyclopedic knowledge to create, use and understand a term, or are we just using our linguistic knowledge5? That is just one of several terminological issues that the editors encountered when organizing the issue.

As if the challenges inherent in the task were not enough, the world scientific community in the biennium 2020-2021 has faced new challenges because of the pandemic context of Covid-19 (Sars-Cov-2). The Call for Papers for this issue, for example, was active between March and August 2020, a more extended period than usual. Moreover, this delicate moment required restrictions of various natures, highlighting the efforts of all agents of this scientific chain – editorial board, the committee of reviewers, and contributors – in a context of accumulated emotional and professional overload.

After having introduced the conjuncture of the project undertaken and the editorial process in question, we will discuss in the following section the pillar that guided this issue – interdisciplinary or at least pluri-disciplinary research in the field of Onomastics – to point out that logos does not always presuppose praxis, and that praxis may come to contradict logos.

2 The quest for the interdisciplinarity on the Brazilian Onomastics

It is common in Brazil to identify a resistance (or even difficulty) on recognizing the interdisciplinary character of toponymic and anthroponymic research – it happens among ordinary people and inside the academic community. For example, in Language and Linguistics scientific environments, some people justify that this kind of research should be made in History of Geography fields

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5 "[…] which relies on the hearer's encyclopedic knowledge to supply the type of place it is, or to disambiguate, not on their linguistic knowledge." (COATES, 2011, p. 9).

because they do not believe or trust the legitimacy of this relation. This fact leads us to the importance of understanding the proper names as part of a specific theoretical and methodological setting. It occurs because Onomastics always deal with complex problems that demand the knowledge and expertise of several scientific fields, extrapolating disciplinary barriers.

Dick stated this nature of Onomastic Sciences in several papers, especially regarding the status of Toponymy as a disciplinary field with an interdisciplinary vocation. On one of these occasions, she stated that Toponymy

> [...] is a discipline that looks to History, Geography, Linguistics, Anthropology, Social Psychology, and even Zoology, Botany, Archeology, according to the intellectual background of the researcher. In an interpenetration of specific phenomenological fields, it is important to emphasize, however, the universalistic role of the discipline, in what it is common to all other branches of knowledge [...]" (DICK, 1990, p. II).

Sometimes, the author refers to the name itself as the centripetal element towards which other disciplines flow and with which these disciplines dialogue, as when she states that "Toponymy, within the pluri-disciplinary scope of its object, plays a role in the convergence of various aspects of codified humanistic knowledge" (DICK, 1995, p. 59, emphasis added).

More than to quote the author, it is recommended to "breath" the multi and the interdisciplinarity emanated from the book The dynamics of names in the city of São Paulo (DICK, 1997). There is a coordinated dialectical relationship between Onomastics and History, Geography, Urban Planning, and other disciplines in this masterpiece. The dialogue between different sciences and disciplines is a helpful material not only for linguists but also for other experts.

Contrary to what one might think, the charming interdisciplinary character of the Onomastics is also a problem to its development. It is necessary to admit that most Brazilian research in this field is not interdisciplinary but mostly pluri-disciplinary. The point is that there is an oscillation between linguistic and non-linguistic approaches since Onomastics was studied under the name of philological or etymological research.

Camps Iglesias and Noroña Vilá (1980) contribute with an excellent overview of Onomastic research. It includes the French tradition and the mapping of onomastic investigation in Central and Eastern Europe, whose bibliographic productions were little accessible to the Brazilian researchers because of the already mentioned language barrier. The authors discuss these two poles, the purely linguistic and the multidisciplinary, respectively:

> [...] [the pole that] deals strictly with the analysis of linguistic phenomena such as morphology, phonetics, syntax, lexicon, etymology, word formation, linguistic borrowings and the distribution of toponyms in space; […] [and the pole that] makes onomasiological analysis, explaining how place names appear, and using for it social, historical, geographical, ethnographical facts whose caused the toponym genesis." (CAMPS IGLESIAS; NOROÑA VILÁ, 1980, p. 12, emphasis added).

The multiplicity of approaches is also mentioned by Trapero (1995), who states that experts of several disciplines formed the research group that he coordinated: "[…] we had been working along an interdisciplinary group compounded by geographers, topographers, historians, biologists, and linguists." (TRAPERO, 1995, p. 23).

> Toponymy's subject is complex. It is a science to which several fields must converge to make an exact interpretation of it. In this

sense, there are two things that people need to have in mind when they want to research it: prudence and modesty. Prudence allows one not to say something, or some interpretation in research is definitive. On the other hand, modesty makes one tolerate and accept other explanations or other theories, interpreting the data better. (TRAPERO, 1995, p. 23).

To close this brief quotation section, we quote a recent work of Evgeny Shokhenmayer (2017). In this paper, the author analyses the behavior of onomastic research, using georeferenced search mechanisms in academic websites as Academia.edu and ReasearchGate, and social networks such as Twitter. He states that

> Increasingly, onomastic research is moving towards more interdisciplinary endeavours. [...] Any science conducted in isolation without collaboration between related scientific disciplines is doomed to stagnation. Therefore, onomastics is, more or less, seen as an integral to interdisciplinarity comparative studies conducted within other sciences. The onomastics uses knowledge from other disciplines to shape its academic hypotheses and conclusions, and thus is also part of these disciplines. Onomastics, although an autonomous discipline, overlaps the subject matter of many other disciplines since name use is central to human activity [...]. The interaction between research projects and the development of joint research teams are very promising. Many of the problems, with which onomastics research engages, can only be comprehensively explained from an interdisciplinary point of view, since it concerns issues that are the subject of research by several of various sciences [...]. (SHOKHENMAYER, 2017, p. 48-49).

This discussion may confuse some readers: Is Onomastics an interdisciplinary science? Is it pluri-disciplinary? Or, is it possible to reach transdisciplinarity in Onomastics? The quoted papers, produced at different times, show us that this is not an isolated question. As far as we can see, onomastic

research in Brazil has always been pluri-disciplinary – even though there are exceptions, of course. We will discuss this subject in the next section.

2.1 Defining multi-, pluri-, inter- and transdisciplinarity

This discussion aims to motivate Brazilian students and young researchers to join the quest for interdisciplinarity in the onomastic investigation. Considering that it is the central idea of this specific paper and the whole issue, we will discuss some distinctions among multi-, pluri-, inter-, and transdisciplinary. "All roads lead to Rome." As if the consulted authors in this subject quote the disciplinary paradigm proposed by Erich Jantsch, we bring Jantsch (1972) himself to illuminate this discussion.

Although his study dates to the 1970s, the proposed model is still very current. The author based his argumentation on what he called the "educational needs" of his time, graphically representing the essential coordination among isolated disciplines. He also determined the precise steps to go from total isolation to intelligent and proactive collaboration, which can be seen in Figure 1 (JANTSCH, 1972):

Figure 1 — "Steps toward increasing cooperation and coordination in the education/innovation system".
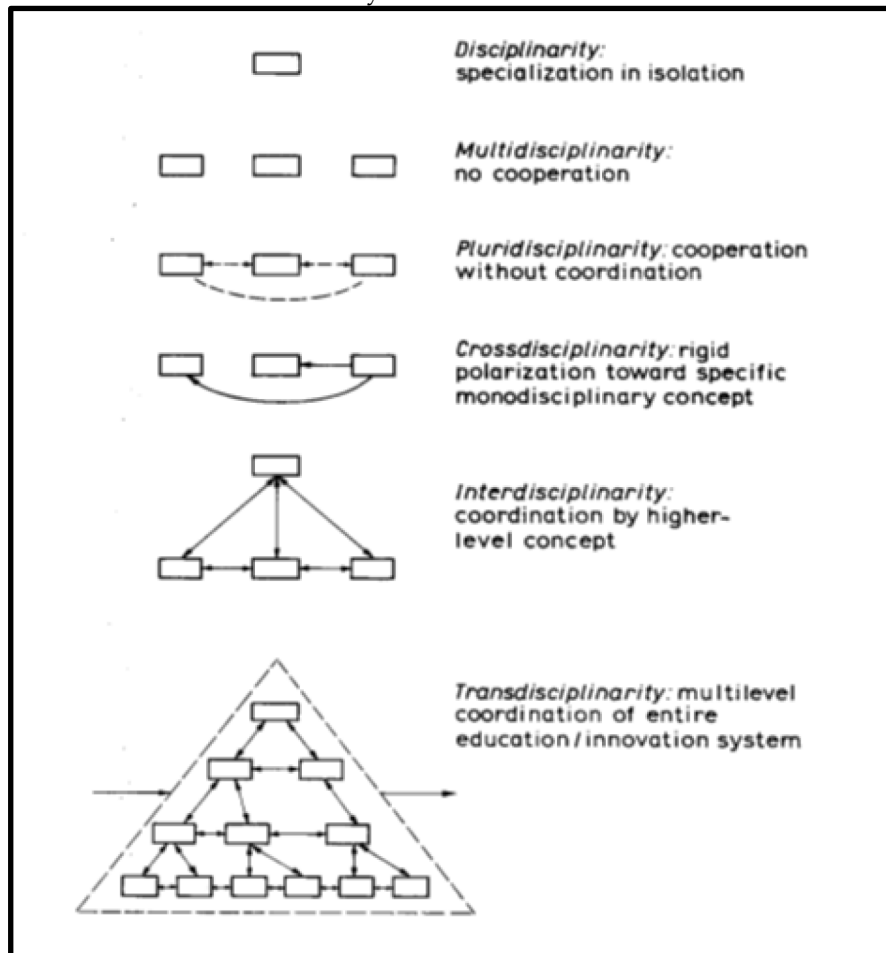
Source: Erich Jantsch (1972, p. 1).
The Portuguese version omits *Crossdisciplinarity.*

According to the model proposed by Erich Jantsch, in the disciplinary perspective, the observation of reality is elaborated from the specific knowledge of a single discipline, which produces knowledge in isolation.

On the other hand, multidisciplinarity is a system composed of a single level, with multiple objectives, and without cooperation. Thus, for example, articulated research between onomasticists and geographers, who work on the same object, but each one pursues independent goals. In other words, multidisciplinarity stands for observing the same fact by several disciplines, but still in an insulated manner. By contrast, multidisciplinarity is a system that remains at a single level with

cooperation among the various disciplines, although there is still no coordination between the multiple objectives. This approach is usually the "antechamber to interdisciplinarity" and guides many of the Brazilian onomasticists.

In turn, interdisciplinarity is a system that goes beyond the single level towards two levels of action, with hierarchically superior coordination that acts and cooperates with the other instances by sharing objectives. In this sense, interdisciplinarity advances in the integration and interaction of knowledge to analyze objects and the achievement of complex results. The disciplines that deal with the same object transfer knowledge between each other to carry out the analysis. Erich Jantsch (1972, p. 13) teaches: "Above all, interdisciplinarity has to be understood as a teleological and normative concept." (emphasis in the original text). It is teleological because it is a concept that relates a fact with its consequence or result, in the same way, that an argument works, and it is normative because it is implied in a series of precepts or norms that organize a particular phenomenon.

Finally, transdisciplinarity is labeled as an intersectional place of observation. In other words, the same reality is focused on the convergence of disciplinary knowledge, thus obtaining answers to complex problems. In comparison, transdisciplinarity is broader than interdisciplinarity and pluri-disciplinarity. This comprehensiveness is multireferential and multidimensional. One of its characteristics is to consider simultaneously conceptions of time and history, where "[...] the existence of a trans[h]istorical horizon {...}" is not discarded. (Transdisciplinarity Letter, 1994, Section 6).

As we can conclude from these definitions, the dream pursued by Henri Dorion, André Soutou (see footnote 6), and many other researchers is transdisciplinarity. These concepts are based on answers searching that fit into systems between interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity – it is not too much to

remember that the same principles guided the Call for Papers of this thematic issue. Our previous exposition approaches the transdisciplinarity to what Dorion (1986) uttered as toponymic memory (according to him, it is the temporal axis, or the domain of linguistic studies in Onomastics and especially Toponymy), and toponymic function (the spatial axis, directly linked to Geography).

Grimaud (1991) pointed out, thirty years ago, a problematic issue in France at the time and still present today: the difficulty in materializing the latent inter/transdisciplinarity in Onomastics, by arguing that

> Between this grand vision of Onomastics (which, by the way, resembles the one presented in our second section) and everyday realities, there is a chasm. That is because Onomastics, in the broad sense, requires the kind of multiple skills that are exceptional in an individual. Naturally, their implementation is possible in a research group, but such a working group is not actively encouraged by our institutions. So much so that it is regrettable, as André Soutou (1984), "that research in onomastics and more significantly in toponymy, a complex discipline which is at the crossroads of linguistics (knowledge of local dialects), history (mainly regional), paleography (strict verification of ancient forms) and, let us not forget, archaeology, is not supported in France by a specific commission of the C.N.R.S. and by a national university institute. These two indispensable institutions would guarantee a greater scientific rigor of the published works while providing the researchers with the necessary documentation and the critical support of experienced personalities [...]. (p. 167)6. (GRIMAUD, 1991, p. 12, authors' free translation, emphasis in original).

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6 Original in French: "Entre cette grandiose vision de l'onomastique (laquelle ressemble d'ailleurs à celle qui est présentée dans notre seconde section) et les réalités quotidiennes, il y a un gouffre. C'est que l'onomastique au sens large requiert le genre de compétences multiples qui sont exceptionnelles chez un individu. Leur mise en œuvre est possible dans un groupe de recherche, mais ce genre de groupe de travail n'est pas activement encouragé par nos institutions. Si bien qu'on peut regretter, comme André Soutou (1984), « que la recherche en matière d'onomastique et plus spécialement en matière de toponymie, discipline complexe qui est au carrefour de la linguistique (connaissance des dialectes locaux), de l'histoire (notamment régionale), de la paléographie (stricte vérification des formes anciennes) et, ne l'oublions pas, de l'archéologie, ne soit pas appuyée en France par une commission

This quotation might lead to several interpretations, but we will highlight only a few arguments/topics: (a) inter and transdisciplinarity are not easy to achieve, even though they are apt to be captured and potentiated by the ontology of Onomastics itself; (b) incentive policies are indispensable for the formation and maintenance of solid research groups; and c) the transdisciplinarity immanent to Onomastics causes its most prominent subfields (Toponymy and Anthroponymy) to be viewed either with a status which is similar to that of the "mother-science," practically as a co-hyponymic, or hierarchically (as we preconized), by placing these disciplines as branches of Onomastics.

Considering that this section has an outspoken nature about the transit of onomastic research from multidisciplinarity to interdisciplinarity (and, why not, transdisciplinarity) perspectives, it is worth mentioning a theoretical and methodological line that emerged from the interdisciplinary dialogue among several Human Sciences in the 1980s: Critical Toponymy. Undoubtedly, it is a branch that promises excellent contributions to Brazilian onomastic studies, especially those related to urban nomenclature.

In a chapter in press, Carvalhinhos and Lima-Hernandes (2021) explain the relevance of Critical Toponymy for investigations related to synchronic urban names. Language, by place-naming, configures itself as a power structure and can infer to the city-text new readings that mirror the dominant ideology. All these relations emanated from names are analyzed from different perspectives, such as Semiotics, Urbanism, History, Human Geography, among others, denoting an interdisciplinary approach.

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spécifique du C.N.R.S. et par un institut universitaire national. Ces deux institutions indispensables garantiraient une plus grande rigueur scientifique des travaux publiés tout en fournissant aux chercheurs la documentation nécessaire et le soutien critique de personnalités expérimentées »[...]."

On the pertinence of this theoretical-methodological line specifically but not exclusively for urban names, Carvalhinhos and Lima-Hernandes (2021, p. 324-325) postulate that

> [...] the traditional method of toponymic taxonomy, used in various parts of the world and adapted to the Brazilian reality by Dick (1980) [...], can be helpful in the study of the physical geography of urban areas and for places whose official names are closer to oral tradition. However, one should not forget that the naming of streets, alleys, and others in a big city (the ever-changing landscape) is usually determined by political criteria. Thus, the traditional method of semantic classification becomes inoperative when applied to synchronic hodonymy, as the semantic content of names is not at stake but the mechanisms of attribution of names. By the conventionalized taxonomy, researchers will verify (in a somewhat obvious way) a standard average of abundant anthroponyms (classified, according to the taxonomies in force, as anthropotoponyms or axiotoponyms, if preceded by a title), but such verification is insufficient. Thus, we have an efficient path for urban toponymy researchers applying theoretical and methodological assumptions of Critical Toponymy.
> These reservations to the traditional method are necessary [...]since the analytical gaps do not allow us to glimpse phenomena in a holistic perspective, which led us to search for a new conception provided by Critical Toponymy. (CARVALHINHOS; LIMA-HERNANDES, 2021, p. 324-325, emphasis in original).

That said, we can only present to the readers, in detail, the papers which are part of this issue.

3 The ship in the shipyard. A synopsis of this issue

By comparing Onomastics to an ocean yet to be explored, we can say that nautical cartography points out which are the safest and most meaningful routes – and also where are the problems to be explored and solved. We know where the

islands present a safe harbour, but with a landscape already known (and, perhaps even a little boring).

We also know where the whirlwinds are and how they can suck any boat and destroy it, i. e., papers which occasionally appear on the editorial horizon, lacking a deep theoretical, critical, and methodological contribution – these were successfully avoided in this issue.

In a brief glimpse at uncharted islands, we can see the promise of fresh water and abundant food – it is a metaphorical way to refer to those papers that manage to be interdisciplinary, or, at least, pluri-disciplinary. We have successful attempts in this direction. The much-desired chest of treasures may still be buried somewhere out there, but we followed the map and dug deep into the sand.

The ship is in the shipyard, awaiting final touches, but the journey has already been set and presented to the public by the editors. We are aware that the challenge of interdisciplinarity has not yet been achieved and is an arduous task that cannot be pursued in isolation. Therefore, this thematic issue is a call for the vital congregation besides a contribution.

The route is mapped as follows: In the first part of the trip, the reader will visit two ports related to place-names intermediated by an anthroponymic port. The next stopover has people's names as a harbour. The final destination goes beyond national boundaries and brings contributions from three different countries.

To better define the journey, we advance that in the two main parts of the issue (concerning Brazil), one dedicated to Toponymy (with two papers) and the other one to Anthroponymy (with six more papers), each "port of call" is constituted by distinct routes. First, these are "the islands with safe harbours" or papers with traditional approaches. Then, in the rank of interdisciplinary

imbrication and following the previous papers, the "ports" that are still little explored but hold good promise are next.

3.1 First stopover

The reader's journey starts at a safe harbour, that is, a paper with a very familiar approach: Rozangela de Melo Martins da Costa (State Department of Education of Acre - SEE/AC) and Alexandre Melo de Sousa (Federal University of Acre) are responsible for Native place-names in Acre-Brazil: fauna, flora, and hydrography in geographic features. It is a safe harbour because it does not present theoretical-methodological innovations; it analyzes the toponymic corpus by maintaining the commonplace regarding definitions, concepts, theoretical frameworks about native languages, and methodology – presenting the 27 categories widely replicated in Brazil.

On the other hand, the contribution of this article lies precisely in its particularity. In general, the Brazilian North region lacks studies on its toponymy, and the state of Acre, in particular, contributes by showing its toponymical diversity outside urban areas. In this sense, we consider relevant the historical and geographic apparatus about the state of Acre, once it is unknown even among Brazilians. Regarding the analysis results, the data indicate what similar diagnoses reveal among the Native denominations: the very high frequency of physical motivations, especially involving flora and fauna. Finally, an important observation highlighted by the authors is the fact that there is a relatively significant amount of Tupi toponyms in a Macro-Jê area, which can be explained, according to them, by the colonization process in Acre.

Let us move on. Although we gathered the few studies on Brazilian toponymy in this block, we chose not to put the two together and to present in the

sequence of the first one a paper on anthroponymy in the North region, to make a "regional itinerary" – and provide the reader with a broad view of the subject.

The second island also presents known landscapes, although it holds surprises. The authors of Language and culture in dimension: dialogues between Linguistics and Anthropology in the study of Parkatêjê onomastics, Tereza Tayná Coutinho Lopes (Ph.D., Federal University of Pará) and Marília de Nazaré de Oliveira Ferreira (Federal University of Pará), masterfully orchestrate this symbiosis between the mentioned fields, as recommended by Molino (1982). This paper also portrays the North region of Brazil, bringing the figure of the Parkatêjê do Pará, a people known in traditional literature as Gavião do Pará (in allusion to their supposed ferocity – gavião is a kind of sparrow-hawk), establishing a perfect relationship between Anthroponymy and Anthropology.

The known but not much-explored landscape – and worth the tour – presents an excellent bibliography on language and culture, getting into Onomastics in a well-articulated way. Traditionally, Native anthroponymy is very important for anthropologic studies. The authors, however, contribute to the study of Parkatêjê anthroponymy by considering the premises of Onomastics, generating an interdisciplinary contribution that will be relevant not only to these two areas of knowledge.

The next place to be visited is far away from the rural world and transports us directly to the hustle and bustle of the big cities. The perception of "freshwater" and "abundant food" is due to the use of Critical Toponymy in the argumentation of authors Martín Jayo (Faculty of Arts, Sciences and Humanities-USP) and Adriana Tavares Lima (Ph.D. candidate at the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Literature, and Human Sciences-USP) in the paper entitled Toponymic commodification and the neoliberal city: on the sale of naming rights for São Paulo

subway stations. Despite being a branch introduced in the Human Sciences in the 1980s, Critical Toponymy has only been gaining space in Brazil in recent years, for example, as a syllabus of the Toponymy courses offered by the University of São Paulo7.

The authors bring into the open an ongoing topic in Brazil: the commercialization of place names. According to the perspective of a neoliberal city, these names are commercial assets that public authorities can sell to private companies. Jayo and Lima outline an overview of the matter and focus on the commercialization of naming rights of station names by the Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo (Metrô). It is such an extremely up-to-date theme that, soon after the paper was published in the Ahead of Print section of Domínios, the company was granted the right to negotiate the naming rights for 20 years (CNN BRASIL, Feb. 19, 2021). That is not an isolated fact since Rio de Janeiro has recently sold the name of one of its subway stations, the current Botafogo/Coca-Cola Station (G1, Jan. 07, 2021)8.

3.2 Second stopover

The second part of the journey takes us to known islands, sometimes submerged, sometimes visible. This fluid visibility turns them into dangerous coasts that require sailing skills. Contrary to what usually occurs, anthroponymy investigations have had equal participation with place-name studies in this issue. Despite their autonomy as disciplines, it is not easy to disassociate the theory and methods of Toponymy and Anthroponymy. One reason is the natural relationship

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7 *Toponímia IV: A cidade, as pessoas e seus nomes* ("Toponymy IV: city, people and their names"). Syllabus available at: https://uspdigital.usp.br/jupiterweb/obterDisciplina?nomdis=&sgldis=flc1458.
8Available at: https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2021/01/07/em-crise-metro-rio-vende-naming-rights-e-estacao-de-botafogo-vira-botafogo-coca-cola.ghtml.

between people and place names, which gives rise to detoponymization and deanthroponymization processes. The theory of proper names also goes side by side, whether of person or place, and the particularities depend on the corpora selected.

The first stop on this part of our journey takes us to a diachronic paper. Juliana Soledade Barbosa Coelho (University of Brasília -UnB), Natival Simões Neto (Federal University of Bahia - UFBA), and Letícia Santos Rodrigues (USP - doctoral candidate at the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Literature, and Human Sciences) make an excellent contribution to Brazilian anthroponymic studies with Anthroponymic innovation in Bahia during 19th, 20th and 21st centuries: an interface between Anthroponomastics and Historical Morphology. These authors analyze innovations through the morphological handling of anthroponyms caused by onomastic competence. Those Germanic bithematic given names, already identified by Joseph Marie-Piel[9], are samples from the 19th to the 21st century, with theoretical and methodological emphasis on the differentiation between both elements.

The second island to be visited is borderline, as it deals with Brazilian and Lithuanian personal names. The paper covers a nationality that practically "fades away" amidst the enormous bibliographic material concerning European immigration. For this reason, the contribution is as significant as it is rare. Karolina Butkuvienė (Vilnius University Šiauliai Academy), Lolita Petrululionė (Vilnius University Šiauliai Academy), Márcia Sipavicius Seide (Western Paraná State

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[9] One should emphasize that, throughout his extensive work, Piel have highlighted the varied origin of anthroponyms in terms of genesis and chronology, since anthroponyms originating from peoples such as Suevi, Goths, Vandals, and Alans penetrated the Peninsular Romanesque system in the Early Middle Ages, but one cannot disregard the contributions that came more recently via France, for example, in which French person names came to incorporate the already consolidated Portuguese anthroponym system.

University - UNIOESTE), and Edita Valiulienė (Vilnius University Šiauliai Academy), in the paper Name-giving motives in Lithuania and Brazil: a comparative view, draw a parallel between linguistic and cultural issues surrounding the choice of first names in Lithuania and Brazil.

If, on the one hand, the anthroponymic choices in both countries are guided mainly by the aesthetics of the name – detaching etymology and semantic transparency as key motivations –, on the other hand, the divergences highlight specific cultural threads. Moreover, there is a detailed literature review of naming practices in those two countries. The quantitative analysis follows the qualitative one as they bring excerpts from interview transcripts and contextualize the onomastic data relating it to the theoretical premises.

The next stopover is full of new tracks to go through. Eduardo Tadeu Roque Amaral (Federal University of Minas Gerais -UFMG), in Onomastics and Law Interface: contributions to the studies of Brazilian anthroponomy analyzes anthroponyms from a varied spectrum – ballot and parliamentary names, civil, and social names – following the new trends on the right of own naming, whose analysis considers the 2011 Brazilian Civil Code. After collecting anthroponyms, conducted in official sources such as the House of Representatives and the Superior Electoral Court, the analysis follows, examining form and content, considering that they are names chosen by the bearers. The author also suggests steps for those who want to pursue this research path.

Let us continue our journey. The following landscape allows us to contemplate the research of Maria Virgínia Dias de Ávila (Federal University of Uberlândia -UFU) and Ariel Novodvorski (Federal University of Uberlândia - UFU) in the paper Indianist anthroponymy in Alencar's corpus: an etymological, fictional and contextual analysis. That is an increasingly familiar landscape in

travels similar to those we now undertake, as there are growing studies investigating personal and place-names in literature.10 The authors describe four characters' names named by José de Alencar (1822-1877), the most representative Brazilian romantic author, and analyze the meaning and denominative context of Native proper names, notably Tupi.

The journey through a little-known island can reveal not very common landscapes, and, in this case, we refer to another contribution of this research, a one that shows a methodological content: the collection in a digital base of historical corpora, such as the Corpus do Português (DAVIES, 2006), and the processing by the WordSmith Tools program (SCOTT, 2012). It is like knowing that a tree has ripe fruit which is ready for harvesting and neglect it. The authors stop under the tree, pick the fruit, taste it, and demonstrate how technological resources can be helpful to Brazilian onomasticians, whether in clipping, coding, or data analysis, aligning research to approaches used abroad.

To the unfamiliar but curious navigators about the Atlantic waters of Brazil, we suggest The humor of Northeastern Brazil's anthroponomy, by Shara Lylian de Castro Lopes (Federal Institute of Piauí). In this paper, researchers take anthroponyms, not exclusively but always associated with the Northeast region, to discuss identity aspects, considering the French Discourse Analysis as an example of discursive memories. This interdisciplinary dialogue efficiently relates semantic-discursive concepts, such as ethos, to denominative processes often interpreted as kitsch.

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10 We know that universal fictional literature, especially in tragic or comic texts, is generous of illustrative proper names with clear signification in relation to the personality and actions of the named in the story. The authors demonstrate how Alencar represents such characters in his historical novels. Although they are not entirely understood by Brazilian Portuguese speakers today, it is possible to recognize morphemes from the Tupi-based language that was spoken in Brazil until the mid-1800s.

Lopes collected people's names from witty pages on social networks. She describes the anthroponyms that characterize the modus vivendi of Brazilian sertão – hinterland – and analyzes how denominative acts provide humorous expression in verisimilar representations, although stereotyped. Such processes are presented in several levels of linguistic analysis, such as in the orthographic stylization, by the recurrent use of graphemes k, w, and y, and in usual patronymic structures in the Northeast region, as in the name Júnio de Bio de Zé Gaiola.

3.3 Toward foreign ports: last stopover and the end of the journey

Towards the end of the journey, which has only a few stops in overseas ports, this ship takes the reader away from Brazil's Atlantic coast. Not at random, the Northeast is the closest geographical point for a sea excursion that takes the sailor to the other side of the ocean to visit the toponymy of Portugal, Brazil's former colonizer. From now on, we will no longer return to Brazilian lands in search of landscapes abroad that allow for self-recognition through otherness.

Carlos Rocha (University of Lisbon) describes and analyzes hydronyms in the paper Towards a profile of central and southern Portugal potamonymy to portray the millenary Iberian stratigraphy (influence of pre-Latin substrates, the Arabic adstratum, and Galician-Portuguese dialects). Thus, although this study does not offer an innovative interdisciplinary approach, and even though we already have studies on Brazilian hydronymy, its corpus and historical processes will interest any scholar who wishes to understand the Lusitanian territorialization through the Central Southern Portuguese hydronyms. It is also worth mentioning that some contemporary studies about Portuguese hydronyms have been promoted by Brazilian toponymists, especially at the University of São Paulo.

Returning to South Atlantic waters, we find a neighboring land. In Uruguayan place-names of Spanish origin in the context of linguopragmatics, Irina Martynenko, a lecturer professor at the Kutafin Moscow State Law University (Russia), presents us with a descriptive-analytical study of Uruguayan toponyms of Spanish origin. Even foreign, the landscape exposed in the data is not strange. We should not be afraid of any storm since it unveils an already safe path to the scholar or enthusiast of Toponymy. After an overview of the most representative linguistic strata in Uruguayan place-names, namely: Guarani, Portuguese, English, Catalan, and Spanish, the "context of linguopragmatics" proposed in the title is materialized in a morphological decomposition and etymological derivation, including examples of folk etymology (false or popular etymology).

Two elements offer the reader the scale of how much the modus navigandi in this journey is no longer limited to the spatial field. One of them is the collection from electronic and georeferenced databases on a global scale, such as geonames.org. The other is the extensive bibliography of this researcher concerning the toponymic panorama of Spanish-speaking countries in America. Thus, one can get to know (contemplative or investigative) the place-names with a few clicks, without the need to raise flags or recruit a crew. Therefore, although self-declared introductory, this article instigates Brazilians, especially those seeking to recognize Uruguayan toponyms.

In addition to the ten papers described so far, signed by 16 articulists, we invite travelers to come ashore by presenting an interview by Yolanda Guillermina López Franco (National Autonomous University of Mexico) to Miguel Reyes Contreras (University of Ixtlahuaca-Mexico). In the interview El nombre no es sólo un referente, Reyes Contreras notes that "En México, el estudio del nombre es escaso en trabajos académicos" (LÓPEZ FRANCO, this issue). He asks the

interviewee for an overview of the status of Onomastics in Mexico. In response López Franco, who has strengthened relations with Brazilian researchers in recent years by coediting the aforementioned journal Onomástica desde América Latina, points out a historiographical summary of the area in the country.

López Franco highlights some contributions of Onomastics, considered "an inter, even a transdisciplinary" science, and advocates for better organization in collecting and treating proper names by official statistical agencies and academic institutions in Mexico. Her account exposes the frustration at the impossibility of proceeding to a systematic investigation regarding first names (nombres de pila) on a national scale. She also defends the growing, yet still slow, Mexican journey towards the development and internationalization of Onomastics. At the end of the interview, there are references and a list of studies from the extensive bibliography produced by this professor, which can be helpful to Brazilian researchers who want to recognize "paths traveled" by foreign names. It is a "must" stop, as her testimony portrays a situation similar to the Brazilian one in Onomastics.

4 Assessment of the journey

We hope that this trip can be as productive for the readers as it has been for the editors. For us, the journey is no longer the kind of trip where the landscapes follow one another rapidly, as when we look out the windows of a moving train, and where the tones appear blurred and indistinct because of high speed.

This presentation has ceased to be only a presentation and has become, in fact, a paper in which we have been able to slow down the speed of the trip to observe the horizon with a clear view, glimpsing beautiful pictures; admiring landscapes battered by some element, which still need support to flourish again; and also sorrowing the dry field in need of hoeing and care. These are our

reflections on Brazilian Onomastics. There are promising studies, already theoretically and methodologically advanced; there are those which have not yet reached a satisfactory path, and, finally, there are also those paths to be avoided by the researcher, under penalty of not bearing fruit.

Presenting to readers the contents of the thematic issue has overpassed the goals we had planned. Instead, it had become a locus of discussion about the directions of onomastic research in Brazil. Moreover, also a space for the revision of concepts related to interdisciplinarity. As we have pointed out elsewhere, it is likewise a manifesto to the much-needed collaboration among groups, university researchers – or independent researchers –, graduate students, and other levels. One day we will be able to make a qualitative improvement that matches the quantitative material in the field.

Finally, the Guest Editors would like to thank everyone who collaborated with this issue, the readers, the reviewers, the entire editorial team, and the Scientific Committee of *Domínios de Lingu@gem*. We wish everyone good reading and even better reflections.

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Placenames of indigenous origin in Acre-Brazil: fauna, flora and hydrography in geographic features

Toponímia indígena no Acre: a fauna, a flora e as águas em nomes de espaços geográficos

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ABSTRACT: Toponymy, a discipline that studies place names, is one of the branches of Onomastics: science responsible for the study of proper names. This study aims to trace a profile of toponyms of indigenous origin in the rural area of Acre, analyzing toponymic motivations related to fauna, flora and hydrography in Acrean geographic features. This *corpus* – collected in the maps provided by IBGE, with a scale of 1: 250,000 and 1:1,000,000 – was based on the theoretical-methodological proposal by Dick (1990, 1992), especially regarding the taxonomic model, composed of 27 taxa, subdivided into physical and cultural categories, and as to the catalogue and storage of toponymic database (DICK, 2004). The results revealed that, out of 392 toponyms, 74% are names linked to physical and geographic characteristics, 20% concerning cultural factors and 6% were unclassified. The research showed that toponymic motivation is mainly based on flora, fauna and hydrography

RESUMO: A Toponímia, disciplina que estuda o nome dos lugares, é um dos ramos da Onomástica, ciência responsável pelo estudo do nome próprio. O presente trabalho tem como objetivo traçar um perfil dos topônimos indígenas da zona rural do Estado do Acre, destacando as motivações ligadas à fauna, à flora e às águas na nomeação dos espaços acreanos. Os dados – coletados nos mapas fornecidos pelo IBGE: os municipais com escala de 1: 250 000 e o mapa físico do estado do Acre com escala 1:1000 000 – foram analisados com base na proposta teórico-metodológica de Dick (1990, 1992), especialmente quanto ao modelo taxionômico, composto por 27 taxes, subdivididas em categorias de natureza física e natureza antropocultural, e quanto à catalogação e armazenamentos dos dados nas fichas lexicográfico-toponímicas (DICK, 2004). A análise revelou que, dos 392 topônimos indígenas coletados, 74% são nomes ligados a características físico-

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predominantly from Tupi language origin.

geográficas, 20% concernentes a fatores antropoculturais e 6% com classificação não identificada. A pesquisa demonstrou que a motivação toponímica se baseia, principalmente, nos aspectos da flora, da fauna e da hidrografia revelados nos extratos linguísticos de origem Tupi – predominante no corpus analisado.

KEYWORDS: Indigenous toponymy. Acre. Toponymic motivation. Toponymic Atlas of the Brazilian Western Amazon.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Toponímia indígena. Acre. Motivação toponímica. Atlas Toponímico da Amazônia Ocidental Brasileira.

1 Introduction

Toponymy is the science that studies placenames and with main characteristic is its interdisciplinarity, since it is necessary to accomplish knowledge integration from other sciences. Through them, it is possible to go back in time to get to know cultural, historical and ideological aspects of a community. And even though its field is associated with Linguistics, Toponymy traverses linguistic aspects and spreads over other branches of knowledge, taking into consideration historical, economic, social and cultural factors, once naming a place is not something that occurs randomly: there is always an intention guided by the cultural and ideological values of the one who is naming it, unveiling a close relationship between man and the environment (SOUSA; DARGEL, 2020, p. 11).

This study aims to trace a toponymic profile of placenames of indigenous origin in the rural zone in Acre, highlighting evidences of the relation between naming of a geographic feature and the environment, disclosing motivations related to fauna, flora and hydrography in these Acrean names.

2 Theoretical premises

Toponymy is a branch of Onomastics, which studies proper names, whose denominative object is circumscribed in the domains of lexicon, specifically to naming

geographic features, in their structural, semantic and motivational aspects (DICK, 1990, 1992; ISQUERDO, 1996; ANDRADE, 2006; SOUSA, 2019).

The theoretical discussions proposed here are divided in three parts. In the first one, we deal with the interdisciplinarity that is inherent to toponymic studies; secondly, we describe geographic and historical aspects of the state of Acre; and finally we address indigenous languages in Acre.

2.1 Toponymy: theoretical aspects and interdisciplinarity

Through toponymic studies, it is possible to "rebuild meanings and, later, trace a motivational panorama of the region concerned, as an ideological rescue of the one who named it and a preservation of the memory background." (CARVALHINHOS, 2002-2003, p. 172). Salazar-Quijada (1985, p. 18) reminds us that naming a place does not occur in a random way and that there is always some intention guided by cultural and ideological values of the one who names the space.

Carvalhinhos (2007, p. 2) also points out that "proper names have as their function to register attitudes and social postures of a people, their beliefs, professions, region of origin, among other aspects." Thus, it is necessary to understand that the toponym also integrates "the historical linguistic vocabulary, where it is possible to find information that inter-relate with toponymy and culture" (CARVALHINHOS, 2010, p. 2464).

According to Dick, Toponymy is "a huge linguistic and cultural complex, where data from other sciences can necessarily intersect and not exclusively" (DICK, 1990, p. 19). As Isquerdo (2020) says,

> [...] lexical repertoire of language, in addition to storing the common lexicon that results from naming everyday physical, human and intellectual elements of a society which, on its turn, translates the form of perceiving and representing reality, gathers proper names of people and places, with all cultural, ideological,

mythological and referential load impregnated on them. In that context, one cannot disregard the referential function, which is denotative of proper names, aware of its symbolic and representative value of a motivational reality. (ISQUERDO, 2020, p. 10).

It is worth noting, however, that "the toponym is not the place per se, but one of its representations, carrying in its semic structure elements from language, culture, and the time it was created; in short from the man who named it." (CARVALHINHOS, 2009, p. 83).

Studying a toponym should be based on the study of the lexical item, in its structural, semantic and motivational aspects, as mentioned before. Dick (1990) divides toponyms into two structures: a generic term (which refers to the geographic entity) and the specific term (which refers to the name of the place as such). In that sense, the author explains that:

> When designating, traditionally, a proper name to a place, the toponym, in its formalization of onomastics nomenclature, connects with the geographic feature it identifies, constituting a set or binomial relationship which can be split up so their forming terms can be better distinguished (DICK, 1990, p. 10).

As for the morphological composition of toponyms, Dick (1990) classifies them in three types: simple toponym (or simple specific element), compound toponym (or compound specific element) and hybrid toponym (or hybrid specific element), as seen in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1 — Morphological composition of a toponymic specific term.
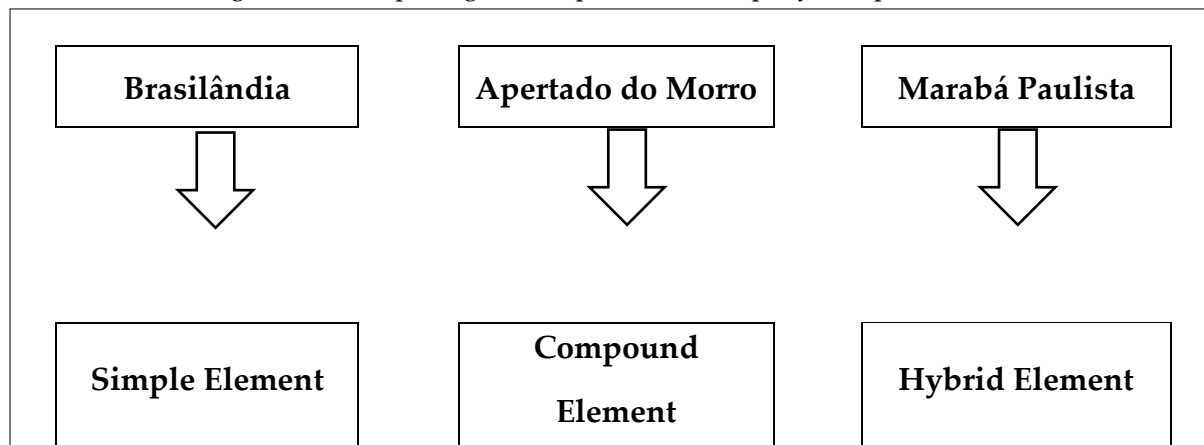
Source: adapted from Dick (1990).

A simple toponym consists of only one formant (ex. Colocação Sossego); a compound toponym is composed of two formants (ex. Seringal Novo Horizonte) and hybrid elements are the ones whose origin comes from two or more languages (ex. Marabá Paulista).

For the toponymic classification in this study, as stated previously, we use Dick's taxonomic model (1990; 1992) which combines 27 taxa, considering semantic and motivational relation. These taxa are divided by that toponymist in two groups: 11 taxa of physical nature and 16 of anthropocultural nature. We present the 27 taxa, then, with their corresponding definitions and examples, according to Dick (1990), Andrade (2010) and Sousa (2019):

a) **Physical Taxa**: Astrotoponyms: toponyms related to celestial bodies in general. Ex.: *Estrela* (BA); Cardinotoponyms: Toponyms related to geographic positions in general. Ex.: *Praia do Norte* (TO); Chromotoponyms: toponyms related to the chromatic scale. Ex.: *Rio Negro* (TO); Dimensiotoponyms: toponyms related to dimensional characteristics of geographic features such as extension, length, width, thickness, height, depth. Ex.: *Igarapé Profundo* (TO); Phytotoponyms:

toponyms of vegetal nature. Ex. Pinheiral (RJ), Cafezal (PA); Geomorphotoponyms: toponyms related to topographic features. Ex. *Montanhas* (RN); Hydrotoponyms: Toponyms resulting from hydrographic features in general. Ex.: *Água Boa* (MG); Litotoponyms: toponyms of mineral nature, related to the constitution of the soil, represented by individuals. Ex. Tijuco Preto (SP); Meteorotoponyms: toponyms related to atmospheric phenomena. Ex.: *Ventania* (SP); Morphotoponyms: toponyms that reflect a geometric figure. Ex.: *Curva Grande* (AM); Zootoponyms: toponyms concerning animals, represented by domestic individuals. Ex. *Lagoa da Onça* (RJ);

b) **Anthropocultural Taxa**: Animotoponyms (or Nootoponyms): toponyms related to psychic life, spiritualistic culture, embracing all products of human psychism, whose major raw material and in its most important aspect as cultural fact, does not belong to physical culture. Ex.: *Vitória* (CE); Antropotoponyms: toponyms related to individual proper names. Ex. *Fátima* (MT); Axiotoponyms: toponyms related to titles or honors that are followed by individual names. Ex.: *Presidente Prudente* (SP); Corotoponyms: toponyms related to names of cities, countries, states, regions and continents. Ex.: *Europa* (AC); Chronotoponyms: toponyms that embrace chronological indicators which are represented, in placenames, by the adjectives *novo/nova/ velho/velha*[1]. Ex. *Velha Boipeba* (BA); Ecotoponyms: toponyms related to habitation in general. Ex.: *Casa da Telha* (BA); Ergotoponyms: toponyms related to elements of material culture. Ex.: *Córrego da Flecha* (MT); Ethnotoponyms: toponyms related to ethnical elements, whether isolated or not (people, tribe, caste). Ex.: *Ilha do Francês* (RJ); Dirrematotoponyms: toponyms made up by phrases or

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[1] NT: related to "new or old".

linguistic utterances. Ex.: *Há Mais Tempo* (MA); Hierotoponyms: toponyms related to sacred names from different beliefs: Christian, Hebrew, Mohammedan, Ex.: *Cristo Rei* (PR) [Hierotoponyms can also present two subdivisions: hagiotoponyms: toponyms related to saints of the Roman hagiology: *São Paulo* (SP); Mythtoponyms: toponyms related to mythological entities. Ex.: *Ribeirão do Saci* (ES)]; Historiotoponyms: toponyms related to movements of some hystorical and social nature and its members, as well as to its corresponding dates. Ex.: *Inconfidentes* (MG); Hodotoponyms (or Odotoponyms): toponyms related to rural or urban communication routes. Ex: *Travessa* (BA); Numerotoponyms: toponyms related to numerical adjectives. Ex.: *Duas Barras* (BA); Poliotoponyms: toponyms constituted by the words *vila, aldeia, cidade, povoação, arraial*. Ex.: *Rio da Cidade* (RJ); Sociotoponyms: toponyms related to professional activities, to workplaces, and to meeting points of a community (plaza, patio, square). Ex.: *Pescador* (MG); Somatotoponyms: toponyms employed in a metaphorical relation with animal or human body parts. Ex.: *Pé de Boi* (SE).

To register the collected data, we used the toponymic database model proposed by Dick (2004), which will be described in the methodology section.

2.2 Geographical and historical aspects of Acre

The state of Acre is in the southernmost region of the Brazilian Amazon region and has an area of 164,123.964 km², bordering Peru and Bolivia. This land used to belong to Bolivia and was incorporated to Brazil on November 17, 1903, by the Treaty of Petropolis.

The Government of Acre adopted a regionalization system based on the river basins, aiming to make it easier to implement governmental policies. This

regionalization has divided Acre into five Development Regional Areas (*Regionais de Desenvolvimento*): Regional do Juruá, Regional do Tarauacá/Envira, Regional do Purus, Regional do Alto Acre, and Regional do Baixo Acre. The following map depicts these divisions (Fig. 2):

Figure 2 — Development Regional Areas of Acre.
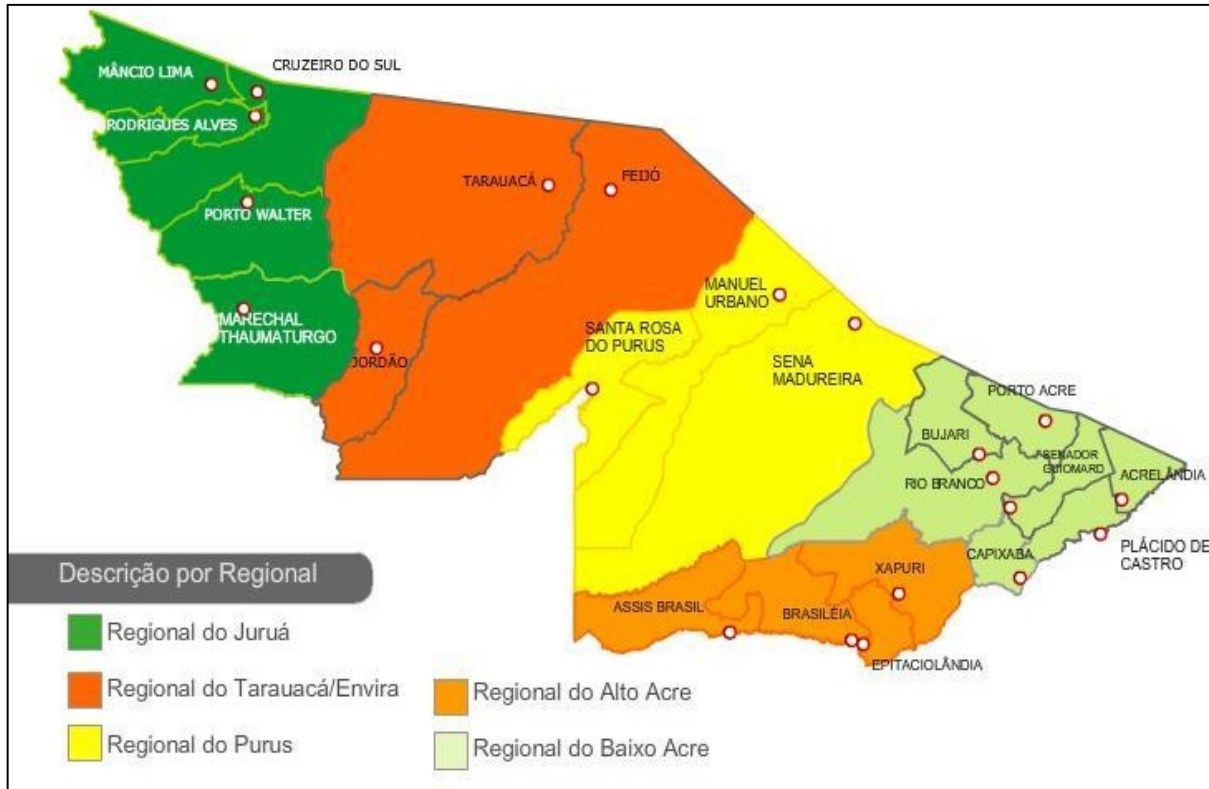
Source: based on geographical data from *ZEE-Acre, Phase II* (2006).

According to the Environmental Economical Zoning of Acre (ZEE/Acre, 2006), Acre has an equatorial, hot and humid weather; high temperatures and high levels of precipitation. Its rivers play an important role for the colonization these lands and they have constituted an important means of transportation. They also provide subsistence, by supplying water for domestic consumption and for activities related to irrigation and fishing. Its vegetation comprises three phytoecological regions: the Dense Ombrophilous Forest, the Open Ombrophilous Forest and the Campinarana.

The relief is comprised by sedimentary rocks, divided into geomorphological units: the Amazon Plain, the Endimari-Abuna Depression, the Iaco-Acre Depression, the Rio Branco Depression, the Jurua-Iaco Depression, the Tarauacá-Itaquai Depression, the Marginal Depression, the Serra do Divisor, the Cruzeiro do Sul Tabular Surface and the Residual Plateaus of the Serra do Divisor. The highest point in Acre, where there is a change in the relief, is in the Serra do Divisor, which is in the westernmost point of the state, with maximum altitude of 734m.

According to the census by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2010), the indigenous population in Acre has been estimated in 15,921, of which 2,595 are living in urban areas and 13,326, in rural ones. The ethnic groups that currently make up the indigenous people in Acre are: *Arara, Kampa (Ashaninkas), Jaminawá-Arara, Katuquina, Kaxinawá (Huni Kuin), Kulina (Madija), Shanenawa, Manchineri, Nawá, Nukini, Poyanawa, Yawanawá, Jaminawa* and *Isolados* (IBGE, 2010).

As stated by ZEE-Acre (2006), it is likely that the arrival of the first known inhabitants took place approximately between 20,000-10,000 years ago, coming from the Asian continent. Ranzi (2008) points out that interethnic contact between native and non-native peoples were in the nineteenth century, when the colonization process of Acre started due to the discovery of rubber, raw material from *Hevea brasiliensis*, the tree known as Rubber tree, which lead to the massacre and exploitation of the native peoples.

Therefore, the colonization of Acre has a strong relation with the process of industrialization in Europe and other parts of the world due to rubber, a precious raw material coveted by many investors, used to manufacture coatings for car wheels, household objects, military equipment, etc.

A large contingent has migrated to Acre in order to work in the extraction of latex from rubber trees, having to adapt to live in the forest. Henceforth, a period of conflicts and violence against indigenous people started.

The demand for rubber lead to "the implantation of a productive structure based on rubber plantation (extractive company), financing capital, latifundium (although, under that point of view, they were seen as productive) and the exploitation of the Northeastern labor force." (SILVA, 2008, p. 134).

Aquino and Iglesias (2005) state that contact between migrant workers extracting rubber and the native dwellers caused the decimation of thousands of indigenous peoples, through violence employed in the "*correrias*" (armed expeditions that resulted in massacres), along with diseases brought by white men, mainly those ethnicities who did not accepted being dominated. Iglesias, Ôchoa and Teixeira (2003) report that many of these who spoke *Aruan* and *Aruak* languages, such as *Jamandi*, *Apurinã*, *Manchineri* and *Ashaninka*, started to carry out activities related to the extraction of rubber and rubber sheet, such as woodmen, rowers, rubber tappers etc. The people who resisted domination and slavery were from the group who spoke *Pano* language, which constituted obstacles for the expansion of the rubber plantations, resulting in the persecution and extermination of several indigenous peoples.

Morais (2008) explains that, in that period, there was an attempt by some Indians to hide their own identity, causing many cultural traits to be left aside so they could escape from persecutions. The author claims that many tried to live as non-Indians, but even with the cultural and genetical mix, full assimilation did not take place, "emerging in the last three decades and claiming the right to be recognized as *Ashaninca, Kaxinanawá* and others, and therefore, entitled to the lands they occupied." (MORAIS, 2008, p. 135).

According to Neves (2002), the indigenous situation tested a few changes from 1976 on, when the National Indian Foundation *(Funai)* was founded in Acre, and from fights carried on by non-governmental indigenous organizations and the indigenous leaderships themselves, who started to claim for their territorial rights. It was through much struggle and fight against the capitalist fury that the indigenous lands were

demarcated and some rights were assured, although they are still far from being totally accomplished.

2.3 Indigenous languages

As Melatti (2007) affirms, there is a belief that *Tupi* is the most important language spoken by Indians in Brazil. One cannot deny valuation of that language related to others, and that is because colonizers found *Tupi* speakers all over the coast, whereas this is the first native tongue assimilated.

In Brazil, two large roots of indigenous languages are recognized, *Tupi* and *Macro-Jê*, and other families that are not classified in roots because they do not present the necessary similarities to be grouped. The distribution for the root of *Tupi*, according to Mellati (2007), is located in the following places: Northwest and Southwest of the state of Amazon; North of Rondonia; between the states of Mato Grosso and Pará; the Western part of Maranhão; West of Amapá; through the countries of Argentina and Paraguay; in the Brazilian sea coast, more specifically in the South and Southeast regions. As for the root of *Macrô-Jê*, it is located in the Center-South of Maranhão; in the Center-South of Pará; in the North and Northeast of Tocantins; in Mato-Grosso; in the Northeast of Minas Gerais; in part of São Paulo; in the North of Rio Grande do Sul; in Santa Catarina, and in the East of Pernambuco.

Sampaio (1987) emphasizes that *Tupi* "gives a special nature to Geography and History in South America, because that is where there is a large scale of names and designations that belong to the vocabulary of that language." (SAMPAIO, 1987, p. 57). Unlike Melatti (2007), Sampaio (1987) attributes the expansion of Tupi to European colonizers who slaved the Indians and catechized them, in the period of the flags, making this "barbaric language become a general language". (SAMPAIO, 1987, p. 68).

In Acre, there are three linguistic families: *Arawá, Aruak* and *Pano*, which belong to families that do not have any classification in roots. Languages from the *Pano* family

are better distributed spatially in the lands of Acre, including the cities Feijó, Tarauacá, Jordão, Porto Valter, Marechal Thaumaturgo, Cruzeiro do Sul, Sena Madureira, and Assis Brasil. Speakers of the linguistic family of *Arawá* are located in the city of Feijó. Speakers of languages from the family of *Aruak* can be found in Sena Madureira, Santa Rosa do Purus, Feijó e Marechal Thaumaturgo.

In the following segment, the research data will be analyzed.

3 Methodology

The corpus of this study is comprised of 392 toponyms of indigenous origin, related to the rural area, collected from municipal IBGE maps and from the physical map of Acre, with a 1:100,000 scale, and later, registered on toponymic cards, as the model proposed by Dick (2004), used in the *Atlas Toponímico da Amazônia Ocidental Brasileira* (*Projeto ATAOB*), and whose fields are described below.

a) Location/City: geographical location of the area named;

b) Toponym: official geographic name;

c) Type of Geographic Feature: AH (Human Features) or AF (Physical Features);

d) Etymology: linguistic origin of the toponym and semantic explanation. These data are collected from etymological dictionaries of indigenous origin;

e) Taxonomy: semantic classification of the toponym, divided into physical or anthropocultural classes (DICK, 1990);

f) Lexical Entry: linguistic element for the lexicographic entry;

g) Morphological Structure: formation of the toponym, divided into simple specific element, compound specific element and hybrid specific element;

h) History: survey of historical registers of toponyms in IBGE. Other historical data were collected from academic publications and official documents;

i)   Encyclopedic information: relevant information for the analysis of the toponym collected in supporting materials: books, dictionaries, internet searches and others;

j)   Sources: bibliography consulted;

k)   Researcher: the researchers in charge of collecting and describing data;

l)   Reviewer: supervising professor and coordinator of the ATAOB Project;

m) Collection date: the date on which the sample or data was collected.

For the etymological analysis of the indigenous toponyms, the following dictionaries were consulted, specially Aulete (1970), Bueno (1986), Cunha (1986), Ferreira (1986), Navarro (2013), Sampaio (1987), Tibiriçá (1997). For the classification of the motivating patterns of the toponyms, we considered taxonomies by Dick (1990), from meanings of indigenous toponyms and their relationships with fauna, flora and local hydrography. Data were quantified and plotted in percentage figures on charts in order to guide the analysis and discussion of the results.

4 Results

As mentioned by Dick (1990), Toponymy can be considered as a way of registering the present for future generations, because, in place names, human perceptions of his time are registered as well as the environmental conditions of their time period. Indigenous toponymic research, especially the toponymy of Amazon, accuse a strong presence of natural element as motivator in the choice of a name. It can be noted that toponym is not something strange or alien to the historical and political context of the community. Its significative load holds straight connection with the soil, climate, abundant or poor vegetation and with the very own cultural traits of a region in its varied manifestations of life (DICK, 1992, p. 47).

In that way, the natural environment (flora, fauna and hydrography) can be found in a relevant way in the process of designating names to places of indigenous origin present in this research, since they are already present in the daily life of those who named them. Quantitative percentages that consist of physical and anthropocultural motivations are represented in Figure 4, below:

Figure 4 — Semantic motivation of physical nature and of anthropocultural nature.
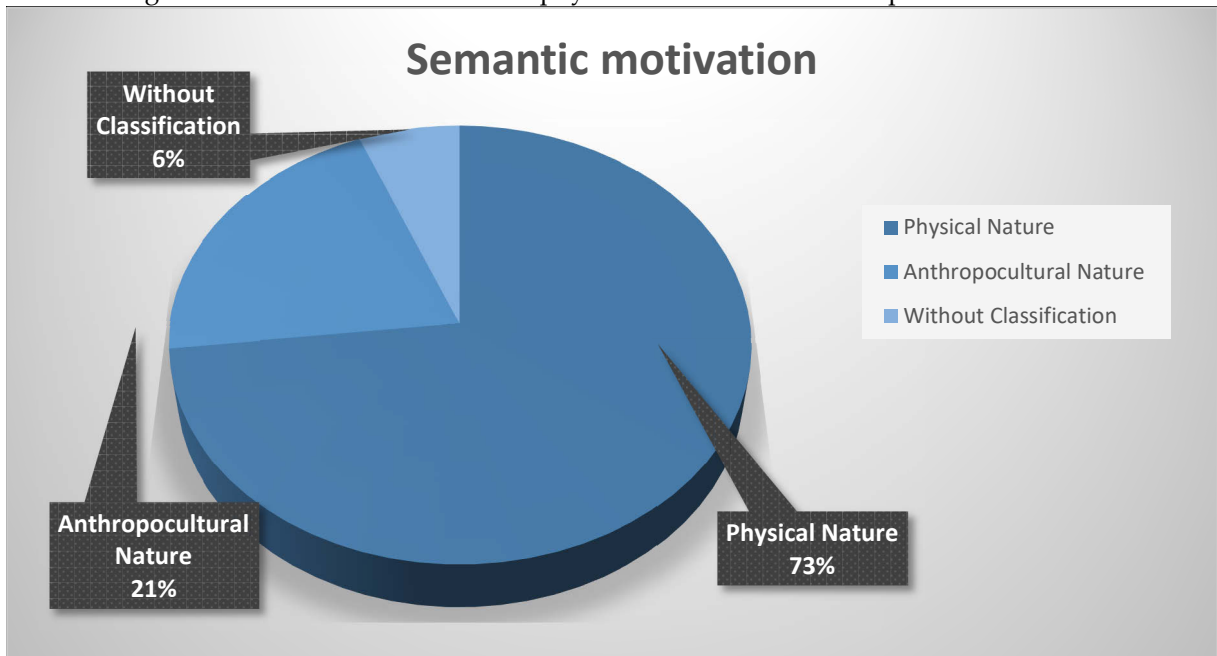
Source: research data.

While carrying out the analysis of distribution of the semantic motivation of physical nature and anthropocultural nature, it was possible to observe that, from the 392 toponyms of indigenous origin, 73% have physical nature as their semantic motivation and 21% present anthropocultural nature as their semantic motivation, and from the overall total, 6% were unclassified. Data confirm Dick's (1990, 1992) observations as well as of other toponymic research that indicate the predominance of physical natural motivation in the toponyms of indigenous origin.

As for general classification of the taxonomies of the toponyms analyzed, it is possible to observe the predominance of phytoponyms, with 27%, of zootoponyms, with 26%, and of hydrotoponyms, with 16%, as we can see in Figure 5, below:

Figure 5 — General classification of taxonomies.
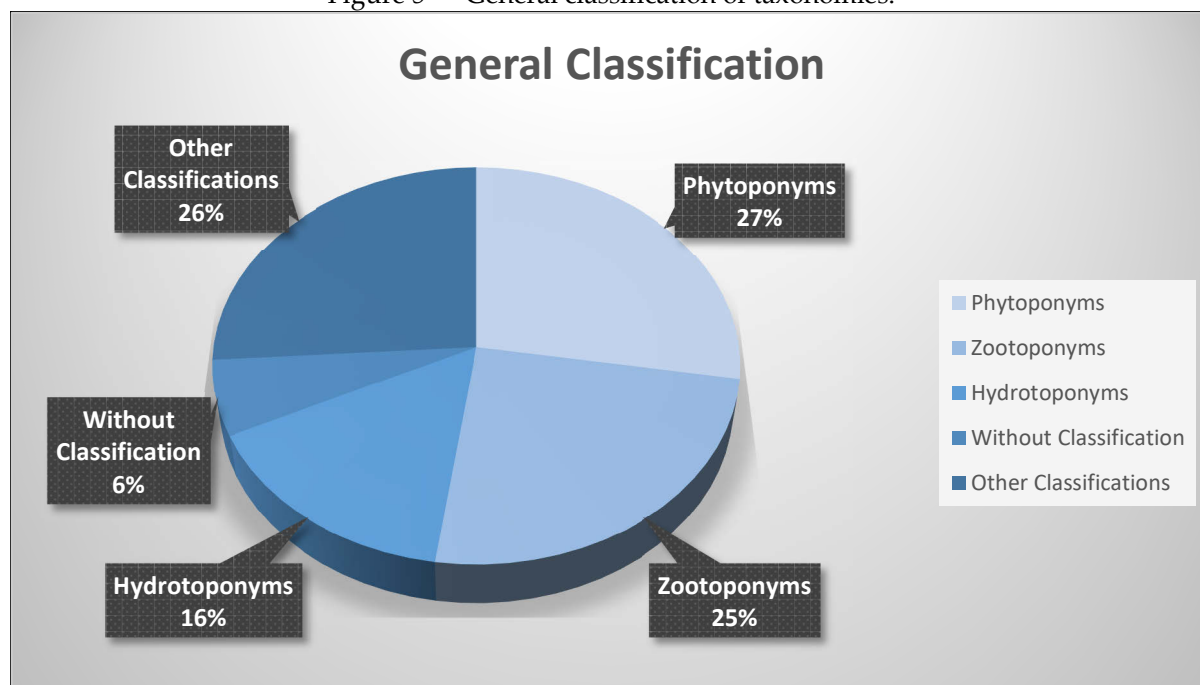
Source: The authors' own authorship.

Phytotoponyms, as classified by Dick (1992), are names with some connection with the Amazon flora, such as, for example, *taboca*, which is a kind of bamboo, a very common vegetal in this area. In the *corpus*, it is possible to find 3 occurrences for *taboca*, 4 for *tabocais*, and 1 for *taboquinha*. Another vegetal species that represents the flora in Acre and that appears in 7 occurrences is *samaúma*. As Lorenzi (2012) says, it is a large tree, whose height can reach 45m to 50m with a diameter of 1.5 to 2m. There are other data that relate to *palmeira jarina* and its agglomeration, *jarinal*, which also gives name to 7 geographical elements.

As for the zootoponyms, the second taxon in percentage, it is observed the following items: fish, such as the *cubiú*, *piranha*, *pacú*, *tambaqui*, and *traíra*; mamals, such

as the capybara, *cutia*, *paca*, and coati; amphibians, such as the *curú* and *jia*; reptiles, such as the alligator and boa constrictor; and birds, class which head the percentage of zootoponyms, such as macaw, *aracuã*, *cujubim*, *juriti*, *jacú*, *japim*, *mutum*, *patu*, *paturi* and *saracura*. These are all names related to the fauna in Acre.

Hydrotoponyms appear as the third most recurrent taxon, demonstrating the importance of water courses in dwellers' *modus vivendi*, since – for a long time – these were the only means used as water supply, as communications and as transportation for those living near rivers, in addition to supplying food. Some occurrences of hydrotoponyms are: *Iguatu, Iguaçu, Ipanema, Itu*, and *Macuripé*. The word *paraná* (or *paranã*) has 3 occurrences as simple specific element and 5 occurrences as compound specific element: *Paraná do Acuriá, Paraná do Brabo, Paraná do João Bezerra, Paraná dos Mouras*, and *Paraná do Ouro*.

Data analysis pointed out high presence of Tupi linguistic items in indigenous toponymy in Acre. In order to understand the appearance of names with that origin, in the indigenous toponymy, it is important to recover the historical context of this place, and also the importance of Old Tupi, which was later modified by colonizers and became the general language used by non-Indians for a long time and taught to other indigenous ethnicities by the Jesuit missionaries.

It is possible that the predominance of words from Tupi in the indigenous toponymy in Acre is a consequence of the colonization and exploitation suffered by this region when rubber was discovered, considering that, in the XIX century, words with that origin were already part of the lexicon in Brazilian Portuguese language, naming flora, fauna, hydrography and places. The possible explanation for that predominance is offered by Andrade and Flores (2017), as follows:

> [...] wherever indigenous people who spoke languages from the Tupi route passed by, they named the reality surrounding them, in order to   demarcate spaces of local landscape (physical elements: rivers, streams, sierras, etc. and human and/or cultural elements:

camps, settlements, etc.), with several interests, among them, conquering territories (ANDRADE; FLORES, 2017, p. 239).

Another aspect to take into consideration is that many toponyms of Tupi origin were disseminated "from the religious action of missionaries and the participation of the old flags, who spread the so-called general language, consequently swelling the area occupied by these Indians" (DICK, 1990, p. 122).

Besides Tupi, we also found the following: 2 occurrences of names whose origin is *Aruaque*, which are *Manaus* and *Acre*; *Quêchua* origin place names: *Iaco*, *Antimary*, *Tamborico*, *Pulcallpa*, *Lapuna*; assumption of names whose etymology was not disclosed: *Xipamanu* and *Chambuiaco*; and the toponym *Tarauacá*, which has its origin in *Kaxinauá*.

5 Closing remarks

As we have mentioned previously, this paper aimed to trace a profile of the indigenous toponyms in the rural area in the state of Acre, highlighting motivations related to fauna, flora and hydrography in Acrean place names. The toponyms in the *corpus* added up to a total of 392, from which 6% of the names remained unclassified; 73% of toponyms of physical class; and 21% of anthropocultural class. Hence, we were able to verify that factors that most influenced indigenous toponymic signs were physical and geographical characteristics, especially names of animals, plants and hidronymic items.

Among the physical nature taxa, in first place we have phytotoponyms, with a total of 27%. In second, we have zootoponyms, with 25%, and hydrotoponyms as the third taxon, with 16%. The predominance of these taxa demonstrates the importance of vegetation, animals and hydrography courses for dwellers, representing mostly denominations that express local characteristics.

With regard to indigenous languages, we noted in the *corpus* an abundance of names of Tupi origin and, while carrying out the historical and social study of the

places, it is possible to ascertain that there are no languages from that linguistic root in Acre. Then, we started to question how these names constituted Acrean toponymy. So we tried to interweave the problematic of Tupi names in the toponymy of Acre with historical facts, as Dick suggests. We can suppose that the predominance of words of Tupi origin in the indigenous toponymy of Acre is the result of the colonization and exploitation that this region went through. From the discovery of rubber extraction, migrants arriving to those lands already knew Tupi lexicon, which, in the XIX century was incorporated in the fauna, flora, hydrography, and place names from other regions. These results corroborate ideas proposed by Sampaio (1987) and Dick (1990). In a less expressive way, we found words derived from *Aruaque*, from *Kaxinauá* and from *Quéchua*, which are languages spoken in the Andes.

During the research, it was not possible to find the etymology of a few toponyms in the main dictionaries of indigenous languages, resulting in 24 unclassified toponyms, what represents a total of 6%.

The descriptions of environmental characteristics, projected in the sum of phytotoponyms, hydrotoponyms and zootoponyms, reveal that "language turns them into pieces of (cognitive) traits and cultural value which can be apprehended by the linguistic system, and from then on be transmitted to users." (DICK, 2010, p. 195). Indigenous toponyms from Acre depict the Amazon nature and project physical and environmental forces that influence the life of local inhabitants. Flora, hidrography and fauna are prominent in Acrean people's *modus vivendi*. Dick (1992, p. 145) points out that, in Brazil, especially in the Amazon region, "the diversity of flora is felt so vividly" given the "occurrences of the botanic types".

In another moment, Dick (1992) mentions the importance of the waters as vital nourishment to human being. For the region under analysis, water represents paths, connecting bonds between spaces and cultures, food abounds and Amazon legends live. Water also limits interpersonal contact and, on the other hand, "tends to maintain

– as much as possible – common values unchanged, preserving, because of that, group tradition." (DICK, 1992, p. 197).

Just as it occurs with phytotoponyms, Dick (1992) highlights the great array of animal life in Brazil and the projection of fauna in the Brazilian toponymy. Acre, because it is in the southern western region of the Amazon, naturally present a strong influence from names of animals in their indigenous toponymy, reflecting the abundance the species that characterized the environment.

Therefore, in the act of naming geographic spaces, men project their way of seeing the world, their culture, their ideology or the characteristics of the environment that surrounds them. All this will influence their choices, whether for subjective or objective factors. There will always be intentions, since it will be very unlikely that the choice of a name will be. On the contrary, data analyzed in indigenous toponymy in Acre show how designations related to flora, fauna and hidrography describe the Amazon environment and, mainly, how nature is strongly related to man, which is part of it and influenced by it, in the act of naming.

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

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

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

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

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Methodology

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

I.   Survey, reading and a critical analysis of bibliography relevant to the topic of this paper;

II. Fieldwork, which has involved data collection at various stages of the research with the community: the data were collected by means of interviews with bilingual *Parkatêjê*/Portuguese speakers and archived in audio and video. The entirety of the data was recorded in the indigenous community and informed by questions asked directly to our consultants;

III. Transcription and organization of the data: the material collected during fieldwork has been transcribed orthographically both in Portuguese and in the *Parkatêjê* orthography[1];

IV. Presentation and analysis of linguistic and cultural aspects observed in the study of the Parkatêjê anthroponyms.

3 The Parkatêjê people: basic information

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

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[1] The Parkatêjê orthography has been proposed by the linguist Leopoldina Araújo (ARAÚJO, 1993).

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

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

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

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

Source: maps.google.com.br

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[2] Siasi/Sesai, 2012.

Figure 2 — Location of the Parkatêjê territory.
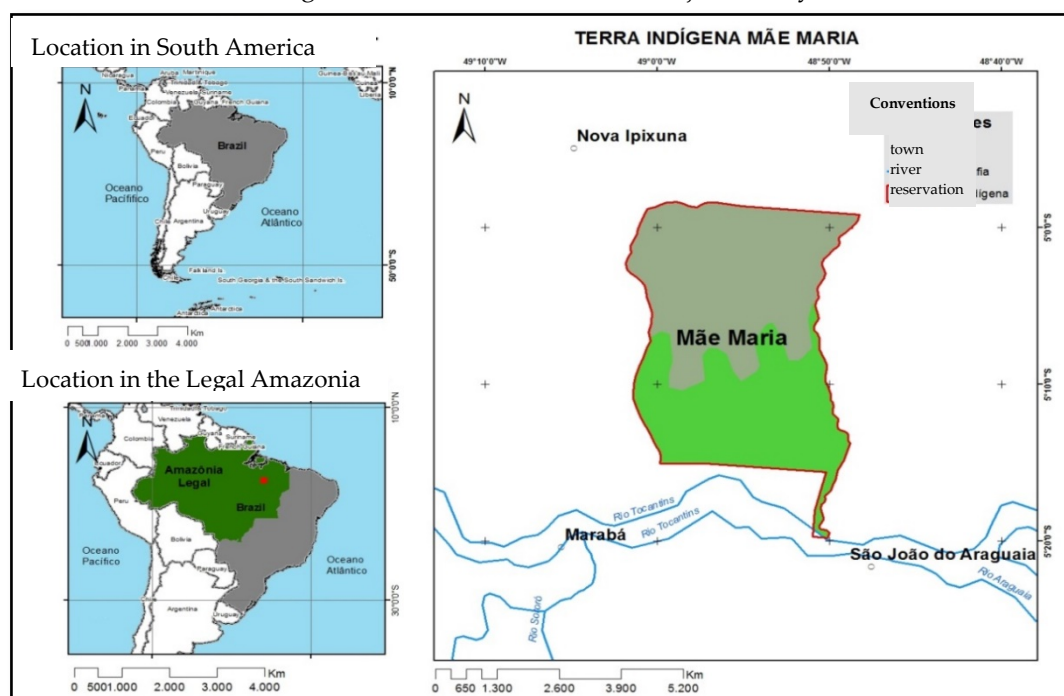
Source: Lopes (2017).

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

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

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

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

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

4 Language, speech, and culture in onomastic studies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Frawley (1992) defines culture in the following way:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[3] This hypothesis is also known in the specialized literature as the *Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity* or the *Principle of Linguistic Relativity.*

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

In Tavares and Isquerdo' s (2006) opinion,

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

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

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

In this vein, Tavares and Isquerdo corroborate that it is

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

In addition, it is important to emphasize that onomastic studies, in general, reveal important clues which lead us to the origins of a group, reflect its customs and

habits, and define, in Dick's (1997, p. 99, our translation) words, the "macrovision of its culture".

5 Parkatêjê anthroponymy: language and culture intertwined

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

Figure 3 — Parkatêjê within the Jê language family.
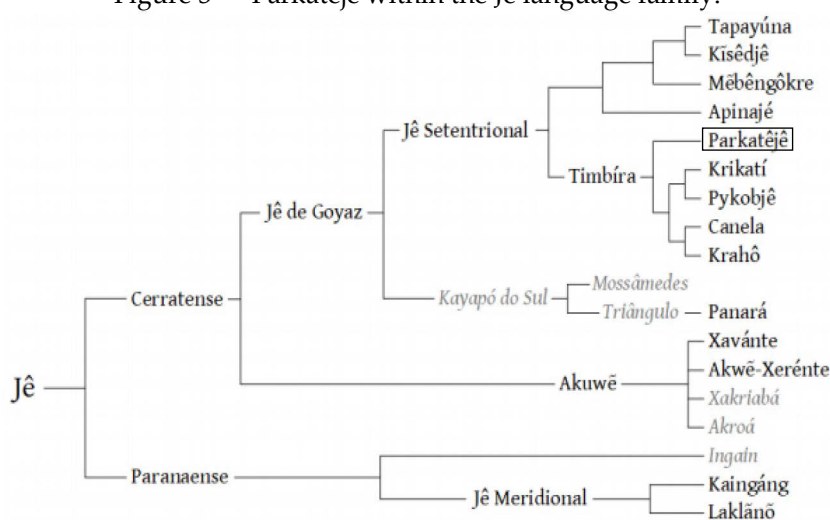
Source: Nikulin (2020, p. 83).

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

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

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

Coelho de Souza (2002, p. 428) highlights other types of established relationships based on the procedure of name-giving: "receiving a name—a Timbira name, of course—implies acquiring, at least virtually, Timbira "relatives" (that is, specific human relatives), in addition to the ceremonial relationships (formal friendship) and ritual positions (prerogatives)" (our translation).

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

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

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

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

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

Upon receiving a *Parkatêjê* name, the name-receiver potentially gains all social relationships of the name-giver, including his/her relatives both by consanguinity and

by affinity, his/her ritual positions (moieties), as well as his/her ceremonial relationships of formal friendship and potential spouses (COELHO DE SOUZA, 2002).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Anthroponyms headed by a noun

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6) Krĩnareti   'the one who moves between villages all the time',
                lit. 'the villageless'
   Krĩ   *nare*   *ti*
   village   NEG   INTENS

7) Ropkatêre   'the one who hunts jaguars'
   Rop   *katê*   *re*
   jaguar   AGENT   DIM

8) Katêjõkware 'the one who calls personally to talk'
   Katê   *jõkwa*   *re*
   AGENT   person   DIM

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

9) Amkronã   'sun/day', lit. 'in the daytime'
   Amkro nã
   day   LOC

10) Nãkruwati   'arrow in him'
    Nã   *kruwa* *ti*
    LOC   flecha   AUM

11) Kãmkruwati   'the one who was shot', lit. 'arrow in him'
    Kãm   *kruwa* *ti*
    LOC   arrow   AUM

Anthroponyms headed by a verb

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

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

12) Nãkôti   'the one who sweats a lot', lit. 'to sweat'
    Nãkô   ti
    sweat INTENS
    (descriptive verb)

13) Kurẽkti   'killer'
    Kurẽk   ti
    pierce INTENS
    (active verb)

14) Awỳre   'the one who asks a lot', lit. 'to ask'
    Awỳ   re
    ask   INTENS
    (intransitive verb)

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

15) Tuxêre   'the one who ties the belly', lit. 'tied belly'
    Tu   xê   re
    belly tie   DIM
    (transitive verb)

16) Jakànkràti   'the one who extracts palmito well', lit. 'to extract palmito'
Jakàn   *krà*   *ti*
palmito   extract   AUM
(transitive verb)

17) Kôkupati   'the one who is afraid of water', lit. 'to fear water'
Kô   *kupati*
water be_afraid
(descriptive verb)

18) Akrôtỳi   'the one who extracts strong vines', lit. 'strong vines'
Akrô   *tỳi*
vine   be_strong/hard
(descriptive verb)

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

19) Kãmtaihoprãmre   'the one who likes to write'
Kãmtaiho   *prãm*   *re*
write   like   DIM
(transitive verb + descritive verb)

20) Amrĩkupati   'fearless/brave'
Amrĩ   *kupati*
NEG.EXIST   be_afraid
(descriptive verb + descritive verb)

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

21) Amjipeire   'the one who likes to show up neat/tidy'
Amji   *pei*   *re*
REFLEX   be_good   DIM

22) Awỳinõre   'the one who doesn't ask'
    Awỳ   inõ   re
    ask   NEG   DIM

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

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

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

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

23) Purprãmre   'the one who likes the garden'

24) Purkôre   'the one who sows while it rains'

25) Purhêre   'the woman who works in the garden'

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

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

26) Hàkti   'the hunter', lit. 'the hawk'

27) Krôxũmti   'the pig killer'

28) Ropkatêre   'the one who hunts jaguars'

29) Ropkukuti   'the hunter'

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

30) Pamaprĩ   'the one who walks slowly'

31) Kôkupati   'the one afraid of water'

32) Kãmtaihoprãmre 'the one who likes to write'

33) Awỳinõre   'the one who doesn't ask'

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

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

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

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

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

34) Atõkàre   'eldest brother'
    Atõ   kà   re
    brother   eldest DIM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Toponymic commodification and the neoliberal city: on the sale of naming rights for São Paulo's subway stations

Comodificação toponímica e a cidade neoliberal: sobre a venda de direitos de nomeação das estações do metrô de São Paulo

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ABSTRACT: After being practiced for nearly three decades in the city of São Paulo for privately-owned venues such as cinemas, theaters and, more recently, sports stadiums, the sale of naming rights is being applied to state-owned spaces: in April 2020, the *Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo* (*Cia. do Metrô*) announced a plan to grant to private exploitation the right to name its stations. This article analyzes this plan, its premises and expectations. It concludes that, while a series of conflicts related to the memory of the city and its spatial landmarks have been identified by recent studies on toponymic commodification and suggested by the city's antecedents on this matter, such conflicts do not seem to be considered in the plan's agenda.

RESUMO: Depois de quase três décadas sendo praticada na cidade de São Paulo em equipamentos privados como cinemas, teatros e mais recentemente estádios esportivos, a comercialização de direitos de nomeação chega também a espaços de propriedade estatal: em abril de 2020, a Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo (Cia. do Metrô) anunciou um projeto de conceder à exploração privada o direito de nomear suas estações. Este artigo analisa esse projeto, suas premissas e expectativas. Conclui que uma série de conflitos relacionados à memória da cidade e a seus marcos espaciais, embora apontados em estudos recentes sobre comodificação toponímica e também sugeridos pelos próprios antecedentes paulistanos no tema, não parecem fazer parte da agenda de preocupações do projeto.

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1 Introduction

The sale of naming rights for urban spaces and structures is not a recent phenomenon. Its origins date back to the 19th century or earlier, mainly in the United States, a country with "a long history of places being named after wealthy elites, property owners, and corporations" (ROSE-REDWOOD; VUOLTEENAHO; YOUNG; LIGHT, 2019, p. 748). It is a tradition, particularly with universities, schools and hospitals, and is historically used to encourage donations by persons and companies.

In the last few decades, however, the traditional philanthropy-based model in which an honorific name is permanently attributed has evolved to a new modality. The sale of *temporary* naming rights began to develop in the 1970's as an innovation introduced by large sports teams. The first experience was in 1973, when the American football team Buffalo Bills and the food products company Rich Products Corp. signed a commercial agreement whereby the team's stadium changed its name to *Rich Stadium* for a period of 25 years, i.e., until 1998 (LEEDS; LEEDS; PISTOLET, 2007). Ever since then, this type of place naming has become common in the sports industry (MEDWAY; WARNABY; GILLOOLY; MILLINGTON, 2019).

Since the 1990's, the modality spread from stadiums to an increasing range of urban spaces, thus encompassing not only private, but also public property: theaters and show venues, conference and entertainment centers, parks, bridges, etc. In the public sector, this practice was quickly adopted by many municipal and local governments, which began to see it as a revenue-collection instrument particularly valued amidst the rise of neoliberal urban management practices (ROSE-REDWOOD; VUOLTEENAHO; YOUNG; LIGHT, 2019, p. 748; ROSE-REDWOOD; SOTOUDEHNIA; TRETTER, 2019).

In this context, public- and private-sector companies operating the public transport system in various cities have also taken to the modality. Train, subway and monorail stations, for example, have become a frequent focus of renaming (LIGHT; YOUNG, 2015; VIDALES, 2012). The first city where this practice was adopted, in 2003, was Las Vegas, quickly followed by Chicago, New Delhi, London, Madrid, Mumbai, New York, Philadelphia and Riyadh, among many others (ROSE-REDWOOD; SOTOUDEHNIA; TRETTER, 2019).

As sponsored renaming spreads to reach different types of urban structures and spaces, it causes considerable change in cities' toponymic landscape, which becomes increasingly similar, in Madden's (2019, p. 888) words, to a "constellation of corporate trademarks". This characterizes the phenomenon that many authors denominate toponymic commodification[1]: a widespread transformation of places' names into merchandise and, consequently, their detachment from places' history, memory and identity (VUOLTEENAHO; AINIALA, 2009; ROSE-REDWOOD; ALDERMAN; AZARYAHU, 2010). Madden (2019) exemplifies:

> Contemporary London, for example, is home to a cable car named after Emirates Airline and is dotted by a network of rentable bicycles and their docking stations emblazoned with the name of the Spanish-based bank Santander. Tourist attractions have names such as the Coca-Cola London Eye and the ArcelorMittal Orbit. Notable entertainment complexes include the O2 Arena, the Kia Oval, and, again, Emirates Stadium. The branded place names immediately signal that powerful corporations and public-private partnerships dominate the city. Soon, basic infrastructure will also carry branded sponsorships. One west London council is already seeking to sell the naming rights to a proposed new bridge over the

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[1] Although the terms commodification and commoditization usually appear in dictionaries as synonyms, various authors have attributed different meanings to them. Commoditization refers to the act of turning into commodity something previously unavailable for trade, while commodification refers to situations where such an act is undesirable, i.e., when something that should not be marketed becomes commodity. Authors such as Beck and Cunha (2017) discuss in further detail about commodification and commoditization as synonyms.

> River Thames […]. Corporate names are featured prominently on digital platforms like Google Maps, where the official place names of commercial entities and paid advertisers take precedence over names derived from everyday linguistic practice. (MADDEN, 2019, p. 888).

In Brazil (and in the city of São Paulo in particular), the sale of naming rights began in the 1990's for privately owned urban facilities and structures, such as cinemas and show venues. It then advanced to football stadiums, and has recently reached the public sector. On April 30, 2020, the *Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo* (*Cia. do Metrô*) announced its intention to grant to advertising exploitation the naming rights for subway stations in the city. If this materializes, it will be the first Brazilian experience in the sale of naming rights for state-owned urban facilities.

This article aims to examine how (i.e., with what assumptions and expectations) the sale of subway station naming rights has been planned in São Paulo. By analyzing the history of naming rights sale in the city of São Paulo and conducting a brief review of the literature, we will discuss the possible problems, limits and risks involved in this practice and how they are being considered in Cia. do Metrô's plan.

To that end, the article is organized into three main sections, in addition to this Introduction and the Final Considerations. The second section presents our conceptual framework, seeking to show the main risks and problems associated with the sale of place names that have been identified by academic research, especially in the area of Critical Toponymy. In the third section, we look briefly into the history of such practice in the city of São Paulo, from the early experiences in the 1990's to Cia. do Metrô's recently announced plan. The fourth section focuses on Cia. do Metrô's plan in order to assess the extent to which the risks and problems indicated by experience and the literature are being considered in this initiative.

As for methods, section 2 is based on a non-systematic review of recent literature on toponymic commodification. Section 3, despite doing some literature

review on the case of São Paulo, is constructed mainly from the experience of the authors, who have both long lived in the city. Thus, any unreferenced factual information that appears in this section comes simply from the authors' remembering. Finally, section 4, where most of the analytical content is presented, is based on documentary analysis (CELLARD, 2008) applied to the most important official piece of documentation currently available about the Cia. do Metrô's plan.

2 Toponymic commodification: a few questions raised by the literature

The study of toponymy, an academic field with a long tradition that encompasses areas such as archeology, geography, history and linguistics, among others (DICK, 1990), has undergone significant renewal in recent decades (ROSE-REDWOOD; ALDERMAN; AZARYAHU, 2010). Historically, the field has been characterized by a certain encyclopedic emphasis, i.e., by being primarily concerned with cataloging place names and studying their origins and derivations, thus viewing them as traces left in the landscape by past cultures or occupations. Little attention was dedicated, however, to the political or economic determinants of naming per se, which gave the field an "atheoretical and apolitical" character (LIGHT; YOUNG, 2015, p. 436). Recently, mainly in the first decades of the 21st century, a movement of change has been brought about with the emergence of the so-called Critical Toponymy, a trend that recognizes that naming places is a political practice and proposes studying the struggles and power relations that place names comprise. In Critical Toponymy, the city is considered a text-object: the names of places show certain identity-based narratives and memories of the territory, while silencing others, and are therefore the object of struggles (CARVALHINHOS; LIMA-HERNANDES, 2020).

A research topic within the field of Critical Toponymy is toponymic commodification, a term that has been used by Vuolteenaho and Ainiala (2009) and later by Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2010), Light and Young (2015),

Rose-Redwood, Vuolteenaho, Young and Light (2019), and several others. As defined by Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016), toponymic commodification "covers all the contexts in which powerful individuals, or corporations, annex the toponymic landscape that forms part of the commons for their own (financial or symbolic) profit" (GIRAUT; HOUSSAY- HOLZSCHUCH, 2016, p. 8). It is also

> […] a new, neoliberal, toponymic governance whereby private actors, especially business, contribute strongly to place naming. Cash-strapped municipalities, business associations, or even private property owners, might want to sell this exposure on the monetary market and expect dividends for selling, or just temporarily leasing, the naming rights of places geared to consumption, such as sport arenas, leisure resorts, and shopping malls. (GIRAUT; HOUSSAY- HOLZSCHUCH, 2016, p. 4).

The debate about toponyms as commodities developed concomitantly with the rise of the neoliberal model of city, in which the production of urban space obeys corporate strategies based on the reproductive logic of capital, "[...] where everything has a price and it is necessary to make a profit [...]" (PAIVA, 2017, n.p.). Place names do not escape this logic, and become a profitable commodity, a resource to be sold. This implies that place names must be seen as multidimensional social phenomena, in which a significant economic dimension interact with other dimensions more traditionally taken into account in toponymic studies, such as the political and cultural ones (BASIK, 2020). As pointed out by Medway and Warnaby (2014), recognizing such economic dimension of place names may even imply an overlap between toponymic studies and some theories and concepts from the marketing literature, especially those regarding brand naming.

While studies on toponymic commodification are not yet numerous and their

theoretical framework can vary², they have created a critical mass regarding the often harmful effects that place names trade has had on the cultural landscape of cities. Their overall reading reveals that, despite the enthusiasm often shown by public and private managers, the sale of naming rights has brought about considerable conflicts related to local memory and identity, and involves not insignificant risks.

For example, it is not uncommon for corporations to suffer damage to their image from the exposure of corruption scandals, corporate crime and other irregularities. When a company that has lent its name or brand to urban facilities is involved in crises of this nature, the damage can easily extend, with intensity and consequences that are difficult to predict, to the named places and the community itself. Rose-Redwood, Sotoudehnia and Tretter (2019) refer to this risk, which is generally underestimated in naming rights sale plans:

> If the brand image suffers, then a station bearing the corporation's name, and, by extension, the government approving the naming rights agreement, could also be affected to the extent that they are perceived as part of that brand's asset. (ROSE-REDWOOD; SOTOUDEHNIA; TRETTER, 2019, p. 855).

There are also cases where the community rejects the sponsored name through various mechanisms of identity-based resistance. An example, to be detailed in the following section, was the case of the Palmeiras community in São Paulo. Other cases are described by McElroy (2019) and by Kearns and Lewis (2019). The former study analyzes a reaction movement in the city of San Francisco, in 2015, which was triggered by the announcement that a traditional local hospital would be renamed in exchange

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² In Brazil, an example is Demuru's (2016) study cited in section 3. Abroad, a significant part of this output was collected in two special issues published by *Urban Geography* (v. 40, n. 6, 2019) and *Urban Science* (v. 4, n. 4, 2020), and also in a book organized by Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009). Theoretical frameworks vary widely, including for instance the theories of capitalist urbanization by David Harvey, of symbolic capital by Pierre Bourdieu, of power hegemonies by Gramsci, among others (ROSE-REDWOOD; VUOLTEENAHO; YOUNG; LIGHT, 2019).

for a large donation made by Facebook. The latter describes the community resistance that prevented a more radical plan from being carried out: renaming an entire city in New Zealand as a way of promoting the region's wine industry. In both instances, as in the case of São Paulo, the highly contentious nature of renaming processes became evident.

A third issue concerns the temporary character given to toponyms to the detriment of places' identity and functionality as urban landmarks. An example in São Paulo, also described in the following section, is the venue that is currently called Unimed Hall after having undergone numerous name changes. The problem is aggravated as it extends to names used in public transport systems, due to their even greater role as a system of guidance for people around city. Rose-Redwood, Vuolteenaho, Young and Light (2019) express the problem in these terms:

> The time-limited nature of most contemporary naming rights agreements has resulted in urban namescapes that remain in a constant state of flux as one corporate sponsor's name replaces another when naming rights contracts expire. These tumultuous changes in the place-identities of major urban landmarks have significant implications for urban wayfinding and the creation of a "sense of place" in contemporary cities. (ROSE-REDWOOD; VUOLTEENAHO; YOUNG; LIGHT, 2019, p. 748).

In sum, this literature, albeit recent and not very numerous, allows concluding that, while viewed by local governments as an opportunity to generate revenue and often advocated as a "[...] harmless trend with few serious consequences" (MADDEN, 2019, p. 888), toponymic commodification is actually a major source of problems and conflicts. Renaming places by incorporating sponsor brands can be an interesting source of revenue and business for corporations and governments, but, at the same time, it erases local identities, blurs landmarks and deprives cities of an important intangible heritage.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence that these issues are being seriously

considered in plans of sale of naming rights around the world. In sections 3 and 4, we look particularly into the case of São Paulo.

3 Antecedents in São Paulo

In the city of São Paulo, the first experiences involving the sale of naming rights date back to the 1990's. In September 1993, a traditional cinema that had been operating since 1947 on *Rua Augusta*, in central São Paulo, adopted the name of a sponsor bank, thus changing its name to *Espaço Banco Nacional de Cinema*. It quickly ceased to be known by its traditional name, now forgotten (*Cine Majestic*), and had its official name changed two more times as it changed sponsors: in 1996 it became *Espaço Unibanco de Cinema*, and in 2010, *Espaço Itaú de Cinema*. Today, although ten years that have passed since the last renaming, the last two names still compete in everyday use: it is still relatively common for the place to be called *Espaço Unibanco*, whether by its regular customers or those referring to it as a landmark in that area of the city.

The next experience was a show venue that opened in 1999 in the area of Santo Amaro, in the city's south. Built to seat 7,000 people, the venue is still one of the largest of its kind in Latin America. While no traditional name was removed in this case, since the place was named after a sponsor company from the beginning, its recent history has been marked by a quick, confusing sequence of changes in name: it was called *Credicard Hall* from 1999 to 2013, *Citibank Hall* from 2013 to 2018, *Credicard Hall* again from 2018 to 2019, and *Unimed Hall* from October 2019 until today, which has harmed the name's functionality, including with regard to its role as a landmark.

A third precursor case was that of the old *Cineteatro Paramount*, a theater that dates back to 1929 and is located in the neighborhood of Bela Vista, in central São Paulo. In this case, we are talking about a place whose historical importance is recognized. Its architectural project was developed by the studio of Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo (1851-1928), considered one of the main Brazilian architects of the

late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1967 and 1968, at the height of Brazil's dictatorship (1964-1984), the theater, then called *Teatro Record Centro*, housed the notorious *Festivais de Música Popular Brasileira* [Brazilian Popular Music Festivals], a milestone in the resistance against dictatorship. Designed in the eclectic style, the building had its architectural and historical value recognized in 2002, when it was declared a heritage site by the São Paulo Municipal Council for Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage Protection (Conpresp). However, that recognition did not cover any of its old denominations: in the same period, the theater had its naming rights sold to Grupo Abril, a Brazilian media conglomerate, and its name became *Teatro Abril*. In 2012, after a new commercial agreement, it was renamed again, this time as *Teatro Renault*.

These three cases were precursors to many others, and the sale of naming rights would become a common way of defining (and frequently redefining) the names of spaces for culture and leisure in the city of São Paulo. National brands such as Bombril, Bradesco, Caixa, Itaú, J. Safra, Net, Petra, Porto Seguro, Sabesp, Prevent Senior, Unimed, and international brands such as Citibank, Claro, Credicard, HSBC, Renault, Santander, Vivo, among others, have come to name and rename many of the city's main cinemas and theaters throughout the 2000's and 2010's.

The case with greatest repercussions, however, took place in another industry. In 2013, the traditional football stadium belonging to *Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras* (*Palmeiras*) was renamed for 20 years, renewable for another 10 years, through an agreement with the German insurance company Allianz. Under the agreement, a place connected to the memory of Italian immigration in the city, which for about a century (1917-2013) had been known as the field (later stadium) of *Palestra Italia*[3], had its name

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[3] From 1902 to 1917, the area belonged to the *Companhia Antarctica Paulista*, which used it to make a leisure park. Part of the park's area, with its sports facilities and a football field, was leased in 1917, and then sold in 1920, to *Societá Sportiva Palestra Italia* (today *Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras*), which built its stadium there (SOUSA, 2017).

suddenly changed to *Allianz Parque*, an intervention that was not free of opposition and resistance.

Due to its importance as a memory place (as defined by NORA, 1993), the displacement of the toponym *Palestra Italia* in São Paulo's cultural landscape characterized, according to Demuru (2016),

> [...] a step further towards the privatization of the city and, in particular, its toponyms; an issue that calls for a broad reflection on the strategies of manipulation and appropriation of sociocultural life in São Paulo by the power of the private sector. (DEMURU, 2016, p. 299)[4].

The case also stood out for not being restricted to São Paulo, since it was part of a strategy at the global level on the part of the multinational sponsor: in addition to the São Paulo stadium, the German company also bought the naming rights for another five stadiums, whose names became *Allianz Arena* (Munich, Germany), *Allianz Riviera* (Nice, France), *Allianz Park* (London, England), *Allianz Stadium* (Sydney, Australia) and *Allianz Stadion* (Vienna, Austria). The erasure of local memory and identity through the substitution of such a traditional toponym is thus combined with a homogenizing component perceived in the equalization of the identities of such diverse places, an equalization that stems purely from the sponsor's corporate interests.

The difficult dialogue between global homogenizing forces and local identity resistance is a topic that has been extensively explored in the social sciences. It has long been recognized that globalized capitalism has led to a model of interconnected society, a "network society" (CASTELLS, 1999), and to the perception of the world as a homogeneous space, a "global village" (McLUHAN, 1964). However, we also know that this homogenization occurs to a much greater extent in the economic and technological field than in that of culture, where resistance and oppositions arise

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[4] We have opted for a free translation into English whenever quoting texts in other languages.

between the global and the local (ROBERTSON, 2000; LOURENÇO, 2014). There would be no reason why such resistance and oppositions would not occur in the case of the São Paulo stadium, and Demuru (2016) describes the chronology of events in a relatively detailed manner. The choice of the new name was delegated to Palmeiras' fans and club members, through online voting, from three options that were pre-defined by the sponsor: *Allianz 360*, *Allianz Center* and *Allianz Parque*. Such options (including the wining one) were met with rejection by fans, who demanded greater similarity to the previous name, i.e., Palestra Italia. Demands on this respect were even made on social networks, and *#AllianzPalestraJá* [#AllianzPalestraNow] eventually became a Twitter trending topic, though without success. However, the mobilization was not completely fruitless: in 2015, it managed to get the City Council to, as a kind of compensation, rename the street where the stadium's entrance is located; that section of *Rua Turiassu* officially became *Rua Palestra Itália*.

As Demuru (2016) notes, the case shows a true semio-political struggle that, in turn, reveals hierarchies and power relations in the city: Allianz appropriated the name of Palmeiras' stadium, and Palmeiras appropriated the street's name. In this new disposition of names, the biggest victim was neither the football club nor the Italian culture: the native memory symbolized in the toponym Turiassu[5] ended up being the only element excluded from that narrative. The native people, to whom "[…] toponymy often represents one of the few places of survival […]" (DEMURU, 2016, p. 305), have no one to dispossess.

The sequence of name changes was not restricted to the stadium's surroundings. It was also necessary to rename the old *Rua Palestra Itália*, in the district of Parelheiros, in the city's south end, since municipal legislation does not allow two

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[5] The name, which appears as *Rua Turyassu* on an 1897 map, became official in 1923. As with other street names in the neighborhood, it was not directly given by any a native people, but was applied considering the theme of toponyms of Brazilian native origin (PREFEITURA DE SÃO PAULO, 2020).

or more streets with the same name. Here is yet another reflection of hierarchies and power relations in the city: the central, wealthier area appropriated a toponym previously belonging to a poorer outlying district. The old street with that name became *Rua do Terceiro Lago* (SÃO PAULO, 2015).

It is in this field marked by semiotic power struggles that, in 2020, Cia. do Metrô announced its plan to sell naming rights for its stations. If it materializes, the initiative will be the first of its kind for state-owned facilities in São Paulo.

4 The plan for the São Paulo subway

After being practiced for nearly three decades for privately-owned establishments like cinemas, theaters and sports stadiums, the sale of naming rights ended up reaching also the public sector in São Paulo: in April 2020, Cia. do Metrô, a state-owned company belonging to the State of São Paulo which operates part of the city's subway system, announced a plan to grant to advertising exploitation the right to rename its stations.

The announcement was accompanied by the issuance of an Invitation for Bids and the respective Term of Reference[6]. This is not yet the bidding process for actually selling the naming rights, but an earlier stage: Cia. do Metrô is selecting a consulting company that will develop a preliminary study to assess the feasibility and define how this sale will take place.

In Brazilian legislation on public procurement, the Term of Reference is a mandatory document in bidding processes via procurement auction; it is a document where the government details the object of the contract. In this particular bidding process, the object of the contract is a study that "[...] provides technical, economic and legal elements to underpin the development of a technical, economic-financial and

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[6] Invitation for Bids PE10015006, from 04.30.2020 (COMPANHIA DO METROPOLITANO DE SÃO PAULO, 2020).

legal model of concession for exploring naming rights for the existing stations [...]"
(COMPANHIA DO METROPOLITANO DE SÃO PAULO, 2020, p. 1). The study to be
contracted should contain information corresponding to a series of items defined by
the client (i.e., Cia. do Metrô) concerning: the potential market for the sale of these
rights, the prices and concession terms that can be established, the legal and
contractual instruments to be used, the estimated revenue, the risks involved. In sum,
the Term of Reference shows the topics of concern on the part of Cia. do Metrô in
designing its plan for the sale of naming rights. Hence the relevance of analyzing it.

The Term comprises eight items, the first four of which are of interest for our
analysis. These four items describe: the "object" of the contract; its "justification"; the
list of "expected results" (also called "goals" in the document); and the specification
of the "products" to be delivered to Cia. do Metrô by the company that is awarded the
contract[7]. The content of these items is reproduced, in a summarized manner, in Chart
1.

Chart 1 – Summary of the Term of Reference for the Invitation for Bids via Electronic Procurement
Auction nº 10015006 of Cia. do Metrô.

Item of the Term of Reference	Location in the document	Content/description
Object	p. 1	"A study that provides technical, economic and legal elements to underpin the development of a technical, economic-financial and legal model of concession for exploring naming rights for the existing stations of Cia. do Metrô".
Justification	p. 1	"Among Cia. do Metrô's goals are the generation of revenue through the exploitation of business opportunities in its facilities, stations and remaining areas, thus also contributing to increase the value of its assets. […] Ancillary

[7] The other items in the document which are not considered in this analysis are: "work methodology",
"evaluation of the studies' technical quality", "obligations of the contracted party" and "obligations of
Cia. do Metrô".

		revenues play an important role in the pursuit for Cia. do Metrô's financial balance in line with several other measures to reduce costs and expenses. […] A source of non-fare revenue not explored by Cia. do Metrô refers to the exploration of naming rights for its stations. This practice has been adopted by train and subway companies in several cities around the world, but it is still not common in Brazil [...]".
Expected results	p. 2	"Analyzing the current legislation in order to find the best legal means to make the concession feasible"; "Assessing the market and the potential feasibility of concession of naming rights for the stations"; "Indicating the possible models for the concession, including the bidding model, whether individually or by lots, etc."; "Analyzing possible sources of additional revenue resulting from the simultaneous exploration of stations' names with other services provided inside Cia. do Metrô's stations and facilities"; "Establishing scenarios that consider pessimistic, optimistic and most likely premises"; "Assessing the expenses and costs of operating the concession"; "Assessing the costs of implementation, operation and maintenance, considering changes in signage and visual identification throughout the subway system and audio contents"; "Performing financial simulations to analyze the impact on the Internal Rate of Return - IRR and Net Present Value - NPV [...]"; "Analyzing possible urbanistic implications of the plan and the necessary regulations so that the concession complies with current legislation"; "Defining the value of the 'naming rights' asset and possible variations according to the profile of each property (station, line)"; "[Defining the] business models possible and/or resulting from naming rights";

		"[Defining the] possible selection models, considering current legislation and the internal contracting instruments".
Products to be delivered	p. 2 to 7	"Current Situation Diagnosis Report": It should contain a description of all facilities that may be considered for concession of naming rights, a benchmark study and a "survey of the advertising market for outdoor media in São Paulo [...]" (p. 3);
		"Model and Technical Feasibility Report": Based on the previous report, it should provide a model for the plan by describing its deadlines, costs and other technical parameters, including figures concerning the dimensions of facilities, human resources and necessary information systems;
		"Economic-financial Feasibility Report": It should contain an "analysis of the potential revenue from the concession of naming rights for stations [...]" (p. 3), as well as a forecast of costs to Cia. do Metrô. It should show the premises on which the financial analysis is based, including the "concession term" and the "the initial fixed amount for the concession, as well as the remuneration of Cia. do Metrô throughout the concession term" (p. 4);
		"Legal Analysis Report": "It should […] identify possible [legal] impediments and limitations […]"; analyze the legal means to make the concession feasible; and present "[...] the drafts of the legal instruments necessary for implementing the proposition, including the invitation for bids, contract and other related documents" (p. 5). In addition, it "may indicate [...] the requirements for compliance with the rules for the protection of historical and cultural heritage" (p. 6);
		"Final Considerations Report" showing the plan's economic, financial, legal and technical feasibility, the parameters to be practiced (such as the amount for the concession per property, and concession terms) and "recommendations for continuing works" (p. 7). It should address the "the plan's urbanistic implications [...]" so "[...] that the concession complies with current legislation" (p.7).

Source: prepared by the authors - a summary of the information contained in Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo (2020).

The information in Chart 1 shows that the problems identified by the studies referred to in section 2 of this article, or even those suggested by São Paulo's own experience, which are the object of section 3, do not seem to be part of the plan's agenda.

As seen in the "object" and "justification" items, the sale of station naming rights is presented as justified in two ways: by Cia. do Metrô's interest in increasing its sources of revenue, and also because it is practiced by similar companies in other parts of the world. At the same time, in the expressions "*its stations*" and "*its assets*" (both in the "justification" item), as well as in the phrase "*according to the profile of each property (station, line)*" (in the tenth result in the "expected results" item), we note that the stations are treated as owned by Cia. do Metrô: they are part of its *assets*, and, as such, they can be put to use for generating that increase in revenue.

We certainly know that the company owns the stations. In referring to this ownership, however, the Term of Reference makes no distinction between the ownership of the station and that of the name. This is reinforced in the fourth expected result, which refers to "*additional revenue resulting from the simultaneous exploration of the stations' names with other services provided inside Cia. do Metrô's stations and facilities*": the premise is that the ownership over the station (its facilities, its space, its "*inside*") and the ownership over the name constitute one and the same thing.

The name is thus disregarded as a heritage that precedes the construction of the Company's stations by decades and even centuries. The names that, by the time the subway was built, already belonged to the city and were already part of its cultural landscape, and which were adopted for naming the stations precisely because of their key role in urban orientation due to their relationship and identification with the place, have come to be considered as assets owned by the company alone, which can put them to use to generate revenue for its financial balance.

The collective consequences of this appropriation, as well as the risks of erasure of urban memory and local identities - especially in a city like São Paulo, so much marked by erasures and losses in this field[8] - are not presented as a topic of interest in any of the five "products" commissioned by Cia. do Metrô (Current Situation Diagnostic Report, Model and Technical Feasibility Report, Economic-financial Feasibility Report, Legal Analysis Report and Final Considerations Report).

Concerns about urban cultural heritage appear only in the specifications for the Legal Analysis Report. This report "should [...] identify possible impediments and limitations […]", and in doing so, it "may indicate [...] the requirements for compliance with the rules for the protection of historical and cultural heritage". Here, three considerations are in order. First, the protection of historical and cultural heritage is mentioned only as a possible source of legal obstacles, not as a direct and genuine concern. Second, the language used (*should* identify impediments, but *may* include rules for the protection of historical and cultural heritage) suggests the little importance given to the subject. Third, the lack of concern is justified: as seen in the previous section, where we referred to the case of the *Paramount/Abril/Renault* theater, the Brazilian heritage protection tradition usually encompasses buildings and other tangible property, but it is less comprehensive in relation to immaterial property, and there are no precedents for restrictions imposed by such rules on the change of urban toponyms.

Twice (in the ninth expected result and in the specifications for the Final Considerations Report) the document makes reference to the "urbanistic implications" of the sale of naming rights. In both, the expressed concern is "that the concession complies with current legislation". The legislation of the municipality of São Paulo on urban matters, whose main instrument is the Strategic Master Plan (Municipal Law

[8] For a discussion on the processes of erasure of urban memory in the city of São Paulo, see, e.g., Jayo and Vargas (2019), or Silva (2020).

16,050 from July 31, 2014), does establish rules and guidelines for "protecting the historical, cultural and religious heritage, as well as valuing the memory, the feeling of belonging to the city and diversity" (Article 7, item 12); however, it makes no reference to the relationship between this heritage and the city's toponyms (SÃO PAULO, 2014, p. 1). Thus, it seems unlikely for obstacles to the plan to arise from this legislation.

As a whole, the analyzed document sidesteps concerns with local identities, landmarks and urban intangible heritage. The specifications in the Term of Reference seem to us to be consistent with what Madden (2019) considers the "major motif" of the neoliberal city: "[…] dispossession, in the form of city dwellers stripped of common identifiers, spaces, property, and institutions; governments stripped of their budgets; and cities stripped of their assets" (MADDEN, 2019, p. 889).

5 Final considerations

If the specifications in the Term of Reference for contracting a feasibility study can provide indications of the topics of concern of Cia. do Metrô as it prepares its plan to sell naming rights, then it seems to us symptomatic that those specifications dedicate no attention to the importance of the names of stations as a collective heritage, or to the conflicts of identity and memory that the renaming may trigger in São Paulo. Such discussions are clearly absent from the Company's agenda of concerns, even though their relevance is highlighted by academic literature and by the history of sale of naming rights in the city of São Paulo.

Thus, we believe we have answered the question proposed for the article, which concerned Cia. do Metrô's premises and expectations for the sale of the immaterial collective heritage represented by the names of the stations.

This article certainly has limitations. During the period it was written (July 2020), the Term of Reference we examined was the document available for analysis.

Soon, another document will be available, i.e., the actual technical study on the object of the bidding process. Thus, the elements we present here can be viewed less as conclusions than as indication for continuing and furthering the discussion. From an academic point of view, we believe that the present study is relevant as it is, to our knowledge, the first to examine the plan of renaming São Paulo's subway stations. From a practical point of view, the relevance lies precisely in the fact that said plan is still in progress, which makes it possible to raise awareness among those responsible for it about the relevance of identity issues, urban memory and intangible collective heritage that until now have been ignored.

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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.

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

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.

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

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[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 heterogénea 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.

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[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 $[[X]_{F1} \ [\text{-berto}]_{F2}]_{NP}$ ↔ [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]

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[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,

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[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

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[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]$_{F2}$]$_{NP}$ ↔ [person's name]$_{NP}$>. Therefore, we have, for example: <[[Franci]$_{F1}$ [ele]$_{F2}$]$_{NP}$ ↔ [female person's name]$_{NP}$> and <[[Franci]$_{F1}$ [valdo]$_{F2}$]$_{NP}$ ↔ [male person's name]$_{NP}$>.

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[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 *Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos* (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 *-son*
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 *Livros dos Termos dos Irmãos*, 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:

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[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

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[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 Nome*s 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 Registros 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*, *Sabrine*, 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-phonic 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
Durvalgisa, Eterelvina ~ Etirelvina, Hormina	1897-1902
Athalydio, Cardulina, Carlito, Ederval, Hildeth ~ Hyldeth, Loroastro, Lyderico, Raulinda, Reine, Vilobaldo	1922-1936
Adalicio, Clemilton, Crisaldete, Dilza, Eurivalda, Everaldina, Gelsa, Genebaldo, Gilton, Hildélia ~ Hyldélia, Hildete, Hyldéa, Ironilde, Lindinalva, Marinaldo, Norete, Rahilda, Waldelir, Wiveraldo	1937-1980
Adailton, Ailton, Avanildes, Deuzimar, Edval ~ Edival, Ilma, Joilson, Nilzete, Nilzete, Railda, Valdiva, Valney, Waldete	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/Val- ~ -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),

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

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-phonic 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 situation[16]: *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]$_{F2}$]$_{NP}$ $\boxed{\leftrightarrow}$ [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

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[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]$_{F2}$]$_{NP}$ $\boxed{\leftrightarrow}$ [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/-son*.

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 [↔] [male first name]NP>

(d) <[[X]F1 [-erson/-irson]F2]NP [↔] [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

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[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:

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

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]ꜰ₁ [-ene]ꜰ₂]ɴᴘ ↔ [female first name]ɴᴘ>

<[[Eli]ꜰ₁ [-ene]ꜰ₂]ɴᴘ ↔ [female first name]ɴᴘ>

<[[Lucil(a)]ꜰ₁ [-ene]ꜰ₂]ɴᴘ ↔ [female first name]ɴᴘ>

<[[Adr(i)]ꜰ₁ [-ine]ꜰ₂]ɴᴘ ↔ [female first name]ɴᴘ>

<[[Noel]ꜰ₁ [-ine]ꜰ₂]ɴᴘ ↔ [female first name]ɴᴘ>

<[[Djaul-]ꜰ₁ [-ine]ꜰ₂]ɴᴘ ↔ [female first name]ɴᴘ>

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:

<[[X]$_{F1}$ [-ele]$_{F2}$]$_{NP}$ ⟷ [female first name]$_{NP}$>

Names created under this scheme would be *Adriele, 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 *Adriele*, 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-phonic 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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Name-giving motives in Lithuania and Brazil: a comparative view

Motivações para a escolha de nomes na Lituânia e no Brasil: um estudo comparado

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ABSTRACT: This research aims at analysing and comparing the motives for choosing the first name of a child in Lithuania and Brazil in the years 1958-2016. By combining qualitative and quantitative methods and applying social and cultural approaches, it reveals that different countries and cultures have both similar and divergent trends in name-giving practices. The most remarkable similarity in both countries and cultures is both the predominance of an aesthetic motiveand the desire to honour a relative, a friend, or a famous person. These trends are presumably related to universal aspects of naming practices. The aesthetic motiveis related to processes of cultural globalization, while the honour-oriented motivepoints to the significance of traditional naming patterns. The greatest

RESUMO: A pesquisa tem como objetivo analisar e comparar as motivações para a escolha do prenome de indivíduos nascidos nos anos 1958-2016 na Lituânia e no Brasil. Ao empregar uma combinação de métodos qualitativos e quantitativos, bem como a aplicação de abordagens sociais e culturais, o estudo apresentado neste artigo revela que países e culturas diferentes têm tendências semelhantes e divergentes nas práticas de atribuição de nomes. A notável semelhança em ambos os países e culturas é a predominância do motivo estético e a escolha do nome de uma criança com o desejo de homenagear um parente, um amigo ou uma pessoa famosa. Essas tendências estão provavelmente relacionadas a aspectos universais das práticas de nomeação. Enquanto a primeira motivação está

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difference between Lithuanian and Brazilian data is in the frequency of name choices due to patriotism, religion, name uniqueness or naming a child after a fictional character. Such divergent results are explained by different social values in each society and different cultural and historical experiences. In addition, the research proves that the first names do have meaning; however, it is not purely conceptual or lexical, as they rather bear individual connotations.

relacionada a processos de globalização cultural, a segunda evidencia a importância dos padrões tradicionais de nomeação. A maior diferença nos dados lituanos e brasileiros está na frequência de escolhas de nomes devido ao patriotismo, à religião, à univocidade do nome e à nomeação inspirada por personagem ficcional. Estes resultados divergentes são explicados por diferentes valores sociais em cada sociedade e diferentes experiências culturais e históricas. Além disso, a pesquisa mostra que os prenomes têm significado; no entanto, ele não é puramente conceitual ou lexical, mas sim um significado de conotação individual.

KEYWORDS:
Anthroponomastics**.** First name. Motive. Detraditionalization. Individuation.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:
Antroponomástica**.** Prenome. Motivação. Destradicionalização. Individualização.

1 Introduction

The noun as a part of speech is a linguistic universal which exists in all the languages of the world. However, the category is rather heterogeneous, and any contrastive research would establish a significant number of differences, especially if the languages under analysis have different origins. This research deals with personal names, a type of nouns which belongs to the subcategory of proper nouns and which is of particular interest to Anthroponomastics, a branch of Onomastics.

According to Hajdú (2002, p. 22), the perception that personal nouns are different from other nouns dates back to ancient Egyptian times. Nevertheless, Onomastics as a scholarly field emerged in Europe only in the 19th century. At the beginning of that century, the first studies took place in England, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Italy. Later on, studies of proper names were developed in Switzerland, Slovenia, Croatia, Estonia, and Russia. Finally, by the end

of the same century, Onomastics received attention in other countries, including Portugal, Poland, and Lithuania (HAJDÚ, 2002, p. 22).

In Portugal, anthroponymic research was initiated by Leite de Vasconcelos in 1887 and popularized by Dauzat's publications in France in 1951 (SEABRA; ISQUERDO, 2018, p. 994-995). Studies of these two scholars were followed by Brazilian researchers. In Brazil, Guérios was the first to publish an etymological dictionary of first names and surnames in the 1970s, and its later editions are still used as a national reference. Lithuanian research in Anthroponomastics was started by Būga in 1907, who investigated Lithuanian surnames with the suffixes *-eikia-*, *-ieko-* (MICKIENĖ; BALČIŪNAITĖ-LAUŽINIENĖ, 2013, p. 13).

Proper names can be researched from various perspectives. Traditionally, studies of first names have focused on their etymology or linguistics features, including phonological, morphological or graphical properties. More recent studies treat names not only as linguistic signs but also as socio-cultural phenomena. The central focus is on naming processes which result in the final choice of an official name. Leibring (2016) argues that naming processes vary over the course of time since they are influenced by various factors – historical, social, political and individual (p. 211-212). Ainiala and Östman (2017, p. 4) also agree on the importance of social values that "affect name giving" and mention such factors as "national background, mother tongue, religious convictions, and even social status of the name giver". Thus, assigning a first name to a child is a result of linguistic, cultural and social processes that vary throughout time and space.

Another point to consider in the study of name-giving and motivation is that the initial process by which first names have been chosen by name-givers cannot be recovered precisely. When data are acquired through surveys, they contain narratives which describe name-giving processes from the respondent's point of view. When name-bearers are surveyed, their narrative features a recollection of what the

respondent's relatives, parents or other persons had told him/her about the process. Consequently, the narratives contain beliefs and knowledge of the respondents.

In addition, when research into personal proper names is conducted considering one or more languages and cultures, it is important to

> obtain results not only about the origin and development of languages, but also about their features which might be seen either as universal or as peculiar to each language and culture. In a similar manner, contrasting different social norms concerning people's first names can lead to a better comprehension of common and distinct features of names and their usage across languages and cultures. (SEIDE; PETRULIONĖ, 2018, p. 1203)[1]

This study focuses on the Lithuanian language, one of the two survivor Baltic languages, and Brazilian Portuguese, one of the Romance languages. In terms of grammar, the major difference between them is that Lithuanian is a highly inflectional language, while Brazilian Portuguese is more analytic[2]. In terms of vocabulary, the languages do not share much either, except for the words introduced through lexical borrowing. From a cultural perspective, Catholicism as the dominating religion in both countries can be viewed as a common characteristic, but different economic, social and cultural policies suggest that they have different cultural backgrounds.

The aim of this research is to analyse and compare the motives for choosing the first name of a child in Lithuania and Brazil. It reports on a questionnaire-based survey complected by 207 respondents, including 107 community members of *Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná (Unioeste)*[3] – *Western Paraná State University* from the

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[1] An overview of the field of Comparative Anthroponomastics can be found in Seide 2020.

[2] A language is considered as highly inflectional when grammar functions are expressed by declension (e.g., Classical Latin), whereas the importance of word order is a feature of a more analytic language (e.g., Spanish and French).

[3] Antes do início da geração de dados, o projeto foi enviado ao Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa com Seres Humanos da Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná e aprovado. Esta informação pode ser

campus of Marechal Cândido Rondon, Brazil, and 100 equivalent respondents from *Šiauliai University*, Lithuania[4].

This study combines qualitative and quantitative methods to test the following hypothesis: there are both similar and divergent motives for choosing a child's name in Lithuania and Brazil from 1958 to 2016. Similar trends would be due to universal aspects of naming processes and/or the process of cultural globalization, including Westernization of both societies, while divergent results could be explained by different social values in each society and different cultural and historical experiences.

The study of motives for anthroponomical choice focuses on the values that emerge from the choice. Discovering and analysing such motives can shed light on the society where the choice is made.

2 Review of the literature

In recent decades, research in the field of Onomastics has shown an increasing interest in different aspects of names and naming practices, including motivation for parents' choice when giving a name. Names, as specific linguistic signs with substantial cultural load, are not only described in terms of linguistic features but are also frequently studied to reveal different cultural processes and cultural change trends.

There has been several different focuses within the research of anthroponyms. First, a number of studies have been carried out in the field of Socio-onomastics, focusing on naming as a form of social positioning and an act of identity. Having researched parents' choices of first names in Sweden, Aldrin (2017, p. 45) claims that

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confirmada no site Plataforma Brasil, disponível em: http://plataformabrasil.saude.gov.br/login.jsf pelo número de registro do projeto, a saber 84919518.6.0000.0107.

[4] On January 1, 2021, Šiauliai University became a part of Vilnius University and was renamed Vilnius University Šiauliai Academy.

"Parents, through the choice of first name for a child, engage in a social act, which is very much about expressing their own identity – who they are or who they want to be – and constructing a hoped identity for their child." Her analysis, including both quantitative and qualitative methods, revealed age and education as factors influencing parents' choice, while names were studied in the following categories: (1) common – original, (2) pragmatic – aesthetic, (3) traditional – modern, (4) Swedish-oriented – foreign-oriented – international-oriented. Similarly, Lindsay and Dempsey (2017) interviewed parents to study social aspects of naming practices in Australia, which revealed certain class and gender distinctions – e.g., boys were more likely to be given traditional names than girls, whose names were longer, with 'soft' endings.

Social aspects of personal name motivation have been also researched on the basis of naming practices in Russia (Magnitogorsk City). Building on questionnaire-based surveys, Kisel et al. (2017) identified three major types of social motivation in name-giving process: national, religious, and ideological. The authors lay emphasis on the social nature of personal names, claiming that they "exist in the society and for the society, which dictates their choice, whatsoever individual it may seem" (KISEL et al., 2017, p. 314-315).

A number of studies dealing with naming practices have reported cultural changes, reflected by the dynamics of name choice and its motivation, which is often linked to the processes of globalization. The overall tendency could be referred to as decreasing traditionalism and increasing individuation, as part of cultural modernization in general. For example, an empirical study of first names by Gerhards and Hackenbroff (2000), based on the analysis of birth registers in Gerolstein (a town in Germany) throughout one hundred years (1894–1994), provides evidence for the following issues of cultural modernization: 1) secularization (decreasing number of Christian origin names), 2) the change of family traditions (decreasing number of children named after their parents), 3) individualization (heterogeneity of names), 4)

globalization (increasing number of names from other cultures, influenced mainly by the development of the media, especially television).

"The detraditionalization of naming practices" has been also confirmed by an exploratory, qualitative study on contemporary naming practices performed by Elchardus and Siongers (2010), who analysed questionnaires completed by 589 first year students at a Belgian university in 2005–2006. It revealed the decreasing role of traditional naming patterns and "the greater role of taste and sensitivity to fashion" (ELCHARDUS; SIONGERS, 2010, p. 405), with aesthetic motives being the way the name sounds, its morphophonological harmony with the family name, and its fashionableness at the time.

Similarly, cultural shifts in name-giving practices have been revealed through the study of naming practices in Turkey, where new trends – "increasing individualism and weakening ties with traditions" have been observed (SAKALLI, 2016). By the same token, "an increasing cultural emphasis on individuation" has been described by Emery (2013), who performed an extensive study of American parents' choices of name. She explained it as an active effort of parents to find a distinctive name for their child, which would presumably create a more unique (and, therefore, stronger) identity for their child.

In addition to the studies reviewed above, which focus on personal names in one language or culture, the present article also considers previous research involving several anthroponymic systems or their parts, which is the subject of Comparative Anthroponomastics. In general, research in Comparative Linguistics (and Comparative Anthroponomastics as a part of it) entail much variation. For example, the languages and cultures analysed can be close or distant from each other. In addition, the languages involved may or may not be in contact with each other. Language contact may be due to geographical proximity (border countries or those close to each other) or as a result of migratory processes. Besides, the comparison can

be done diachronically, synchronically or panchronically. Data analysis, in turn, can be performed from a strictly linguistic point of view or involve other disciplines such as History, Anthropology, Law, among others.

Due to globalization processes in today's world, linguistic and cultural contacts (including encounters of anthroponymic systems that may undergo changes) are frequently observed and chosen as the subject of research in onomastic studies. As Alhaug and Saarelma (2017, p. 69) contend, "The encounter of two cultures and languages typically causes a number of changes in the anthroponymic systems of the languages in question." This often takes place in the context of immigration, when naming a child takes place together with decisions, whether conscious or not, concerning assimilation into the host society. Naming practices are, therefore, studied to reveal different choices of immigrant parents concerning their assimilation, social identity, and even emotional position in the new society. For example, naming practices of Turkish immigrants in Germany were researched by Becker (2009) as a way to reveal immigrants' emotional identification with the German society. The author found three types of name-giving choices: a Turkish name as an indication of emotional separation, a German name as a sign of emotional assimilation, and a name common in both cultures, revealing emotional integration. The study showed that most of the parents chose a Turkish name for their children, German names were rarely chosen, while names common in both cultures were more frequently given to girls.

Excluding the context of migration and bilingualism, name-giving patterns and their motivation in different cultures have been rarely contrasted. More frequently, comparative research has dealt with anthroponymic systems that come into contact and thus influence each other (or one influences another), as in the case of the encounter between African and European anthroponymic systems among the Ambo People in Namibia, described by Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003). Her dissertation

revealed the following changes in naming practices determined by the Christianization and Europeanization of the traditional Ambo culture: "the adoption of biblical and European names, the practice of giving more than one name for a person, and the adoption of hereditary surnames" (SAARELMA-MAUNUMAA, 2003, p. 5).

Regarding the comparison of independent naming systems that are not in close contact, few studies have addressed specific elements or aspects of anthroponymic systems in different cultures. For example, Shokhenmayer (2016) presented a contrastive study of the 100 most frequent Russian, French, German and British surnames. The author distinguished four types of motivation for surnames– patronymic, topographic, characteristic, occupational – and found that their proportions varied from country to country, depending on local history, culture and name-giving traditions. Gudavičius (2013) studied the natural component in the semantic motivation of Lithuanian names, i.e., names referring to natural phenomena such as the sun, storm, dew, plants, etc., and briefly commented on some differences regarding other cultures (German, Russian, Latvian, Kazakh).

An exploratory comparative study on the usage of Lithuanian and Brazilian male first names has been carried out by Seide and Petrulionė (2018). Based on statistical sources from national institutional websites of Lithuania and Brazil, their findings reveal both similarities and differences in the two naming systems. Even though some popular male names are specific only to the Lithuanian culture, Lithuanians and Brazilians share a lot of Christian names due to Catholicism as the dominant religion in both countries. The authors, however, observe that the motivation for choosing such names is not clear (other factors can be involved, besides religious motives), which requires an additional comparative study based on qualitative methods.

The overall view of previous research in Comparative Anthroponomastics reveals the lack of studies aimed at analysing and comparing naming patterns and motivation for their choice in different cultures with separate anthroponymic systems. This is a research gap that the present study on name-giving motives in Lithuanian and Brazilian cultures is meant to fill. In addition to practical benefits of comparative studies in general, such research into naming systems of different cultures might also have significant theoretical value, giving insights into the universality and variation of socio-cultural factors of language use and development.

3 First name as a linguistic, cultural and social phenomenon

Valentine et al. (1996, p. 5) argue that "The right to a name is one of the most basic rights of human beings." Even though this right is not included into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is written in a number of other documents adopted by the United Nations, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, and Convention of the Rights of the Child (VALENTINE et al., 1996, p. 5-6). Starting with the premise that the act of naming is a highly significant and multifaceted complex process, it is clear that the research would offer valuable material for a comparative study of naming systems in different parts of the world.

Research in Comparative Anthroponomastics with the focus on the corpora of first names greatly exceeds the boundaries of purely linguistic study. Even though names are linguistic elements and a naming system is viewed as a linguistic system, investigation of naming motives and/or naming practices requires application of social and cultural approaches. In other words, names are a linguistic category that have both social and cultural significance.

The linguistic feature is important in scholarly discussions on whether proper names have meaning or not. In talking about proper names as a category with no

meaning, one naturally begins with the Mill's (1806-1873) theory that proper names are "unmeaning marks" and "not connotative" (MILL, 2009, p. 38, 40). His coeval Lower (1813-1876) views the topic from a different perspective and argues that "ALL NAMES WERE ORIGINALLY SIGNIFICANT; although in the course of ages the meaning of most of them may have lapsed from the memory of mankind" (LOWER, 1849, p. 2) (capitals letters in the original).

Contemporary scholars also express different opinions: some advocate that names have only reference, but no meaning, while others are less categorical. For example, Van Langendonck and Van de Velde (2016, p. 27) claim that proper names do not have "defining sense" or "definitional lexical meaning". However, they distinguish four connotative meanings including the three which are relevant to first names. The first type of connotative meanings is related to names "with transparent etymology", which "can give rise to associative meanings related to the name form. (…) This type of connotative meaning is exploited in personal name-giving in many cultures" (VAN LANGENDONCK; VAN DE VELDE, 2016, p. 31). The second type is related to "connotations that arise via the *denotatum* and can be exploited in discourse to identify or to characterize the name-bearer. No polysemy is involved there" (VAN LANGENDONCK; VAN DE VELDE, 2016, p. 32). Connotative meanings of the third type are "emotivemeanings such as augmentative, diminutive and honorific. These can be inherent in certain names (…)" (VAN LANGENDONCK; VAN DE VELDE, 2016, p. 32).

Nystrom (2016) claims that to answer the question whether names are meaningful or meaningless is not easy, but he still advocates that names do have meaning. However, he considers this meaning as "illusionary lexical and etymological" meaning, because the real meaning of the name is actually the person carrying this name (NYSTROM, 2016, p. 39). Moreover, according to Nystrom (2016, p. 40), the identifying or referential function of proper names is of primary importance,

but not the meaning on which they are based. The same opinion albeit with a slightly different wording is expressed by Ainiala and Östman (2017, p. 4), who state that, "When we think of the identifying function of a name, it is irrelevant whether or not the name is transparent or opaque."

This research draws on the perspective that proper names, particularly first names, do have some meaning. It is not purely conceptual or lexical meaning, but rather individual connotation meaning. Such an approach towards the meaning of names enables us to better analyse the process of name-giving. According to Dick (1992), anthroponyms are motivated because they are conscientiously chosen by name-givers for some reason. No investigation would be required (even though the one that is described in this paper) to show that at least one of the motives why name-givers choose one or another name is its meaning.

The cultural aspect in also important in the name-giving process. Van Langendonck and Van de Velde (2016, p. 33) argue that "The number and types of names that are bestowed on people are highly culture-specific, as are the principles that guide the choice of a name." To better view the relationship or interdependence of naming and culture, one has to start from defining the latter, which is not an easy task due to the complexity and variability of the phenomenon.

In order to introduce different attitudes in relation to to culture, it is worth highlighting its key elements which are incorporated in the approaches described below. Griswold (2013, p. 3) distinguishes five components of culture: norms, values, beliefs, expressive symbols, and practices. She says that "norms are the way people behave in a given society, values are what they hold dear, beliefs are how they think the universe operates, and expressive symbols are representations, often of social norms, values and beliefs themselves", while practices are "people's behaviour patterns, not necessarily connected to any particular values or beliefs" (GRISWOLD,

2013, p. 3). These five "pillars" of culture manifest themselves in three different approaches to culture discussed for the purpose of this research.

The most common view towards culture, which can be adopted in various scholarly and everyday practices, is that culture is a way of life of ordinary people, who learn it through socialization within the group and pass it from generation to generation. This approach is well described in one of the oldest definitions of culture dated back to 1871. Tylor in his book *Primitive Cultures* claims that "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (apud SARDAR, 1999, p. 21). This point of view is related to the concept of traditional or national culture, which is obtained by members of a certain nation, ethnical group or community that passes their shared experiences, including norms and values, down the generations.

The other approach towards culture is related to artistic, scientific and other intellectual achievements of a civilized society or something everyone should strive for, but not all can achieve. Such understanding is restricted to "high culture" and is commonly related to the elite in a society. Spencer-Oatey (2012, p. 15) claims that high culture "is often linked with terms and concepts such as *civilised, well educated, refined, cultured*, and is associated with the results of such refinement – a society's art, literature, music, and so on."(italics in the original) Freeman (2019, p. 37) relates culture to elite goods and activities such as haute cuisine, high fashion or haute couture, museum-calibre art, and classical music.

Furthermore, so-called "high culture" or "elite culture" can be opposed to "popular culture", which, according to Storey (2009, p. 5), encompasses everything "that is widely favoured or well-liked by many people". Storey (2009, p. 6) also adds that popular culture is "the culture that is left over after we have decided what is high culture". This is mostly related to various cultural creations produced by the media. These cultural phenomena are easily accessed, perceived and consumed, but, as many

other contemporary things, they are also very temporary. The term "popular culture" is used synonymically with the terms "mass culture" and "low culture", but this research rejects the latter, because not all popular cultural products are less intellectual or artistic that the ones which are assigned to high culture.

No discussion about culture can be further developed without the examination of the phenomenon of language. Several scholars view language as an indispensable part or at least as a feature of culture. For example, Risager (2006, p. 1) attests that "language and culture are inseparable, language and culture are intimately linked, language is culture and culture is language". In addition to its main function to transmit the message, language also unites the nation (GUDAVIČIUS, 2009, p. 13) as well as protects "national character and even philosophy" (LEWIS, 2006, p. 63). Following Wierzbicka (1997), the vocabulary of a language and the lifestyle of a nation are closely related. Two cultures might speak the same language, but they never speak it in the same way.

In this research, the interrelation or interdependence of culture and language manifest themselves in naming practices. On the one hand, naming is influenced by culture since name-givers as members of a certain cultural group choose names in conformity with the norms and values accepted in their group. Moreover, names are chosen from the repertoire of names or, in Griswold's (2013) terminology, expressive symbols, which represent norms and values. Influence of culture on naming practices may also be observed when two or more cultures collide. On the other hand, naming practices influence culture itself. This perspective indicates that name-givers are active makers of culture who not only introduce new (or once obliterated) names into an anthroponymic system, but also prompt the society to accept them as a norm. It often happens that a newly coined name sounds strange at first but it might enter into cultural mainstream gradually. In this light, one can talk only about the influence on popular culture, because comparable impact on "high" or "traditional" culture may

be established exclusively by long-term diachronic research. Lastly, name-giving reflects culture. Gudavičius (2009, p. 10) claims that the essence of culture is recognized and understood through the analysis of elements which are registered and encoded in language or, as Alhaug and Saarelma (2017, p. 70) simply put it, names can be seen as a mirror of the culture of the people. It follows that a repertoire of names may serve as a valuable resource for research into culture.

To conclude the discussion on various influences and interrelations of phenomena related to name-giving, one should also consider the socio-cultural function of names. Ainiala and Östman (2017, p. 3-4) state that "names function not only as tools for identification but also as tools for the social classification of an individual. A personal name therefore tells a community who the individual is and, secondly, lets the individual know what his or her place in the community is". From this perspective, one can claim that a person carrying a certain name undertakes a role and/or behaviour they are expected to have as a member of socio-cultural community. In other words, a name given to a person may somewhat influence their lifestyle or behaviour patterns.

The process of name-giving "is not only an individual isolated act", but it also involves a certain pattern (SEIDE; PETRULIONĖ, 2018, p. 1212). Aldrin (2017, p. 55) argues that the process of naming should be seen as a complex process in several phases, including searching for inspiration, comparing different names, checking how others react to a certain name or how the name suits the child, making a decision on a name choice, announcing the chosen name, as well as explaining the name choice for family, friends (or a researcher).

4 Motives for selecting a child's first name

Assigning a first name to a person is a result of linguistic, cultural and social processes that vary in time and space. As pointed out by Leibring (2016, p. 211-212),

"several ways of choosing, selecting, or creating given names can be identified throughout history. These ways are, as the rest of our language usage, dependent on time, social and political situation, as well as on individual preferences". To illustrate these diverse processes, she cites several motives for choosing a name which have served as a starting point for developing the categories and definitions of motives for this research.

Drawing on Leibring's framework and on the analysis provided in the previous chapters, 11 categories (with some subcategories) were distinguished. Their definitions are provided below:

1. **Uniqueness**. The selection process is motivated by the fact that the name-giver believes the first name they have chosen or created is a unique name, i.e., one of a kind, extraordinary, rare.

1.1. **Apparent uniqueness**. In this subcategory of names, uniqueness is only an illusion as the name in question already exists and is being used or has been used in the past. It sometimes happens that old names come back into usage or names popular in other regions or countries are selected because they are rare in the locality of name-givers.

1.2 **Neologism**. A name assigned to the category of neologisms is the one coined by name-givers usually with the purpose to be unique.

1.3 **Variation**. The term is borrowed from Leibring (2016, p. 212), who says that one of the ways of creating a given name is "variation by combining name elements". Such a name is also a neologism and it is coined with the aim to achieve uniqueness. Variations fall into two types: 1) a different suffix or ending is added to an existing name (morphological variation), and 2) unusual spelling is used in the name (graphical variation). This motivecan be regarded as a more recent one and related to the individualization of Western culture nowadays. For example, in the Portuguese language, there is the name *Mateus*, but a relative can register the name as *Matheus*

with an "h" to make it different. Another example is to register the female name *Sofia* as *Sophia* or *Sophya*.

2. **Patriotism**. The name-giver chooses such a name to express love for their country or the choice is inspired by such feelings. In most cases, the name-giver selects the first name because it is exclusive to the country, i.e., it does not exist in other countries or languages. These names can be seen as culture-specific items. However, if a man called *Kęstutis* (an exclusively Lithuanian name) says he was named after his mother's friend, the motiveis 3.2 but not 2.

3. **Honour**. A name given in one's honour is a name of a person who is called after the other person, including relatives, family friends, famous people (celebrities), etc. Leibring's (2016, p. 212) approach is roughly similar: she mentions "naming after famous persons, real or fictional" as a separate motiveand also says that it could be "a way of commemorating deceased ancestors, in combination that his person's positive characteristics would follow the name". The main difference between the categories described by Leibring and this research is that the latter distinguishes fictional names as a separate group (see category 10 in the list below) and the names that have been chosen with the aim to transfer positive traits are assigned to category 7. In addition, in the research presented in this article, it is not considered whether the honoured person is alive or deceased.

3.1. **In honour of a relative.**

3.2. **In honour of a friend.**

3.3. **In honour of a famous person.**

4. **Religion**. A religious name is the one given for a religious purpose, usually after a saint, but not necessarily related to the "naming after the Calendar name of the birthday (very common, and indeed at sometimes almost obligatory in the Catholic Church to give the name of the day in the Saint's Calendar)" as described by Leibring (2016, p. 212). However, first names with potential religious meaning such as *Jesus*,

Maria or *José* do not necessarily have a religious reason. For example, if a person called José says he was named after his father, the motiveis 3.1 but not 4.

5. **Chance**. A chance name is the one which is chosen either randomly or without clear motivation.

5.1. **Pure chance**. The term describes the name-giving process characterized by an absence of cause-result relation or motivation (at least the one which can be traced in the narrative).

5.2. **Lottery**. A lottery name is the one which is chosen by drawing lots.

6. **Meaning**. A semantically meaningful name is the one chosen because of its semantic load. This motivealso covers the instances when a first name is homonymic to a common noun, and thereby the meaning of the latter can be consciously or unconsciously transferred to the former.

7. **Belief**. In this category, the anthroponymic choice is based on the belief that the name has traits that influence the personality of the named person. In this process, the name-giver believes that the name has good qualities that they wish to be the qualities of the name-bearer. This motiveis not directly related to the meaning of the name itself, but rather to how the name-giver evaluates the first name and to their belief in a kind of magical power of the name.

8. **Aesthetic**. An aesthetic name is chosen because the name-giver finds it nice. Leibring called this motiveas "choosing a certain name because of its euphony" (LEIBRING, 2016, p. 212). In this research, the category of aesthetic names is not limited to phonetic feature since the name can be liked because of its length (long or short), good match with the surname, attractive graphical form, etc.

9. **Popularity**. A popular name is the one which was popular in the social environment of the name-giver during the period when a child was born (or the period which was significant to the name-giver/s).

10. **Fictional character**. A name given to a child after a character from a piece of literature or music, film, soap opera, and alike.

11. **Resemblance.** A name assigned to this category is the one which resembles or is similar to a family member's name in terms of spelling or pronunciation.

The eleven categories defined above have been developed to assist classification of the data. The following section describes the methodological procedures used in this research.

5 Methodology

This research aims at analysing and comparing the motives for choosing the first name of a child in Lithuania and Brazil in the years 1958-2016. A questionnaire-based survey was carried out to collect data about the process of name-giving and possibly influencing factors. The survey included 107 students and staff members of *Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná (Unioeste) – Western Paraná State University* from the campus of Marechal Cândido Rondon, Brazil, and 100 students and staff members of *Šiauliai University*, Lithuania. Since the respondents belong to a comparably narrow social class, namely, a university community, the research results cannot reflect overall cultural tendencies of name-giving in both countries and are, therefore, interpreted in reference to a certain fragment of society only. However, the study has the potential to be expanded in the scope of both the questionnaire and the social groups. It could thus offer broader insights into the naming systems of the cultures under analysis and further contribute to comparative studies in Onomastics.

Data collection and analysis were based on the premise that qualitative and quantitative methods complement each other. This goes in line with the contemporary tendency towards mixed methods research (DÖRNYEI, 2007), seen as a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, meant to support each other and thus contribute to the overall quality of research. Numerical ways of measuring and

generalizing objective reality, on the one hand, and subjective individual interpretations, on the other, may well work together to provide the big picture of a phenomenon – in this case, the parents' motives for selecting a child's name.

The methodological procedures adopted in this study can be described in relation to different stages of data collection and analysis. First, a questionnaire with both closed and open questions was designed, including two sections: Section 1 aimed at collecting factual information about the respondents, their name, time and place of birth, as well as their parents; Section 2 aimed at inquiring about the meaning of the respondents' name and the very process of name-giving, namely who and why this person made the choice. In Lithuania and in Brazil, the questionnaires were completed by a similar number of university students and staff members in July–December 2018. In both countries, there were more respondents born in the 1990s and more female respondents. Comparable databases were constructed to be used in further stages of analysis.

The data processing phase involved thorough readings of questionnaires and making an inventory of the respondents' names and other characteristics and circumstances of their name-giving such as the name-giver(s) and motives for choosing the name. The motives for name-giving were interpreted on the basis of the eleven motivecategories presented above, and their distribution was calculated. In addition, excerpts of textual evidence explicating one or another motive for parent's choice were collected and later used to exemplify different motives, as narrated by the respondents.

Statistical data derived from the questionnaires served as the basis for quantitative analysis, presented in Section 6. It provides a detailed picture of the respondents' age, gender, name inventory and the frequency of each name-giving reason. The comparison of statistical data provided both equivalent tendencies and different patterns of name-giving in Lithuania and Brazil. A qualitative analysis based

on textual evidence is discussed in Section 7 to provide a full account of the motives for name-giving in both countries. It reveals exactly what motives motivated the name selection and provide elements for possible historical and cultural explanations to both convergent and divergent trends in name-giving practices in Lithuania and Brazil.

6 Quantitative analysis of Lithuanian and Brazilian data

The quantitative part of the research is based on 207 questionnaires completed by 100 university students and staff in Lithuania and by 107 equivalent respondents in Brazil. As mentioned earlier, the research focuses on various aspects on naming processes in both countries in the years 1958-2016. **Table 1** presents the data on the number of personal names as well as the date of birth and gender of the name-bearers in both countries.

Table 1 — Number of personal names per age group and gender in Lithuania and Brazil.

Name-bearers' date of birth	Male first names (LT)	Female first names (LT)	Male first names (BR)	Female first names (BR)
1958 – 1962	-	2	-	-
1963 – 1967	-	1	1	2
1968 – 1972	-	-	1	2
1973 – 1977	-	3	-	5
1978 – 1982	1	1	-	7
1983 – 1987	-	2	1	6
1988 – 1992	1	2	1	5
1993 – 1997	14	14	5	39
1998 – 2002	23	42	2	39
2003 – 2007	1	-	4	1
2008 – 2012	1	-	1	6
2013 – 2016	1	1	3	2
Total:	**42**	**68**	**19**	**113**
	110		**132**	

Source: authors of the article.

Table 1 shows 110 Lithuanian first names (10 are the names of the respondents' children) and 132 Brazilian personal names (23 are their children's names). Although

the range of the birth year is rather broad, most name-bearers were born in the years 1993-2002, i.e., 91 Lithuanian and 85 Brazilian names are from this period.

The results indicate that the girl names outnumber the boy names in both countries. In Lithuania, out of the total of 110 names, 68 are female; in Brazil, out of the total of 132 names, 113 are female.

As for double personal names, the results are quantitatively different. In Brazil, there are 46 compound first names (e.g., *Adriana Paula* or *Daniel Evandro*), whereas in Lithuania there are 22 double names only (*Onutė Elena* and *Darius Jonas*).

Further quantitative analysis of the first names shows that 23 names in Lithuania and 36 names in Brazil are repetitive names, i.e., they are carried by more than one person. This rather convergent result shows the existence of the very similar rate of anthroponomical diversity in both countries. However, the means by which it is reached is different in each context. For example, there are cases when the first name is repeated 5 times (e.g., *Ieva*) or at least 3 times (e.g., *Karolina*) in the Lithuanian data, whereas no name is mentioned more than 2 times in the Brazilian sample.

The comparison of the Lithuanian and Brazilian findings also indicates that the number of the personal names which may be considered equivalents is low. As for the male first names, there is the Lithuanian name *Paulius* and its Brazilian equivalent *Paulo*. As for female first names, there are 2 equivalent names: *Karolina* in the Lithuanian case, and the forms *Caroline* and *Carolina* in the Brazilian sample. In addition, there is one similar or related first name, i.e., the Lithuanian name *Paulina* can be related to the Brazilian first name *Paulina* or to the first name *Paula*, which sounds similar to *Paulina*.

When comparing repertoires of names in different contexts and languages, it is also significant to point out the people who have chosen the children's first names. The quantitative analysis of both Lithuanian and Brazilian data indicates that mothers have been one of the most influential persons in the family in the process of name-giving,

as she have chosen the child's name most often in both countries (37 cases from the total of 110 in Lithuania, and 64 cases from the total of 132 in Brazil). Other people that have had influence on the choice of the first name are the fathers, grandparents, siblings, and godparents.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework and methodology of this research, the core interest of this study lies in analysing the motives for name-giving in Lithuania and Brazil. **Table 2** provides statistical data on the number and percentage of the motives mentioned by the respondents.

Table 2 – Number and percentage of the motivementions in Lithuania and Brazil.

Motives	LT Sample (number of mentions)	BR Sample (number of mentions)
1. Uniqueness		
1.1. Seeming uniqueness	1.6% (2)	4.9% (8)
1.2. Neologism	-	0.6% (1)
1.3. Variation	-	1.8% (3)
2. Patriotism	7.4% (9)	-
3. Honour		
3.1. An honour of a relative	4.1% (5)	9.2% (15)
3.2. An honour of a friend or acquaintance	3.3% (4)	9.8% (16)
3.3. An honour of a famous person	0.8% (1)	4.3% (7)
4. Religion	2.5% (3)	8.6% (14)
5. Chance		
5.1. Pure chance	6.5% (8)	4.9% (8)
5.2. Lottery	0.8% (1)	0.6% (1)
6. Meaning	5.7% (7)	4.3% (7)
7. Belief	4.1% (5)	4.9% (8)
8. Aesthetic	25.4% (31)	27% (44)
9. Popularity	2.5% (3)	0.6% (1)
10. Fictional character		
10.1 Films	2.5% (3)	1.3% (2)
10.2 Soap Opera	-	3.7% (6)
10.3 Literature	0.8% (1)	1.8% (3)
10.4 Name of a musician or name mentioned in the lyrics	-	2.5% (4)
11. Resemblance	4.1% (5)	0.6% (1)

12. Other motives indicated by respondents	0.8% (1)	4.3% (7)
13. Unknown motive	15.6% (19)	1.3% (2)
14. No information on the reason	11.5% (14)	3.0% (5)
Total:	100% (122)	100% (163)

Source: authors of the article.

When comparing the motives for name-giving in Brazil and Lithuania, we may point out the following convergent and divergent results. In both countries and cultures, the aesthetic motiveplays the most important role when choosing the first name. It accounts for 25.4% in Lithuania and 27% in Brazil. The greatest difference in both countries and cultures is evident for the following motives: *Uniqueness* (1.6% in Lithuania vs. 7.3% in Brazil), *Patriotism* (7.4% vs. 0%), *Fictional character* (3.3% vs. 9.3%), and *Religion* (2.5% vs. 8.6%). As for the unknown motiveand no information categories, the percentage is significantly higher in the Lithuanian case. For example, 15.6% is allocated for the unknown motivein Lithuania and only 1.3% in Brazil. A further qualitative analysis of the data was carried out order to better understand the motives of such behaviour.

7 Qualitative analysis of Lithuanian and Brazilian data

The qualitative analysis of the Lithuanian and Brazilian data shows that the most common motiveto choose a name for a child in both countries is because the name-giver considers it "nice". The *aesthetic* motivewas noted 31 times (25.4%) in Lithuania and 44 times (27%) in Brazil. Even though this category is not limited to the phonetic feature in this research, this is one of the most common motives for the name choice. For example:

LT1. My Mom decided to choose this name because it sounded good. (1998)[5]
BR2. We tried to imagine how the name would sound at different stages of our children's life, i.e., when they are children, adolescents and adults. (1993, 1999, 2008)

In addition to the phonetic feature, the respondents' personal names were chosen because of the length of the name, good match with the surname or with the first component of a double name, or attractive graphical form. This is evident in the following examples:

LT3. The name sounded nice, and it was short to write. (1999)
LT4. My grandmother chose the name because she liked the letter "K". (1998)
BR5. The second name "Caroline" was chosen for aesthetic motives only. My parents thought the name would fit the first name and decided on it. (1999)

The qualitative study of the attribution of a name to a person because of its aesthetic form allows certain conclusions about the nation's culture of that time in general since culture and naming processes are inseparable. The examination of the textual evidence shows that in the late 20th century in Lithuania and Brazil (most respondents of the survey were born at that time) there is a growing tendency towards the so-called detraditionalization of naming practices, which means that people mostly choose names due to taste and fashion rather than to following certain traditions. This point of view can be closely linked to the concept of *popular culture*, a term used by Storey (2009) to refer to everything that is admired by many people. However, such widely favoured cultural phenomena are usually temporary; therefore, the preferences for personal names at the end of the 20th century may not be necessarily the same at another period of time. In fact, the predominance of the aesthetic motivemay also be

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[5] The date in parenthesis indicates name-bearer's date of birth.

seen as a consequence of the globalization process, which has influenced both Lithuanian and Brazilian cultures.

Another popular motivefor choosing a name for a child in Lithuania and Brazil deals is the wish to honour a relative, a friend or a famous person. As the data shows, this accounts for 8.2% of all motives mentioned in the Lithuanian data and for 23.3% in Brazil. The names of the closest people in the family are the most common choices. For example:

> LT6. My mother chose my name to honour her grandmother. (1989)
> LT7. My father chose this name as part of an old tradition in my family: someone in the family is to be named Albertas. (1998)
> BR8. Sofia. I gave her this name to pay tribute to her maternal great-grandmother. (2007)

These examples indicate that the motivefor naming a child after a relative may have to do with the wish to celebrate the deceased ancestors or to honour relatives alive, and that kind of behaviour is influenced by certain behaviour norms and traditions appropriate in a certain society and culture. The analysis of the narratives proves that giving a name to a child is a kind of thing learned within a society and passed from generation to generation. This is outright shown in Example LT7 when the respondent's father chose the name as part of an old tradition in his family.

As for naming a child after a friend, it is a rather widespread phenomenon in both countries, too. The wish to have a child named after a beloved friend in one's lifetime is related to associative meanings that are based on the name-bearers or, in Van Langendonck and Van de Velde's words (2016), associative meanings of personal names, specifically the connotations that arise via the denotatum, are of great importance here. For example:

> LT9. My father knew a nice and intelligent woman who was named Aina. (1974)
> BR10. My mother had a friend who was a very promising, intelligent woman. My

mother honoured her by choosing her name because she wanted to pass all these qualities on to me (1995).

As for giving a name in honour of a famous person, there is one instance in the Lithuanian case when a child is named after a historical figure *Aleksandr*, while the Brazilian data shows that usually homage is paid to famous international and national actors, sportsmen or poets. For example:

> LT11. My mother chose the name Aleksandr because such a name represents many great historic figures. (1995)
> BR12. My name is a tribute to the American actress. My mother was inspired by the actress who had been acting for some time in movies and had been appearing on TV. She is the famous "Nicole Mary Kidman". (1997)
> BR13. My mother gave this name to me to honour the poet and singer Vinícius de Morais whom she loves a lot. (1989)

The national culture, history and values are much more mentioned in the Lithuanian data. Selecting the first name with the aim to express one's patriotic feelings is the third most mentioned motivein Lithuania (7.4% of all instances), whereas this motiveis absent in Brazil. In most Lithuanian cases, the first names can be considered as culture-specific items since the names are exclusively Lithuanian or do not exist in other countries. For example:

> LT14. I was named after the Grand Duke Gediminas who ruled Lithuania hundreds of years ago. (1999)
> LT15. Margiris is the name of Lithuanian Duke Margiris. (2007)
> LT16. Linas is a typical Lithuanian name. (1980)
> LT17. I wanted my daughter to have a Lithuanian name Rūta. (1986)

Examples LT14, LT15, LT16 and LT17 assert that the people's patriotic feelings are deeply rooted in the Lithuanian culture. One's love, devotion or commitment to Lithuania is usually expressed by the names referring to plants having a symbolic meaning in Lithuanian folklore – e.g., the names Linas (Example LT16) and Rūta

(Example LT17), or calling a child after famous Lithuanian historic personalities as Margiris (Example LT15) and Gediminas (Example LT14). The choice of historic names may also be related to the people's wish to identify themselves with the civilized, well-educated, refined and cultured personalities and, in this way, to believe that they belong to the "elite". This is also often associated with the concept of *high culture* emphasizing artistic, scientific and other intellectual achievements of a civilized society or something everyone should strive for, to cite Spencer-Oatey (2012).

In addition, it is impossible to analyse the relevance of patriotism in the process of giving a name without relating it to history. The motive to be strongly committed to one's country is closely related to the fact that Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union after the World War II and regained its independence only in 1990. That period of time influenced people's lives, way of thinking, and feelings. The lack of patriotism as a motive for choosing a name in the Brazilian sample can be related to the fact that the Brazilians did not have to fight for their identity. Bauman (2004) states that the perception of having an identity will not occur if people do not feel their identity is in danger. Besides, the absence of the patriotic motive in the Brazilian sample might not necessarily mean weaker patriotic feelings since there is not always a direct link between motives and feelings (see SEIDE, 2016).

Another way to choose a child's name in Lithuania and Brazil is randomly or by chance. The category *Chance* accounts for 7.3% of all cases in Lithuania and 5.5% in Brazil. It is further subdivided into *Lottery* when the name is chosen drawing lots (Example LT18) and *Pure chance* when there is no cause-result relation or motivation (Example BR19). For example:

> LT18. My parents and grandparents simply wrote down the names they liked on pieces of paper, put them in a box and drew them out of the box. The name which they drew out most often was Edita. (1999)
> BR19. My father had to make an identification card at the hospital reception. There he saw the nurse's badge with the name Angela. My name was chosen that way. (1995)

The proportion of names chosen by chance is similar in the Lithuanian and Brazilian data. This may be related to anthroponomical practices that tend to see proper personal names as meaningless signs by which people are called.

This research, on the contrary, argues that first names have some meaning and are usually chosen due to its semantic load. To give a child a name because of its meaning was selected by 5.7% of the Lithuanian respondents and by 4.3% of the Brazilian respondents. Their narratives suggest that personal names do have some meaning, although, as Van Langendonck and Van de Velde (2016) state, it is not lexical but rather connotative. For example:

> LT20. When I was a baby, he [her father] called me "Auksiukas". So my parents decided that I had to be Auksė, a golden baby. (1999)
> BR21. According to a book of names and their meanings that my mother consulted at hospital the day I was born, the name Dâmaris meant enlightened and joyful. She liked its meaning and chose it to name me. (1999)

In Example LT20, the Lithuanian name *Auksė*, which is often interchangeably used with its diminutive form *Auksiukas*, makes us think about a very treasured person (Back translation – golden girl/baby). In the Brazilian case (Example BR21), the name *Dâmaris* has been chosen because of its positive meanings on its own.

Data analysis required the inclusion of the motive *Resemblance*. A name assigned to this category is the one similar to the family member's name. It is a combination of both parents' names, involving the same inflexions or letters of the parent's names. The number of such cases totals 4.1% in Lithuania and 0.6% in Brazil. For example:

> LT22. My sister's name is Živilė. Both our names have the same ending "vilė". Our parents chose these names because they wanted them sound similar. (1999)
> BR23. The name Carina was chosen because my sister was named Cassiana and they wanted it to have the same initial letter. (1995)

On the one hand, such naming practices as in Example LT22 and in Example BR23 may be considered as following traditions, passing them down generations, as well as demonstrating that the values and customs of the family are a shared cultural trait in both Lithuanian and Brazilian societies. However, others would argue that this is an opposite phenomenon. Being a combination of someone's name, the name itself becomes somehow unique and rare. Thus, a conclusion can be drawn that people already adopt new tactics of name-giving, which reveals increasing individualism and weaker ties with the customs and traditions.

The number of cases for the motive *Belief* (which suggests that the name chosen will somewhat influence an individual's personality, behaviour patterns or lifestyle) is similar in both countries: 4.1% in Lithuania and 4.9% in Brazil. For example:

> LT24. My mom decided to name me Raminta as she expected me to be a calm person (1999).
> BR25. There were four German emperors with the same name Otto. I believe it is a powerful name. (2014)

Examplse LT24 and BR25 demonstrate that name-givers do not think a great deal about the uniqueness of the name itself. On the contrary, they believe these names have positive qualities which will be transferred to the name-bearer and create a stronger identity for their child.

As for motive*Fictional character*, the Brazilian respondents seem to be more enthusiastic about naming their children after a fictional character. In Lithuania such cases account for 3.3% of the data; in Brazil for 9.3%. The Lithuanians usually mention a film character that have influenced the name choice (Example LT26). The Brazilians indicate that their names have been chosen under the influence of pieces of literature (Example BR27), lyrics (Example BR28), films, and soap operas (Example BR29). For example:

LT26. They chose the name from the movie "Snow queen". The main characters were Gerda and Kajus. (1999)

BR27. To choose a name for her second daughter, she decided after reading the novel. (1971)

BR28. My name Camila Giovana was chosen because of the song name "Camila, Camila" from the band "Nenhum de Nós". He [her father] found the name beautiful, too. (1999)

BR29. My first name "Joice" was my mother's choice who, when she first watched television (she was about 12), watched a soap opera. There was an actress Malu Mader who played the role of a character named "Joice" in that soap opera. (1999)

Such naming practices may be a consequence of "*popular culture*" and, with reference to Gerhards and Hackenbroff (2000), are also linked to the processes of globalization that are usually influenced by the media. The fact that naming a child after a fictional character is much more common in Brazil than in Lithuania also reveals certain behavioural patterns – everyday activities admired by Brazilian people such as watching soap operas and listening to the music on the radio. In addition, as Gerhards and Hackenbroff (2000) point out, naming practices related to globalization and influenced mainly by the development of the habit of watching television may increase the number of names from other cultures, but this is the case neither in the Brazilian nor Lithuanian data under analysis. Although the Lithuanian and Brazilian corpora confirm a certain influence on the process of naming by the media, the participants' narratives reveal more significant impact of national popular culture rather than foreign cultures[6].

Further qualitative analysis of motive*Popularity* indicates that selecting a popular and admired name by the time a child was born appears only in a few Lithuanian and Brazilian narratives (2.5% and 0.6%, respectively). For example:

LT30. The name was chosen because it was popular at the time. (1978)

BR31. My mother chose the name "Adriana" because it was famous at the time and

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[6] Different results have been reported on the popularity of foreign names in Brazil, especially in the lower social classes, which are not covered by this research (see FREITAS, 2007).

because she liked the name. (1997)

Rare choices of popular names demonstrate the overall trend of individuation in both countries (EMERY, 2013; GERHARDS; HACKENBROFF, 2000; SAKALLI, 2016). In other words, parents do not wish their children's names to be shared with others but seek to find a special name for their child that would presumably create a more unique identity for them while helping them achieve more in their lives.

Religion is another factor having great impact on the naming practices worldwide. Brazil and Lithuania are Christian countries with a majority of population identifying themselves as Catholics. The data acquired in Lithuania shows that such cases total 2.5% of all examples, whereas in Brazil the number of respondents named after a Saint, to honour a promise or for some other religious purpose is significantly greater –8.6%[7]. For example:

> LT32. The Bible says that Ieva is the name of the first woman on the Earth created by God. (1996)
> LT33. Mum knew that this name was holy. (1998)
> BR34. "Maria" was chosen by my mother when she had complications of pregnancy. She made a promise to Our Lady Mary that she would name me Maria if I was born healthy. (1993)
> BR35. My second name was given because July 24th is Santa Christina's day. (1969)

The share of Catholicism as the national religion in both countries explains the presence of the religious motivein both data. However, the Brazilians mention this motive3 times more often than the Lithuanians do. This divergent result may be explained historically. In Brazil, Catholicism was the official religion until 1890. At the present time, the State is secular but freedom of religion has always been proclaimed, whereas in Lithuania such freedom hardly existed in the Soviet period. In addition,

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[7] Religious motiveshould not be considered to be equal to the choice of the name with religious meaning: a religious name can be given for non-religious motives (see SEIDE, 2016).

the low number of name choices for a religious motive in Lithuania may be a consequence of secularization as a part of globalization and cultural modernization processes (see GERHARDS; HACKENBROFF, 2000).

The least number of naming practices in Lithuania corresponded to the category *Uniqueness* (1.6%), which contrasts to 7.3% in Brazil[8]. As for the Lithuanian part, all instances fall under the subcategory *Seeming uniqueness*, which means that the uniqueness is only an illusion since such names already exist (Example LT36). The evaluation of a name as unique, according to the Brazilian data, is motivated by the fact that nobody has such a name in the family, the person that has chosen the name does not know anyone bearing that name, or the chosen name is disregarded for being widely used at the time and changed into another one, more unique (Example BR37). For example:

> LT36. <…> Simonas. She wanted a rare name for the boy. (1999)
> BR37. My mother said to me that the day I was born she knew three other Andressas had been born at Hospital and decided to change the name. So, I was renamed. (1995)

Furthermore, the examination of the textual data also pointed to several Lithuanian cases with no information on the motives (11.5%) or no knowledge of the motivefor their names' choice (15.6%). The percentage of such cases is significantly lower in Brazil, i.e. 3.0% and 1.3%, respectively. The textual evidence of the Brazilian part shows the existence of other motives influencing the name choice such as pragmatic motives, chose of a name seen in dream, easy pronunciation in Brazilian Portuguese and in French, and the supposed ethnic background of the name chosen; however, the analysis of these motives is to be included in future research.

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[8] The tendency to choose or create a unique name is confirmed by other researchers analysing linguistic features of first names in Brazil (FRAI, 2021; PENSIN, 2020; VESCOVI 2021).

8 Conclusions

The findings of this quantitative and qualitative research into name-giving motives in Lithuania and Brazil confirm the hypothesis proposed at the initial stage of this research. The comparison of parental motives for choosing a baby's name in two different countries shows both similar trends and divergent patterns, which is indicative of the universality and variation of anthroponymic systems and socio-cultural factors that affect them.

This comparative research has exceeded the boundaries of purely linguistic study. Although names are linguistic elements and a naming system is viewed as a linguistic system, investigation of naming motives and/or naming practices has required the application of social and cultural approaches. Moreover, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has allowed to measure and generalize objective reality as well as to explicate subjective individual interpretations.

The quantitative analysis shows that different cultures with separate anthroponymic systems have more similarities than differences. In both countries, the percentage of repetition of the first name is not great: 23 names in Lithuania and 36 names in Brazil. The very similar rate of anthroponomical diversity in both countries demonstrates the unwillingness to repeat the names, which may be related to an increasing individuation in naming practices and indicative of cultural modernization in general.

As for the repertoires of equivalent names in both cultures, only 3 first names could be considered as equivalents in Lithuania and Brazil: *Paulius* and *Paulo*, *Paulina* and *Paula*, and *Karolina* and *Carolina* or *Caroline*. As for the people who have chosen first names of their children, the mother has been one of the most influential persons in the family in both Lithuania and Brazil (34% and 48%, respectively).

The situation is somewhat different when it comes to double personal names. The number of compound personal names is significantly higher in Brazil than in

Lithuania (46 vs. 2 names, respectively). As the double personal names of the sample are not traditional or conventional combination of first names, the choice of such names can be seen as a way to pursue uniqueness, but further research is necessary to confirm this assumption.

The qualitative analysis also revealed convergent and divergent results. The apparent similarity in both countries and cultures is the predominance of the aesthetic motivefor choosing the first name. It accounts for 25.4% in Lithuania and 27% in Brazil. Thus, there is a growing tendency towards the so-called detraditionalization of naming practices in the late 20th century in Lithuania and Brazil when people mostly choose the names due to taste and fashion rather than to following certain traditions. Speaking in broader terms, such naming practices are evident due to universal aspects of naming processes and cultural globalization, including Westernization of both societies.

Another popular motiveis the wish to honour a relative, a friend or a famous person. Such cases total 8.2% in Lithuania and 23.3% in Brazil. Unlike the aesthetic motives, the respondents' narratives in this case show that giving a name for a child is still a thing learned within a society and passed from generation to generation. In addition to following the traditions, associative meanings of personal names, specifically the connotations that arise via the denotatum, are of great importance here.

Taking into account specific historical context and cultural factors, the following divergent results in naming patterns have been distinguished in Lithuania and Brazil. The greatest difference in both countries and cultures is evident considering the following motives: *Patriotism* (7.4% in Lithuania vs. 0% in Brazil), *Fictional character* (3.3% vs. 9.3%), *Religion* (2.5% vs. 8.6%), and *Uniqueness* (1.6% vs. 7.3%).

The national culture, history and values are mentioned much more often in the Lithuanian data. Selecting the first name with the aim to express one's patriotic feelings is the third most mentioned motivein Lithuania, but it is absent in Brazil. The

relevance of patriotism in the process of giving a name is impossible to understand whit out considering the historical context of a country. Unlike Brazil, where people did not have to fight for their identity, Lithuania was oppressed by the Soviet Union regime for several years, which considerably influenced people's lives, way of thinking, and feelings. Thus, it is natural that the Lithuanians are in search of exclusively Lithuanian names to express their love for the country. This is usually achieved by names referring to natural phenomena (e.g., *Rūta*) or famous Lithuanian historic personalities (e.g., *Margiris*).

The decreasing role of traditional naming patterns is also evident when a child is named after a fictional character. However, such naming patterns are much more spread among Brazilian than Lithuanian respondents because of the influence of mass media, especially television, in Brazil. Nevertheless, the Brazilians do not tend to embrace foreign mass cultures, but obviously prefer their national mass culture as there is little homage to international actors, singers or books in the Brazilian sample.

The presence of religious motivein both data was expected since Catholicism is the dominant religion in both countries. However, the Brazilian respondents mentioned it 3 times more often than the Lithuanians did. The smaller number of Christian names in Lithuania might be related to the Soviet occupation when freedom of faith hardly existed, and people avoided choosing names for religious purposes. On the other hand, the so-called secularization is also a consequence of the globalization processes and a part of cultural modernization in general.

As for *Uniqueness*, the results differ considerably in both countries and cultures. All Lithuanian instances fall under the subcategory *Seeming uniqueness*, which means that uniqueness is only an illusion since such names already exist. The narratives of the Brazilian data show that people are much more aware of finding a rare name for their child with the wish to express their own identity and to establish a unique identity for their children.

Finally, the well-established statement that proper names have no meaning is challenged by the pesent survey narratives. The respondents often claimed that one of the motives why name-givers chose one or another name was its meaning. Although the motive*Meaning* accounts for approximately 5% of the total in both corpora, the meaning of the name is certainly considered within other motives – for example, when the name chosen is expected to influence an individual's personality (the motive*Belief* totals ca. 4% in each culture). It is not purely conceptual or lexical meaning, but rather individual connotation meaning.

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Onomastics and Law Interface: contributions to the studies of Brazilian anthroponomy

Interface Onomástica e Direito: contribuições para os estudos da antroponímia brasileira

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this article is to present the characteristics of a group of anthroponyms in order to point out some directions for studies of Brazilian anthroponymy. This article is based on theoretical assumptions of Onomastics and on the interface between this field of study and Law. The anthroponyms analyzed are civil name, social name, ballot name and parliamentary name. Data were collected from the Superior Electoral Court, the Chamber of Deputies and court decisions from tribunals. Recent Brazilian anthroponymy studies demonstrate that research on personal names relating linguistic and legal aspects is still incipient. This article provides some suggestions that could bridge such a gap by analyzing lexical or grammatical aspects of data originating from legal norms or judicial decisions.

RESUMO: O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar as características de um grupo de antropônimos com o fim de apontar alguns caminhos para estudos da antroponímia brasileira. O trabalho se baseia em pressupostos teóricos da Onomástica e na interface entre esta área e o Direito. Os antropônimos analisados são o nome civil, o nome social, o nome de urna e o nome parlamentar. Os dados utilizados foram extraídos do Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, da Câmara dos Deputados e da jurisprudência de tribunais. No histórico recente dos estudos antroponímicos no Brasil, verifica-se que são incipientes os trabalhos que buscam pesquisar os nomes de pessoa relacionando aspectos linguísticos e jurídicos. Por esse motivo, são apontadas algumas sugestões que podem suprir essa lacuna, partindo-se da análise de aspectos lexicais ou gramaticais de dados provenientes de normas legais ou de decisões judiciais.

KEYWORDS: Onomastics. Law. Brazilian Portuguese. Anthroponyms.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Onomástica. Direito. Português brasileiro. Antropônimos.

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1 Introduction

This article aims to present the characteristics of a set of anthroponyms and to point out some directions for studies of Brazilian anthroponymy based on the interface between Onomastics and Law, emphasizing legal rules about attribution, rectification and change of personal names. This article is based both on the assumptions of Socio-onomastics, which defines proper names as non-static, constant or stable, but variable (AINIALA, 2016), and on the relationship between proper names and law (TEUTSCH, 2016). In considering the social aspect of anthroponyms, this study is consistent with one of Guérios' proposals (1981) in which personal proper names can be studied from an etymological or social (or psycho-social) perspective – in this case, the reason why they are chosen is studied.

 To achieve the research goal, four types of anthroponyms were selected. The first type is the most studied and corresponds to the civil name, which is the one recorded in the registry office. The other types are social name, ballot name, and parliamentary name. The social name is related to transgender people, and the other two are related to political personalities: candidates running for office and candidates holding office in the Legislative Branch, respectively.

To discuss and exemplify how the categories listed above contribute to interdisciplinary studies of Onomastics and Law, concrete cases collected from different sources are presented in this article. Data were collected from the Superior Electoral Court, the Chamber of Deputies, and decisions by different courts in Brazil.

Initially, this article provides a brief overview of studies of anthroponyms in Brazil. Next, the listed anthroponymic categories are analyzed in order to present and discuss examples and definitions. Later, a discussion about possible avenues for future research is presented, followed by the final remarks.

2 Studies of anthroponyms in Brazil

The interest in onomastic studies, particularly in European countries, began systematically in the 19th century (HAJDÚ, 2002), whereas in Brazil it began in the mid-20th century. Rosário Farâni Mansur Guérios, inspired by European researchers, such as Dauzat and Leite de Vasconcelos, published *Dicionário etimológico de nomes e sobrenomes* (Etymological Dictionary of Names and Surnames) in 1949 (GUÉRIOS, 1949) and Henrique Fontes published *Digressões Antroponímicas* (Anthroponymic Digressions) in 1950 (FONTES, 1950). Studying proper names in Brazil started with a focus on etymology, as happened in Europe. Guérios was a pioneer, and his work, with subsequent editions, is still quoted by authors in the area.

However, it was within the scope of postgraduate programs in Languages or Linguistics that several studies on anthroponyms appeared in the late-20th century (this is consistent with the fact that postgraduate programs in Linguistics in the country were established in the late 1960s and early 1970s). In the 1980s, with the creation of the Lexicology, Lexicography and Terminology Group of the ANPOLL (National Association of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Language and Linguistics), onomastics studies were pushed forward. However, researchers have dedicated themselves more to toponymy than to anthroponymy, following the tradition of toponymy studies proposed by Professor Maria Vicentina de Paula do Amaral Dick at the University of São Paulo (AMARAL; SEIDE, 2020).

The most recent studies on Brazilian anthroponymy focus on theoretical, sociolinguistic, historical, and morphological themes, among others (SEIDE; SAPARAS, 2020). Most of these studies analyze the anthroponymic structures that compose the civil name, as well as nicknames and hypocoristics. Data analyzed are collected from interviews and questionnaires, names registered in registry offices, phone books, literary works, etc. Other anthroponymic units found in the Brazilian legal system, albeit the object of study in other areas such as Sociology and Law, have

been little studied within Onomastics. In contrast to other countries (KREMER, 2015; WALKOWIAK, 2016), few studies have established the relationship between linguistic and legal aspects of Brazilian anthroponyms. Some of these anthroponymic categories, rarely researched in linguistic studies in Brazil, will be discussed in the next section.

Firstly, however, it is important to point out that the choice of personal proper names is subject to the social values of the linguistic community in a given period, or, as stated by Vieira (2012, p. 85), "the name and place could turn a name incompatible with social standards"[1]. For several reasons, a person may be led to: 1) rectify or change the civil name, 2) have a second name in variation with the civil name. Although some individuals do it on a personal whim, Teutsch (2016, p. 563) points out that some conflicts are generally related to those names which are not in accordance with the legal system, or those considered "fancy", or have origin in names that have to do with the role of women in society.

McClure (1981) analyzes different forms that are not officially used and states that, in some social contexts, people have a certain degree of freedom in choosing the name by which they wish to be treated. In the author's view, since naming is a social act, the variability in naming people reflects a change in the social roles, attitudes, and context. Farkas (2012) analyzes legal regulations and official procedures for changing the family name in Hungary and emphasizes how the granting of requests for changes has been characterized by more permissive principles and practices since the mid-20th century. The same happens in other countries and is related to respect for human rights. The complexity of this subject is shown in the next section, which also delves into how it involves linguistic, social, political, and even legal issues, such as the recognition of the constitutional principle of human dignity.

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[1] "o nome e o lugar podem tornar um nome incompatível com os padrões sociais" (VIEIRA, 2012, p. 85).

3 Anthroponymic categories: definitions and sampling cases

Different anthroponyms have been indicated in typology proposals for the Portuguese language (AMARAL, 2011; AMARAL; SEIDE, 2020; CARVALHINHOS, 2007). This study, as previously discussed, focuses on the civil name (or registration name) with its different internal components, and three other less studied names: the social name, the ballot name, and the parliamentary name. Each topic below will address one of these categories.

Civil names are composed of first names and one or more surnames in the Brazilian anthroponymic system. The first name can be simple (e.g., *Ana, João*), composed (e.g., *Ana Clara, João Maria*) or juxtaposed, that is, unusual combinations in the language (e.g., *Amanda Gabriele, Cristiano Adriano*). The surname, also known as *nome de família* – 'family name' (or *apelido*, a most traditional use and of Portuguese origin) – is generally passed through parents to children (e.g., *Silva, Santos, Pereira*). In some cases, especially (but not only) for male names, forms such as *Júnior*, *Filho*, *Neto*, *Sobrinho* and *Segundo*, called *agnomes*, can be added to the anthroponyms, which establishes a relationship between a person with another, often a relative. For instance, *João Maria Silva Júnior* is the son of João Maria Silva.

3.1 Civil name

The first name and the surname comprise the personal name guaranteed by law, as provided in Article 16 of the Civil Code: "Everyone has the right to a name, including the first and the last name" (BRASIL, 2002) [2]. The right to a name is related to the universal phenomenon pointed out by Teutsch (2016) as the obligation and desire to assign a name to a newborn. Indeed, choosing a child's name, which often occurs even before birth, is a case of assigning a name to which the future bearer plays

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[2] "Toda pessoa tem direito ao nome, nele compreendidos o prenome e o sobrenome" (BRASIL, 2002).

no role, and at first, has to use it for their entire life[3].

In fact, as a rule, the Brazilian law system provides for the principle of immutability of the name.[4] However, according to Alvim Neto, Clápis and Cambler (2019), this immutability is relative, since it is possible to rectify or modify the name in some cases. According to Vieira (2012), when establishing the principle of immutability as a rule, the legislator might have wished that the person would not often change the name on a whim or to harm others.

Act No. 6.015 / 1973, known as Public Records Act or LRP (BRASIL, 1973), provides for several possibilities for rectification or change of the civil name. As set forth in Article 57 of the LRP, the subsequent name change will be allowed in exceptional and motivated cases, after a hearing of the State Prosecution Office. The sole paragraph of Article 55 guarantees the right not to register first names that are likely to expose a person to ridicule. Article 56 maintains that the interested party, in the first year after reaching the age of civil majority, is allowed to change the name as long as it does not affect family surnames. Article 58, changed by Act No. 9.708 / 1998, also allows replacing the first name with well-known public nicknames. Such assumptions are outlined below based on examples from decisions by the Court of Justice of the State of Minas Gerais (TJMG) in appeals[5].

In a recent appeal, the judge granted a claim to change a decision which had denied the rectification of the name *Joise*. The claimant requested the name revision to *Joice*, a requirement that was satisfied in the court's decision. According to judge Leite

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[3] The Brazilian anthroponymic system has its own peculiarities. However, considering the rules of naming children and the classification proposed by Pintens (2015) for Romance languages, it can be associated with the systems of other countries where it is possible to register either the father's surname, the mother's, or both.

[4] See Schwab (2015, p. 120-121) for further details about how this principle works in the German anthroponymic system.

[5] The Brazilian legal system includes other rules that allow changes to the civil name, such as in cases of adoption, protection of the victim or witness, or issues related to citizenship. For a more complete list, refer to Vieira (2012), who lists and discusses different reasons for changes in the elements that comprise the civil name in Brazilian Law and Comparative Law.

Praça, rapporteur of the process, "the rectification now intended merely affects the spelling and pronunciation of the name, since there is no change in the first name" (MINAS GERAIS, 2020a)[6]. The judge's statement is based on the most frequent spelling for the name relating it to the most current pronunciation and considering the forms as variants of the same name. However, it is worth noting that both forms occur in Brazil, with the form *Joice* being more common. Data from the Demographic Census of 2010 registered 11,214 cases of women named *Joise* and 127,087 as *Joice* (INSTITUTO, 2016).

In another lawsuit, a parents' request to register the daughter with the name *Iquelsameh* (sic) was granted. The parents claimed that the name was inspired by the German grammarian's first name *Valentin Ickelsamers*, and that the name was not vexatious and would not cause bullying in the future (MINAS GERAIS, 2020b). Here is the syllabus:

> SYLLABUS: CIVIL APPEAL – NON-LITIGIOUS PROCEEDING ACTION – BIRTH REGISTRATION – REFUSAL – FIRST NAME "IQUELSAMEH" – ORIGIN IN THE NAME OF A GERMAN WRITER – FAMILY ADMIRATION – REVERSED JUDGMENT. The name of the citizen is an attribute of the personality right, used as one of the ways to identify the person in society, bringing security to legal relationships. The explicit identification of a person through the name is one of the ways to avoid fraud and illegal acts. The birth registration of the child with the name chosen by the parents due to great admiration for the German writer is allowed, as it is not vexatious (MINAS GERAIS, 2020b).[7]

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[6] "a retificação ora pretendida altera apenas e tão somente a grafia e a pronúncia do nome, porquanto não há alteração do prenome" (MINAS GERAIS, 2020a).

[7] "EMENTA: APELAÇÃO CÍVEL - AÇÃO DE JURISDIÇÃO VOLUNTÁRIA - REGISTRO DE NASCIMENTO - RECUSA - PRENOME "IQUELSAMEH" - ORIGEM NO NOME DE ESCRITOR ALEMÃO - ADMIRAÇÃO DA FAMÍLIA - SENTENÇA REFORMADA. O nome do indivíduo é um atributo do direito da personalidade, utilizado como uma das formas de identificá-lo na sociedade, trazendo segurança às relações jurídicas. A escorreita identificação da pessoa pelo nome é uma das formas de se evitar a ocorrência de fraudes e de atos ilegais. Permite-se o registro de nascimento da criança com o nome escolhido pelos pais em razão de grande admiração a escritor alemão, por não ser vexatório" (MINAS GERAIS, 2020b).

This is a typical situation that the Judiciary Branch had to decide whether a given name could embarrass or expose its bearer to ridicule, based on the interest of those responsible for registration. Upon reaching the age of majority, in case it is deemed to be of interest, the name bearer may file an action to change the name, as is demonstrated in the following case.

In an action of rectification of civil name, the request to change the name from *Karolyn* to *Karol* was accepted. Despite the author's alleged difficulties, embarrassments and problems with the first name, this was not the motivation for the rectification, which was accepted because it was required in the first year after reaching adulthood (MINAS GERAIS, 2020c). This is one of the most peaceful decisions of changing name, as the law is very clear to enable the interested party, in the first year after reaching the age of civilian majority, to change the first name. In this case, the plaintiff decided for a morphological simplification of the name. Again, the most common trend for the two anthroponymic forms was followed. In the database of IBGE's portal "Names in Brazil" there are 272 women named *Karolyn*, against 3,981 for *Karol*. While the incidence of *Karolyn* is restricted to South states (PR and RS) and Southeast states (SP and RJ), the occurrence of *Karol* is found in all Brazilian states, more frequently in the states of Roraima and Amazonas (INSTITUTO, 2016).

In a registry rectification action filed to change the name, the first decision by the District of Timóteo (*Comarca de Timóteo*) denied the request of replacing the first name *Jovino* with *Jô Guarani*. In the action, the author claimed to be a musician and to have achieved prestige under his artistic name. The initial decision was reversed and the substitution of the plaintiff's first name was determined (MINAS GERAIS, 2015). This is considered a clear case of anthroponymic change motivated by the existence of an artistic name.

The Brazilian legislation is more rigid when it comes to changing surnames. As these names are received from parents, it is important to maintain them for legal

security and social relations. However, alteration is allowed in some situations – for instance, to correct spelling or to include/exclude the spouse's surname. In one case, the TJMG allowed the rectification of the surname *Risa* to *Rizza* (MINAS GERAIS, 2014); in another case, the appellant changed the mother's name in birth certificate, since the parent decided to use the maiden name after divorce (MINAS GERAIS, 2010). This last change is possible since the Brazilian legal system allows a person to add the surname of the spouse with the marriage, or to exclude it in case the marriage ceases (art. 1.565, §1 art. 1,578 CC).

In relation to *agnomes*, we refer to a case of minor (under 18 years old) appellants who requested the exclusion of the name *Sobrinho* and the inclusion of the surname *Araújo* from their paternal grandfather (MINAS GERAIS, 2009). The authors claimed that the name *Sobrinho*, albeit in the father's name, had been used to distinguish the father from his brother. At the end of the decision of the appeal, the court accepted the plaintiffs' request. This case demonstrates how an *agnome*, with specific semantic content (*Sobrinho* = nephew, 'son of a brother or sister, or brother-in-law or sister-in-law'), was wrongly used as a surname, which led to legal action for anthroponymic change. In the rapporteur' words: "The exclusion of the name "Sobrinho" is also reasonable, since it was mistakenly used to associate the authors with their paternal family, and not being successful at doing so, it is ineffective to maintain it attached to the authors' name"[8] (MINAS GERAIS, 2009).

The aforementioned actions show how choice, rectification and alteration of anthroponyms are dependent on laws or judicial decisions. As Teutsch (2016) points out, conflicts related to name changes are connected, especially in civil law systems (such as the Brazilian one), with the fact that the final decision about a new name sits

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[8] "A exclusão do nome do "Sobrinho" também é razoável uma vez que foi utilizado equivocadamente para vincular os autores à sua família paterna e, não se tendo conseguido tal intento, torna-se inócuo mantê-lo agregado ao nome dos autores" (MINAS GERAIS, 2009).

with a judicial authority – in this case, a judge. When it comes to a name that may expose the person to shame, Vieira (2012) argues that it would be unfair that, under the law, someone would be forced to use it. According to the author, one must be aware that "the law is needed to serve man and not to oppress"[9] (VIEIRA, 2012, p. 88).

Many name changes determined in court can be the object of research for Onomastics, either because they are determined by social customs and values, as in the case of names that may expose the individual to ridicule, or because they imply a choice made by the bearer itself for different motivations from those of the parents (or their substitutes). The very contrast between granted and denied requests serve as anthroponymy-related criteria adopted by judges. In addition, data analysis regarding motivations and requests registered in the actions could reveal important sociolinguistic aspects for Brazilian anthroponymy description.

3.2 Social name

According to Article 58 of the LRP, the "first name is permanent, although it is possible to replace it by well-known public nicknames"[10] (BRASIL, 1973). With respect to this possibility, the Supreme Federal Court in judging the Direct Action for Declaration of Unconstitutionality (ADI nº 4.275 / 2018), provided the following interpretation in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic and the Pact of San José: "in order to recognize transgender people, regardless of transgenitalization surgery, hormonal or pathological treatments, the right to substitute the first name and gender in the civil registry"[11] (SUPREMO, 2018). As a result, those who wish can change the first name and gender in the public records. This type of change often

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[9] "a lei é necessária para servir ao homem e não para oprimi-lo" (VIEIRA, 2012, p. 88).

[10] "prenome será definitivo, admitindo-se, todavia, a sua substituição por apelidos públicos notórios" (BRASIL, 1973).

[11] "de modo a reconhecer aos transgêneros que assim o desejarem, independentemente da cirurgia de transgenitalização, ou da realização de tratamentos hormonais ou patologizantes, o direito à substituição de prenome e sexo no registro civil" (SUPREMO, 2018).

occurs to replace the first name for with so-called *social name*. Notwithstanding, the social name can coexist with the civil name and be used in certain social environments.

The social name comprises specific characteristics, such as: a) it is optional, different from the civil name, which is mandatory; b) it is addressed to transgender people; c) it does not exist alone, that is, a social name exists only after the civil name; d) it requires a unique gender identification; e) it is based on the bearer's choice; f) it is used in institutions that might regulate it and in habitual environments of the bearer (CERQUEIRA, 2015; AMARAL; SEIDE, 2020).

As an anthroponymic unit, the social name can be defined based on a federal decree. This is Decree nº 8.727, as of April 28th, 2016, issued by former President Dilma Roussef. It provides for the use of a social name and recognizes the gender identity of transvestites and transsexuals, within the scope of the direct, autarchic and foundational public administration. In this decree, social name is defined as: "the name by which the transvestite or transsexual identifies themselves and is socially recognized"[12] (BRASIL, 2016).

Before the decree, other initiatives by public agencies and entities had already recognized the use of social name as a right. In the city of Belo Horizonte, for instance, a resolution of the Municipal Education Council published in 2008 (CME / BH Resolution No. 002/2008), had already provided for "the parameters to include the social name of transvestites and transsexuals in school records"[13] (BELO HORIZONTE, 2008, emphasis added). The resolution, based other rules, on Ordinance GM / MS 675, of March 30th, 2006, of the Ministry of Health, and on the *Programa Brasil Sem Homofobia* (Brazil without Homophobia Program), provided a definition of social name: "name by which female or male transvestites and transsexuals wish to be

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[12] "designação pela qual a pessoa travesti ou transexual se identifica e é socialmente reconhecida" (BRASIL, 2016).

[13] "sobre os parâmetros para a inclusão do nome social de travestis e transexuais nos registros escolares das escolas" (BELO HORIZONTE, 2008).

called"[14] (BELO HORIZONTE, 2008).

In fact, Amaral and Oliveira (2019) point out that the use of the term *social name* first occurred in late 2000s, as a result of a set of international documents and agreements on human rights. Firstly, some rights included in international agreements began to be ensured from the mid-20th century. As a consequence, the right to use an alternative naming is guaranteed. Finally, the term arises and is used in legal norms and established as an anthroponymic category.

As an example of an alteration of first name by social name, a civil registration rectification action is quoted. The TJMG granted the appeal to replace the first name *Willian* with *Carla Márcia* in the birth registration. The applicant had not undergone a transgender surgery and proved in the records that she identified herself psychologically and socially with the female sex (MINAS GERAIS, 2018). Here is the syllabus:

> SYLLABUS: CIVIL APPEAL – CIVIL REGISTRY RECTIFICATION ACTION – TRANSSEXUAL – FORENAME CHANGE – MEASURE THAT DISPENSE FROM PERFORMING TRANSGENDER SURGERY – PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN DIGNITY – RIGHT TO PERSONALITY – INDIVIDUAL THAT IDENTIFY HERSELF PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND SOCIALLY WITH THE FEMALE SEX – PROVEN SITUATION – REVERSED JUDGMENT.
> - Regarding the civil name immutability as a principle of public policy, since its decisiveness involves interests of the whole society, the doctrine and decisions of Brazilian courts have manifested in the sense that the refusal of judicial authorization to rectify the first name required by an individual who has psychic sex different from their physical sex, or who has undergone transgender surgery, implies violation of the human dignity principle and the right to personality.
> - Appeal provided[15] (MINAS GERAIS, 2018).

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[14] "nome pelo qual travestis e transexuais femininos ou masculinos preferem ser chamados" (BELO HORIZONTE, 2008).
[15] EMENTA: APELAÇÃO CIVEL - AÇÃO DE RETIFICAÇÃO DE REGISTRO CIVIL - TRANSEXUAL - MUDANÇA DE PRENOME - MEDIDA QUE PRESCINDE A REALIZAÇÃO DE PROCEDIMENTO

Based on the judgment of ADI No. 4.275 / 2018, above mentioned, it is not necessary that the person had undergone transgender surgery, hormonal or pathological treatments in order to have the right to substitute the first name and gender in the civil registry. The registration of the first name alteration and the name in the birth and marriage records of a transgender was regulated by the National Council of Justice (CNJ) through Decision No. 73/2018 (CONSELHO ..., 2018).

The research of the social name recognition in normative instruments, as well as its practical application in social institutions, is an example of how a category of anthroponymy has been incorporated in administrative acts and in relationships between people. In addition, further research on motivations for choosing the social name would also reveal the criteria used by a group of individuals who wish to be called by a name other than the civil name, a will that constitutes, after all, a way to meet the constitutional principle of human dignity.

3.3 Ballot name

The candidate's registration for Brazilian elections must inform both the civil name and the name that will appear in the electronic ballot box, referred to in this work as *ballot name*. According to article 25, Resolution No. 23.609, December 18th, 2019, of the Superior Electoral Court,

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CIRÚRGICO DE TRANSGENITALIZAÇÃO - PRINCÍPIO DA DIGNIDADE DA PESSOA HUMANA - DIREITO DE PERSONALIDADE - INDIVÍDUO QUE SE IDENTIFICA PSICOLOGICAMENTE E SOCIALMENTE COM O SEXO FEMININO - SITUAÇÃO COMPROVADA - SENTENÇA REFORMADA.
- Em que pese a imutabilidade do nome civil tratar-se de princípio de ordem pública, uma vez que sua definitividade envolve interesses de toda a sociedade, a doutrina e a jurisprudência pátria tem se manifestado no sentido de que a negativa de autorização judicial à retificação do prenome requerida por sujeito que possui sexo psíquico diferente do sexo físico, ou que tenha se submetido à cirurgia de transgenitalização, implica em violação ao princípio da dignidade humana e ao direito à personalidade.
- Recurso provido (MINAS GERAIS, 2018).

the name in the electronic ballot box must have a maximum of 30 (thirty) characters, including space between names, which may be the first name, surname, short name, nickname or name by which the candidate is best known, provided it does not cast doubt on the identity, it does not cause indecent exposure, or it is not ridiculous or irreverent[16] (TRIBUNAL..., 2019).

For decision of homonym cases, the Resolution of The Superior Electoral Court is based on the rules established by article 12 of Act No. 9.504 / 1997 (BRASIL, 1997). According to these rules, a candidate will have the priority for choosing a certain name if they are serving a term of office or have been in office in the last four years, or otherwise if they have run for office with the indicated name within the same term (art. 12, § 1, II). It is also a deciding factor to be identified by a given name in the political, social or professional life (art. 12, § 1, III). These facts can prevent other candidates from using the same name. If the name of a ballot box might confuse the voter, the Electoral Justice may also require the candidate to prove that they are known by the name indicated at the moment of the registration (art. 12, § 2).

As one can see, the ballot name, which comes from a political and judicial act, is a type of anthroponymy established by law, which applies to a restricted group of individuals. Out of 53 candidates elected in Minas Gerais to hold office as a federal deputy in 2018, 16 used a ballot name containing elements which are different from the civil name, as shown in Table 1[17].

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[16] "o nome para constar da urna eletrônica terá no máximo 30 (trinta) caracteres, incluindo-se o espaço entre os nomes, podendo ser o prenome, sobrenome, cognome, nome abreviado, apelido ou nome pelo qual o candidato é mais conhecido, desde que não se estabeleça dúvida quanto a sua identidade, não atente contra o pudor e não seja ridículo ou irreverente" (TRIBUNAL..., 2019).

[17] Resolution No. 23,548, as of December 18th, 2017, in force during the 2018 election, presents similar rules to those in Resolution 2019 regarding the ballot name.

Table 1 — Examples of civil names and the corresponding ballot names of federal deputies elected in the state of Minas Gerais in 2018.

	Civil name	Ballot name
1	Alessandra da Silva	Alê Silva
2	Antônio Pinheiro Neto	Pinheirinho
3	Eliel Márcio do Carmo	Léo Motta
4	Emidio Alves Madeira Júnior	Emidinho Madeira
5	Frederico Borges da Costa	Fred Costa
6	Frederico de Castro Escaleira	Doutor Frederico
7	Geraldo Junio do Amaral	Cabo Junio Amaral
8	João Carlos Siqueira	Padre João
9	José Silva Soares	Zé Silva
10	Jose Vitor de Resende Aguiar	Zé Vitor
11	Luis Henrique de Oliveira Resende	Luis Tibé
12	Luiz Gonzaga Ribeiro	Subtenente Gonzaga
13	Marcelo Eduardo Freitas	Delegado Marcelo Freitas
14	Marcelo Henrique Teixeira Dias	Marcelo Álvaro Antônio
15	Mário Lúcio Heringer	Dr. Mário Heringer
16	Vilson Luiz da Silva	Vilson da Fetaemg

Source: Superior Electoral Court.

Table 1 shows cases with ballot names formed by elements of the candidate's own civil name, but also by other names, such as hypocoristics *(Alê, Pinheirinho, Léo, Emidinho, Fred, Zé)*, nickname (*Tibé*), one of these anthroponyms together with qualitative term indicating a professional (*Delegado, Doutor, Dr.,*), military (*Cabo, Subtenente*) or religious activity (*Padre*). Table 1 shows ballot names with patronymic names (*Marcelo Alvaro Antonio*, son of *Álvaro Antônio Teixeira Dias*; *Luis Tibé*, son of *Tibelindo Soares Resende*) or associated with the politician's professional institution (*Fetaemg* = Federation of Agricultural Workers of the State of Minas Gerais).

However, the Electoral Court also enforces limits. In the 2014 elections, the Regional Electoral Court of the Federal District judged a registration request to run for office of federal deputy under the ballot name of *Macaco Tião Rejane* and denied the use of that name[18]. Rapporteur's vote:

> The expression *Macaco Tião Rejane* is playful and biased, unsuitable for the electoral field. Irreverence is seen as harmful to the electoral process. One cannot fight for a fair electoral process with genuine candidacies guided by the values involved, based on the real morality principle and, at the same time, be a target for laughter, directly offending the voter and the Electoral Court[19] (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2014).

Boas (2014) studied the effect of the candidates' names *doutor* ('doctor') and *pastor* ('pastor') on the voters' behavior. Based on experiments carried out before the 2012 elections, the author concluded that the term *pastor* in the ballot name tends to decrease voting intention. Protestant people react positively to that name, but non-protestants tend to reject it. On the other hand, Boas (2014) notes that the name *doutor* has a positive effect on voting intention and seems to be related to intelligence and competence stereotypes. The author's political science-based study is an important contribution to this subject. Within the Brazilian onomastic studies, few studies have described ballot names, and the results are still elementary.

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[18] Macaco Tião was a chimpanzee from a Zoo in the city of Rio de Janeiro, admitted as a non-official candidate for office of the city Mayor in the 1988 elections (KAZ, 2017).

[19] "A expressão *Macaco Tião Rejane* revela opção jocosa e preconceituosa, incabível na seara eleitoral. A irreverência é, então, tida como danosa ao processo eleitoral. Não se pode, de um lado, pugnar por um processo eleitoral justo, com candidaturas probas, pautadas pela seriedade dos valores em jogo, dando concretude ao princípio da moralidade e, ao mesmo tempo, criar campo para chacota, e deboche, em direta afronta ao eleitor e à Justiça Eleitoral" (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2014).

Amaral and Machado (2015), for instance, analyzed a group of anthroponyms of the city councilors in the Municipality of Ouro Preto (CMOP) and discovered a wide variety of ballot names. Among the conclusions, the authors noted that ballot names tend to maintain the names by which the candidates are known in the city of Ouro Preto, which are related to the use of hypocoristics and nicknames.

Soares (2017) investigated ballot names chosen by 3,039 military candidates for the office of state deputy over a period of 20 years (1998-2018) and observed that the use of military ranks in the ballot names emphasizes social and political aspects. The results demonstrate that until 2014 most soldiers chose not to include their ranks in ballot names, which has changed since 2018.

Santos and Rocha (2019) analyzed data from ballot names of candidates elected in the States of Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro for the office of state deputy, and identified an increase of professional and military ranks in the 2018 elections compared to 2014. The results support the authors' assumptions that the ballot name and its formation processes would work as a cognitive shortcut. Ballot names are extremely important in the electoral process, even though they are not entirely decisive in the voter's choice of the candidate.

As shown, the linguistic diversity in the ballot name formation is large and shall be studied from theoretical assumptions of Onomastics together with Law. Researching candidates' ballot names would shed more knowledge on the Brazilian anthroponymic system and eventually analyze linguistic strategies used by the candidate in order to keep or change their own identity.

3.4 Parliamentary name

The parliamentary name, as an anthroponymic category, is the name chosen by the candidate elected for a legislative office to be used in official documents of the respective legislative house. In the Chamber of Deputies, Article 3 of the Internal

Regulation (Resolution No. 17/1989) establishes that the elected candidate for the federal deputy office must provide the legislative house with a certification issued by the Electoral Courts, containing relevant information about the parliamentary name. Also, according to paragraph 1 of the same normative provision: "The parliamentary name will be composed with only two elements: a first name and the name; two names; or two first names, except when, at the discretion of the President, a misunderstanding should be avoided"[20] (CÂMARA, 1989).

An analysis of data available in the Chamber of Deputies website shows that, even though most parliamentarians of the current legislature (56th – 2019 to 2022) have followed the rule mentioned above, there are several names with only one element, comprised or not of the civil name, such as *Bacelar, Flordelis, JHC, Paulão, Tiririca, Vermelho, Vicentinho*, etc., and other names with more than two elements: *Professora Dorinha Seabra Rezende, Dr. Luiz Antonio Teixeira Jr.* In addition, different qualifications are placed before the name, whether military (*Captain, General, Sergeant*), religious (*Friar, Priest, Pastor*) or related to the profession (*Police chief, Dr., Dra, Professor, Professor*). The example of the deputies in Table 1 shows that most of them maintain the ballot name as a parliamentary name, but there are exceptions: *Cabo Junio Amaral* does not use *Cabo* in his parliamentary name, and *Dr. Mário Heringer* leaves the qualifier *Dr.* and signs *Mário Heringer*.

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[20] "O nome parlamentar compor-se-á, salvo quando, a juízo do Presidente, devam ser evitadas confusões, apenas de dois elementos: um prenome e o nome; dois nomes; ou dois prenomes" (CÂMARA, 1989).

Amaral and Machado (2015) investigated parliamentary names in the City Council of Ouro Preto (CMOP) and discovered that since there is no norm to regulate the selection of the names chosen by the elected councilors to the CMOP, there is a wide range of chosen forms. Some of the councilors even maintain different nicknames received before election, such as *Paquinha <Maurício Moreira* and *Kuruzu <Wanderley Rossi Júnior* (AMARAL; MACHADO, 2015, p. 64). As an example of intention in changing parliamentary name, events occurred in 2018 after the arrest of the former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva can be quoted. Some representatives of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party) tried to change the parliamentary name, with the inclusion of the anthroponymy *Lula*. In a tweet on April 11th, 2018, the current senator Gleisi Hoffmann published a memo addressed to the Senate Presidency requesting alteration of her parliamentary name to *Gleisi Lula Hoffmann* in the House records and Parliament panel (HOFFMANN, 2018). At the time, similar requests were issued by several parliamentarians from the same party. The action had more a political effect than an effective ability to change the names used by the politicians.

On this basis, it is believed that the analysis of parliamentary names may also indicate significant aspects of variation in Brazilian anthroponymy. Furthermore, comparison between different legislature names can reveal motivations for change, either in personal choice of each parliamentarian, or in the set of names chosen by parliamentarians over time.

4 Avenues for further research

After a brief discussion on national anthroponymic studies in section 2, and the exposition of definitions and examples of different types of anthroponyms in section 3, it is reasonable to say that: 1) Brazilian anthroponymy studies are too elementary, they became consistent in the late 20th century driven by postgraduate research and a group of researchers in the lexicon field, 2) few studies correlate Onomastics and Law.

Hence, some possible avenues are recommended to widen the scope of onomastic studies in Brazil.

Regarding the civil name, even though there are studies on Law which relate cases of name alteration and rectification, a study with a sociolinguistic focus is worth developing. The influence of social aspects, such as gender and age, can be measured by analyzing actions of civil registry rectification, which can also reveal what type of graphic or morphological changes demand more actions in courts.

Also, with respect to civil name changes, it is possible to evaluate how the hypocorization process in the Portuguese language is addressed at the courts by means of intention of changing names. The influence of certain trends and the mass media on choosing names can also be analyzed. As previously pointed out, the comparison between granted and non-granted requests could display criteria related to anthroponymy adopted in judges' decisions. It is believed that the cases of civil name change that were not discussed here (cf. note 1) could also be investigated under Socio-onomastics assumptions in interface with Law.

The issue of name modification is very clear in cases of social names, in which individuals who do not identify themselves with their biological sex choose another name to replace the registration name. To know the morphological aspects of those names, as well the study of motivations for their choice and how easy or not it is to make the change in the registry offices can demonstrate the access to a right vested recently, as a guarantee of human dignity. This knowledge should stimulate political actions which enable the effective observance of the rights.

When comparing legal rules and legal decisions over time, it is possible to analyze anthroponyms from a diachronic perspective. Regarding the ballot name, such analysis would make it possible to prove how Brazilian politicians use it, whether having used the name to collect votes, or at least, to create an image that draws the voters' attention. A study worth considering is how the reasons for choosing ballot names (whether or not it is used as a parliamentary name) can be influenced by factors such as tradition, fashion, and tributes. Hence, in addition to the documents and data provided by the judiciary branch, it is advisable to interview the bearer of the name, which was not carried out in this article due to the objectives mentioned before.

In the case of the parliamentary name, not all legislative houses have specific rules about its composition. Besides the Chamber of Deputies already mentioned, the Internal Regulations of the State Legislature of Rio Grande do Sul, for example, define that the parliamentary name must be composed of "two elements, and the Deputy, if necessary to personalize it, may use three elements"[21], as provided in the sole paragraph of article 3 of Resolution No. 2.288 / 1991 (RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 1991). In general, there are no rules in relation to the qualifying elements before the name. The comparison between the rules of each legislative house, when they exist, and the variations in parliamentary names can contribute to noticing regional differences and to identifying the consolidation of hypocoristics, nicknames and other anthroponyms in the legislative environment. Likewise, the study of the changes from ballot name to parliamentary name may provide some clues about the political marketing strategies used for elections, as Boas (2014) investigated for the ballot names.

5 Final remarks

Although some authors defend a strict linguistic or grammatical analysis of the

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[21] "dois elementos, podendo o Deputado, se necessário para individualizá-lo, utilizar três elementos" (RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 1991).

proper name (GARY-PRIEUR, 2016; MORALA, 1986), its constitution, that is, an element both linguistic and social, makes it a cross-curricular matter of study. Along with linguistic studies accomplished in Onomastics (and its different subareas), the proper name is a study matter for Anthropology, Law, Geography, History, etc. For this reason, it is often considered an interdisciplinary study.

After a brief introduction on anthroponymic research in Brazil, this article aimed to present and discuss the characteristics of a set of anthroponyms and propose directions for future studies. The approach presented here consists of elementary suggestions that could be adopted or reformulated for research in the area. Recent projects such as the publishing of a unique journal on Onomastics (*Onomástica desde América Latina*[22]) of the Western Paraná State University (UNIOESTE) and the creation of a national network of researchers (*Observatório Onomástico*[23]), located at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, are some actions that can contribute to the studies development.

As research on anthroponyms in Brazil was not very fruitful in the 20th century, it is expected that it will be different in the 21st century. It is believed that in the upcoming years it will be possible to better comprehend the aspects of Brazilian anthroponymy, whether this is done through an interface with Law or with other areas of knowledge. Thus, some of the gaps in anthroponymy research background identified by Seide and Saparas (2020) will be able to be filled. Finally, it is expected that the approaches presented in this article may contribute to achieving the proposed goal.

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[22] Available at: http://131.255.84.97/index.php/onomastica/index?fbclid=IwAR3QF7KRSSp-GXUo-5oAOrKmRPrffEpbD8ubWXpWTQ42eUxKHrqgD23w5A4. Accessed: 13th June 2020.
[23] Available at: http://www.letras.ufmg.br/o-onoma. Accessed: 13th June 2020.

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Indianist anthroponymy in Alencar's corpus: an etymological, fictional, and contextual analysis

Antroponímia indianista em corpus de Alencar: uma análise etimológica, ficcional e contextual

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ABSTRACT: Drawing from the perspective of Contextual Fictional Etymology, in this paper we analyze four Indianist anthroponyms, namely, *Irapuã, Coatiabo, Maranguab* and *Abaeté*, found in the works *O Guarani*, *Iracema* and *Ubirajara* by José de Alencar. For this purpose, we draw from the theoretical framework of Onomastics (DICK, 1999), Contextual Fictional Etymology (ÁVILA, 2018; ÁVILA; NOVODVORSKI, 2020), Lexicology (BIDERMAN, 2001; VILELA, 1995) and Corpus Linguistics (BERBER SARDINHA, 2004, 2009; NOVODVORSKI; FINATTO, 2014). To extract the Indianist anthroponyms, we used the *WordSmith Tools* software (SCOTT, 2012) and some resources of the Genre/Historical version of *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006). We considered as Alencar's anthroponymic etymons the indigenous names created by the author in his works. Towards this end, two criteria were considered: first, the words should not be part of exclusion

RESUMO: Neste artigo analisamos quatro antropônimos indianistas, *Irapuã, Coatiabo, Maranguab* e *Abaeté*, identificados nas obras *O Guarani*, *Iracema* e *Ubirajara* de José de Alencar, na perspectiva da Etimologia Ficcional Contextual. Para tanto, recorremos à base teórica da Onomástica (DICK, 1999), da Etimologia Ficcional Contextual (ÁVILA, 2018; ÁVILA; NOVODVORSKI, 2020), da Lexicologia (BIDERMAN, 2001; VILELA, 1995) e da Linguística de *Corpus* (BERBER SARDINHA, 2004, 2009; NOVODVORSKI; FINATTO, 2014). Para extração dos antropônimos indianistas, nos servimos do programa *WordSmith Tools* (SCOTT, 2012) e dos recursos da versão Gênero/Histórico do *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006). Consideramos étimos antroponímicos de Alencar os nomes indígenas criados pelo autor. Para isso, foram considerados dois critérios: primeiro, que os vocábulos não constassem nos dicionários de exclusão, cuja publicação é anterior às obras de

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dictionaries, which publication predates Alencar's works; second, the words should appear in the *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006) as having its first occurrence in texts written by Alencar. The creation of anthroponymic etymons by Alencar enabled him to attribute to the indigenous characters not only a name, but also the physical and/or psychological features intended by the author. Therefore, from the perspective of Contextual Fictional Etymology, the study of Alencar's anthroponymies also entails some knowledge about the language possibilities and the author's creativity, by means of a lexicon that enabled the expression of his ideals.

KEYWORDS: Indianist lexicon. Contextual Fictional Etymology. Indianist anthroponymy. Corpus Linguistics.

Alencar; segundo, que os vocábulos constassem no *Corpus* do Português (DAVIES, 2006), como primeira utilização em textos escritos por Alencar. A criação de étimos antroponímicos por Alencar, possibilitou atribuir aos personagens indígenas mais do que um nome, buscou imprimir-lhes as características físicas e/ou psicológicas desejadas pelo autor. Portanto, estudar os antropônimos indianistas de Alencar, na perspectiva da Etimologia Ficcional Contextual, também significou conhecer as possibilidades da língua e a criatividade do autor, pela utilização de um léxico que possibilitou a expressão de seus ideais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Léxico indianista. Etimologia Ficcional Contextual. Antroponímia indianista. Linguística de *Corpus*.

1 Introduction

In addition to being considered an icon of Brazilian Literature as a representative of Romanticism, José de Alencar is also a reference for scholars as regards to the history of the constitution of a national language based on Brazilian literature. The author sought to implement a genuinely Brazilian language in his works, with the purpose of detaching himself from the standards imposed by Europeans and followed by Brazilians of that time. Thus, he aimed at breaking with the linguistic Eurocentrism that prevailed in those days. According to the aesthetic-literary standards of the time, Alencar's Indianist work opened up new possibilities for the Brazilian Portuguese language.

In the author's view, it is in literature that the first steps should be taken in order to break with the European models of literary and linguistic production. As a strategy to achieve this goal, Alencar brought to the fore the speeches of Brazilian people in his

literary work as a whole, especially by bestowing value upon Brazilian Indians, through the representation of the indigenous language in his literary creation. He thereby wrote his Indianist trilogy: *O Guarani* (1857), *Iracema* (1865), and *Ubirajara* (1874). All of these works show how the indigenous people are treasured and hold in high regard throughout Alencar's works, which is mainly shown through the Indianist lexicon employed by him in his narratives.

In our understanding, studying the lexicon goes beyond the limits of studying the words of a language. Above all, it implies the study of a particular society, in terms of its main characteristics, with regards to its geographical space, culture and habits. It allows us to outline a profile of that society, however synchronic it might be. According to Ávila (2018), "the study of the lexicon of a language reveals a proper movement to it, that is, the expansion, addition, exclusion and reformulation of words that, in turn, reveal a broader vision of a society" (ÁVILA, 2018, p. 28)[1].

This paper presents a portion of our Doctorate research data, specifically on the section we deal with the Indianist anthroponymy of José de Alencar in *O Guarani*, *Iracema* and *Ubirajara*. By using the *WordSmith Tools* software (SCOTT, 2012) — henceforth WST — and based on exclusion dictionaries data queries, as well as on *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006), which was used as a consultation corpus in its Genre/Historical version, throughout data analysis we could find a great volume of proper names with Indianist tendency created by Alencar in his works.

Hence, the words chosen for the analysis are the Indianist anthroponyms, that is, the proper names of the indigenous characters, which will be analyzed in this paper based on Onomastics studies and, more specifically, based on Anthroponymy, through the approach of Contextual Fictional Etymology (ÁVILA, 2018). Thus, for the characters names analysis, we take into account the etymological origin of their names as well as their meaning in the very context of the Alencarian Indianist works. Our aim

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[1] All translations are our own.

is to verify whether the proper names of the indigenous characters used by the author were chosen randomly or if the choice of names was motivated by anthroponomastics studies. In addition, and in last case, we will check if the characters carry along with them the characteristics implied by the names attributed to them.

Literary authors and poets are considered the greatest inventors of words, given their creative flair or the need for linguistic ability in artistic texts, as stated by Biderman "artistic creativity is able to explore meaning in such an original and unusual way that writers are usually widening the meaning of a word" (BIDERMAN, 2001, p. 192). Literature is constituted by the proper use of the language, since the language used in art differs from the language used in everyday life, and since its guiding code is rhetoric, sometimes it represents a deviation from the ordinary code.

José de Alencar advocated for the Brazilian identity and brought the innovations that would free Brazil from the Portuguese impositions. He did it through literature, writing his works and portraying Brazil and the speeches of the Brazilian people. Among his deeds, the indigenous people were portrayed in his works through the description of their customs, traditions, culture, and lexicon. In portraying the Indianist lexicon in his works, Alencar leans on his knowledge about the indigenous language, transposing words that had already been used by the indigenous people or creating new ones, from a lexical creation process provided for the Portuguese language. His creation attained such momentum that Pinheiro das Chagas (1965, p. 185) accused him of being careless about the correctness of the Portuguese language, and also about the use of "unjustifiable neologisms", claiming that "grammar is an unalterable standard, which the writer has to submit rigorously". José de Alencar defended himself by saying "Brazil has a sonorous and resonant abundant language. The national influence is already felt in the pronunciation, although much softer than our dialect" (ALENCAR, 1965, p. 171).

José de Alencar is the greatest representative of Indianism in the Brazilian literary prose, not only for the movement he represents, the Romanticism, but also throughout the history of the literature in Brazil as a whole. The beginning of Alencar's notoriety was kicked off by the publication of *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoios* (Letters on the Confederation of Tamoios), in which he strongly criticizes the epic poem of Domingos Gonçalves de Magalhães. The criticism fell on the quality and the claims of the Brazilian national epic. However, it was only by the end of 1856 that the author had his first literary experience, with *Cinco Minutos.* Nevertheless, he only achieved real notoriety and popularity with the publication of *O Guarani,* in 1857.

Due to his literary criticism and creativity, Alencar is considered one of the pioneers of the nationalist ideals and one of the symbols of the romantic literature in Brazil. In the author's view, the nationalism and the establishment of a Brazilian identity would only be possible via its literature, an overturn that would also bestow linguistic emancipation upon it. Breaking the mold of the Lusitanian literary model seemed to be the first sign of cultural independence, since the language is the main instrument of dominance of a people. In his quest for this language purism, Alencar always advocated the "thesis of the existence of a new language in Brazil, evolved in relation to Portuguese standards, through extralinguistic factors, a language that literature could not fail to portray" (PRETI, 1977, p. 56).

With a view to portraying the Brazilian Indian and to promote a linguistic emancipation, Alencar wrote his Indianist trilogy *O Guarani* (1857), *Iracema* (1865) and *Ubirajara* (1874), a production motivated by the allurement and enchantment the author had in relation to Brazilian Indians, mainly concerning the knowledge they had about the land and the intimacy they shared with plants and wild animals.

In summary, Alencar considered the Brazilian Indians the best subject for a national epic; therefore, the knowledge of the indigenous language would be essential, as for the author, it is from this source that the Brazilian poets must drink, since he

deemed the knowledge about the indigenous language as the best criterion for the nationalism of the literature. The Brazilian Indians would then be the best representative of the Brazilianism idealized by the author, both in language and in literature.

Beyond this introduction, this paper is composed of the presentation of the theoretical assumptions on which we base our study, the description of the methodology of Corpus Linguistics (CL) undertaken during the development of this research, followed by the data analysis about four Indianist words used by Alencar in his works. Finally, we present the final remarks and the bibliographical references of this study.

2 Theoretical assumptions

The human being needs to name everything that is part of his daily life. Since the dawn of humanity, human beings have named objects, feelings, places and, in the same way, they have named themselves and their descendants as soon as they are born (ISQUERDO, 2019). The purpose of giving a child a certain name, when they are born, depends on several criteria, such as honoring an ascendant, a celebrity, a deity, or due to the meaning imprinted in the etymology of the name, for example, the case of the name *Lucas*, which refers to "light".

The sciences that study anthroponyms and toponyms are, respectively, Anthroponymy and Toponymy[2]. Both these sciences together make up the science that studies the formation of proper names, namely, Onomastics, which is a branch of Lexicology. The proper names of people, including surnames (or family names), as

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[2] As proposed by Amaral and Seide (2020, p. 38) and in accordance with the terminology proposed by the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences* - ICOS (https://icosweb.net/drupal/), there is a distinction between the terms anthroponymy and toponymy, as a set of names, and the terms Anthroponomastics and Toponomastics, as names of fields of study.

well as nicknames are the subject of Anthroponymy. The science called Toponymy, in turn, investigates the motivations behind place names.

The study of Onomastics is relevant in such a way that Dick (1999) stated that both two sciences, Anthroponymy and Toponymy,

> by far exceed the theoretical concept attributed to them, becoming part of the Human Sciences, and being perceived as sources of knowledge as excellent as the best documentary evidence. They are, as it were, true records of the everyday life, manifested in social behaviors and attitudes that, in certain circumstances - if they are not taken into account - would pass unnoticed by future generations (DICK, 1999, p. 178).

Therefore, considering that the study of the Indianist lexicon is permeated by anthroponyms and toponyms, it can be relevant for rescuing the history of the Portuguese language in Brazil, in a diachronic perspective, through the inclusion of the contexts in which Alencar and his works, in particular, were inserted[3]. The name attribution is directly related to the cultural, historical and social aspects of a people, so they can accumulate and preserve information about any period. In the case of Alencar's lexical threshold, we can see that numerous elements of the indigenous peoples' cultural life are reflected on it, both in terms of anthroponyms and toponyms, as well as in his lexical threshold as a whole.

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[3] To contextualize the presence of the indigenous lexicon in the formation of the Portuguese language in Brazil, Ataliba Castilho (2017) highlights: "Generically designated as Tupinambás by our first chroniclers - who certainly referred to the tribes that inhabited the coast - the indigenous populations were being decimated, leaving about 300 thousand individuals, distributed in 160 languages. It is assumed that at the arrival of the Portuguese they were more than one million individuals, who spoke about 220 languages". Further on, the author points out roughly what the contributions of the indigenous people would be: "The bulk of the lexical contributions to Brazilian Portuguese language comes from Tupi-Guarani, which provided around 10,000 words, mostly comprised of proper nouns of places and people, along with common nouns for plants and animals. There was no evidence of any phonological or grammatical influence". Text published under the title *The hour and turn of Brazilian Portuguese*, at Museu da Língua Portuguesa (Museum of Portuguese Language). Available in: https://www.museudalinguaportuguesa.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/A-hora-e-a-vez-do-portugues-brasileiro.pdf. Accessed: 10 Feb. 2021.

We adopted the definition of anthroponym according to Amaral (2008, p. 70): "a lexical item that, in a given context, names an individual or is used to refer to an individual of the real or fictional world". Therefore, the anthroponyms' semantic field will comprise proper names and names that may refer to individuals, such as 'child' in the English language. Another semantic field understood by the analysis of the Indianist words are the toponyms, which according to Isquerdo (1997),

> besides determining the identity of a place, the analysis of a toponym and its structure can provide elements to clarify many aspects regarding the political, economic, and socio-cultural history of a region. Thus, the role of a toponymic sign goes beyond the level of identification. It serves as a reference for understanding aspects of the reality in which it is inserted (ISQUERDO, 1997, p. 9).

In the case of Indigenous people, the observation made by Isquerdo (1997) comes in handy, since this people named the elements related to a place based on the characteristics of that place, which allows for a better understanding, identification, location, and description of the described geographical element.

The branch of Onomastics studies that was adopted as the basis of this research is Anthroponymy, which has the purpose of investigating the names of people in a community or family group. The specific claims of such study differ according to the researcher's interest. We consider as Indianist anthroponyms those names attributed to the Indigenous characters and which etymological meaning is closely related to the physical and psychological characteristics of these characters.

It is worth highlighting at this point the so-called Fictional Anthroponomastics (AMARAL; SEIDE, 2020, p. 40), a field of research focused on the study of fictional characters names, regardless of whether or not they have their origin in the literature, as in the case of this paper, cinema, theater, or television series. On the relations between Literary Anthroponomastics and Etymology, Amaral and Seide (2020, p. 197) bring notes that are in line with our research, by pointing out the choices of characters'

names made by authors, based on etymological-based meanings. The study of the creation of these names can reveal information not only about the characterization of the characters but also about the development of the plot.

This process of creation of names that may link them to the characteristics and features of the characters they name is a branch of Contextual Fictional Etymology and consists of the creation of words "through the context of use within the text, that is, in that specific environment of the novel's narrative" (ÁVILA, 2018 p. 82).

Through conscious associations, Alencar reveals the essence of the word in the very context of the narrative and creates etymons from elements such as preexisting prefixes, suffixes, or radicals, establishing a connection between meanings or creating new elements and attributing meaning to them as it best suits him. In the latter case, the author, specifically José de Alencar, explains them in notes so as to make them understandable to the readers (ÁVILA, 2018; ÁVILA; NOVODVORSKI, 2020).

Therefore, Contextual Fictional Etymology is the "analysis or search for the origin of the words, by means of their interpretation in the context of their employment in the Indianist works of Alencar" (ÁVILA, 2018, p. 82). Thereupon, when it comes to Contextual Fictional Etymology, there is a concern to deal with the etymological aspect of the words in the context of the narratives of the novels. In pursuing his purpose of elevating the status of the indigenous language and culture, Alencar resorted to the creation of indigenous etymons by decomposing some words and then using the decomposed parts to compose other words, combining them to reach the desired meanings.

Hence, the Brazilian writer can be considered a great expert on linguistic creation and literary invention. According to Guilber (1975), it is convenient to experiment, to define the relationship between literary creation, artistic creation, and linguistic creation. Artistic creation can be absolutely free, tending to satisfy the creator's aesthetic feeling only. Insofar as literature is an art, the writer has the right to

be adrift in his own fantasy (ÁVILA, 2008). Alencar turns out to be an artist and sculptor of the word insofar as he creates Indianist anthroponyms to satisfy his own aesthetic desire, whilst reinforcing his intention to create proper names that carry along with them either the derogatory or the flattering traces he intended to convey towards his characters.

The acquisition of experiences arises from the relation between man and the society wherein he lives, as well as from the culture he experiences. Thus, one settles down in society according to the environment to which he belongs. This interaction leads the individual to lexical choices related to his context; therefore, culture plays an important role in the lexicon of each group or community.

As noted above, studying the lexicon also entails the study of the cultural essence of a people, just as the author's intellectual and world knowledge can be unveiled through this study, since these factors are reflected in the lexical choices of his works. In the case of Alencar productions, his knowledge about the indigenous language is clearly reflected in his works.

When studying the lexicon, one can resort to two sciences, namely, Lexicology and Lexicography. Although both have the same object of study, the lexicon, they turn to different aspects of it. The first science is dedicated to the morphological and semantic analysis of lexical items, whilst the second one is responsible for organizing lexicographic works such as dictionaries, glossaries, and vocabularies. As a subfield of Lexicology, Onomastics is responsible for the study of proper names that are part of the lexicon, be they names of people (anthroponyms) or places (toponyms), as already pointed out, in addition to many other subdivisions, in the most diverse genres. Onomastics is also concerned with the origins and processes of denomination; in this sense, it establishes an interdisciplinary relation with different areas such as History, Archeology, Religion, Etymology, among many others.

As already mentioned, Lexicology and Lexicography have as their object of study the lexicon; however, those studies and analyses must be guided in broader contexts, for instance, it is not possible to analyze or define a lexical item by itself. In these two sciences, the culture of the linguistic community must be taken into account, just as the socio-historical moment in which this lexical item is inserted. In the case of artistic literary works, we should also consider the authors' intentions, so that the studies of the lexicon can reach its legitimacy.

Another relevant aspect of this field of study is that the lexicologist conducts the analysis whereas the lexicographer systematizes them, transcribes the terms, assigns meanings to each entry, and compiles the lexicographic work. Lexicography, therefore, is responsible for the elaboration of dictionaries, vocabularies, and glossaries, with specific techniques for its construction, registering the lexical units of a language or a certain author. According to Vilela (1995), "Lexicography intends, above all, to help readers to interpret texts and secondly to help examiners".

Lexicology has as its object of study the collection of lexical items of a certain language and aims at analyzing and describing them, considering, for example, their origin, their formation process, and their meaning. As a science, Lexicology also studies the lexicon in its various relations with other language systems, as well as the internal relations of a language and covers "different domains, such as word formation, etymology, word creation and loanwords" (ABBADE, 2011, p. 1332).

Regarding literary works, specifically Alencar's, the studies carried out by lexicologists and lexicographers are found to be very productive, since the Indianist author was not coy when creating words, but rather bold so as to meet his linguistic and literary expectations.

When studying the lexicon, some instruments can be used in order to facilitate the handling and the analysis of this lexicon. Corpus Linguistics (henceforth CL) features among these possibilities. CL defines corpus as any collection of texts,

organized according to a certain standard, typewritten or not. In the case of Alencar, we selected the Indianist corpus from his Indianist works.

According to Berber Sardinha (2004, p. 17), "the corpus is an artifact produced for research purposes. Thus, although the texts must be natural (authentic and independent of the corpus), the corpus in itself is somewhat artificial, as it is an object created for specific research purposes". This implies that the texts must be natural, that is, produced in natural situations of communication or use; therefore, the texts must have been produced in written or oral forms without the specific objective of becoming didactic material or object of research afterwards. The corpus is considered artificial because it results from the compilation of preexisting texts that, individually, are only and solely natural communicative instances, but together, whilst linguistic material, this gathering of natural texts we called corpus enable the observation and the description of linguistic patterns and occurrences on a large scale.

Considering that an extensive number of data becomes unfeasible to process without the aid of a computer, CL presents itself as a new path for linguists, teachers, translators, lexicographers, and other professionals (BERBER SARDINHA, 2004, 2009). The work that, until the 1960s, was only performed manually, started to be processed through computational tools. Thus, CL helps us to search for one or more languages by observing and describing large quantities of typed texts. Thereupon, CL allows for the language materialized in the texts to be a probabilistic system of occurrences, through lexicogrammatical patterns that evaluate the word and the real situations of use in which they actually occur.

For Berber Sardinha (2004, p. 3), the CL "deals with the collection and exploration of corpora, or a set of textual linguistic data carefully collected, with the purpose of being used for the research of a language or a linguistic variety". As aforementioned, the extraction of this collection of texts is processed by computer.

All areas of Linguistics can benefit from CL, as it is a research method that can be applied to all levels of the language and used in different approaches. This statement is corroborated by Novodvorski and Finatto (2014, p. 8), as they affirm "CL is also a way of understanding the language, a way of defining it as an object of study: language is a probabilistic system of combinations". Therefore, CL is not registered in any theoretical affiliation, that is, it cannot be stated that CL is a theory in itself, but rather a tool that serves every field of study and everyone who wants to benefit from its methodology.

Therefore, CL provides resources for study in any branch of Linguistics and even for other areas of knowledge which differ from this work, such as Political Science, Agronomy, Journalism, Law, Education, etc. Novodvorski and Finatto (2014) points out that, although no corpus can offer all the answers for everything that the researcher expects to identify, in the perspective of a corpus-based research, the corpus-based approach to an investigation can reveal aspects that might even be foreseen before the research begins. However, this initial hypothesis will only be confirmed or refuted based on the observation of the corpus.

3 Methodological procedures

For the development of this research, we used the software *WordSmith Tools* 6.0 (SCOTT, 2012) and its three main tools: *Concord, KeyWords,* and *WordList,* following the software steps until the identification of the Indianist anthroponyms in Alencar's texts. The procedures deemed relevant to the scope of use of CL are intrinsically linked to the careful reading of the results by the researcher, since although the program may help in the processing of corpus, in the extraction of data and in the organization of lines of concordance, the perception, identification and corroboration of the results always depend upon human introspection. That is, the CL tools are subsidiary to the researcher's work, just like a microscope for Biological Sciences.

First, the data collection and compilation of Alencar corpus, available on *Portal do Domínio Público* website (Public Domain Portal) was carried out. Then, we conducted the storage and preparation of the corpus, which was stored in folders and subfolders in PDF, Word, and TXT formats. The procedures for cleaning the corpus were applied, that is, removing all elements that were not part of the body of the text, such as: cover; page numbers; chapter numbers; warnings written by the author himself; presentations; footnotes and endnotes of texts, among others.
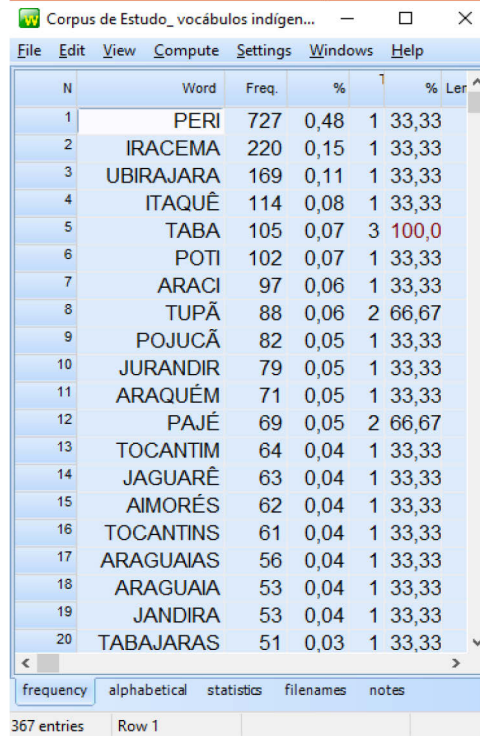
Once the lexicon considered Indianist was extracted from the word lists, for the research of the etymology of words we consulted four dictionaries created prior to Alencar's publications chosen to comprise the corpus of this study: the first one, exclusively on indigenous language, the *Tupy language dictionary*, by A. Gonçalves Dias (1858); and other three dictionaries in Portuguese language: i) *Dictionary of the Brazilian Language*, by Luiz Maria da Silva Pinto (1832); ii) *Dictionary of the Portuguese Language*, by Antonio de Moraes Silva (1789) and iii) *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*, by Raphael Bluteau (1712). The purpose of this consultation was to identify whether the words were already in dictionaries at Alencar's time, help in the interpretation process of which words would be Alencar's creations, and observe which pre-existing elements of Tupi could have been used for the composition of the names created by Alencar in the fictional context.

In addition to the aforementioned dictionaries, we also examined *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006) as a research source, the first corpus suggested for consultation by Viaro (2014), due to the size of its corpus. Currently, it has forty-five million words in the version used for this research, namely, Genre/Historical version, which time interval is from 14th to the 20th century.

After the exclusion of the grammatical items and verbal forms, done with the aid of the WST, we observed that 758 words remained for consultation in the exclusion

dictionaries. After consulting the dictionaries and the *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006), we found that out of these total (758 words), 367 words are indigenous.

Figure 1 — Indianist lexicon by José de Alencar.

N	Word	Freq.	%		% Len
1	PERI	727	0,48	1	33,33
2	IRACEMA	220	0,15	1	33,33
3	UBIRAJARA	169	0,11	1	33,33
4	ITAQUÊ	114	0,08	1	33,33
5	TABA	105	0,07	3	100,0
6	POTI	102	0,07	1	33,33
7	ARACI	97	0,06	1	33,33
8	TUPÃ	88	0,06	2	66,67
9	POJUCÃ	82	0,05	1	33,33
10	JURANDIR	79	0,05	1	33,33
11	ARAQUÉM	71	0,05	1	33,33
12	PAJÉ	69	0,05	2	66,67
13	TOCANTIM	64	0,04	1	33,33
14	JAGUARÊ	63	0,04	1	33,33
15	AIMORÉS	62	0,04	1	33,33
16	TOCANTINS	61	0,04	1	33,33
17	ARAGUAIAS	56	0,04	1	33,33
18	ARAGUAIA	53	0,04	1	33,33
19	JANDIRA	53	0,04	1	33,33
20	TABAJARAS	51	0,03	1	33,33

367 entries   Row 1

Source: *WordSmith Tools* (SCOTT, 2012).

Out of this result of 367 words that represent the Indianist lexicon in the corpus, we perceived that 53 words are indigenous anthroponyms used by Alencar. We did not analyze whether all of these anthroponyms are fictional etymons of this author, but the extended reading of fragments regarding the occurrence of anthroponyms, with the aid of concordance lines, enabled us to perceive that Alencar named his characters based on the meaning of their names, in line with the character's main features and characteristics. They were considered Indianist anthroponymic etymons, because they did not appear in the dictionaries consulted and, according to *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006), they were used for the first time by Alencar in his Indianist works.

In order to classify the names as Indianists, the following criteria were adopted: i) the words should not be listed in any of the exclusion dictionaries used for consultation; ii) they should appear in *Corpus do Português* as having its first occurrence registered in texts written by Alencar in his Indianist works. Before proceeding to the analysis, we present a chart with the Indianist anthroponyms collected in the research.

Chart 1 — Indianist anthroponyms in Alencar.

Abaeté	Cacique	Iara	Javari	Paquequer
Aimoré	Camacã	Iracema	Jurandir	Peri
Andira	Camoropim	Irapuã	Jurupari	Pirajá
Aquiraz	Canicrã	Itaquê	Jutaí	Pojucã
Araci	Caraúba	Jacamim	Jutorib	Poti
Araquém	Cauatá	Jacaúna	Maranguab	Saí
Ararê	Caubi	Jaci	Moacir	Tubim
Araribóia	Coatiabo	Jaguaraçu	Mocoribe	Ubirajara
Aresqui	Crebã	Jaguarê	Ogib	Uiraçu
Batuirité	Curumim	Jandira	Pahã	
Boitatá	Guaribu	Jatobá	Pajé	

Source: research data.

4 Indianist anthroponymic etymons

Alencar is an artist of the word who sought to strengthen the Portuguese language in Brazil at the same time he implemented his artistic creation to satisfy his aesthetic perception. Thus, he created the Indianist anthroponomic etymons. As aforementioned, after the consultation procedures, we obtained words that are not included in the exclusion dictionaries, as previously shown in Chart 1. According to *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006), the words were used for the first time by Alencar, in one of his three Indianist works: *O Guarani*, *Iracema* and *Ubirajara*.

In order to illustrate it better, we will consider for the analysis four Indianist anthroponomic etymons created by the author: **Irapuã, Coatiabo, Maranguab** and **Abaeté.**

The word **Irapuã** was considered to be a fictional anthroponomic etymon of Alencar because, initially, the author brings an explanatory note to this word, in his novel *Iracema*.

> **Irapuã** — From *ira* (anger) — honey, and *apuam* — round; it is the name given to a virulent and angry bee, because of the round shape of its hive. Due to corruption, this name has now been reduced to arapuá. (ALENCAR, 1965, p. 150)

In comparison with GD, which presents the entry "**Irapuã** – s. The round tenement. From *ira* (anger in the Portuguese language), bee; *puã*, round. Creek or Stream in R. G. do Sul and São Paulo City" (p. 551). Alencar wanted to attribute to the character the characteristics imprinted in the name **Irapuã**, which is to be brave, hostile, and vengeful. This behavior of the Brazilian Indian **Irapuã** is build up in the novel, as the narrator gradually reveals the path of **Iracema**, a girl with whom the boy is infatuated and passionate about, even though she will not be able to marry him. As a result, **Irapuã** gradually builds up in a character with negative characteristics.

In order to continue the investigation of the word **Irapuã**, we resorted to *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006), which showed us that, during the 19th century, there were 48 occurrences of the word **Irapuã**, and the first 44 are in the novel *Iracema* by José de Alencar. The other four occurrences are in Machado de Assis, whose text criticizes the novel *Iracema*, what proves it to be a later text. The next figure depicts the first eight lines of context for the word **Irapuã** in the *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006).

Figure 2 — Search for the word *Irapuã*.

Corpus do Portuguese: Genre/Historical

| SEARCH | FREQUENCY | **CONTEXT** | ACCOUNT |

SECTION: 1800s,1900s **(48)**   (SHUFFLE)

CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT   ☐ [?] SAVE LIST CHOOSE LIST —— CREATE NEW LIST   [?]   SHOW DUPLICATES

1	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	ao povo crente os segredos de Tupã. O maior chefe da nação tabajara, **Irapuã**, descera do alto da serra Ibiapaba,
2	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	guerreiros, e correm ao campo. Quando foram todos na vasta ocara circular, **Irapuã**, o chefe, soltou o grito de gu
3	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	no meio do campo. Derrubando a fronte, cobre o rúbico olhar: - **Irapuã** falou: disse. O mais moço dos guerreiros
4	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	deve encostar o tacape da luta para ranger o membi da festa. Celebra, **Irapuã**, a vinda dos emboabas e deixa que
5	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	campos. Então Andira te promete o banquete da vitória! Desabriu, enfim, **Irapuã** a funda cólera: - Fica tu, escondi
6	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	temes a luz do dia e só bebes o sangue da vítima que dorme. **Irapuã** leva a guerra no punho de seu tacape. O ter
7	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	Iracema! exclamou o guerreiro recuando. - Anhanga turbou sem dúvida o sono de **Irapuã**, que o trouxe perdido a
8	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	mas a lembrança de Iracema, que turbou o sono do primeiro guerreiro tabajara. **Irapuã** desceu do seu ninho de a

Source: *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006).

Considering the analysis of the word **Irapuã**, we can state that Alencar creates a contextual fictional etymology by expanding the meaning of the second part of the word *apuam*, listed in GD as the name of a species of a wild and virulent bee, and he justifies that it is because of the round shape of its hive. However, the intention in his work is to bring the meaning of the word **Irapuã** closer to the characteristics that he wished to attribute to the character with this same name, so it is considered an Indianist contextual fictional etymon.

Another anthroponym employed by Alencar is **Coatiabo**. Alencar used it to name **Martim**, after his "baptism" as a member of the Pitiguaras tribe. As explained by Schwamborn (1998), in the novel, **Iracema** is the one who chooses the name for **Martim** when she sees him painted as the custom of her tribe. The following excerpt from *Iracema*, portrays the moment of **Martim**'s "baptism" in the Pitiguaras tribe:

> — My brother is a great warrior of the Pitiguara nation; he needs a name in the language of his nation.
> — Your brother's name is on his body, where you put your hand.
> — Coatiabo! Exclaimed Iracema.
> — You said; I am the painted warrior; the warrior of the wife and of the friend. (ALENCAR, 1965, p. 112).

In this excerpt, Alencar outlines the intended meaning for the new name created for Martim, the "painted warrior". Before this moment, however, the author had already said that it was the custom of the Pitiguaras to paint their bodies with black stripes, similar to the coati's fur.

> It has been the custom of this race, daughter of Tupã, for the warrior to bring the colors of his nation to his body. In principle, they traced black stripes on their body, similar to the coati's fur, from which the name of this art of warrior painting came. (ALENCAR, 1965, p. 112-113).

In another note to his novel *Iracema*, Alencar explains that "*Coatiá* means painted. The *abo* suffix means the object that has suffered the action of the verb and, undoubtedly, comes from *aba*-person, creature" (p. 158). Thus, Alencar creates two words: the first one, *coatiá* – the verb that indicates the action of painting and, later, **Coatiabo** from *coatiá* and *aba* – person, thereby demonstrating that **Coatiabo** is the painted warrior.

In order to corroborate our analysis, we searched the *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2016) and found that the only six occurrences of **Coatiabo** in the entire corpus were in the novel *Iracema* by Alencar, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3— Search for the word *Coatiabo.*

SECTION: 1800s,1900s **(6)**   (SHUFFLE)

		CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT				☐ [?]	SAVE LIST	CHOOSE LIST	---------	CREATE NEW LIST		[?]	SHOW DUPLICATES
1	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	de teu irmão está em seu corpo, onde o pôs tua mão. - **Coatiabo**! exclamou Iracema. - Tu disseste; eu sou o guerreiro
2	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	cobra que tem duas cabeças num só corpo, assim é a amizade do **Coatiabo** e Poti. Acudiu Iracema: - Como a ostra qu
3	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	Os guerreiros disseram: - Como o jatobá na floresta, assim é o guerreiro **Coatiabo** entre o irmão e a esposa: seus ram
4	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	Poti vestiu suas armas, e caminhou para a várzea, guiado pelo passo de **Coatiabo**. Ele o encontrou muito além, vagan
5	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	o guerreiro no chão a flecha, com a presa atravessada, e tornou para **Coatiabo**: - Podes partir. Iracema seguirá teu ra
6	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	e morno. XXIX Poti voltou do banho. Segue na areia o rasto de **Coatiabo**, e sobe ao alto da Jacarecanga. Aí encontra o

Source: *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006).

Therefore, **Coatiabo** is an Indianist contextual fictional etymon created by Alencar, who outlines a whole procedure of creation for this word and explains it in

notes so that it does not seem strange to the reader, therefore it is a contextual fictional etymology. Schwamborn (1998) states that the scene and the name **Coatiabo** characterize the complete surrender of the European Martin to the new land, which could have a similarity to becoming a naturalized citizen of Brazil.

It is also noteworthy the word **Maranguab**, which is used by Alencar in both forms, anthroponym and toponym, as shown in the Figure 4 and extracted by using the WST Concord tool. It is possible to observe that, in lines one, two and three, Alencar uses the word **Maranguab** to name a mountain, however, in other passages, he uses it to name a Brazilian Indian, father of **Jatobá**.

Figure 4 – Search for the word *Maranguab.*

Source: *WordSmith Tools* (SCOTT, 2012).

In another note from *Iracema* novel, Alencar explains:

> **Maranguab** — The Maranguape mountain range, five leagues away from the capital and remarkable for its fertility and beauty. The indigenous name consists of *maran* — war, and *coaub* — a sage; *maran* is maybe an abbreviation for *maramonhang* — to make war, if it is not, as I think, the simple noun war, from which the compound verb was made. (ALENCAR, 1965, p. 157).

In this explanation, Alencar does not mention the fact that he also used this word to name a Indian warrior, however, in the body of the novel *Iracema*, he explains what he intends with this choice: "So the tribes no longer call him by his name, but rather by 'the great sage of war, Maranguab'", according to line 5 of Figure 45, which

justifies the fact that he explains the process of formation of *maran* – war and *coaub* – sage, that is, the sage of war. This procedure is to justify the name by which the Pitiguaras called **Batuireté** as **Maranguab.**

It is possible to observe Alencar's creation in the continuation of his note on **Maranguab,** as he explains:

> Dr. Martius has a different etymology. *Mara* — tree, *angai* — no way, *guabe* - eat. This etymology does not even seem to me as proper to the object, a mountain range, nor does it conform to the precepts of language (ALENCAR, 1965, p. 157).

In this case, he demonstrates that he had studied the indigenous language, to the point of disagreeing with the formation proposed by another author and, therefore, creates a contextual fictional etymology, since he himself decomposes and composes names and attributes meaning to them while he justifies the process of formation by which he creates his etymons.

Regarding the use of the word **Maranguab** as a toponym, Alencar uses it to refer to a fertile and beautiful mountain range that is part of the **Maranguape** region.

The word **Maranguab** does not appear in the consultation dictionaries, however, in *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2016), the only six times that this word is used in the texts compiled by the lexicographers it is used by Alencar, in *Iracema*. Thus, the lines of context between the corpus of study and those of *Corpus do Português* are exactly the same. Figure 5 shows the lines of context of the word **Maranguab** in the *Corpus do Português*.

Figure 5 — Search for the word *Maranguab*.

SECTION: 1800s,1900s (6)   (SHUFFLE)

	CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT				☐ [?]	SAVE LIST	CHOOSE LIST	------	CREATE NEW LIST		[?]	SHOW DUPLICATES
1	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	tribos não o chamam mais pelo nome, senão o grande sabedor da guerra, **Maranguab**. " O chefe Poti vai à serra ver s
2	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	. Martim chamou Iracema; e partiram ambos guiados pelo pitiguara para a serra do **Maranguab**, que se levantava no
3	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	o jaburu na borda do lago. - Poti é chegado à cabana do grande **Maranguab**, pai de Jatobá, e trouxe seu irmão branc
4	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	da montanha se estenderam pelo vale. Tornaram então ao lugar onde tinham deixado o **Maranguab**. O velho ainda l
5	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	pelos guerreiros. Depois do banho, Iracema divagava até as faldas da serra do **Maranguab**, onde nascia o ribeiro das
6	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	caça. Caminharam para uma serra, que se levanta ao lado da outra do **Maranguab**, sua irmã. O alto cabeço se curva a

Source: *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006).

The etymon **Maranguab** is a contextual fictional etymology of Alencar, both employed as an anthroponymy and toponym, since it does not appear in the consultation dictionaries and, in *Corpus do Português,* the word is only employed in the work *Iracema* by Alencar. According to Davies (2016), there is no other use of this word in texts written after Alencar. In this case, the word is restricted to this novel.

Furthermore, we used the *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2016) for consultation, from which we extracted the probable occurrences of the word in texts written in Brazil, according to the authors' compilation. As shown in Figure 6, **Abaeté** appears 4 times in the 19th century.

Figure 6 — Search for the word *Abaeté.*

SECTION: 1800s (4)   (SHUFFLE)

	CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT				☐ [?]	SAVE LIST	CHOOSE LIST	------	CREATE NEW LIST		[?]	SHOW DUPLICATES
1	18:Souza:História	A	B	C	terrenos diamantinos, como acontecia então com os da Serra da Canastra e o rio **Abaeté**, os quais tanto barulho est
2	18:Alencar:Iracema	A	B	C	ofegava. Poti cismava. Em sua cabeça de mancebo morava o espírito dum **abaeté**. O chefe pitiguara pensava que o a
3	18:Machado:Senado	A	B	C	, porém, os espectadores não intervinham com aplausos nas discussões. A presidência de **Abaeté** redobrou a discipl
4	18:Machado:Bons	A	B	C	contrariar as opiniões dos outros. Quem talvez me vencia nisto era o Visconde de **Abaeté**, de quem se conta que, no

Source: *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006).

When analyzing the word, we opened the lines of context and found that **abaeté** appears in the work of Souza before its use in *Iracema*, by Alencar. We also searched the context of the word in the *Corpus do Português* and found the information that the author would be Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva. The text in which the word **abaeté**

appears prior to the publication of *Iracema* is "*História da Conjuração Mineira*" (History of the Conjuration in the state of Minas Gerais), published in 1821. The author quotes **abaeté** in the paragraph

> He announced the arrival of two paid troop companies from Rio because there was little in the captaincy, as a result of new discoveries of diamond lands, as happened with those of Serra da Canastra and the Abaeté river, which so much commotion were causing (SOUZA e SILVA, 1821, s/p).

From these data it cannot be determined if Alencar was the first one to use the word *abaeté* in texts written in Brazil, however, Souza uses it as the name of a river, while Alencar uses it referring to a man whose spirit is good. GD proposes the decomposition of the word but explains that it is related to a river. Alencar brings the note to highlight the characteristics desired for his characters in the narrative and explains the meaning of the word "*abaeté - Varão abalizado* (empowered man); from *aba* - man, and *etê* - strong, sturdy. (p. 155). Therefore, although Alencar is not the first one to use the word, it is considered a contextual fictional etymology because the author constructs a meaning upon it and uses it diverging from the dictionaries and from the text written by Sousa e Silva (1821).

Alencar used the knowledge he had about the indigenous language in a refined way to explore his potential of creation; however, it was not as a mere linguistic exercise. Alencar's creations had a purpose, that is, the desire to write works that portrayed the indigenous people also required a vocabulary that derived from that context. As a result, the author's creation process stemmed from Contextual Fictional Etymology, so as to confer expressiveness and concreteness upon his linguistic and literary desires.

5 Final remarks

Revisiting the purpose of this paper, which was to analyze four anthroponomic etymons, in order to exemplify them, we believe that it was a successful journey. Out of the 758 nouns and adjectives used by Alencar in his Indianist works *Iracema*, *O Guarani* and *Ubirajara*, the amount of 367 are indigenous. And out of the 367 indigenous words, we were able to find that 53 were Indianist anthroponyms.

Although we did not analyze all anthroponyms within the scope of this paper as it was done in Ávila (2018), and Ávila and Novodvorski (2020), we hope we were able to demonstrate that José de Alencar created his contextual fictional anthroponomic etymons to attribute to his indigenous characters the characteristics he wanted them to embody by means of the careful choice of their proper names.

It is also worth mentioning that *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES, 2006) greatly helped us in the identification of the anthroponomic etymons, since it was possible to identify the first use of the words, with the help of this historical corpus. It also helped us to corroborate the etymological character of the words. Moreover, the dictionaries consulted also revealed that the words did not configure entries until the time of production of the works written by Alencar.

Alencar is considered to be a littérateur, an artist; therefore, by putting his creative flair into practice, he created etymons to satisfy his own aesthetic aspirations, at the same time he also did it to accomplish his desire to systematize a genuinely Brazilian language, apart from the impositions of Portuguese people. Therefore, he aimed to bestow value upon the Brazilian Indians as the natural inhabitants of Brazil.

The contextual fictional etymons, in this case, the Indianist anthroponomic etymons, brought more expressiveness within the text by means of a lexicon closer to the indigenous reality. Studying Alencar's Indianist anthroponomic etymons also entails some knowledge about the many possibilities within the language and also

about the author's creativity, since he uses a lexicon through which he can express his ideals.

It is our desire that this work shall open space for further scientific investigations that combine Literature and Corpus Linguistics.

We aim for our approach to help scholars to rethink Alencar's Indianism, not only as a literary creation, but also as a linguistic creation that helped in the formation and emancipation of the Portuguese language in Brazil.

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The humor of Northeastern Brazil's anthroponomy
O humor da antroponímia nordestina

*Shara Lylian de Castro LOPES**

ABSTRACT: This article aims to analyze the functioning of Northeastern names as elements of humor in virtual texts. The corpus of analysis consists of two posts of northeastern humor profiles on social network Instagram: Suricate Seboso (greasy suricate) and Bode Gaiato (mocking goat). The analytical process considers Discourse Analysis theoretical premises and considers concepts such as discursive memory, as in Courtine (1999, 2014), Robin (2016) and Paveau (2005) and discursive ethos, as in Maingueneau (2008a, 2018, 2020). Since these notions are directly linked to anthroponomic onomastics regarding historical and social facts related to language, I also consider the work by Leite de Vasconcelos (1928) as organized in Carvalhinhos (2007). The conclusions point to a functioning of the Northeastern names in this type of discourse as elements of humor linked to different memories, which present a shift in the naming processes, for example by updating patronymics.

KEYWORDS: Discourse analysis. Humor. Northeastern Brazilian identity. Anthroponomy.

RESUMO: A proposta desse artigo é analisar o funcionamento dos nomes próprios nordestinos como elementos de humor em textos virtuais. O corpus de análise dessa pesquisa são duas postagens de perfis de humor nordestinos da rede social Instagram: Suricate Seboso e Bode Gaiato. O processo analítico considera premissas teóricas da Análise do Discurso e leva em conta conceitos como memória discursiva, como em Courtine (1999, 2014), Robin (2016) e Paveau (2005) e ethos discursivo, como em Maingueneau (2008a, 2018, 2020). Essas noções estão diretamente ligadas à Onomástica antroponímica no que tange aos fatos históricos e sociais relacionados à língua e, por isso, também considero aqui o trabalho de Leite de Vasconcelos (1928) como organizado em Carvalhinhos (2007). As conclusões apontam para um funcionamento dos nomes nordestinos apresentados nesse tipo de discurso como elementos de humor ligados a memórias diversas, que apresentam deslizamento dos processos de nomeação, por exemplo por atualização dos patronímicos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Análise do Discurso. Humor. Identidade Nordestina. Antroponímia.

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1 Introduction

Humor can be built through several linguistic and discursive sources, from phonological, morphological, and syntactic variation to intonation and prosody, as in oral texts such as stand-up comedies. The main goal of this article is to present a discursive analysis of humor produced by supposed peculiarities that characterize contemporary Northeastern Brazilian anthroponomy through an analysis of humorous virtual texts. It is, therefore, an attempt of interdisciplinary interface between Onomastics and Discourse Analysis.

The theoretical framework draws on two major fields: 1. Onomastics, based on the anthroponomical classifications by Leite de Vasconcelos (1928), mainly about what the author refers to as nicknames and proper names, considering the classification of this organization by Carvalhinhos (2007); 2. Discourse Analysis, based on the category of ethos, as presented in Maingueneau (2008a, 2018, 2020) and the concept of discursive memory as developed by Courtine (1999; 2014), Robin (2016) and Paveau (2005). Complementarily, the article also refers to Possenti's (1998) linguistic analyses of humor and considerations thereupon.

The corpus consists of two posts made by northeastern humor profiles on social network Instagram: Bode Gaiato (mocking goat) and Suricate Seboso (greasy suricate). Both have a solid virtual reputation as evinced, for example, through their number of followers: around 4,1 million and 1,5 million, respectively.

This article is divided into two parts: 1) theoretical framework, which is subdivided into three parts (Onomastics, Memory, and Ethos), and 2) brief description of methodological choices and text analyses. Finally, it provides some final remarks, which are by no means exhaustive given the limitations of the genre.

2 Theoretical presuppositions

This section is divided into three parts: 1) general information on Anthroponomy and related concepts, 2) the notion of memory, and 3) a brief discussion of the discursive category of ethos.

2.1 What is Anthroponomy?

Onomastics is a research field interested in understanding names which contains several areas, including anthroponomy. The expression, initially coined into the Portuguese language by philologist José Leite de Vasconcelos (1887), refers to the study of individual names, such as first names, family names, and nicknames.

However, the term "name" itself presents a certain opacity. Carvalhinhos (2007), for example, lists a series of meanings to which the term is related: 1. Proper or individual names; 2. Complete names; 3. Any of the name's elements; 4. Nickname. The author also indicates a long list of motivations for anthroponyms, including: birth related circumstances, physical or moral features, profession, and religious, historical, or political influences.

Drawing on Leite de Vasconcelos's categorization of anthroponyms, Carvalhinhos (2007, p. 6) summarizes the list as follows:

- o Proper or individual name: baptism name
- o Surname: "it is a patronym, person name, religion expression or of another kind, that is added to the individual name". The example that illustrates this item is the name of a saint, Saint Francis Xavier, in which *Xavier* is the surname.
- o Nickname: "designation added to the normal individual name by others that observes in them a certain particularity, a physical or moral feature worth of notice, ordinarily playful or insulting, but also serious"
- o Sobriquet: equivalent to the nickname, but its character is temporary, in contrast to the nickname, which is often definitive and passes from one generation to another (changing itself because the son of an

individual that received a nickname will not have it as a nickname, since he does not have the same attributes of his father. The nickname´s *semas* are lost, rendering it opaque)

o Patronymic: "represents a genitive derived from the father´s name, which in the medieval age indicated filiation". As such, Vaz is the patronymic that designated someone as the "son of Vasco"; Lopes was "the son of Lopo" and Perez/Pirez was "the son of Pedro or Pero". Likewise, there are many other cases of patronymics that survived till the present day, even consolidated as family nicknames, and emptied of their primer sense of expressing filiation (author´s highlights)

Through the examples of this article´s corpus, it is possible to find more than one of these types (patronymics and nicknames are the main ones). Besides, their classification shifts, i.e., categories are not easily applied and are actualized, probably due to spatial and temporal differences and the opacity of such terms.

Given their relation to the identity game, individual names are of major importance for the construction of fictional or real humoristic characters. To exemplify this point, I recall two great names of Brazilian humor: Dercy Gonçalves and Chico Anysio.

The humorist from Rio de Janeiro, Dolores Gonçalves Costa, ran away from home very early, when she was 17 years old, to work in popular theater. According to the actress, in an interview for the television show *Roda Viva* in 1995, her name change was motivated by two main reasons: 1) not to be found by her father, who was very aggressive and would not accept his daughter's will to become an artist (profession that at the time was equated to prostitution), 2) to pay homage to the then Brazilian first lady, Darci Vargas.

If in the list made by Carvalhinhos for the motivations for proper names "political influences" are pointed out as a reason for parents' enthusiasm to name their daughters and sons, the example of Dercy shows that this enthusiasm may also come from the own name-bearer. "Dolores" herself, whose name probably refers to the well-

known catholic saint, chose as her artistic name a name with political strength at the time: that of the then Brazilian first lady.

Born in the state of Ceará, Francisco Anysio de Oliveira Paula Filho, known in Brazil as the "master of humor", also changed his name in the first years of his career. The change, however, occurred for another motivation than to pay homage to someone, at least in a stricter sense.

To initiate the show that became known as the "Chico Anysio show", the actor had thought of using his original name, "Francisco Anysio Show". It was the program's director, Carlos Manga, who suggested the change[1]. Probably this change was suggested due to the popular appeal of the nickname "Chico" (as opposed to the most serious aspect of the proper name "Francisco") which was logically more adequate to the humoristic intention of the show. Other Brazilian notables in non-humoristic fields – such as the medium Chico Xavier and singer-songwriters Chico Buarque de Holanda and Chico Cesar – have also chosen "Chico" for their artistic names, which may indicate the more popular feature of this nickname.

Interestingly, the original name of Chico Anysio was chosen in a common practice described by Carvalhinhos: the surname that expresses filiation, in his case, "Filho" ("Son"). Chico Anysio comments that his mother fondly called him "Oliveirinha", a diminutive of his father's surname "Oliveira", and that she only began to call him Chico with the program's debut.

It is also possible that his father received the name Francisco for religious motivations, as happened with the Brazilian singer Luiz Gonzaga, who was born on December 13, Saint Louis Day, and was nominated in his honor, another common practice among Brazilians, as Carvalhinhos (2007) reminds. As for "Paula", another

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[1] See the fourth episode of the documentary *Viver do Riso* (To live of laughter), broadcasted by Globo. The episode was a homage to comedian Chico Anysio and shows a part of an audio track in which the actor tells the story of his artistic name, as well as commentaries by his son, also comedian, Bruno Mazzeo. Available at: https://globoplay.globo.com/v/7505028/programa/.

explanation of the list of cases mentioned by Leite de Vasconcelos may fit: the mother's or father's name was passed on to the son as a surname or second name, as in Maria *Caetana*, daughter of *Caetano*, therefore functioning as some kind of patronymic variant.

These two examples of names of great Brazilian humorists alone offer sufficient material for a notion of how vast the field of studies that encompasses anthroponomy is. They also present some phenomena that will be retaken further ahead in the corpus analysis in this article. Before that, in the next section I will provide some remarks on memory and ethos as part of Discourse Analysis (DA).

2.2 Discursive memory and names

In opposition to the notion of psychological memory developed by psycholinguists, Courtine (2014 [1984]) proposes the notion of "discursive memory" to analyze political speech. The author presents the following definition: "the notion of discursive memory refers to the historical existence of what is enunciated within discursive practices ruled by ideological devices" (COURTINE, 2014, p. 105-106).

In his analysis, Courtine (2014) presents three domains of objects that help him organize the discursive sequences around the discursive reference sequence (drs): the domain of memory, the domain of the present, and the domain of anticipation (notions extracted from Foucault, 2004 [1969]). The first domain is the one that interests us the most in this article, because it is through it that "one can enclose the processes that guarantee the reference of names by an enunciating subject and, thus, authorize predication and co-referentiality" (COURTINE, 2014, p. 112). It is in the domain of memory that one can determine the emergence of enunciations since it is related to the instance of interdiscourse.

In a posterior text, Courtine (1999) revisits the theme of discursive memory, but this time his focus is on oblivion. The author insists that, in the space of what is

repeatable (constituted by the domain of memory), the several formulations that occur by means of the forms of the related discourse point to the unevenness of interdiscourse insofar as what would be a plagiarism functions instead as forgetfulness, by making the syntactic marks disappear on the discourse.

In her work "*Mémoire saturée*" (Saturated Memory), Robin (2016 [2003]) revisiting Paul Ricoueur's text (*La memoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*) that retakes the Freudian concept of remembrance, establishes a parallel between the epistemological conception of time for History and for Psychoanalysis, fields that employ the notion of repression. Highlighting that History retakes this concept metaphorically from Psychoanalysis, the author argues that: "(…) it is not possible to understand the memorial work without considering the layers of time, those effective moments of 'forgetfulness' that remain as basis, those heterogeneities, those retreats and disjunctions" (p. 36).

As such, the author confirms the existence of those gaps in memory, or, in Courtine's (1999, p. 21) terms, the functioning by repetition in the order of this "memory with gaps or failures", in which what is repeated also necessarily shifts. In other words, even when the referred is given by the related mode of recitation, it is valid "by the event of its return" (COURTINE, 1999, p. 20) since it is different.

As an historian, Robin (2016) tries to maintain a certain distance from the more strictly pathological conceptions related to questions such as memory, forgetfulness, repression, mourning, melancholy, common in the psychoanalytical repertoire to analyze what happens with the so-called "collective memory" and prefers the perspective of "rhythms of memory", in reference to the metaphor of the frayed rope by Walter Benjamin (*Écrits Français*).

Following the same theoretical conception, Paveau (2005, p. 03)[2] emphasizes that the interest of DA for the concept of memory is mainly attached to its constructive dimension, insofar as the discourses reflect and at the same time construct reality. Or, as Courtine (2014, p. 103) puts it: "Memory erupts in the present of the occurrence".

In this article, I will attempt to sustain the hypothesis that proper names function as pre-built (and maybe they are so by excellence) from this saturated memory, which operates mainly in the reinvention of its significances and motivations situated in historical contexts and demarcated space and time, as provided in Leite de Vasconcelos's description presented by Carvalhinhos' (2007) summary. However, they function through the structural forgetfulness that is necessary for such reinvention.

With the affirmation that names function as preconstructions by excellence, I mean that anthroponyms by themselves have these effects of stable memory of the "being" on the world. They are referents of a whole significant imperative that in the present corpus is displaced to a common-ground knowledge, as reference of a group and not of an individual. Certainly, here it is worth remembering that this is a move to amplify what is understood as pre-construction, given that, in the literature, the more typical preconstructions are relative sentences and discursivized nominalization with the use of definitive articles. See, for instance, the discussion on the linguistic problem of adjective sentences in Pêcheux (1988).

2.3 Discursive ethos and names

Ethos, as presented in Maingueneau (2008a, 2008b, 2018, 2020), is a concept originated in classical rhetoric, developed by Aristotle. It refers to the positive or negative image of themselves that the speaker produces in the discourse. According

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2 Please refer to the complete version of this text, in which the author successfully and succinctly presents the concept of memory in DA, highlighting its weaknesses and possibilities for maturation.

to the philosopher, this positive image is based mainly on prudence (phronesis), virtue (arete), and benevolence (eunoia).

In his thesis on the controversy on the religious jansenist and devotee humanist discourses, which resulted in *Genèses du discours* (2008b), Maingueneau extracts this notion for the field of studies of discourse, with ethos disengaging from the need to be attached to orality, as it was in Rhetoric. In Maingueneau (2018), the discursive ethos presupposes a relation with "guarantor", "voice", "character", and "corporality", i.e., the DA ethos is an embodied ethos that must function accordingly to the rules of the "ethical world" in which its guarantor participates.

Regarding the complexity involved by the notion of ethos, Maingueneau presents a differentiation between previous ethos (pre-discursive) and discursive ethos. The former refers to the representations that the public holds about the enunciator even before they begin to enunciate. In Amossy's (2005, p. 145)[3] terms, it is "the preexistent image of the speaker", while the discourse ethos is "the image they build in their discourse".

For a better illustration of the functioning dynamics of the DA ethos, Maingueneau (2018) presents the following tableau:

Figure 1.

Source: Maingueneau (2018, p. 270).

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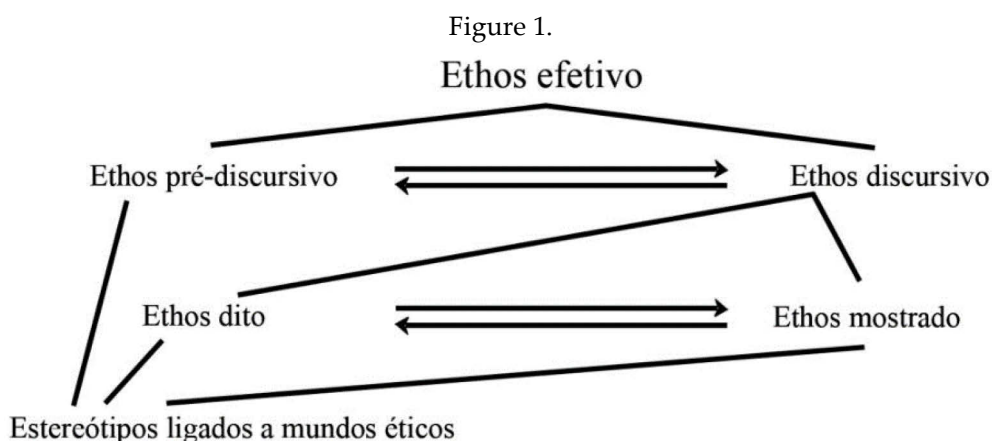
[3] The complete reading of this work is a good starting point for an in-depth understanding of the notion of discursive ethos, which we have just briefly addressed in this text.

From the reading of the scheme above, it is possible to understand that the functioning of ethos requires several factors. All of them, somehow, are associated with the stereotypes related to ethical worlds. As mentioned before, the previous ethos is the one in which the image of the enunciator precedes the act of enunciating. However, the discursive ethos built during the enunciation may be of two kinds: said and shown.

Maingueneau's proposal of differentiation comes from his visitation of Ducrot's (1987) text, in which the linguist proposes the distinction between speaker-L (the enunciator) and speaker-λ (the speaker as being in the world), which, in turn, is related to the pragmaticistic distinction between showing and saying. For Ducrot, "L is responsible for the enunciation, considered exclusively as having this property. λ is a "complete person, that possesses, among other properties, that of being the origin of the enunciation (1987, p. 188). In this sense, the shown ethos is the discursive ethos itself while the said ethos occurs when there are "fragments of the text in which the enunciator evokes their own enunciation" (MAINGUENEAU, 2008a, p. 71) directly or indirectly. The author insists on reminding the reader that the line that distinguishes the said and shown ethos is very thin.

In the case of the present corpus, which circulates through digital media, it is work noticing the particularity that these texts present for the functioning of ethos and enunciative scenes. Maingueneau (2020) revisits his previous texts and defends the need to discuss the problems that the Internet presents to discourse analysts when it comes to the discursive categories presented until then in his work (which will not be discussed here). He states that "the 'digital' scenography is characteristic of the Internet: by escaping to the voice and speech registers, it poses a question to the conception of ethos commonly accepted" (2020, p. 156).

Maingueneau suggests two components of this kind of scenography: 1. Iconotextuality, the multiple images and developments that contribute to the

"global ethos"; 2. Reticularity, which may be internal (connections inside the site) and external (connections with the exterior), "whose relations are generated by different kinds of instruction" (2020, p. 156). Even though the author refers to the functioning of sites, I believe that it is possible to find the same problems in texts that circulate in social networks, as is the case of the texts analyzed in this article.

Based both on these main discursive notions (memory and ethos) and on Leite de Vasconcelos's anthroponomic classification, I shall conduce the following section providing the methodological steps that supported the present analyses.

3 Methodological decisions and analyses of the posts

Given the theoretical concepts presented in the previous section, I will now briefly describe the choice of the material to be analyzed. The corpus of this article consists of two texts that circulate in the virtual environment, more specifically on the social network Instagram, and a third text of accessory interest. I shall refer to these texts as 'posts', disregarding the broad debate on discursive genres (maybe the most important of them being the one on memes), which exceeds the scope of this article.

These posts, published in 2019 and 2020, are of two humoristic northeastern profiles that obtained notoriety on social networks in the last decade: Bode Gaiato (the mocking goat – a profile managed by some people from the northeastern state of Rio Grande do Norte) and Suricate Seboso (the greasy suricate – a profile managed by some people from the northeastern state of Ceará). Both use animals as inspiration for their characters; yet the former uses an animal recognized as typical of the northeastern culture (the goat), while the latter resorts to an animal that can only be found in Africa (the suricate).

Both profiles appeal to very similar resources in several aspects that mainly indicate two social factors: topography (Northeast) and social stratum (low class). These resources are, for instance: 1) the regional accent (linguistic marks that are

displayed in a caricaturized/exaggerated manner) 2) imaginary elements, easily found in low class´ residences that compose the text scenarios, such as clay pots, sandals, leather hats, couscous, carne de sol (a kind of jerked meat), 3) the very content of the texts, which goes from the description of the people´s daily lives to taking political stances, such as the combat against xenophobia.

3.1 The names in *Suricate Seboso* (Greasy Suricate)

For a simple matter of chronological order, I will begin the analysis with a *Suricate Seboso* post (Figure 1), published in April 2019 in their official Instagram profile. It displays a comparison between two allegedly very different forms of naming people: a more normal and another more unusual one and, therefore, funny due to its strangeness. The sections titles are "Normal names elsewhere" and "normal names in the Northeast":

Figure 2 – Names of northeastern people.

Source: image found on Suricate official Instagram profile. Published on April 25, 2019.

The multimodal text consists, in this case, of two equally discursively significant parts: verbal and visual. In the visual part there are elements that retake the profile´s memory, that is, its more stable scenographic marks. The background representing the cosmos, the subtitles in white and yellow and in caps locks, among others, are constant elements of this profile and work, thus, as given information[4], in semantic terms.

However, considering Maingueneau's (2008a) terms of enunciative scenes, these marks would be associated with the generic and comprehensive scenes, since this form of writing is easily found in humorous virtual texts of this genre, while the same background appears, with some variations, in other profiles, such as Bode Gaiato, the profile from which we took the next post (figure 3). It is also possible to think in terms of "digital scenography", as proposed by Maingueneau (2020).

New information regarding discursive scenography is marked by the composition of elements of the text and its content. Far from affirming that the peculiarity of northeastern names is the only theme of this post, the point I want to put forward is the specificity of displays found in the text above. When this content is mobilized by the suricate characters in a graphic and comparative disposition, a scenographic kind of humor order is equally built, i.e., attached to this specific text.

It is through a dialogical functioning of what is already given that humor is built, since novelty is required as humoristic trigger (punchline), mainly by breaking expectations, which occurs through the narrative order as it is presented. That is: first the normal names come from elsewhere, allegedly they are not the cause of strangeness, they are common. Next, names that are normal in the Brazilian Northeast are presented and, there, humor generating strangeness shines through. Humor is built, this way, by an ethical construction of the Northeast as strange, different, peculiar. It is ethical precisely because the enunciator speaks from a northeastern perspective.

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[4] A term that is opposed to new information.

There are two important pieces of information in this analysis that must be mentioned. First, the opposition verbally built by the names is reinforced by the differences in posture (constrained body versus undisciplined body, hand with fingers together pointing forwards indicating a regional swearing expression known as "aí dento"[5]), facial expression (shut mouths versus wide open mouths, as if they were screaming), and clothes (pink tie, white clothes versus colored clothes, leather hats) in the two pictures, which point to differences not only of geographic origin but also of social class.

Second, the cultural knowledge on this region is probably not necessary to understand the humoristic tone of this text, as correctly suggested by Possenti (1998) when he states that, at least in the tradition of Brazilian studies, attaching jokes to culture is a "commonplace" (obviously, I am broadening here the premise of the genre "joke" to all genres considered humoristic). In fact, this premise may be reinforced by the following datum: a considerable part of the followers of northeastern virtual humor profiles is not composed by inhabitants of this region.

More specifically regarding, the names, it is interesting to analyze those that are presented in the composition of this post, providing some background, at least to some extent, to enable the reader to comprehend the analysis of the next post more easily. To constitute the collection of examples displayed as representative of the anthroponomic forming that is characteristic of the Brazilian Northeast, the enunciator resorts to two vertical parallel lists: at the left there are nicknames or, according to Leite de Vasconcelos´ classification, sobriquets, given that they probably refer to names

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[5] During the last presidential elections, the candidate Ciro Gomes, a politician from Ceará, used this term in a press conference. This episode made this swearing expression hit the news and, on that occasion, some tried to translate it to other Brazilian dialects and other languages. The video is available at http://g1.globo.com/ceara/videos/v/apos-eleicao-ciro-gomes-manda-ai-dentro-para-provocador/7071661/

given by the individual himself or someone else accordingly to some personal feature, but differing from the baptism name or the one in the civil register.

"Zefa", for example, is the sobriquet of someone whose name is "Jozefa"; "Maria Dardores" is a variation of "Maria das Dores", which, in turn, receives the sobriquet "Das Dores", suffering variation in its spelling in what constitutes an attempt of phonetic transcription of the popular pronunciation. The list also contains a proper name, "Izolda", which establishes an intertextual relation with a previous humoristic text. It is necessary to activate the memory about the northeastern virtual humoristic speech to understand the reference to the "Coelce Prank[6]".

The second column displays a technique known as a stereotypical characteristic in the region[7]: combining both parents' names in a third one, or referring to one of them. For example: Lucimar may be the name of someone whose parents are Lúcio and Maria, or Josivaldo may be a mix of Josefa and Osvaldo.

One could assume that the names Roniclaysson, Ronivaldo and Roniwelliton in the post are from brothers and that the first part of their names would express their filiations. In these terms, the creation of such proper names would point to the functioning of patronymics, as happened in Fernandes, Álvares, Peres… in which the marks of the genitive "-es" meant "son of" Fernando, Álvaro, Pedro/Pero…, but that nowadays have changed their patronymic status from name to surname.

I propose to sustain this comparison departing from a perspective according to which memory, once effaced by the semantic emptying of these first patronymics, constituted by adding the mark of the Latin genitive, returns through this functioning

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[6] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=37K4lR1Xy0I.

[7] Despite the regional stereotype, there are registers of this practice in all Brazilian regions. See the journalistic article "parental names junctions in unusual names of sons" about such cases in cities of Minas Gerais, a state of the southeast region. Available at http://g1.globo.com/mg/grande-minas/noticia/2013/02/juncao-de-nomes-de-pais-resultam-em-nomes-de-filhos-inusitados.html. Access on July 21, 2020. Also, the text available in the following link, that contains 28 names formed by the junction of other names and that, according to the article, are very popular in Brazil. Available in: https://www.dicionariodenomesproprios.com.br/nomes-criados-brasileiros/. Access on July 21, 2020.

of the constitution of proper names, indicating filiation through the addition of parts of parents' names to the proper names. In the post, the enunciator also recurs to the graphic use of green and yellow colors to emphasize the compositional character of these names.

A final aspect may also be added: the exaggeration in the spelling of the names by the indiscriminate use of double consonants and non-conventional letters, in opposition to the possibilities of graphic simplicity, such as Mychelly versus Michele. Several jokes related to the names of poor people refer to the clumsy and exaggerated way they use the letters w, y, k, and h. Here follows an example taken from the website meme generator:

Figure 3 — Meme Generator.
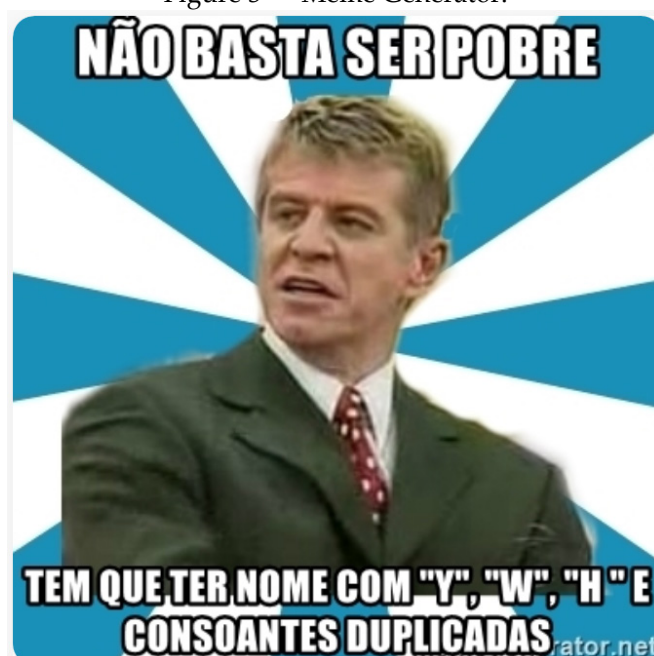
Source: Image taken from website memegenerator.net.

Caco Antibes, a character in the TV show *Sai de Baixo* (Get out of the way), is a broke rich who disdains the lower social classes. He appears at the center of the image surrounded by the phrase "it is not enough being poor, they must have names with 'y', 'w', 'h' and doubled consonants". The text is written in caps locks, as in the two

other posts presented in this article, and elements are displaced in the same way: the image at the center, surrounded by the texts. Here, it is possible to think of the occurrence of the global ethos of the generic scene of memes. These characteristics repeat in Figure 4.

The content of this post is an allusion, in the form of ironic criticism, to how poor people name their sons and daughters. It points to a stereotype of exaggeration and lack of manners as typical of a social class, being corroborated by the text in Figure 3, e.g. in Roniclaysson and Roniwelliton (doubled use of 'l' and of 'y' and 'w').

The indiscriminate use of unusual letters in Portuguese as well as the duplication of consonants point to a previous ethos that is shared both by the figure of the poor person and by Northeastern Brazilians, who to some extent coincide by an intersectionality of categories: geographical and social. For Chambers and Trudgill (1998), for example,

> Some dialectologists began to recognize that the spatial dimension of linguistic variation had been concentrated on to the exclusion of the social dimension. To some, this was felt to be a deficiency, since social variation in language is as pervasive and important as regional variation. All dialects are both regional and social. All speakers have a social background as well as a regional location, and in their speech they often identify themselves not only as natives or inhabitants of a particular place but also as members of a particular social class, age group, ethnic background, or other social characteristic. (1998, p. 45).

3.2 Names in Bode Gaiato (Mocking Goat)

The analyses of the next image retake a discussion on the formation of proper names that have as its purpose to express filiation. However, it is also, as I will show, a field with good material to discuss questions on memory, such as the space of what is repeatable and ethos, as discursive results of the functioning of stereotypes.

Figure 4 — names of people in the hinterland.

Source: Image taken from the official Bode Gaiato Instagram profile. Published: 5/21/2020.

The title of this post is the following: "names of people in the hinterland…". It is possible to take two initial pieces of information from it: 1) there is a relevant topographic difference when compared to the text of the previous post, which did not refer to the opposition hinterland/big city (capital), but to the opposition "Northeast/Other Brazilian regions"; 2) the choice for an ellipsis at the end of the phrase points to the possibility that what comes next may be only one example that may be taken in this context as prototypical of the group "all of" the names of the people in the hinterland.

The background that represents the cosmos is a kind of shared mark of this generic scene (as I have already suggested in the previous subsection), at least as proven by the recurrence of posts by other profiles with the same purpose: to be recognized in the virtual environmental as humoristic and northeastern.

Besides this background, the graphic disposition of the textual elements, as well as the use of caps lock, in yellow and white colors, are features shared by both texts analyzed in this article as well as by the text in Figure 2, which, despite being a

humoristic and virtual text, does not share this mark of "northeasterness". As such, it may be possible to reflect on the graphic disposition of the visual and verbal elements and the graphic conditions of the verbal text as parts of the generic scene of virtual humoristic texts commonly referred to as memes, which, here, I am simply calling humoristic posts. This, as I suggested above, would indicate what Maingueneau calls global ethos of the digital scenography.

The enunciator chooses to present as a good representation of the mode of naming people in the hinterland the use of filiation, a method already described as being strongly motivational in Carvalhinhos′ (2007) analysis. Besides the genitive marks, the author also highlights another form of expressing filiation by proper names: the use of the Latin noun "*filius*", son, or the adjective "junio", which means "the youngest". In English there is also the suffix "son" in names like "Wilson" (son of Will) or Peterson (son of Peter), which, with the passing of time, have be emptied of the semantic charge of filiation.

In the case of the text in Figure 4, the characters represent a chain of three generations: grandfather, father, and son. It is worth noticing that, while in Figure 2, both genders, male and female, are represented, in Figure 4 there is only the male gender, which may be read as a more patriarchal representation of the social order in the hinterlands8. The characters are named through a logical, chronological, and generational sequence whereby the following generation always receives a mark of filiation in its identification: John Doe – John of John Doe – John of John of John Doe.

"Zé Gaiola", "Bio de Zé Gaiola" e "Júnio de Bio de Zé Gaiola" are probably not baptism names, but sobriquets of a strong and updated patronymic nature. These are names through which people from the same community refer to these people and that

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8 In Lopes (2020), I maintain that the equivocal body of the suricate, as well as the communitarian and matriarchal organization of such species indicate a significant difference with the mocking goat which is, in turn, based on this caprine, typical of the northeast region, which is presented in a more manly body, with horns and hoofs.

can only function in a relatively small community where most families know each other. Precisely because of that, the enunciator identifies this process as typical from the hinterland.

Another characteristic to be observed is that these sobriquets are constituted by various and complex anthroponomic processes. "Zé Gaiola", the grandfather´s name, probably refers to someone who was registered as "José" (Joseph) and, for some peculiar reason of his personal history, had his name abbreviated to "Zé" (Joe) and the noun "Gaiola" was added to his name. This double name was consolidated in his community and passed on to his descendants.

The son is called "Severino" and people with this name usually receive the sobriquet "Bio"[9]. To refer to this specific Bio, people recur to the identification expressed by the preposition "of". Therefore, Severino[10] becomes "Bio de Zé Gaiola". This process of referencing to the filiation for the identification of individuals is transmitted to the son of "Bio", who is called Junior. As previously said, junior is an ancient anthroponomic resource that aims to express filiation. In this case, it is very likely that the baptism name of the individual is Severino Junior, but, in his community, he is identified as "Júnio de Bio de Zé Gaiola". The identification thus becomes a kind of display of his genealogical tree, where the preposition "de" (of)

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[9] Sobriquet produced by phonological processes such as vocal elevation from "e" to "i" and stopping of the "v" fricative, which becomes the plosive "b".

[10] The great number of individuals named Severino in this region is remembered by the Brazilian poet João Cabral de Melo Neto at the beginning of his Christmas play "the death and life of a Severino", which was translated by the American poet Elizabeth Bishop as follows:
"— My name is Severino,
I have no Christian name.
There are lots of Severinos,
(a saint of pilgrimages),
So they began to call me
Maria´s Severino;
There as lots of Severinos
With mother called Maria,
So I became Maria´s
Of Zacarias, deceased. (...)"

exhibits a semantic charge of possession and indicates the relation (of possession) between fathers and sons such as it is conceived in the region.

Therefore, the nature of the sobriquet weakens itself in the next generations because the individual can only be identified if his parents and grandparents are known. The enunciator tries to explain in a well humored way that the families to which these individuals belong in these hinterland communities have a bigger importance than the individual's baptism name for his own identification, which probably does not happen in large cities, except, maybe, in peripheral communities. However, it is possible that only "Zé Gaiola" functions as a sobriquet, to speak to someone in a dialogue, as the two others are expressions used to refer to someone who is not "Zé Gaiola" but is related to him. In other words, only when mentioning "Bio de Zé Gaiola" or "Júnio de Bio de Zé Gaiola" do people think of this chain of filiation.

As such, the ethos built by the enunciator in this text is that of an expert connoisseur of the naming processes that occur in this region, while it lso employs this memory to generate humor by identification/strangeness in the reader. That is, the readers may laugh either because they think this practice is weird or because they recognize it and see it represented in another perspective – differently from daily life.

Humor is built by both the physical appearance of the characters and the use of regional stereotypes – the old man, the adult, and the young one. While the old man wears a short-sleeved, buttoned shirt outside his pants and an analog watch (in profile with his hand on his waist and a bit "paunchy", indicating a certain slouch found in the imaginary vision of elder people), the adult wears a similar type of shirt, semi-buttoned and tucked inside his pants, with a belt, and the teenager wears a striped "normal" cotton blouse and is the only one not wearing a leather hat. While their clothes indicate a spectrum that varies from the most to the least solemn, their facial expressions are also distinguished: the most suspicious of all is that of the youngest character.

This differentiation is mainly given to highlight the detachment/unease regarding the environment. It is very likely that the character with less contact with hinterland culture is the teenager, who only visits the region in festive moments and during vacations.

4 Final remarks

Names bear a history that will not be erased, even if it is not transparent; as Carvalhinhos (2007) states, names are semantically emptied throughout time and become opaque. What I attempted to present in this article is an analysis of the humorous posts that resort to names of the region they represent, the Northeast or its hinterland, using the notion of discursive memory, the discursive category of ethos and Leite Vasconcelos's anthroponomic classification as organized in Carvalhinhos (2007).

I thus conducted an analytical description which consisted mostly of comparing two texts to delimit the most typical elements of humorous digital genres (therefore, I resorted to a third humoristic and digital text, albeit unrelated to the Northeast), specifically related to each scenography. In the analysis, I sought to mobilize the descriptions of names in Carvalhinhos (2007) to shed a light on how the process of shifting and opacification occurs when put into the analysis of texts containing names. In the texts I investigated, the names were analyzed in order to understand their importance in the discursive construction of this humor that is mainly based on a stereotypical representation of anthroponomic practices of the Brazilian Northeast.

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Towards an outline of central and southern Portugal potamonymy

Para um perfil da potamonímia do centro e do sul de Portugal

Carlos ROCHA[*]

ABSTRACT: Within the set of river names of Portugal, those of the northwest usually stand out because of their archaism. However, rivers located to the south of the Mondego basin and the Central System are no less interesting, as they reveal great etymological heterogeneity, ranging from a few that fit into the pre-Latin substrates to several names that underwent Arabization between the 8th and 13th centuries. Several items also stand out, which are more recent and result from the expansion of the Galician-Portuguese dialects to the south, in the context of the medieval Christian conquest and colonization. This article, which draws on previous research (ROCHA, 2017), sets out an outline of the central and southern Portuguese potamonym by classifying each item etymologically and ascribing them to the stratigraphy and the history of transmission of the current toponymy in the territory in point.

RESUMO: Em relação ao conjunto onomástico formado pelos nomes dos rios (potamónimos) de Portugal, destacam-se normalmente os do noroeste pelo arcaísmo. Contudo, os potamónimos localizados a sul da bacia do Mondego e do Sistema Central não são menos interessantes, pois revelam grande heterogeneidade etimológica, abrangendo desde um pequeno grupo enquadrável nos substratos pré-latinos a um reportório alterado pela arabização ocorrida na região entre os séculos VIII a XIII. Sobressai ainda um largo número de nomes de criação mais recente, criados pela implantação a sul dos dialetos galego-portugueses, assim configurando um processo de colonização linguística decorrente da conquista cristã medieval. O presente trabalho, baseado noutro anterior (ROCHA, 2017), propõe definir um perfil da potamonímia centro-meridional portuguesa por meio da classificação etimológica de cada item e do seu enquadramento tanto na estratigrafia como na história de transmissão da toponímia que hoje se regista no território em apreço.

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1 Introduction

Portugal's river names (potamonym)[1], as well as other referential toponymic categories, are divided into two major groups in terms of their history and geographic distribution. While names of the North frequently contain pre-Latin elements and numerous morphemes and lexemes of Latin origin, those of the South show traces of Arabic, if not entirely Arabic segments. This observation reinforces the widespread view of the Portuguese Middle Ages, when the Christian and Romanic North is opposed to the Muslim and Arabian South. The awareness of this difference seems to arise mainly from the scarcity – but not absence, as Serra (1967) reveals – of the toponymy of Arabic pattern in the northern lands and its increasing frequency from the Coimbra region towards Lisbon, the Alentejo and the Algarve.

Toponomastic research contributes to a finer definition of this contrast, with emphasis on less publicized aspects of the linguistic history of the southern Portuguese lands. Studies such as those by Lautensach (1960), Lopes (1968) and Terés (1986) provide evidence of the deep Arabization of potamonyms in central and southern Portugal, in line with the general profile of the entire toponymy of the other central and southern Iberian regions. However, in Portugal, this set of potamonyms was deeply changed by the expansion of the Galician-Portuguese dialects to the south as a

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[1] In this work, the term *potamonym* applies to the name of a river and is equivalent to *hydrotoponym* in the sense of 'proper name referring to a river' (cf. RAPOSO *et al.,* 2013, p. 1019; see also ROCHA, 2017, p. 30). *Potamonyms* or *hydrotoponyms*, therefore, denote a class of proper names which is different from the class of common nouns that denote different modes of presentation or accumulation of water, the *hydronyms* such as *fonte* ('source, fountain'), *rio* ('river'), *ribeiro* ('river, stream'), *regato* ('stream'), *arroio* ('brook'), *lago*a ('lagoon'), *lago* ('lake'), *golfo* ('gulf'), *mar* ('sea'), *oceano* ('ocean'), etc. A. Almeida Fernandes (1952) uses the term *hydronym* as a designation for any form or extension of water, and *hydrotoponym* as a toponym which includes a hydronym.

result of the advance of the northern Christian military power (cf. MARSÀ, 1960; FERNANDES; CARDEIRA ,2013; FERNANDES; CARDEIRA, 2017).

This is the horizon of the discussion in this article, which is carried out in three parts. The first part is a brief review of historical and theoretical aspects concerning the emergence and stabilization of the current southern Portuguese toponymy and its documentary significance. The second part is devoted to the methodological approach of the main historical-linguistic strata which form the current potamonymy of central and southern Portugal. The third part proposes a historical outline of central and southern Portuguese potamonymy, drawing on the data collected and analyzed in Rocha (2017), a study on which most of this article is based.

2 Assumptions of a study of southern Portuguese potamonymy: history, geography, etymology, and stratigraphy

The traces of mainland Portugal Arabization are closely linked to the Christian conquest and expansion in medieval Iberian Peninsula. This long historical process is represented in Figure 1, a map by Fernandes and Cardeira (2013, p. 8; 2017, p. 154).

The map distinguishes three major lines of advancement in the Christian conquest, as commented by Fernandes and Cardeira (2013, p. 2):

> The Christian Conquest took place in phases (with advances and retreats) over space and time, having stabilized in the Douro river around the year 1000. The [unbroken] lines represent its military borders (the extremes) south of the Vouga river, from 1064 (date of definitive possession of Coimbra) to 1249 (with the conquest of the Algarve): in 1135 the construction of the Leiria castle by Afonso Henriques, who would become the first king of Portugal, ensures the colonization south of Coimbra, and in 1147, the defense of the Tagus line allows the colonization of territories in Extremadura and Ribatejo. In 1191, during the reign of Sancho I, part of the Alentejo and the Algarve was equally conquered, but the Almohad counterattack pushed Portuguese rule back to the Tagus. Not before the mid-13th century would King Afonso III recover these

territories. Colonization will accompany the movements of the Conquest and with it the spread of Galician-Portuguese.

Figure 1 — Stages of Christian conquest between the 11th and 13th centuries in Portuguese territory.
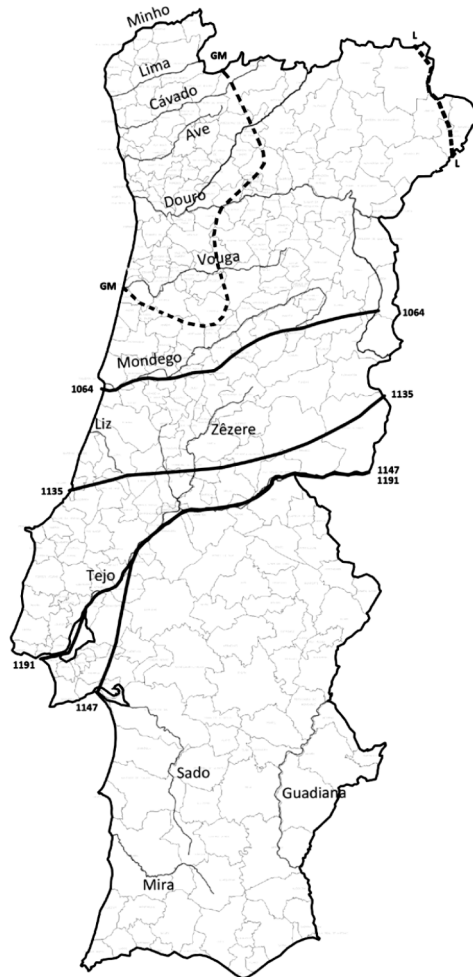
Source: Fernandes and Cardeira (2013, p. 8; 2017, p. 154).

Focusing on the boundaries between Christians and Muslims in the 11th to 13th centuries, Fernandes and Cardeira consider an intermediate line between the Mondego basin and the Tagus basin, from Leiria approximately to the current village of Penamacor (Castelo Branco). However, that the temporality of this intermediate border seems much shorter than that of other conquest fronts, as pointed out by Barbosa (2008, p. 67). The author argues that, in this long military process, the rivers

Douro, Mondego and Tejo were the defining axes of three consecutive borders which reached further south, thereby always encompassing land on each river left bank:

> Geographic accidents are sometimes used to mark, at certain moments in the history of the struggle between Islam and Christianity, the dividing lines between the contenders. With regard to Portuguese territory, until the 12th century, three moments of territorial advance are usually mentioned: the conquest of the 'Douro line', in the 9th century; the conquest of the 'Mondego line ', in the 11th century; and finally the conquest of the 'Tagus line' in the 12th century. In reality, however, each of these three rivers, with their walled cities and their fortresses that guarded the easiest points to cross, only marked the northern boundary from which (in the Christian case) the territory was safe. Consequently, the river was part of a more complex defensive system that, in the case of the Mondego, extended through the Sistema Central mountain range.

The Christian front was, therefore, not simply made of a series of schematic lines or barriers; on the contrary, it was made by stretches of land which are likely to have been inhabited and prone to cultural exchanges, at least minimally. Barbosa's words suggest that although the conflict became radical in the 12th and 13th centuries (cf. PICARD, 2000, p. 87-106), these borders were conducive to prolonged contacts, both in the Christian and Muslim sides, which are linguistically documented by the current toponymy. Nevertheless, where the Arab-Muslim rule was stable and prolonged, i.e., south of the Mondego basin and especially from the Tagus valley, the geographical names show strong Arab interference or innovation – and the potamonymy is no exception. In fact, the southern Portuguese potamonymy developed and settled in lands of linguistic colonization, with names from the advance of the Galician-Portuguese dialects added alongside arabicized names. This movement is associated with the Christian conquest. As Castro (2006, p. 8) observes, when comparing the linguistic history of Lisbon with that from the north of the Vouga river:

> […] A native of Lisbon, who descends from many generations of inhabitants of the capital or the south of the country, speaks a language that is not autochthonous and does not originate from the Latin spoken there during the Roman Empire, but which was transplanted from Galécia Magna after the Christian reconquest. Just as the language spoken in Rio de Janeiro or Maputo was carried there from Portugal.

In fact, most southern Portuguese toponyms have, alongside several Arabic and arabicized names, numerous linguistic traces and items related to Christian colonization.

There are other factors in the making of the repertoire of central and southern Portuguese potamonyms. Alternative potamonyms (polyonymy) are frequently assigned to the same river. This was the case with many rivers of medium and small length, which were less prone to administrative language standardizing. However, administrative reasons may have suppressed polyonymy by selecting a single denomination which was thereby generalized to the entire watercourse. A case in point is *Odiege*, a potamonym of Arabic configuration, which today seems forgotten and replaced by *Ribeira de São Brissos* (cf. Reportório Toponímico de Portugal Continental – RTP[2] – and Carta Militar de Portugal – CMP – 1: 25 000)[3].

Demographic fluctuations in some regions or changes in their population will eventually affect toponymy in general, including potamonymy, thus resulting in cases of substitution. This article does not delve into this aspect, but, for example, in Alentejo, the Christian conquest may have favored the erosion and demise of Arabic toponymy in the Middle Ages by dismantling the settlement and agricultural patterns

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[2] Published in 1967 by the Cartographic Service (Serviço Cartográfico do Exército) of the then Ministry of the Army of Portugal (Ministério do Exército).

[3] Leão (1610, p. 32) and Castro (1762, p. 134) include *Odiege*. However, in the 19th century, neither did Leal (1875) nor Baptista (1876: 15) register it; they mentioned, instead, *ribeira de São Brissos* (*ribeira* = stream, river) and *ribeira de Alcáçovas* which, by the manner of their description, seem to substitute for the aforementioned Arabic or arabicized name.

of the Arab-Islamic period. (cf. BOISSELIER, 1999, p. 179-180). However, the permanence of an important population is not incompatible with cases of toponymic substitution or loss of names in the South. There is evidence of several cases of toponymic loss when comparing the medieval toponymic repertoires with those fixed during the modern and contemporary times (cf. SOUSA, 2003).

Finally, notwithstanding some long rivers, the climate, geology and relief in these central and southern lands create short watercourses with irregular flow and prolonged droughts. Consequently, in terms of selecting names by river length, a southern potamonymic repertoire is likely to be less bulky than that referred to northern Portugal. The RTP (p. IV) suggests this, because, among its categories, the category of "river", which applies to watercourses of medium length and is different from the category "brook, stream, small watercourse", covers a number of southern rivers which is clearly lower than that of rivers assigned to regions in the north of the Mondego basin (cf. ROCHA, 2017).

Several of these historical and geographical variables are in some way inscribed in contemporary toponymy or in documents from the past. Such documents provide multilingual material containing frequent cases of semantic opacity in modern Portuguese. Toponymic analysis and interpretation often involve linguistic blends which result from events and periods of cultural and linguistic contact between populations. Since this is a task that raises questions about the origin and evolution of words, including toponyms as a subclass of proper nouns, the present study adopts an etymological standpoint to provide an account of the origin and history of sets of words, or of an individual word (cf. CAMPBELL; MIXCO, 2007, s.v. etymology)[4]. In addition, by showing traces of the different languages historically spoken in central

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[4] See also Viaro (2011, p. 24 and 99). On the interdisciplinary nature of toponymy studies (i.e., toponomastics) and the role of the diachronic vision of its methods, see Carvalhinhos (2009) and Torrado Pablo (1999). For the contribution of toponomastics to language history in Galicia, see Martínez Lema (2014 and 2018).

and southern Portuguese, the study of potamonyms requires a stratification of linguistic diachrony and the use of terms such as stratum, substrate, superstrate and adstrate[5], understandably recurrent in the history of linguistic contacts to which the lexicon (with onomastics) seems especially permeable.

3 Criteria for identifying the stratigraphic make-up of Portuguese central-southern potamonymy

In the study of potamonymy in the south of the Mondego basin and the Central System – *i.e.*, the central-southern Portuguese potamonymy, to borrow a term coined by Cintra (1971), who opposed the central-southern Portuguese dialects (dialetos centro-meridionais) to the northern dialects (dialetos setentrionais) – the interpretation and classification of its names takes into account the linguistic consequences of three remarkable historical processes, namely, the Roman, Arab and Christian conquests. Among these three moments, the Arab-Islamic occupation seems to act as a layer that shaped or erased the marks of Latinization which the territory had previously known. The expansion of the kingdom of Portugal, in turn, brought its Galician-Portuguese modalities to the south and determined adaptations, substitutions and creations that also altered the aspect of most of the central-southern potamonymy.

Attention should also be paid to the classifying criteria of potamonyms: the difference between, on the one hand, the etymology and linguistic transmission of a river name, and, on the other hand, the emergence of its potamonymic use. These

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[5] See Campbell and Mixco (2007), who define these terms, still used in the literature: "When an earlier language influences a later language which moves into its territory (causing its extinction or becoming dominant), the earlier language is called a *substratum*. […]"; "In language contact, a superstratum language (or superstrate language) is the language of an invading people that is imposed on an indigenous population and contributes features to the indigenous people's population. This takes place where a more powerful or less prestigious language comes to influence a more local, less powerful or prestigious language, as in cases of conquest or political domination. […]"; "In language contact, a language that influences a neighboring language or languages. Often it is assumed the language has relatively equal prestige with those it influences […]". On the borrowing of the notion of stratigraphy into language history and philology, see Aebischer (1978).

perspectives are intertwined, but there are cases in which a detoponymic origin may be documented either by written sources or by inferences which draw on physical and geographical evidence. For instance, although *Alvor* (Faro) is Arabic etymologically, its toponymic use is likely to have preceded its potamonymic use (cf. ROCHA 2017, p. 314). The present discussion focuses on the etymology and history of linguistic transmission of each potamonym, regardless the details concerning its potamonymic function.

3.1 Pre-Arabic potamonymy in the south of the Mondego and the Central System: The pre-Latin and Latin romance contribution

The thesis on which this article is based (ROCHA, 2017) shows that the geographical distribution of potamonyms of pre-Latin roots and stems reflects the physical and cultural contrast between the north and south of Portugal, as noted in section 2. Thus, while the number of potamonyms of Indo-European origin or morphologically indo-europeanized increases in the north of the Tagus, this etymology becomes much more uncertain as regards potamonyms of pre-Latin origin in central and southern Portugal. Indeed, especially on the southern coast, from Lisbon to Faro, Indo-Europeanization may be unlikely before Romanization in addition to the vestiges of a prolonged or intense use of Arabic. If potamonyms associated with the great rivers – Tagus and Guadiana, which should, in fact, be contextualized in the southern inland – are likely to have undergone an earlier Indo-Europeanization, the etymologies of other names in the region are extremely dubious in terms of their clear connection to linguistic strata prior to Arabicization[6].

This uncertainty surrounding the origin of the central and southern potamonymic roots and stems seem to reflect the linguistic map which might be

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[6] The potamonyms *Tejo* and *Guadiana* could even be irrelevant in the discussion of pre-Latin Indo-Europeanization of central and southern Portugal, as they may have been borrowed by non-Indo-European populations established downstream of these rivers or simply transmitted in Roman times.

reconstructed with the support of classical sources. Regarding the Portuguese coast from Douro to Guadiana, these documents suggest a complex linguistic context which encompasses speakers of non-Indo-European languages[7]. In this respect, the name *Sizandro* (north of Lisbon) is especially interesting, as it appears isolated in the Portuguese and Iberian context[8]. Villar (2000, p. 342-343) assigns *Sizandro* to a non-Indo-European root, whose distribution area coincides with that of the series in *-ipo/-ippo*, which includes *Olisipo*, to the south, and *Colippo*, further north, both related to the languages of Asia Minor (VILLAR, 2000, p. 118)[9].

Arabicization is also relevant in this discussion, as it has left a strong phonomorphological imprint, translated into the creation of hybrids in which the oldest material has been integrated and shaped by the Arabic structural patterns. This hinders the etymological examination of probably hybrid potamonyms, as is the case of those with the Arabic formant *ode- /odi-* (from *wādī* 'river, valley' – *cf.* subsection 2.2.2). *Degebe* (found in medieval documents as *Odigebe*), *Divor* (*Odivor* in the Middle Ages and still today), *Odearce*, *Odeleite* and *Odivelas* belong to a series that includes other examples (*Odelouca*, *Odiege* and *Odiáxere*) and integrate totally opaque second elements. These potamonyms may eventually have even more obscure origin due to the lack of documentation, the silence of the sources consulted or the apparent absence of relationship with the toponymy of other Portuguese or peninsular regions. While *Divor* and *Odeleite* seem to be connected to, respectively, *Ibor* (Cáceres) or the Andalusian *Guadalete*[10], the rest of the series resists such an analysis. However, it is

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[7] On southern Portugal toponomy and its relationship with ethnicities that the Classical sources call *Turduli*, see Guerra (1998, p. 707-709).

[8] The ending *-andro* also appears in the potamonym *Lisandro* (Lisbon), although in this case (and even in *Sizandro*'s) a late scholarly intervention – yet to be clarified (cf. ROCHA 2017, p. 417 and 430) – cannot be ruled out.

[9] On the series defined by the ending *-ipo/-ippo*, recurrent in southwestern Iberia – *Bevipo* (probably Alcácer do Sal), *Calipo* (perhaps the current river Sado), *Colippo* (current Leiria), *Olisipo* (> Lisbon) – see Guerra (1998, p. 338-339, 370-371, 406-407, 467-469), Hoz (2005, p. 72), Hubschmid (1960, p. 482), and Villar (2000, p. 87-118).

[10] See Castaño Fernández (2004) and Gordón Peral and Ruhstaller (1991).

worth noting that the Arabization of southern Portugal accompanied forms of land occupation that may well have led to renaming elements of local physical geography[11].

As for the local Latin heritage which coexisted with the implantation of Arabic – the so-called Mozarabic romance or, following Corriente (2003), the Romandalusi (or Andalusian romance) – the literature usually points out several examples of morphemes and lexemes of this type of Latin origin. Piel (1976) provides some clues that are directly related to the medieval romance dialectology in Portugal, including the conservation of intervocalic -L- and -N- in Latin or Latinized toponyms[12]: *Coina* (Setúbal), *Fontanas* (Évora), *Fontanelas* (Lisboa), Mértola (Beja). More recently, Azevedo (2005) presented important contributions to the study of central Portugal toponyms in the romance spoken in the early medieval County of Coimbra, culturally linked to Mozarabism. However, in Rocha (2017), there are no clear examples of central-southern potamonyms with roots ascribable to the local Latin heritage.

In short, in contrast to the potamonyms in the north of the Mondego and the Central System, which form a conservative onomastic set of strong Indo-European linguistic interference, the potamonymy of southern Portuguese regions provides elements that are certainly of great antiquity, but whose etymology is unsure. They were profoundly modified by Latinization, followed by a long process of

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[11] New settlements in Gharb Al-Andalus also involve Berber groups and clans, as Picard (2000, p. 280) points out: "At least until the 10th century, a strong clan cohesion (*qawm*) dominated the social life of the localities and zones where the Arab and Berber groups settled, mainly based on their military role, within the framework of the *junī* and the garrison of the *Thughūr* (border regions). This cohesion often had the effect of provoking reactions to preserve their autonomy vis-à-vis the central power. It also had as a corollary a collective development of the lands which were granted to them. [...] [It] is this diffusion of which we find traces in the gentile toponymy of southern Portugal (Beni + personal name), despite the vagaries of this field of research, in particular in Portugal: *Benfarras, Benafim, Benagil, Bensafrim* and other anthroponyms of this type are present in the region of Silves." This suggests that groups of Arabs and Berbers would have ignored the toponymy they eventually found in use in the lands granted to them.
[12] See also Carvalho (1959).

Arabicization, initially under conditions of bilingualism (see VICENTE, 2005, p. 45-59).

3.2 The Arabization of central and southern Portuguese potamonymy: Density and distribution

This subsection addresses the important Arab or arabicized toponymic and potamonic heritage of central and southern Portugal. A simple examination of the peninsular southern potamonymy reveals how the Arab modeled or even obliterated the ancient pre-Roman and Romanized potamonymy, as pointed out by Lautensach (1954 and 1960), Lopes (1968), Piel (1976) and Terés (1986).

Unsurprisingly, the same tendency of Portuguese toponymy, which was previously recognized by Vasconcelos (1918, p. 60/61), is confirmed by Lautensach's studies (1954 and 1960). His account of the contemporary distribution of Arabic and arabicized potamonym in the peninsular territory shows that these names become more frequent from north to south (cf. Lautensach's, 1960, p. 32-33), thereby allowing the entire Peninsula to be divided into five zones of Arabization: zone I (extreme North, up to 41° – 42° 30' N): without Arabic interference; zone II (north half, up to 41° N), where most of the great rivers and their great tributaries show arabicized names (purely Arabic cases in Aragon); zone III (south half up to 38° 30' N), whose watercourses also have arabicized names, but with an important number of entirely Arabic tributaries; zone IV (much of the South up to 37° 10' N), where there are some Arabized names for large rivers (Guadalquivir); zone V (from 37° 10' N to the extreme south), where watercourses have mostly Arabic names. This distribution is displayed by a well-known map in Lautensach (1960, p. 32/33) and reproduced in Figure 2.

Figure 2 – Distribution of Arabic and arabicized hydrotoponyms in the Iberian Peninsula
(areas separated by dashed lines).
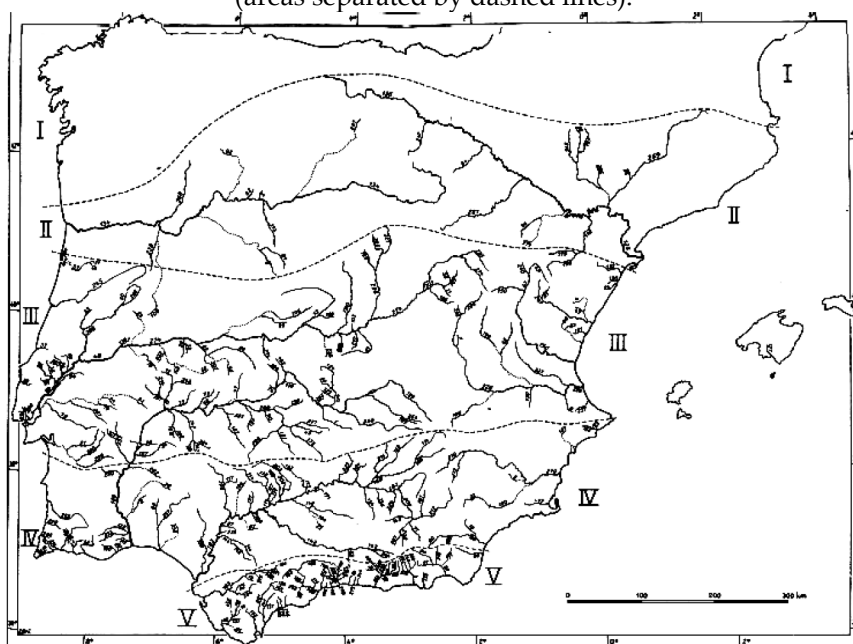
Source: Lautensach (1960, p. 32-33)[13]

In Figure 2, the western strip occupied by the current Portuguese territory is covered by zones I-IV, i.e., by four of the five areas that Lautensach distinguished based on the intensity of Arabization. Drawing on Lautensach (1954 and 1960), it can be said that the potamonym of most regions of the North of Portugal never or rarely reveals Arabic linguistic material, but this becomes more frequent in the Douro valley to the south and in the eastern regions of Trás-os-Montes, as shown in the map[14].

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[13] Each river represented on the map is associated with a number referring to an Arabic or arabicized name mentioned in an alphabetical list (LAUTENSACH, 1960, p. 32). Figure 2 does not show these numbers clearly, but this is irrelevant to this discussion.

[14] The map in Figure 2 comes from Lautensach (1960, p. 32-33) and presents small differences in relation to a previous version contained in Lautensach (1954, p. 239-240), and later reproduced by Vernet Ginés (1960, p. 577). In the 1954 version, zone I, i.e., the "extreme north", constituted a strip of peninsular territory north of the 43º / 42º 30' north latitude whose potamonym did not show Arab interference. In the 1960 version (LAUTENSACH, 1960, p. 32), the boundary of zone I goes down to the west almost to the mouth of the Douro, thus including the current Portuguese districts of Viana do Castelo, Braga and areas of the Porto and Vila Real. It should be noted that Lautensach (1954 and 1960) is mistaken when considering the names of zone II and some others in zone III as arabized: in fact, there is no evidence that *Douro*, *Sabor* or *Mondego* owe their configuration to Arabic phonetics, which suggests that they should not be seen as the potamonym *Tejo*, which is deeply altered by Arabization.

Lautensach's 1960 map, which represented the dispersion area of a list of 290 potamonyms, had an earlier version in Lautensach (1954), which considered 271 items. The 1960 list and map seem to correspond to a correction of the 1954 material: for example, the 1954 map marks the river 232 as *Nerja*, which is clearly an error, as there is no record of such tributary of the lower Guadiana; the 1960 version indicates, in the same location, the potamonym *Odearça*, which is the correct name of this river.

In any case, accepting the 1960 list as Lautensach's correct and final version, its comparison with RTP (1967) and the short repertoire commented by Rocha (2017) may be helpful as an assessment of its accuracy[15]. This is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 — Arabization zones in Portugal and distribution of potamonyms.

Lautensach 1960		RTP + CPM 1:25 000	Rocha 2017
Zone I	–	–	–
Zone II	Duero (Douro)	rio Douro	Douro [non-Arabic]
	Massueime	rio Massueime	Massueime
	Sàbôr	rio Sabor	Sabor [non-Arabic]
Zone III	Albahaca [sic; ?]	[not available]	–
	Alcabriche [sic]	ribeira de Alcabrichel	Alcabrichel [Arabo-Romance hybrid]
	Alcáçovas	ribeira das Alcáçovas	–
	Alcántara [sic]	só como topónimo	–
	Alcarrache	ribeira de/rio Alcarrache	Alcarrache
	Alcobaça	rio Alcobaça	Alcobaça [Arabo-Romance hybrid?]
	Alcobertas	ribeira das Alcobertas	Alcobertas
	Alcôfra [sic]	rio Alcofra	–
	Alconchel	[placename]	–
	Alcorrego	Ribeira de Alcôrrego	–
	Alfanzila	[not available in RTP]16	–
	Alforfa	ribeira da Alforfa	–
	Alfusqueiro	rio Alfusqueiro	Alfusqueiro [Arabo-Romance hybrid]
	Alge	ribeira de Alge	–
	Algés	ribeira de Algés	Algés

[15] For Rocha's (2017) study, see section 4.

[16] Lautensach (1960) finds *Alfanzila* in the Tagus valley, in the Abrantes region. It is a microtoponym, the same to which Silveira (1937, p. 87) assigns the variant *Alfranzília* and relates to Arabic *khanzir* 'pig, wild boar', pointing out that "[…] designates a *caneiro*, or small channel, and a *cachão*, a cascade, in the Tagus, below Belver, in the limits of Alvega – known as *Alfanzil* in the studies for the navigability of the Tagus […] and *Alffanzira* in a document of 1414 […]". The RTP, published in 1967, only registers *Alfanzina* as a placename in the municipality of Lagoa (district of Faro; cf. CMP 1:25 000, folio 604), a form that has an evident phonetic similarity to *Alfanzila*.

	Almadafe	ribeira de/do Almadafe	–
	Almanzor[sic]	rio Almansor, ribeira do	Almançor
	Almoster	ribeira de Almoster	–
	Almuro	ribeira do/de Almuro	–
	Alpiarça	[only as a placename]	–
	Alpreade	ribeira de Alpreade	–
	Alviela	rio Alviela	Alviela
	Asseca	[only as a placename]	–
	Azambuja	ribeira de/da Azambuja	–
	Baraçal	ribeira do Baraçal	–
	Enxarrique	ribeiro do Enxarrique	–
	Guadelim	ribeira de Godelim/Guadelim	–
	Jamôr [sic]	rio do Jamor	Jamor [non-Arabic?]
	Mondego	rio Mondego	Mondego [non-Arabic]
	(O)degebe	rio Degebe	Degebe
	Odivelas [Beja]	ribeira de/rio Odivelas	Odivelas [Arabo-Romance hybrid?]
	Odivelas [Lisboa]	ribeira de Odivelas	Odivelas [Arabo-Romance hybrid?]
	(O)divôr [sic]	ribeira Divor, do Divor	Divor [Arabo-Romance hybrid?]
	Pernes	[only as a placename]	–
	Tajo (Tejo)	rio Tejo	Tejo [pre-Latin with Arabic interference]
	Xarrama	ribeira de/rio Xarrama	Xarrama
	Xévora	rio Xévora	Xévora
	Zêzere	rio Zêzere	Zêzere [non-Arabic]
Zone IV	Alcantarilha	ribeira de Alcantarilha	–
	Alferce	[only as a placename]	–
	Algibre[17]	ribeira de Algibre	–
	Almádena	ribeira de Almádena	–
	Almargem	ribeira do Almargem	–
	Asseca	ribeira da Asseca, rio Sequa	Sequa [probably Arabic]
	Beliche	ribeira de Beliche	Beliche [obscure]
	Budens	ribeira de Budens	–
	Bugaya [sic]	[not mentioned]	–
	Foupana	ribeira de Foupana	Foupana [probably non-Arabic]
	Guadiana	rio Guadiana	Guadiana [Arabo-Romance hybrid]
	Odearça	ribeira de Odearce/Odearça	Odearce [Arabic hybrid?]
	Odeáxere	ribeira de Odeáxere/Odiáxere	–
	Odeleite	ribeira de Odeleite	Odeleite [Arabic hybrid??]
	Odelouca	ribeira de Odelouca	Odelouca [Arabic hybrid?]
	Odemira	só topónimo	Mira [non-Arabic]

[17] Herewith a list of errors in Lautensach (1954 and 1960): *Alburrel* (19 in 1954 and 1960); *Albahaca* (No. 8 in both versions); *Nerja* (No. 232 in 1954); *Bugaya* (117 in 1954; and 123 in 1960); *Zafrilla* (No. 266 in 1954; No. 285 in 1960). There are also fluctuations in name form or spelling: *Algibre* (No. 57 in 1954) and *Algibe* (No. 58, in 1960). Lautensach (1960, p. 24) registers *Algibe*, which he goes on to mark twice on map 5 (ibidem) with number 58 – once, as the name of a sub-tributary of the Tagus in the Spanish province of Cáceres and, another time, *as Ribeira de Algibre* (Algarve). This is clearly a mistake, because in the same list, with the number 59, there is *Algibre*, which was already mentioned in Lautensach (1954, p. 240) as the name of the Algarvian watercourse.

| | Odeseixe [sic] | só topónimo | – |
| | Zafrilla [sic] | [not mentioned] | – |

<center>Source: created by the author.</center>

Table 1 shows that the Portuguese potamonyms included in Lautensach's peninsular potamonym repertoire (1960, p. 32) are generally included in the RTP, and therefore form an onomastic group in use (at least administratively) until the late 1960s[18]. On the other hand, the confrontation of Lautensach's list with Rocha (2017) leads to question whether a few potamonyms are the result of direct attribution in the period of Arab-Muslim military and administrative domination. As shown in section 4, Rocha (2017) identifies 24 potamonyms constituted entirely or partially by Arabic morphology (4.99% of a total of 481 potamonyms studied), and none is found in the north of the Douro[19]; it is, therefore, to the south of this river that the potamonymy reveals the Arab impact until it intensifies in the Tagus basin, with the appearance of the element *odi- /ode-* (sometimes reduced to d-), which, only occurring once (*Odivelas*, in Lisbon) on the north bank of the Tagus, becomes frequent in Alentejo (*Odivelas*, *Degebe*, *Divor*) and in the Algarve (*Odeleite*).

Lautensach's lists (1954 and 1960) thus seem to draw from a broad, arguable definition of potamonymy of Arabic origin, since it includes onomastic units without

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[18] However, it is possible that certain potamonyms with lesser projection in general linguistic use may be likely to variation – from segment changes to onomastic unit substitution.

[19] Lautensach (1960) certainly went too far by inserting *Sabor*, *Douro* and *Mondego* in his list of arabicized potamonyms, since these names do not exhibit the typical arabicized traces detectable in southern potamonyms. It seems Lautensach's criteria for Arabization made him classify as arabicized items found in Arab sources, a criterion which is not indicative of their Arabic origin or influence: *Douro* is the result of *Doiro*, regular evolution of * DURIU-, Latin form of an item of likely pre-Latin origin; *Sabor* is attested by forms with intervocalic -L- intervocalic and is likely to evolve from a pre-Latin name, perhaps related to the Proto-Indo-European root **salt-* 'torrent, river'; and *Mondego* stems regularly from *MUNDAECU-, probably a hypocoristic form of MUNDA, attested in Roman times. The density of arabicized potamonyms in zone II and in the northwest margin of zone III, as Lautensach proposes, therefore appears to be lower than the one that suggests his onomastic list and map.

this origin, even though Arab sources attest to them[20]. Instead, Pocklington's (2018, p. 298) definition of Arabic toponymy seems advisable: ""Arabic toponymy will be the set of place names created by the Andalusian Arabs during the centuries in which their language was used in the Peninsula [...]", and "[t] he Arab denominations introduced after the Christian conquest in the places in which the Arabic-speaking population remained - sometimes for several centuries". Therefore, non-Arabic toponyms altered by Arabic phonetics and phonology and toponyms created with common lexicon of Arabic etyma after the Christian conquest should be excluded from a study of the Arabic and arabicized potamonymy.

3.2.3 Arabic phonological interference

Several pre-Arabic names feature Arabic phonological interference. The case of *Tejo* (Tagus) is evident, for it displays the result of the frequent replacement of Latin G by the Arabic pre-palatal affricate /ǧ/ (cf. CORRIENTE, 2003, p. 34) and the phenomenon of imala, i.e., the raising of /a/ and/or /i/ (idem, p. 23; *Tajo*, in Castilian, did not undergo imala – see STEIGER, 1991, p. 314-332). *Erges* (Castelo Branco) may have also undergone such an influence (cf. ROCHA, 2017, p. 304).

The analysis of more archaic central and southern potamonyms – *e.g.*, *Tejo*, *Guadiana*, or *Arade* – seems more adequate if they are viewed as the result of an interaction between two ways of transmission that shaped the current form: on the one hand, influence of Latin and Romance, in its diatopic variation, which comprehends two major systems, the inherited Romandalusi and Galician-Portuguese; on the other hand, the interference of Arabic in its Andalusian varieties, acting as a stratum that

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[20] Only by mistake is a place name an Arabism because it occurs in Arab sources. It is, therefore, more than debatable to include the potamonyms *Douro* and *Sabor* in a dictionary of Arabic in the Portuguese language (cf. ALVES, 2013).

assimilated forms likely modified by the southern Romance dialects and handed down to local forms of Galician-Portuguese that evolved into Portuguese.

The distinction between the different linguistic strata which interact in the make-up of the potamonyms in the south of the Mondego basin must, therefore, correspond to a temporal sequence consisting of three stages. Each stage has left the traces of their typical phonological processes: the Latin-Romance stage, including the Germanic period, whereby southern Romance may reflect contacts with Arabic and give rise to Romandalusi dialects; the Arabic stage, which interfered with the transmission of forms whether processed or not by Romandalusi dialects; and, finally, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, Galician-Portuguese, and then by clearly Portuguese modalities.

The sequence represented by Table 2 is the typical transmission chain of a potamonym in most of the region south of the Tagus, where Arabicization was likely completed by the end of the 12th century (VICENTE, 2006, p. 32), and followed by a Re-romancization as a result of the Christian conquest (the so-called Reconquista) in the mid-1100s. Each stage is defined by morphological adaptations and specific phonetic phenomena as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 — Examples of etymological chain of transmission with identification of phonological traits and intervening morphemes.

	Pre-Latin stems and affixes	Latin_Romance stratum		Galician-Portuguese/Portuguese stages
		Latin-romance stage	Arabic stratum	
		phonomorphologic adaptation	– imala; – substitution of /dʒ/ ou /ʒ/ for /g/	phonomorphologic adaptation
Tejo	*tag-	*Tagus*	*Taǧu, Taŷo*	*Tejo*

Source: created by the author based on Rocha (2017, p. 637).

The three stages indicated in Table 2 appear to be globally valid only for the south of the Douro; in certain areas to the north, although Arabic or Arabicized elements are not unknown in toponymy in general and potamonymy in particular, they emerged mainly from Arabic anthroponymy (cf. SERRA, 1966)[21].

However, Arabic interference in southern potamonyms rooted in pre-Latin and Latin-Romance strata may not be easily identified. In some potamonyms which include segments and units that may have been arabicized, such as *Tejo* and *Guadiana*, it is difficult to recognize phonological or morphological marks of this process. These are names not mentioned by Lautensach (1960), such as *Arade*, *Caia*, *Coina*, *Marateca*, *Mira*, and *Sor*. These items are generally considered to be pre-Latin (cf. ALARCÃO 2004, p. 320; BASCUAS, 2002, p. 9; FERNANDES, 1999; GUERRA, 1998, p. 253/521/522; LOPES, 1968, p. 100/122; MACHADO, 2003; VASCONCELOS, 1905, p. 59/60; 1931, p. 40; 1926, p. 328; 1991, p. 236), and are found in historically arabicized territory, although no clear linguistic features of this circumstance exist. It is may well be that they did not require radical adaptations to the structural patterns of Arabic and Andalusian Arabic dialects, nor later changes to the Galician-Portuguese dialects spoken by the Christian conquerors. This point remains open to discussion.

3.2.2 The *ode-/ odi-* element and the hybrid potamonyms

Another constraint to identify arabicized potamonyms is this: since several of these names do not seem to be directly created by medieval Arabic-speakers, several cases are likely to result from toponymic transfers, probably much later than the Christian conquest. This may well be the case with *Alcobaça*, *Alcobertas* or *Almaceda*, which must have been first used as placenames. This, therefore, reduces the number

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[21] Thus, in the region between Minho and Douro (or a little further south, down to Vouga) and, perhaps covering the Vila Real district of Trás-os-Montes, two stages are considered, the Latin and the medieval Portuguese (or Galician-Portuguese) without discontinuity; since the transmission process is not permeated by Arabicization.

of Portuguese potamonyms to which a full Arabic origin can be assigned with certainty.

This conclusion is extendable to the series presenting the element *ode-/odi-*, as it seems to be frequently followed by an older non-Arabic segment. In the RTP, *Odemira* and *Odesseixe* stand out as toponyms that were former potamonyms, while the current corresponding potamonyms are *Mira* and *Seixe*, whose origin still awaits clarification: Mira has been related to the Roman toponym *Miróbriga* and, therefore, to roots and radicals of pre-Latin Indo-European languages[22]; *Seixe* seems to be related to *seixo* (MACHADO, 2003), from Latin SAXU- 'pebble' (cf. COROMINES; PASCUAL, 2012 s.v. *saxífraga*), but the lack of documents hinders its etiology[23]. In other cases, the second element is even more obscure: this is the case with *Odivelas* (in the districts of Lisbon and Beja), as well as with *Odearce* (Beja), *Odiáxere* (Faro), *Odeleite* (Faro) and *Odelouca* (Faro), as, for the time being, there is no explanation for the segments -*arce*, -*áxere*, -*leite* and -*louca*, respectively. The *Guadiana* form, which replaced the oldest *Odiana*, presents the *guadi-* variant, of Castilian origin, and the -*ana* element, which consensually identifies with the well attested *Ana* or *Anas* river from the sources of Antiquity (cf. GUERRA, 1998, p. 278-280).

It is plausible that these potamonyms are mostly related to pre-existing toponyms; and, therefore, a list of the Arab and arabicized potamonymy of central-southern Portugal may prove to be not only very different from Lautensach's proposal (1954 and 1960), but also more restricted. Besides, potamonyms from the common lexicon of Arabic origin are not considered in this article – e.g., *Azenhas* and *Alcaide* (in

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[22] See Guerra (1998, p. 535-537), and Rocha (2017, p. 235/236).

[23] The term *etiology* applies to the investigation of the circumstances or motivations in creating a placename (cf. TERRADO PABLO, 1999, p. 125). There is a record of both *Odemira* and *Mira* as the name of the same river (cf. BAPTISTA, 1876, p. 140), which makes it possible to suppose that *Odesseixe* and *Seixe* also stood or have stood for the same potamonym. However, no confirmation of this hypothesis was found in the sources consulted.

Leiria) – because it is doubtful that they bear witness to denomination in an Arabic linguistic context or in situations of Arabic-Romance bilingualism.

As stated earlier, the element *ode-/odi-* may occur outside potamonymy, as some of its compounds have been converted into placenames (cf. RTP and CMP 1:25 000, by the CIGeoE-SIG visualizer): in addition to the aforementioned *Odemira* (Beja), *Odesseixe* (Beja), this group includes *Odelouca* (Faro) and *Odiáxere* (Faro), which, however, continue to be associated with rivers – such as *ribeira* ('stream') *de Odelouca*, *ribeira de Odiáxere* and *ribeira de Odivelas*[24].

The element *ode-/odi-* occurs practically only south of the Tagus, not counting any contemporary or historical cases above the Montejunto-Estrela line. In fact, except for *Odivelas*, immediately north of Lisbon, this element does not seem to occur north of the Tagus. In comparison with the Castilian cognate form *guad-/guadi-* (which also originates in the andalusi *wādī-* 'river, valley' form and whose dispersion area in the central-eastern peninsular extends beyond the Central System), *ode-/odi-* concentrates in the southwestern peninsular corner[25]. *Guad-/guadi-* mostly prevails in dialectally Castilian regions, although *odi-* also occurs, as *Odiel* provides evidence in the province of Huelva. As Terés comments (1986, p. 263):

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[24] The RTP shows two records of *Odivelas*: that of the district of Lisbon is more prominent as a placename than the one associated potamonym, *rio* ('river') *Odivelas*; in the region of Beja, *Odivelas* is a river and a homonymous village on its banks.

[25] Terés (1986, p. 31 and 263-264), which includes Portuguese potamonyms in his analysis and systematization of *wādī* derivatives, explains that in Arabic the generic designation 'river' or 'current of water' is *an-nahr*; while *al-wādī* has another application in Arabia: "[…] it denotes the channel or bed that opens in broken terrain, between lateral heights – a channel that is often dry, or with intermittent water – and as such it is recorded in the toponymic terminology of the Arabian Peninsula, even in Yemen. Later on, its use was extended to other territories of the Islamic Empire and it is still alive in various regions of Asia and Africa, particularly in Morocco, where it designates both channels or depressions of similar characteristics to those primitive, and perennial streams of water that constitute properly the rivers." As in Maghreb, there was an equal preference for wādī in the Arabic of Al-Andalus,, as Terés points out (idem, p. 33): "[…] the Wādī voice would be more rooted in the speech of the peninsular territories more linguistically Arabicized, that is, it would be a more Andalusian expression […]." See also Fernandes *et al.* (2006, p. 69).

> In Portugal [...] the names of rivers with the initial Od- component are found from the extreme south of the territory up to the line of the Tajo; in Spain, we have them in the province of Huelva, centered on the river basin of Odiel, and on the other side of the Arroyo de Oda-Verata, at the end of Oropesa (Toledo), in the drainage basin of the Tagus [...] .

The potamonyms *Degebe* and *Divor*, respectively documented as *Odigebe* and *Odivor*, must be added to the *ode-/odi-* series (cf. ROCHA, 2017). The apheresis of the initial o- in these names seems to be due to its reanalysis as an article defined in descriptive sequences: "ribeira de Odigebe / Odegebe"> "ribeira do Digebe / Degebe"; "River of Odivor"> "river of Divor". Another case is that of *Arade*, attested in the Middle Ages as *Oidaradi*, *Widaradi* and *hudiaradi*, i.e., preceded by *ode-/odi-* (MACHADO, 2003). The potamonymic series under discussion was, therefore, more numerous than today; and, in fact, Lopes (1968, p. 27), who refers to such names (with the exception of *Odearce*) includes *Odiaz*, which has no record in the RTP. Although Machado (2003) identifies *Odiaz* with *Odiais*, in the municipality of Alcácer do Sal, the RTP and CMP 1:25 000 (consulted by the CIGeoE-SIG visualizer) do not include or locate any of these forms. Perhaps they are related to *Odiege*, another forgotten potamonym recorded by Castro (1762, p. 134), who locates it in Montemor-o-Novo. Today it seems to have been replaced by *rio de São Brissos* and *ribeira de Alcáçovas*.

Silveira (1935, p. 267) proposed an analysis of these potamonyms as syntagmatic units formed by *água* 'water', occurring as a classifier – *água de*, equivalent to *rio* ('river') or *ribeira de* ('river, stream') – and a second generally opaque element: *Água Diana*, as an alternative to *Guadiana*.

As such, there are several central-southern potamonyms that reveal the interaction between the Arabic stratum and the dialectal modalities covered by Latin-Romance stratum. These hybrids are divided into two fundamental types, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 — Hybrid potamonyms with Arabic morphology.

article *al* + entirely or partially non-Arabic item (pre-Latin or Latin-Romance)	*Alcabrichel* (Lisboa), *Alcarrache*?, *Alcobaça*? (Leiria), *Alcobertas* (Santarém), *Alcubelas* (Lisboa), *Alenquer*? (Lisboa), *Alfusqueiro* (Aveiro), *Almaceda* (Castelo Branco), *Almonda*? (Santarém), Alpedriz (Leiria), *Alviela* (Santarém)
od(*e*/*i*)- + non-Arabic item (pre-Latin or Latin-Romance)	*Degebe*? (Évora), *Divor* (Évora), *Guadiana/Odiana* (Portalegre), *Odearce*? (Beja), *Odeleite*? (Faro), *Odivelas* (Lisboa), *Odivelas* (Beja)

Source: created by the author.

The hybrid status is questionable in several cases, as the question marks point out in the table, according to reasons set out in Rocha (2017, p. 185-604). However, the first time of hybridism apparently concentrates in Lautensach's (1960) zone III, an impression reinforced by the form *Alponsur*, a medieval variant of the potamonym Ponsul, in the Castelo Branco region (MACHADO, 2003). The examination of this type of potamonym – or rather, of toponym, since it generally alludes to places (*Alcobertas*, *Almaceda*, *Alpedriz*) – suggests the likelihood of the non-Arabic elements accepting the Arabic definite article al- regardless of whether they involve common nouns or proper nouns. In fact, this hypothesis may well be supported by evidence given by the pair *Viaster* and *Albiaster* (Coimbra), which have been replaced by *Fornos* (placename and potamonyms), in high-medieval documents referring to the region of Coimbra (cf. MACHADO, 2003; ALARCÃO, 2005, p. 77). These forms are odd, because in Arabic, as in other languages, the definite article (cf. CORRIENTE, 2002, p. 59-60) does not associate with proper nouns, and so, if the Arabic element is actually the definite article, they still await an explanation.

3.3. Post-Arab toponymy in central and southern Portugal

This is an area of study that is yet to systematically explore the Portuguese mainland, at least from a strictly linguistic point of view. However, concerning the

Peninsular context, also covering Portugal, Marsà (1960, p. 615-646) collects several examples of the first stage of this type of toponymy, which he dubs as the "toponymy of the Reconquista". His study includes the toponymy of Arabic etymology, rooted in Arabic military terminology; in addition, it presents interesting data for the Latin-Romance toponymy of Galician-Portuguese origin: for instance, the toponymic fixation of *castro* 'fort' (Castro Verde, Castro Marim), *castelo* 'castle' (Castelo Branco), *torre* 'tower' (Torres Novas, Torres Vedras) replicating cases that are also found in northern regions (MARSÀ, 1960, p. 621-625; see also SALEMA, 2016); or *atalaia* 'watchtower', as evidence of integrated use of an Arabism in the Galician-Portuguese Romance[26]. Marsà (1960, p. 635) also explores the contribution of ethnonyms such as Francos – although Franco and its inflections should not always be ethnically interpreted (*cf.* MACHADO, 2003) – as well as the dispersal of Christian and northern names, as in the case of *Marim* in Castro Marim and several others such as *Paio Pires* (Setúbal), or *Gomes Eanes* (Beja), formed by onomastic material of northern provenance (MARSÁ, 1960, p. 637)[27].

These trends are not clearly outlined in the context of potamonymy. Indeed, in Rocha (2017), 75 out of 141 central-southern potamonyms are trackable in Latin-Romance strata, either in the early Romandalusi dialects or in the later Galician-Portuguese dialects. However, most of this Latin-Romance group is made up of 71 relatively transparent items, which can be interpreted diachronically and diatopically by Portuguese common lexicon or onomastics. These are forms that fit into the Galician-Portuguese system, although the likelihood that some are inherited should be considered, as they may be cognates of Galician-Portuguese forms. They may well

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[26] It was also not possible to confirm in other sources the medievality of these examples taken by F. Marsà. Incidentally, the several cases of *Atalaia* in central-southern Portugal are difficult to assign, as they also result from creations carried out in the Arab period (cf. MARSÀ, 1960, p. 618-620 and RTP).

[27] It is unclear the connection of *A dos Francos* to the ethnonym *Franco*, as it may be the toponimization of the surname *Franco*. In addition, the structure *A de…* (*A dos Negros, A dos Cunhados)* may be relatively recent. These are questions which are not possible to delve into here.

represent units of southern Iberian Romance (or Romandalusi in a later stage) whose conversion to Portuguese (or Galician-Portuguese) may have occurred by simple transposition or (minimal?) adaptation, perhaps due to phonic and semantic similarity or analogy. This is, however, a hypothesis that remains unexplored in this article. In section 4, details are provided on the geographic distribution of these potamonyms.

4. A profile for the central-southern potamonym of continental Portugal

In the study of potamonymy, it is necessary to consider the relationship between the extension of watercourses and the trends of etymological and stratigraphic distribution of the named watercourses. In the case of the Portuguese mainland, studies and comments assess an important part of potamonymy as an archaic onomastic heritage[28], especially when it comes to the names of the most extensive rivers, with a greater presence and stability in the political-administrative tradition (since the names of less extensive rivers and with less historical-administrative relevance would supposedly be unstable and liable to changes).

Checking these considerations, Rocha (2017) collects and comments 481 potamonyms extracted from RTP, where potamonyms are distributed in three classes of watercourses – *rio importante* ('important river'), *rio* ('river') e *ribeiro, ribeira, pequeno curso de água* ('brook, stream, small water course') –, herewith identified as type I, type II and type III respectively. Rocha (2017) only selects the first two types, and reveals that that type I comprises 18 potamonyms, attested, directly or indirectly, either in ancient sources (such as *Ave, Douro, Lima, Minho, Mondego, Tâmega, Tejo, Vouga* and, partially, *Guadiana*)[29] or in medieval documents (*Alva, Cávado, Coa, Dão, Sabor*). This

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[28] Regarding the potamonym *Dão*, Silveira (1940, p. 383) remarks: "Almost all the names of our rivers of any magnitude, except those of Arabic origin in the South, belong to the pre-Roman indigenous languages; which are unknown, thus making everything that can be said about their meaning very uncertain."

[29] See section 3.2.2.

opaque set is connected to the pre-Latin strata, not interpretable according to Latin common lexicon or Latin onomastics, in particular, those names which are connected to Hispanic Latin; in addition, cases which are solely attested by medieval sources do not generally correspond to German anthroponymy, nor to units of Arabic origin. There are four hydronyms left – *Mira*, *Sado*, *Sorraia*[30], *Zêzere* –, three of which have an obscure origin, although they are probably inscribed among pre-Latin names; only Sado seems to be outside this group, in an unlikely relationship with both the pre-Latin strata and the Latin heritage.

Three of the four cases that raise the greatest doubts as to their origin – *Sorraia*, *Sado* and *Mira* – together with *Tejo* and *Guadiana*, constitute the small potamonymic group which is representative of type I in the southern half of Portugal. This is likely the result of the climate and terrain constraints on central and southern river networks (see section 2). In addition to these physical and geographical factors, there is the prolonged interference of Arabic; however, the lack of documentation does not support any clear or hypothetical transmission continuity, thus obscuring etymological relationships and, in other cases, breaking with the typical toponymic series of the pre-Latin and Latin-Romance strata.

In contrast, the much more numerous rivers of shorter length – type II potamonyms (from around 20 to around 100 km) – are guided by etymological heterogeneity, as shown in Rocha (2017). Indeed, type II includes names that both date back as far as Antiquity and can be ascribed to the clearly Portuguese historical periods. As the number of names under analysis increases, so does the stratigraphic diversity of their distribution. Table 4 quantifies these observations by presenting a general picture which a condensed version of a table from Rocha (2017, p. 606).

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[30] *Sorraia* is a case of agglutination of two names, *Sor* and *Raia*. The former may well belong to the pre-Latin stratum, and the latter is apparently more recent, perhaps a unit of the Latin-Romance stratum (see ROCHA, 2017, p. 474-475 and 440-441).

Table 4 — Geographical and linguistic distribution of the potamonyms of mainland Portugal.

	obscure		pre-Latin		Germanic		Arabic		Latin-Romance/ Portuguese		total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
North (Braga, Bragança, Porto, Viana do Castelo e Vila Real)	36	17.91%	21	10.45%	6	2.99%	0	0.00%	138	68.66%	201
Center-North (Aveiro, Coimbra, Guarda e Viseu)	21	15.11%	26	18.71%	3	2.16%	3	2.16%	86	61.87%	139
Center (Castelo Branco, Leiria, Lisboa e Santarém)	20	19.42%	5	4.85%	0	0.00%	13	12.62%	65	63.11%	103
Center-South (Évora, Portalegre e Setúbal)	7	38.89%	3	16.67%	0	0.00%	4	22.22%	4	22.22%	18
South (distritos de Beja e Faro)	8	40.00%	2	10.00%	0	0.00%	4	20.00%	6	30.00%	20
NATIONAL OUTLINE	92	19.13%	57	11.85%	9	1.87%	24	4.99%	299	62.16%	481

Source: based on Rocha (2017, p. 606).

This table is translated into Graph 1.

Graph 1 — Distribution of potamonyms in mainland Portugal by linguistic strata (absolute frequencies).
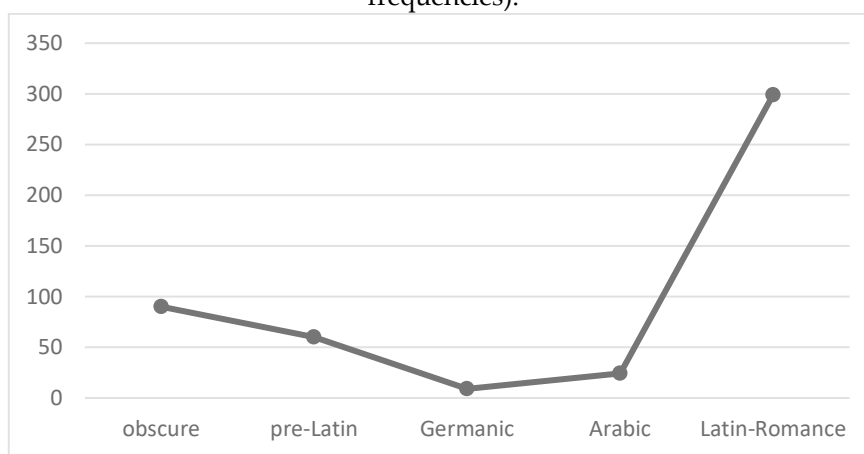
Source: Rocha (2017, p. 611).

Graph 1 represents the distribution of potamonyms in this article by linguistic strata and shows that the Latin-romance stratum (covering the most recent periods, already Portuguese) is the most significant in the Portuguese mainland, followed by far by the pre-Latin, Arabic and Germanic strata.

From the descriptive and stratigraphic point of view, Table 4 and Graph 1 show the clear predominance of potamonyms related to items of the Latin-Romance

common lexicon and onomasticon, which are in clear majority throughout Portugal's mainland (299 potamonyms, reaching 62%). However, there are potamonyms of obscure origin, i.e., of an unidentifiable stratum even in comparison with toponyms of extra Portuguese regions or not mentioned in the ancient and medieval sources consulted. It is a group with a significant frequency (92 names, *i.e.*, 19.13%) in the central, central-south and south regions, and stems from the difficulty in registering the constituents of the southernmost Portuguese potamonyms, on the one hand, in a linguistic family or sub-branch and, on the other hand, in the deep alteration that Romandalusi and Andalusian Arabic may have caused in cognate or similar morphemes, as compared to names of Center-North and North.

Besides, the more archaic pre-Latin names (57 potamonyms, *i.e.*, 11.85%) are concentrated in the northern half of Portuguese territory; they are attested by Antiquity sources or probably exist because of linguistic reconstruction, with transmission exclusively or mainly in Latin-Romance[31]. Pre-Latin potamonyms are followed by the Arabic heritage (24, *i.e.*, 4.99%), while the Germanic stratum has a small share (9 names, 1.87%).

Table 4 and Graph 1 show a territorial distribution defined by the different stages of the territorial expansion of Portugal, along five regions: North, Center-North, Center, Center-South and South. These regions are mainly limited by geographical criteria: river valleys (in the case of the Douro, the Mondego, the Tagus, and, not so clearly the Sado and its tributaries) and orographic accidents (the Sistema Central mountain range), which are considered barriers or transition zones – even though the

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[31] Considering the density of pre-Latin toponymy in present-day Galicia, as argued by Bascuas (2002, 2006, 2014), drawing on hypothesis of the old European (see KRAHE 1964), it is to be expected that a similar situation will also be found north of the Douro, for northern Portugal has not experienced consistent or prolonged Arab occupation. However, Rocha (2017) revealed that it is the northern regions of ancient Lusitania, most exposed to the upheavals of the struggles between the Christian North and the Muslim South, that provide a significant number of pre-Latin names and obscure names that can relate to this stratum.

South region is defined mainly in terms of its belated Christian conquest. The distinction of three southern regions has the disadvantage that occurrences are scarce, and, therefore, cause percentage distortions that prevent safe comparisons. However, there is a clear contrast between the two regions further north and the remaining three in the south direction: while Arabic potamonymy has little expression in the first, the regions south of the Mondego basin and the Sistema Central show a greater frequency of Arabic or arabicized names. It is also worth mentioning the large number of hydrotoponyms whose origin is obscure and which are not clearly related to linguistic units or features identifiable as typical in the strata under discussion.

From the stratigraphic points of view, therefore, the potamonyms in discussion are ranked quantitatively as follows:

1st – Potamonyms of Latin-Romance origin, frequent throughout the continental territory.

2nd – Less frequent pre-Latin potamonyms, dispersed throughout the territory.

3rd – Arabic names (or partially Arabic and, therefore, hybrids), with less widespread distribution: from the left bank of the Douro, they occur sporadically in the Center-North region (examples are *Alfusqueiro*, in Aveiro, or *Múceres*, in Viseu), becoming numerous in the Center, the Center-South and the South, where compounds of *ode-*/*odi-* (*Odeleite*, *Odivelas*) are typical.

As shown in Table 4 and Graph 1, a category is assigned to onomastic units of Germanic origin, yet their little significance would recommend their inclusion in the Latin-Romance stratum, precisely to emphasize their diminished importance when compared to the other types[32]. In any case, the Germanic contribution is irrelevant,

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[32] The Germanic impact on anthroponymy and, later, on toponymy does not indicate a real linguistic contact, following an eventual implantation of Germanic dialects in Portuguese territory. The sources consulted are silent on the possibility of the continued use of these dialects. Therefore, there would not even have been conditions for a Germanization or a Germanic interference with the same depth as that of Arabization.

with the potamonymy of mainland Portugal never suggesting direct naming by speakers of Germanic dialects[33].

As pointed out earlier, only 38 (7.88%) of the 481 hydrotoponyms under scrutiny refer to water courses south of the Tagus; and even if potamonyms are added for rivers flowing in the regions immediately south of the Montejunto-Estrela system but north of the Tagus – Leiria, Lisbon, Santarém and Castelo Branco, adding 103 names – the total of 141 hydrotoponyms (38 + 103) does not exceed 30% of the selected nomenclature[34]. Table 5 provides a schematic account of the etymological classification of this group as well as its history of transmission (cf. Table 2, in section 3.2.3).

Table 5 – Classification of Portuguese south-central potamonyms regarding etymology and history of transmission[35].

potamonyms	naming linguistic origin					transmission history		
	obsc.	pre-Lat.	Ar.	Germ.	Lat.-Rom.	Lat.-Rom. I	Ar.	Lat.~-Rom. II
Açude (Ls)					X			X
Águas Belas (Lr)					X			X
Alcabrichel (Ls)			X		(X)	?	X	X
Alcaide (Lr)			?		X		?	X
Alcarrache (Év)			X				X	X
Alcoa (Lr) – cf. Alcobaça			X					X
Alcobaça (Lr)			X		(X)		X	X
Alcobertas (St)			(X)		X		?	X

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[33] A detoponymic potamonym, resulting from the conversion (transfer) of a toponym which in turn is of Germanic or other anthroponomic origin, may be relatively recent. In other words, its onomastic history may globally be more remote and related to pre- or non-Portuguese material, yet its history as a potamonym can be included in that of the Portuguese language.

[34] However, that the district of Lisbon aligns with Leiria and administrative units further to the north, as it has 37 potamonyms, thus reflecting oceanic climate conditions. This observation meets the geomorphological perspective of H. Lautensach, who suggested the inclusion of the Lisbon peninsula and a large part of that of Setúbal in the northern part of Portugal (cf. RIBEIRO; LAUTENSACH; DAVEAU, 1987, p. 135).

[35] The abbreviations in parentheses refer to the central and southern Portuguese administrative units (*distritos*) where these rivers run: Bj = Beja; CB = Castelo Branco; Év = Évora; Fr = Faro; Lr = Leiria; Ls = Lisbon; Pt = Portalegre; St = Santarém; Sb = Setúbal. The Xs in parentheses indicate the inclusion of pre-Arabic or non-Arabic linguistic material. The sign ? indicates the possibility of etymological inclusion of an item in a stratum or its likely adaptation to a language expanded after that stratum. Lat.-Rom. I represent Latin-Romance dialects spoken before or after the Arab conquest; Lat.-Rom. II corresponds to the spread of Galician-Portuguese dialects and their later development into Portuguese.

Alcubela (Ls)			X		(X)		?	X
Alenquer (Ls)	X						?	X
Almaceda (CB)			X		(X)	?	X	X
Almançor (Év, St)			X				X	X
Almonda (St)		?	X			X	X	X
Alpedriz (Lr)			X		X	?	X	X
Alviela (St)			?		X	?	X	X
Alvor (Fr)			X				X	X
Anços (Lr, Co)		X				X		X
Antas (Lr)					X			X
Arade (Fr)		X				?	X	X
Ardila (Bj)	X						?	X
Areia (Lr)					X			X
Arnoia (Lr)	X	?				?		X
Arunca (Lr, Co)		X				X	?	X
Azenhas (Lr)					X			X
Baça (Lr) (cf. Alcobaça)	X						?	X
Bazágueda (CB)	X					?	?	X
Beliche (Fr)	X					?	?	X
Bogota (Ls, Lr)	X					?	?	X
Boição (Lr)					X			X
Bouco (Ls)					X			X
Caia (Pt)		X				?	?	X
Cal (Lr)					X			X
Calçada (Ls)					X			X
Carapua (St)	X				?	?	?	X
Carvalho (St)					X			X
Castanheira (Lr)					X			X
Centeio(St)					X			X
Chança (Bj)					X	?	?	X
Chãos (Lr)					X			X
Coina (Sb)		X				X	?	X
Corga (Lr)					X			X
Corte (Fr)					X			X
Costa (Ls)					X			X
Coz (Lr)	X					?	?	X
Crós Cos (Ls)	X					?	?	X
Cuco (Ls)					X			X
Degebe (Év)		?	X		?	?	X	X
Divor (Év, St)		?	X			?	X	X
Erges (CB)	X	?				X	?	X
Esperança (Lr)					X			X
Fanadia (Lr)					X			X
Ferrel (Lr)					X	X	?	X
Fonte Santa (Lr)					X			X
Foupana (Fr)	X				?	?	?	X
Galvão (Ls)					X			X

Gilão (Fr)	X				?	?	?	X
Grande (Ls)					X			X
Grande da Pipa (Ls)					X			X
Guadiana (Pt, Év, Bj, Fr)		(X)	X			X	X	X
Igreja Velha (Lr)					X			X
Jaleca (St)	X				?			X
Jamor (Ls)	X					?	?	X
Judeu (Sb)					X			X
Junceira (Lr)					X			X
Lama (Lr)					X			X
Lavandeira (Lr)					X			X
Lena (Lr)		X				X	X	X
Lis (Lr)		X				?	?	X
Lisandro (Ls)	X	?				?	?	X
Loures (Ls)	X				?	?	?	X
Louriceira (Ls)					X			X
Lousa (Ls)					X			X
Maior (St)					X			X
Marateca (Év, Sb)	X	?				?	?	X
Mata (Ls, St)					X			X
Matos (Ls)					X			X
Meimoa (CB)			X				X	X
Meio, rio do (Lr)					X			X
Mira (Bj)		X				X	X	X
Moita					X			X
Monte do Marquês (Bj)					X			X
Mourual (St)	X				?	?	?	X
Nabão (Lr)		X				X	?	X
Ocresa (CB)	X					?	?	X
Odearce (Bj)			X			?	X	X
Odeleite (Fr)		?	X		?	?	X	X
Odivelas (Bj)		?	X			?	X	X
Odivelas (Ls)		?	X			?	X	X
Ota (Ls)	X		?				?	X
Pedralhos (Lr)					X			X
Pedrulhos (Ls)					X			X
Penegral (St)					X	?		X
Pequeno (Ls)					X			X
Pisões (Lr)					X			X
Ponsul (CB)	X							
Ponta do Jardim (Lr)					X			X
Porto (Sb)					X			X
Raia (Év)	X				?	?	?	X
Raimunda (Ls)					X			X
Real (Lr)					X	X		X
Rebelos (Lr)					X			X
Risco (Ls)					X			X

S. Domingos (Lr)					X			X
S. Vicente (Lr)					X			X
Sado (Bj, Sb)			X			?	?	X
Safareja (bj)	X		?		?		?	X
Safarujo (Ls)	X		?		?		?	X
Salema (Ls)	X		?				?	X
Sangue (Ls)					X			X
Sanguinheira (Lr)					X			X
Santo (St)					X			X
Santo António (Ls)					X			X
Seco (Fr)					X			X
Seco (Lr)					X			X
Sequa (Fr)			X				?	X
Sever (Pt)	X				?	?	?	X
Silveira (Ls)					X			X
Sizandro (Ls)	X	?				?	?	X
Sobral (Ls)					X			X
Sobreira (Lr)					X			X
Sor (Pt, Év)	X	?				?	?	?
Sorraia (Pt, St, Ls)					X (composto)			X
Tábuas (Lr)					X			X
Tejo (CB, Pt, St, Ls, Sb)		X				X	X	X
Tera (Év)	X					?	?	X
Terges (Bj)	X					?	?	X
Tornada (Lr)					X			X
Torto (Bj)					X			X
Torto (CB)					X			X
Torto (Év)					X			X
Torto (St)					X			X
Toxofal (Ls)	X		?		?	?	?	X
Trancão (Ls)					X			X
Travessa (Ls)					X			X
Tripeiro (CB)					X			X
Valverde (Ls)					X			X
Vascão (Fr)	X				?	?	?	X
Velho (Lr)					X			X
Vergado (Lr)					X			X
Xarrama (Év, Sb)	X					?	?	X
Xévora (Pt)	X	?				?	?	?

Source: created by the author.

In Table 5, the potamonyms of the most recent Latin-Romance stratum (from the introduction and entrenchment of the Galician-Portuguese dialects onwards) are concentrated in the regions (distritos) of Leiria (29 names) and Lisbon (24 names) and

make up a set of 53 potamonyms. In relation to the potamonyms of the remaining administrative regions, the absolute frequencies of the units, always small, do not allow conclusive comparisons to be made. Even so, while Santarém exhibits a majority of names assignable to Portuguese period of the Latin-Romance stratum (8 potamonyms in a group of 14), Castelo Branco stands out for its obscure or more archaic names (5 in a total of 9 potamonyms), thus connecting to the territories to the west and north; and the southern distritos (Beja, Évora, Faro, Portalegre and Setúbal) represented by a total of 38 potamonyms show a more individualizing rather than numerous Arabic heritage (8 potamonyms), as this does not surpass the set of names of obscure origin (15 names) and those from the Latin-Romance strata (10 names, eight of which are identifiable with the Portuguese common lexicon). Table 6 lists the delexical and deonomastic potamonyms which fit into the linguistic context created by the medieval Christian conquest.

Table 6 — Delexical and deonomastic potamonyms of the Galician-Portuguese stratum.

Leiria (43)	*Águas Belas* (rio das), [*Alcaide* (rio)], *Antas* (rio das), *Areia* (rio da), *Azenhas* (rio das), *Cal* (rio da), *Castanheira* (rio da), *Chãos* (rio de), *Corga* (rio da), *Esperança* (rio da), *Fanadia* (rio da), *Fonte Santa* (rio da), *Igreja Velha* (rio da), *Junceira* (rio da), *Lama* (rio da), *Lavandeira* (rio da), *Meio* (rio do), [*Pedralhos* (rio de)], *Pisões* (rio dos), *Ponta do Jardim* (rio da), [*Real* (rio)], *Rebelos* (rio dos), *S. Domingos* (rio de), *S. Vicente* (rio de), *Sanguinheira* (rio da), *Seco* (rio), *Sobreira* (rio da), *Tábuas* (rio das), *Tornada* (rio da), *Velho* (rio), *Vergado* (do)
Castelo Branco (9)	*Torto* (rio), *Tripeiro* (rio)
Lisboa (37)	*Louriceira* (rio da), *Lousa* (rio de), *Mata* (rio da), *Matos* (rio dos), *Pedrulhos* (ribeira de), *Pequeno* (rio), *Raimunda* (rio da), *Risco* (rio do/vala do), [*Sangue* (rio)], *Santo António* (rio de), *Silveira* (rio da), *Sobral* (rio do), *Trancão* (rio), *Travessa* (rio da), *Valverde* (rio de)
Santarém (14)	*Carvalho* (rio do), *Centeio* (rio/rio do), *Jaleca* (rio da), *Maior* (rio), *Mata* (rio da), *Penegral* (rio do), *Santo* (rio), *Torto* (rio)
Setúbal (4)	*Judeu* (rio), *Moita* (rio), *Porto* (rio do)
Portalegre (5)	–
Évora (9)	[*Raia* (ribeira da)], *Torto*

| Beja (11) | [*Chança* (rio)], *Monte do Marquês* (ribeira), [*Safareja* (rio)], *Torto* (rio), [*Vascão* (ribeira do)] |
| Faro (9) | *Corte* (ribeira da), [*Foupana* (ribeira da)], *Seco* (rio) |

Source: created by the author.

N.B.: In the left column, figures in parentheses indicate the totals corresponding to each region (*distrito*). The *distritos* are located from north to south and from west to east.

Yet the regions covered by the distritos of Lisbon, Leiria, Santarém and Castelo Branco can be considered to make up a transition region or a sub-region within the whole of the territory south of the Mondego valley and the Sistema Central (central mountainous system), as displayed in Table 7.

Table 7 — Geographical and linguistic distribution of potamonyms the center and south of mainland Portugal.

		obscure		pre-Latin		Germanic		Arabic		Latino-Romance/ Portuguese		total
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Leiria		5	6,98%	3	11,63%	0	0,00%	4	9,30%	31	72,09%	43
Castelo Branco		4	44,44%	1	11,11%	0	0,00%	2	22,22%	2	22,22%	9
Lisboa		9	24,32%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	4	10,81%	24	64,86%	37
Santarém		2	14,29%	1	7,14%	0	0,00%	3	21,43%	8	57,14%	14
	Center	**20**	**19,42%**	**5**	**4,85%**	**0**	**0,00%**	**13**	**12,62%**	**65**	**63,11%**	**103**
Setúbal		0	0,00%	1	25,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	3	75,00%	4
Portalegre		3	60,00%	2	40,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	5
Évora		4	44,44%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	4	44,44%	1	11,11%	9
	Center-South	**7**	**38,89%**	**3**	**16,67%**	**0**	**0,00%**	**4**	**22,22%**	**4**	**22,22%**	**18**
Beja		4	36,36%	1	9,09%	0	0,00%	2	18,18%	4	36,36%	11
Faro		4	44,44%	1	11,11%	0	0,00%	2	22,22%	2	22,22%	9
	South	**8**	**40,00%**	**2**	**10,00%**	**0**	**0,00%**	**4**	**20,00%**	**6**	**30,00%**	**20**

Fonte: based on Rocha (2017, p. 606).

The contrasts pointed out, between national and regional distribution, become more noticeable in Graph 2.

Graph 2 – Comparison of the regional and stratigraphic distribution of potamonyms in mainland Portugal (absolute frequencies).
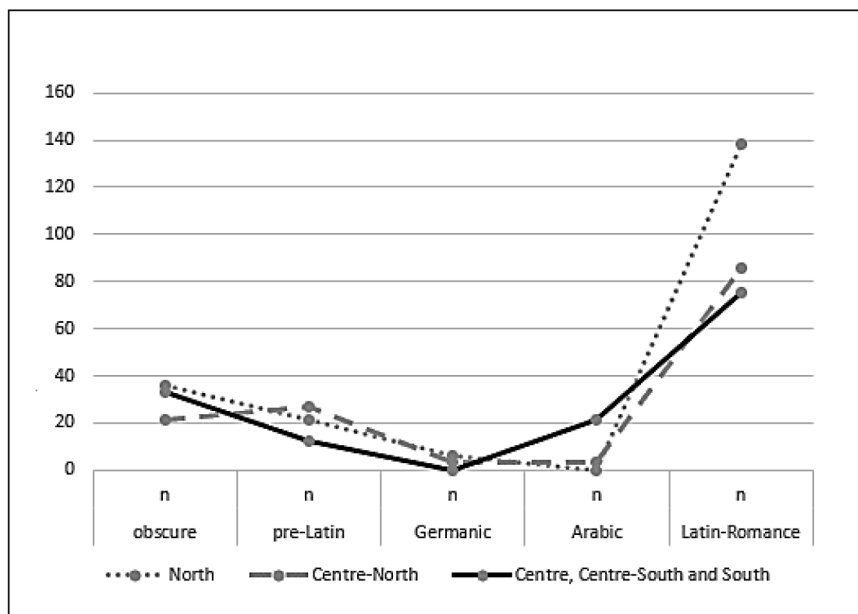
Fonte: Rocha (2017, p. 613).

In Graph 2, where potamonyms from Center, Center-South and South regions are grouped in order to balance samples, the regional distribution of potamonyms does not differ significantly from the national trend represented in Graph 1, except in what concerns the Arabic stratum, absent to the north of the Douro, evidenced by some cases south of the Douro up to the Mondego, and clearly represented to the south of the latter. In Graph 2, the contribution of the Arab stratum to the profile of potamonymy in the southern regions of Portugal is clearly significant – i.e., in the distritos of Leiria, Castelo Branco, Lisbon, Santarém, Setúbal, Portalegre, Évora, Beja, and Faro. In effect, there are 21 Arabic potamonyms, which translates to 14.89% of the total river names in the set of regions. In this territory, however, there is a high number of potamonyms without safe etymology, classified as obscure, along with the predominance of the names of the Latin-Romance stratum, similarly to what occurs in the districts of the North and Center-North. In addition, the grouping of rivers in Leiria and Lisbon corresponds to a sizeable amount of potamonyms, which encompass

potamonyms created later in the Latin-Romance stratum, and most likely assignable to the Galician-Portuguese period or to fully Portuguese linguistic periods.

Given the intrinsic solidarity of potamonymy with all toponymy, Table 3 and Graphs 1 and 2 suggest a stratigraphy of the Portuguese river names as a revision of Leite de Vasconcelos' broadest typology (VASCONCELOS, 1918, p. 58-63; VASCONCELOS, 1931, p. 139- 148), as proposed in Table 8.

Table 8 — Vasconcelos typology (1918, p. 58-63 and 1931, p. 139-148) compared to an alternative proposal for stratigraphic characterization of mainland Portugal potamonymy.

Etymological typology of Portuguese toponymy in Vasconcelos (1931, p. 139-148)	Proposal of stratigraphic characterization of mainland Portugal potamonymy (ROCHA, 2017, p. 615)
pre-Roman names	pre-Latin strata[36]
Roman names	Latin-Romance stratum
Germanic names	
Arabic names[37]	Arabic stratum
Names from diferent origins	
Portuguese names proper	

Source: Rocha (2017, p. 615).

There are, however, notable differences between Leite de Vasconcelos typology and Rocha's stratigraphic proposal (2017, p. 615). Thus, it is worth noting, in the right column in Table 7, the null contribution of names of Germanic origin to Portuguese potamonymy. In turn, the Latin-Romance stratum mentioned in the right column corresponds to different etymological types of names: in fact, the Latin background comprises elements and morphemes of the common lexicon that the literature has been identifying separately, such as the elements of the Germanic dialects that onomastics

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[36] Strictly speaking, the term *pre-Latin* should be understood as a plurality, since multilingualism or multidialectalism in the same linguistic family (or subfamily) would constitute the linguistic situation prior to Romanization and, later, to some extent, its contemporary.

[37] Leite de Vasconcelos defines three zones according to the degree of Arabization (VASCONCELOS 1931, p. 143-147): north of the Douro, with little Arabic influence; between Douro and Mondego and south of this river (Beira region), an area that belonged "from the 8th and 12th century, sometimes to the Arabs, sometimes to the Christians"; Portuguese Estremadura and the region south of the Tagus.

and toponymy identify mainly in the Portuguese northwest, as well as those which for centuries have been the privileged vehicle for transmitting a set of items which Piel (1989, p. 12/13) dubbed as the "Arabic lexical alluvium". This does not preclude that, in Table 7, an Arabic layer is considered from the toponymic point of view, representative of the interference or the effective use of the Arabic language by the populations of the southwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula. This stratum is marked either by the anthroponymic toponymy that had an impact even north of the Douro (*cf.* SERRA, 1967), or by items belonging to the common lexicon that were absorbed by the fundamentally Latin stratum. Despite this, the alternative stratigraphic proposal in Table 7 emphasizes that a Latin-Romance stratum cannot be separated into different sub-strata, precisely because of the difficulty in safely identifying the specific features of the Gharb Al-Andalus Romance dialects. In view of this constraint, it will be preferable to include the vestiges of such dialects in the dialectal continuum of late Hispanic Latinity, which interacted with both the romance forms of the Galician-Portuguese system and with Arabic in all its variation.

Nor does the stratigraphy proposed in the right column of Table 7 consider a Portuguese stratum – "the real Portuguese names" as Vasconcelos (1931, p. 139-148) puts it – in contrast to the others. As with the French potamonyms (cf. Lebel 1956, p. 8), a Portuguese stratum could be considered and subdivided into medieval and modern stages. However, the task of distinguishing such secondary strata is an operation that should consider the dialectal distribution of Portuguese from its early Galecian origins to the rise of the kingdom of Portugal, thus requiring the questioning of the historical periodization of Portuguese. Yet this procedure is justified above all by the lack of clear differentiation between the common Latin-Romance lexicon and the common lexicon formed in the context of exclusively Portuguese stage. In fact, from the point of view of diatopic variation, the archaisms of middle, classic or contemporary Portuguese, taken individually or in subsets, continue to be inscribed in the Latin-Galecian or

Hispanic background, as several studies by Piel pointed out (see PIEL 1989, p. 11/12). If there is any distinction between the Latin-Romance layer and the Portuguese sub-layer, this seems to be more operative in the perspective of a periodization of Portuguese than in stratigraphic classification, as several lexical items, notwithstanding toponymycally entrenched as opaque items to several contemporary speakers, still exist dialectally as transparent names.

5 Final remarks

Throughout this article, the inspection of central-southern Portuguese potamonym raised a few questions, with emphasis on Arabization. These are aspects which requires a historical-linguistic approach, including a philological framework, mainly centered on the peninsular Middle Ages. In fact, while the toponymy of much of the northern half of mainland Portugal is of Latin inheritance, without more recent creations, the southern half of Portugal presents completely opaque potamonyms doubly altered, since they were subject to Latinization and Arabization. Furthermore, it owes much to toponymic creations produced within the Portuguese language.

The present article also supports that the study of potamonymy and toponymy in general is essentially diachronic, requiring constant interdisciplinary contributions from history and geography. While not denying the viability of a synchronic approach, from the perspective of contemporary toponymic uses (cf. SALEMA, 2016), it seems, however, crucial to accept that the object of toponomastics belongs in heritage studies, which primarily require a historical approach.

Finally, the discussion that has been carried out argues for the close solidarity of potamonymy studies with those of the local toponymy. On the one hand, the potamonyms associated with extensive rivers can serve as a source of toponymic creation – river names are at the origin of cases of toponymic conversion (e.g., *Odemira* and *Odesseixe*) or appear as modifiers that determine toponyms (*Santa Margarida do*

Sado / Sadão, *São Romão de Sádão*, *Ponte de Sor*). However, and as is often the case, it also appears that potamonyms of less extensive course are often named after pre-existing toponyms. Examples include: *rio da Fanadia* or *rio de Ferrel* (Leiria), *Almaceda* (Castelo Branco), *rio* (*da*) *Ota* (Lisbon), *Alcobertas* (Santarém), probably *rio Coina* or *ribeira de Coina*, and *rio da Moita* (Setúbal), *rio* (*da*) *Marateca* (Évora, Setúbal), *rio Monte do Marquês* (Beja), and *rio Alvor* (Faro).

In short, this study reveals that the potamonym of central-southern mainland Portugal mirrors and confirms a linguistic history much more dynamic than that of the Portuguese territories north of the Mondego valley and the Sistema Central mountain range.

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Hispanic place names of Uruguay in the context of linguopragmatics

Nomes de lugares do Uruguai de origem espanhola no contexto da Pragmática

*Irina MARTYNENKO**

ABSTRACT: The article contributes to the identification and linguistic analysis of the Hispanic toponymic units of Uruguay, and presents the first attempt to classify them. Due to historical factors and geographical location, the Uruguayan toponymic corpus over the centuries have been formed of the European (mainly Hispanic) and autochthonous (mostly Guarani) layers. The author groups geographical names of Spanish origin, giving multiple examples, explaining their etymology and identifying metonymic chains. Along with the description of Hispanic commemorative toponyms, religious allusions, zoo- and phytotoponyms, emotionally colored toponyms and geographical names containing numerals, the author assigns a separate place to folk etymology, shift and repeated names.

RESUMO: Este artigo contribui para a identificação e análise linguística dos topônimos do Uruguai de origem espanhola, além de apresentar uma primeira proposta de classificação. Devido à sua localização geográfica e a fatores históricos, o corpus toponímico uruguaio foi formado, ao longo dos séculos, pelas camadas europeia (mormente hispânica) e autóctone ou nativa (principalmente guarani). O autor analisa topônimos de origem espanhola, agrupando-os, explicando sua etimologia e detectando cadeias metonímicas. Além da descrição dos nomes de lugares de origem espanhola nas categorias: nomes comemorativos, alusões à religião, zoo e fitotopônimos, topônimos subjetivos [animotopônimos] e contendo numerais [numerotopônimos], o autor ainda assinala questões como *folk etymology* (paraetimologias), repetições [corotopônimos] e também às translações toponímicas (ou *shift names*).

KEYWORDS: Place name. Uruguay. Hispanic. Guarani. Toponymic unit.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Topônimo. Uruguai. Hispânico. Guarani. Unidade toponímica.

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1 Introduction

Uruguay (Spanish – Uruguay) or the Eastern Republic of Uruguay (Spanish – República Oriental) is a state in South America, the toponymic corpus of which is based mainly on the official Spanish language. Different historical periods are marked with a struggle for the country's territory between Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Brazil and Great Britain, which led to the presence of not only Spanish but also Portuguese and English toponymic units in the nomenclature. To date, the toponymicon of Uruguay has not been studied in sufficient detail: the only toponymic dictionary of the region was published in 1900, the literature on the country's toponyms focuses mainly on local place names in the Guarani language, the websites of administrative units most often do not contain information on the etymology of geographic titles. The statement of the American linguist J. Lipski that the full description of the Uruguayan Spanish language has not yet been published[1], we consider relevant to this day and referring, among other linguistic aspects, to the Hispanic toponymy of the region.

The purpose of this article is to identify the Hispanic place names of Uruguay representing the majority of toponymic units of the region and analyze them from the linguopragmatic point of view.

2 Methodology

For the analysis of Uruguayan place names, we have resorted to traditional methods of collecting and examining units from the linguopragmatic point of view, using modern electronic means, such as the geonames.org resource and scientific databases. As the starting point for any toponymic research is the generic data about the region and its linguistic situation, we took into account the following background.

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[1] "… todavía no se ha publicado una descripción exhaustiva del español de Uruguay" (LIPSKI, 2007, p. 372).

General information about Uruguay

The road to independence for Uruguay was long and arduous.

From the beginning of the 16th century, the Spanish conquerors fought on this territory against the Indian tribes. By the end of the 18th century, they had established a system of latifundist ownership of land using the labor of slaves imported from Africa. In 1811, during the War of Independence of the Spanish Colonies in America (1810-1826) Uruguay declared independence, but in 1816 it was occupied by the Portuguese. In 1821 it was included in the Brazilian Empire, in 1825 – annexed by Argentina. Since 1828 Uruguay has been an independent republic (THE SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIC DICTIONARY, p. 1382).

Today, the genes of modern Uruguayans are on average 84.1% European, 10.4% Native American and 5.6% African (HIDALGO *et al.*, 2005, p. 219). The nucleus of the nation was made up of immigrants from Spain who moved here in the 16th-18th centuries, and later settlers (19th century) from different countries, mainly Spain (more often Basques and Galicians), Italy and France (DRIDZO, 1999, p. 574).

Uruguay is sometimes referred to as the 'Latin American Switzerland'[2] because of the region's relatively developed economy and level of democracy. In addition, the capital of Uruguay, Montevideo, is the regional banking center of Latin America. All of the above factors affected both the linguistic situation in the region and a separate linguistic direction – toponymy.

Language situation in Uruguay and theoretical foundations of the study

The official language of Uruguay is Spanish, but in view of the aforementioned historical events, the presence of Romance languages of the Indo-European language

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[2] '...Uruguay has for most of its history been the 'Switzerland' of South America...' (KNIGHT, 1979, p. 24).

family can be traced, and in some areas of the country a mixed Spanish-Portuguese spoken language called Portuñol is common.

In the northern region of the state, a number of linguistic variants function, which have received the scientific name 'Portuguese dialects of Uruguay'. Its most famous version is riverense portuñol. It is spoken on the border between Uruguay and Brazil, more precisely in the area of the twin cities of Rivera and Santana do Livramento, as well as between the cities of Artigas and Quaraí (DI TULLIO; KAILUWEIT, 2011).

From a geographical point of view, Uruguay is 'embraced' by Brazil and Argentina, and, in general, many works of specialists are devoted to the contact of the Spanish and Portuguese languages in the country[3].

The complex nature of the nomenclature of the studied region can be traced from the very name of the state: the name República Oriental ('Eastern Republic') appeared when the Banco Oriental ('East Coast', 'Eastern Strip') was replaced after the establishment of a republican form of government.

Administratively, Uruguay is divided into 19 departments, which are further subdivided into municipalities (see Fig.1).

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[3] See, for example, (ELIZAINCÍN et al., 1987), (ELIZAINCÍN, 1973), (ELIZAINCÍN, 1979), (ELIZAINCÍN, 1992), (GRILLO, 1994), (HENSEY, 1993), (LÓPEZ, 1993), (CARVALHO, 2003), (CORREA, COUTO, 2012), (LIPSKI, 2006).

Fig. 1 — Map of Uruguay.

Source: https://saletur.ru/Уругвай/maps.

In general, the oikonymy of the region is represented by the following types of

units:

Table 1 — Oikonymy of Uruguai's regions.

| Title	Translation	Abbreviated title
Ciudad Capital	Capital	CC
Ciudad	City	Ci
Villa	Town	Vi
Pueblo	Small town	Pu
Caserío	Village	Ca
Balneario	Resort	Ba
Fraccionamiento	Microdistrict, housing estate	Fr
Barrio	District	Br
Chacra	Farm, ranch	Ch
Centro Poblado	Populated area	Cp
Estancia	Large-scale agriculture	-

It should be noted that chacra is a unit typical only for Argentina and Uruguay, *fraccionamiento* in this sense is used only in Latin America (more often in Mexico), *caserío* with an accent mark is also a lexeme characterizing the Spanish language of South America, and estancia in colonial times served as the name of the camp for the conquerors.

The oronymy of Uruguay is characterized by the presence of the component *Cerro* in 98% (Spanish – 'hill', 'mountain', 'upland') and a structure of 2-3 elements (e.g., *Cerro Negro*, *Cerro Vichadero Chico*).

For the hydronymy of the region, it is typical the usage of the component *arroyo* meaning 'river', not 'stream' (e.g., *Arroyo Pando*, *Arroyo Carrasco*).

In essence, the heterogeneous toponymic linguistic palette of Uruguay looks as shown in Fig. 2. Our calculations are rather approximate due to the constantly appearing new toponymic units, the impossibility of tracing the entire spectrum of urbanonyms, and due to the presence of blended names. However, according to our estimates, one fifth of the total number of toponyms in the region are autochthonous units, usually in the Guarani language – the language of the Indian tribe that had lived in Uruguay before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. It is known that before the start of the conquest of the country by the Spaniards in 1515, the Indian tribes of the Charrua, Chanaya, Tapa, Arachane, Minuano also lived in Uruguay (KRUGOSVET ONLINE ENCYCLOPEDIA). Nevertheless, it was the completely exterminated Guarani tribe that influenced the formation of the country's toponymicon.

Fig. 2 — toponymic linguistic palette of Uruguay.
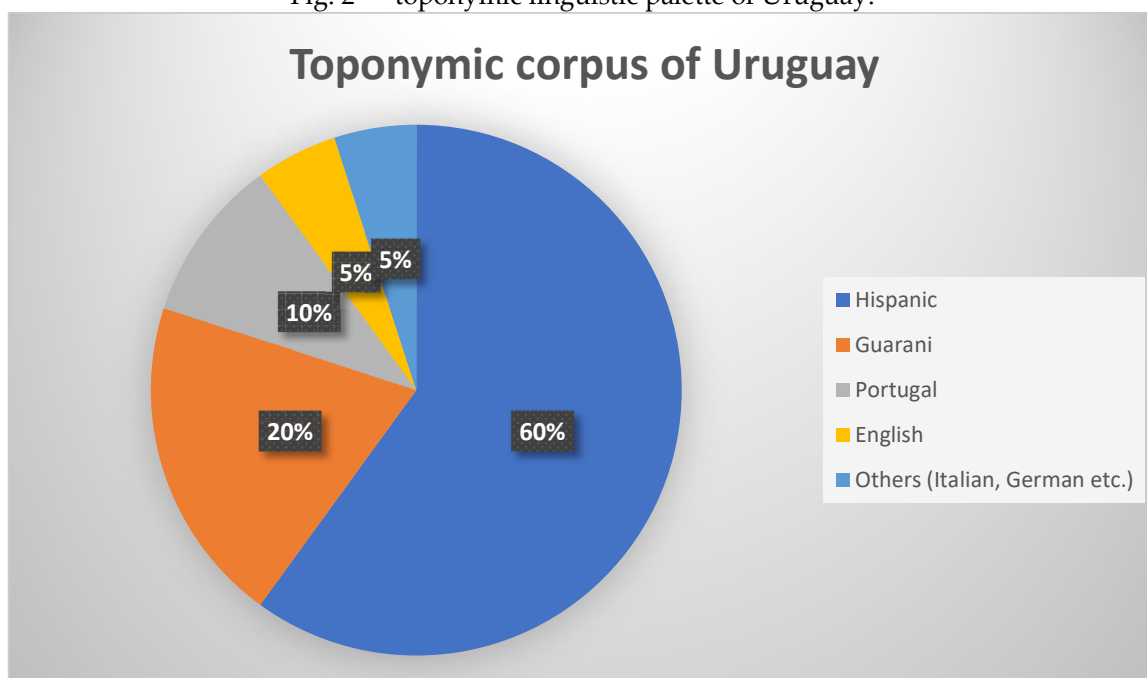
3 Results

Guarani place names

In contrast to the main Hispanic toponymic layer of the country, the Uruguayan toponymic layer of Guarani has been studied quite thoroughly to date[4]. According to de la Sota (1965, p. 21), the frequency of the use of the names of Guarani is due to the use of this language as a *lingua generalis*: the Spaniards communicated with the Indians of various tribes only through translators speaking Guarani. Later, during the presence of the Jesuits in XVII-XVIII centuries, the Guarani-speaking indigenous people were the executors of the cattle-breeding tasks, the main purpose of the region at that time.

Since the Guarani dialects are agglutinative, it was extremely difficult for the Spanish-speaking conquistadors to interpret individual words correctly. As a result, most autochthonous place names are hardly intelligible to the modern population. Consequently, in the modern era, scientists are trying to find the original meaning of

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[4] See, for example: Blixen (1956), Ganson (2003), Bertolotti and Coll (2013 and 2014), Curbelo (2013), Entre Ríos (2013), Rona (1960).

these place names, analyzing them, mainly with the help of the Spanish-Guarani or English-Guarani dictionaries[5], very often decomposing them into syllables and even phonemes.

The Guarani toponymy is clearly visible and recognizable in the present territory of Uruguay, especially in its northern sector, where all rivers and almost all main water streams bear names typical for this group (*Tacuarembó*, *Chamangá*, *Yí*, etc.). Guarani units are also found among oronyms (*Cerro Grande de Aceguá*, *Cerro Tupambae*, etc.).

But the main example in the Uruguayan toponymy in the Guarani language is the very name of the country, which at the same time is the name of the main river of the state and is explained by scientists in different ways. Guarani native speakers translate Uruguay as 'the tail of the uru bird' (RONA, 1960, p. 4). But, oddly enough, this etymology is not even mentioned in the extensive literature on the subject. This is because the current Guarani dialects in Paraguay and Argentina are often not identical to those spoken in Uruguay during the Spanish conquest when the geographical name originated. According to our observation, the most common version of the origin of the hydronym and oikonym *Uruguay* is a translation from Guarani 'river of the painted birds'. However, there are some others.

Thus, for instance, pursuant to the version of the Spanish traveler and naturalist Felix de Azara, this hydronym can be interpreted as follows: urú - 'uru'; gua - 'land'; y - 'water', 'river' → 'river of the uru land'.

José María Cabrera at the end of the 18th century, during his travels in the Río de la Plata region, translated the Uruguay lexical unit as 'river of snails', dividing the

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[5] There are plenty of online dictionaries, e.g.: www.guarani.de: — online dictionary in Spanish, German and Guarani; https://glosbe.com/es/gn; https://www.ats-group.net/dictionaries/dictionary-english-guarani.html; https://web.archive.org/web/20040410201836/http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/definition/Guarani-english/ etc.; as well as bilingual Guarani-Spanish dictionaries from Guasch and Ortiz (1986) and Peralta and Osuna (1950).

hydronym into morphemes uruguá ('snail' or 'sea snail') and y ('water', 'river'). It is possible that the Indians living in the region referred to the Asolene megastoma clam that was abundant in the Uruguay River. There is evidence that the Indians consumed this type of snail both for food and in some rituals (RADOVICH, 2016, p. 99).

It should also be noted that the namesake toponyms related to this unit are present on the world map: Uruguay - the Milan metro station and Uruguay - the main belt asteroid, which was discovered on April 3, 1989.

According to Rodríguez, although no indigenous language is spoken in Uruguay today, linguistic interaction between native peoples and Europeans must have been intense given the historical circumstances under which Europeans arrived in this area. The author concludes that Guarani loanwords have propagated and adapted to the recipient language to the point that many of them present high lexical availability in the speech community (RODRÍGUEZ, 2015).

Portuguese place names

It is believed that the Uruguayan national variant of the Spanish language is similar to the Argentinean and Paraguayan national variants (NEVOKSHANOVA, 2018, p. 186). Nevertheless, the presence of Portuguese in Uruguay as the dominant language for many years, even before the invasion of 1817, became an important differential factor today, covering all language levels, including toponymy.

After *Santo Domingo de Soriano Reservation* on the Rio Negro was established in 1624 by Franciscan missionaries, the next European settlement in what is now Uruguay was founded only half a century later and it was Portuguese.

In 1680, 44 years before the founding of Montevideo, Portuguese navigator Manuel Lobo founded *Colonia del Sacramento*, highlighting the claims of Lisbon, which sought to mark the border of Spanish rule on the Uruguay River. Despite the fact that this strategic initiative did not leave linguistic traces in the south and southeast of the

country, the truth is that, as a consequence of this situation, Uruguay has experienced, since the times of Banda Oriental, a cultural and linguistic dichotomy between a north and east where the Portuguese presence left a substratum that conditions regional speech until today, and a southeast with a predominantly Spanish linguistic tradition (SOCA, 2012, p. 4).

Due to the similarity of the systems of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, it is sometimes easy to mistake Portuguese place names for Spanish. The analysis of toponymic material in this aspect requires thoroughness and scrupulousness.

So, Portuguese units include, for example, such oikonyms as *La Capuera*, *Barrio Pereira*, *Achar*, *Cardozo*, *Sequeira*.

In addition, the city of *Durazno* was founded on October 12, 1821 under the name San Pedro del Durazno as a tribute to the Brazilian Emperor Pedro I during the period when the territory of modern Uruguay was annexed to Brazil as the province of Cisplatina.

It is also known that the Uruguayan city of Getúlio Vargas is named after the President of Brazil from 1930-1945 and 1950-1954 Getúlio Vargas (1882-1954). Thus, it is a modern Portuguese anthropotoponym.

English place names

Uruguay is home to some 80,000 people of British descent today (BBC NEWS). A British Uruguayan is a British citizen of Uruguay or a British citizen residing in Uruguay.

The English presence is marked on the map of Uruguay by the oikonyms *Pinamar-Pinepark*, *Barker*, *Ocean Park*, *Young*, *Chamberlain*.

Pueblo Anglo, *Barrio Anglo* are historically established English settlements named in Spanish.

Catalan place names

At the very end of the colonial period (1800) the upper classes of Uruguayan society were landowners, merchants, financiers and high-ranking government officials, mostly from Catalonia, the Basque Country or the Canary Islands, who did not have particularly close ties with the royal court in Castile (KRUGOSVET ONLINE ENCYCLOPEDIA).

The ergonym *Casal Catalá* can be considered a vibrant Catalan onomastic unit of the region. It is a non-profit civic association founded in Montevideo on January 29, 1926 with the aim of bringing together Catalans and their descendants living in the Eastern Republic of Uruguay and spreading Catalan culture in the region (WEBSITE OF CASAL CATALÀ DE MONTEVIDEO). Its activities have been ongoing since its inception, and its legal status was recognized on January 18, 1935. To this day, the Catalan diaspora in Uruguay lives in a very orderly manner, trying to preserve its national identity.

The dissemination of Catalan culture is carried out through the presence of a library, Catalan language courses, a theater group, a Catalan folk-dance group and a children's dance school, a choir, performances of figures from the intellectual and artistic world, exhibitions.

Casal Catalá is part of the 'Uruguayan Immigration Institute' and is involved in National Heritage Day events and activities in support of Public School No. 150 'Catalonia' in Paso de la Arena. The organization celebrates the most traditional Catalan holidays such as São Jorge (23 April), San Juan (night of 23 June) and the national holiday of 11 September (National Day of Catalonia).

At the international regional level, *Casal Catalá* is part of the group of Catalan entities of the Southern Cone of America, which hold cultural meetings every two years.

However, Catalan toponymic units are few in Uruguay. Only such towns as *Gerona* and *Miguelete* and the river *Arroyo Miguelete* indicate Catalan linguoculture (NB: 'miguelete' is a Spanish word for a Catalan mountain shooter).

Basque place names in the Eusker language are represented in Uruguay by the oikonyms *Jaureguiberry* (from Basque 'jauregui' – 'manor house' and 'berri' – 'new') and *Algorta*.

Hispanic place names

Within the Hispanic toponymic layer of Uruguay, we distinguish such types as the so-called military toponymy, religious, descriptive, emotive units, zoo- and phytotoponyms, anthropotoponyms, toponymic units containing numerals, and namesake toponyms. Of these, 3 groups are predominant by their number in descending order: descriptive toponyms, anthropotoponyms and religious toponyms.

The two first European groups to arrive in what is now Uruguay were the team of Juan Díaz de Solís, who was killed by local residents in 1516, and the team of officer Sebastián Gaboto in 1527 (CURBELO, 2012).

The first European settlement in the Banco Oriental / East Coast was the Spanish *San Lazaro* founded by Sebastian Gaboto on the east bank of the Rio de la Plata in early 1527. But the settlement did not last long.

Then it took a century for the next European settlement to appear on the present territory of Uruguay.

One of the first Spanish cities of present-day Uruguay, which has survived to this day, despite the interruptions in its existence, is *Soriano*. In 1624 representatives of the Franciscan mission created a reservation for the indigenous tribes and named it *Santo Domingo Soriano*. Later *Villa Soriano* was founded in its place. And when on January 27, 1816 the first division of Uruguay into departments took place, eight departments were formed, one of which was Soriano.

After the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1723 on December 24, 1726 by the Spanish captain Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, nicknamed the Iron Arm (Spanish 'Brazo de Hierro'), the capital of the state was officially founded by order of the authorities from Buenos Aires. It was the city of *Montevideo* which is still the capital of the state.

The foundation fell on the day of St. Philip, and the city received a typical for that time, the verbose name *Ciudad de San Felipe del Puerto de Montevideo* ('the city of St. Philip of the harbor of Montevideo') (BERTOLOTTI; COLL, 2013, p. 17). To date, only the *Montevideo* composite has survived from the original version of the name, and there are long discussions about its etymology. There is a consensus among experts that the *Monte* element in the name refers to the mountain (hill) *Cerro de Montevideo*, located on the coast of Montevideo Bay, but there is a lot of disagreement about the *video* element. Here are the most famous versions.

• *Monte vide eu* is perhaps the most common explanation for the etymology, according to which the name comes from the Portuguese phrase meaning 'I saw a mountain', said by one of the members of the expedition of Fernand Magellan allegedly uttered when looking at Cerro de Montevideo (ARAÚJO, 1900, p. 486). This assumption is controversial, since the above expression contains a combination of words from different dialects (MONTEVIDEANOS. El origen de la palabra Montevideo).

• *Monte Vidi* – This hypothesis comes from a fragment of the "Navigational Calendar" of the boatswain Francisco de Albo, member of the Fernand Magellan expedition, in which it is noted: "On Tuesday (January 1520) we were in Cape Santa Maria Strait (now Punta del Este), where the terrain is sandy, and to the right of the cape there is a mountain that looks like a hat, to which we have given the name 'Montevidi'. This is the oldest document that mentions a cape with a name similar to that of the city, but does not contain any mention of the alleged exclamation of the

expedition member 'Monte vide eu' (MONTEVIDEANOS. El origen de la palabra Montevideo).

• *Monte-VI-DEO (Monte VI De Este a Oeste)* – according to the Uruguayan expert Trias, the Spaniards attributed the geographical location of the Cerro de Montevideo mountain on the map in such a way that it looked like the 6th in a row (VI) on the coast when sailing along the Rio de la Plata from east to west, and over time this abbreviation was transformed into 'Montevideo' (TRÍAS, 1974, p. 419). No convincing evidence has been found for this hypothesis, but the idea is widely replicated (GUIA DE SERVICIOS EN MONTEVIDEO. Montevideo: Historical review and miscellaneous data), (LA RED 21. Origin of the name Montevideo), (LA VERDAD. Laura Caorsi. El sexto Monte).

• *Monte Ovidio (Monte Santo Ovidio)* – a hypothesis based on the interpretation of the above quote from Fernando de Albo's "Navigation Calendar", according to which the mountain (and later the city) was named after Saint Ovid, the third bishop of the Portuguese city of Braga, where in 1505 a monument was erected to him (MONTEVIDEANOS. El origen de la palabra Montevideo).

At the same time, the Uruguayan historian Travieso gives the version that seems to us the most plausible: "The word Montevideo comes from an exclamation from one of the ships that arrived in Rio de la Plata (at that time, Rio de Solis) by ship Trinidad, which Magellan commanded, heading towards the Moluccas. The expression was probably uttered between January 12 and 13, 1520, and not on the 13th "at the first rays of light" by one of the sentinels ... This term does not come from Monte vi, Monte vide, or Monte vidi nor from Monte vide eu. It does not owe its origin to Castilian, Portuguese or Galician. The name Montevideo comes from the Latin expression *Montem video*, which fully means 'I see a mountain' (TRAVIESO, 1923, p. 19, 54). The same variant of etymology is adhered to by Fucé (FUCÉ, 2017, p. 2).

Making an attempt to consider in more detail each of the above Hispanic toponymic groups in the region, we believe that the Uruguayan Hispanic anthropotoponyms (more often oikonyms) can be divided into 4 subgroups:

1) Named after politicians and fighters for independence:

Artigas, Tomás Gomensoro, Bernabé Rivera, Diego Lamas, Rincon de Pacheco, Joaquín Suárez, Paso Espinosa, Bolívar, Getúlio Vargas, Florencio Sánchez, Ombúes de Lavalle, Ismael Cortinas, Jandro Gallrolaago, Rincon de Pacheco, Villa General Borges, Juan Soler, Barrio Pereira, General Enrique Martínez, Olivera, Coronado, González.

Uruguayans also pay tribute to certain presidents through the oikonymic nomenclature:

Tomás Gomensoro – Thomas Gomensoro Albin, interim president from 1871 to 1872.

Baltasar Brum – Baltasar Brum Rodriguez, from 1919 to 1923

Departamento Flores – Venancio Flores, from 1853 to 1854

Pueblo Lavalleja – Juan Antonio Lavalleja, 1825-1826, 1830

Ombúes de Oribe – Manuel Oribe, from 1843 to 1851

José Batlle y Ordoñez – José Batlle y Ordoñez, from 1830 to 1907 and from 1911 to 1915.

Costas de Pereira, Rincón de Pereira – Gabriel Antonio José Pereira Villagran, from 1856 to 1860.

Some names have been known for several centuries. Thus, the city of Melo was founded on June 27, 1795 by Agustin de la Rosa, an officer of the Spanish Empire. It was named after Pedro Melo de Portugal, a Spanish colonial official. Pedro de Melo de Portugal and Vilena (1733-1797) was a Spanish soldier and politician who served as Viceroy in the Rio de la Plata. Historian J.C. Chasteen outlined his view of P. Melo's place in Uruguayan history in one of his books (CHASTEEN, 1995).

We were unable to find information regarding the etymology of the name of *Mendoza* (Florida Department), but we assume that the city could be named after

Colonel Mendoza (hero of the battle of 1845) or Pedro de Mendoza (1487-1537), founder of Buenos Aires.

2) Named after first settlers and local residents (founders of settlements, businessmen, engineers, owners of local lands, journalists):

Mones Quintela, Pando, Jardines de Pando, Juan Lacaze, Juan Jackson, Carlos Reyles, Pueblo de Álvarez, Nico Pérez, Gregorio Aznarez, Faro José Ignacio, Arenas de José Ignacio, Lascano, *Osimania y Llequeórena Albina, Arroyo Solís Grande, Arroyo Solís Chico, Quintana, Ecilda Paullier, Capurro, Paso Bonilla, Isla Patrulla Maria Isabel, Poblado Alonzo, Vergara, José Pedro Valera*.

Many of these names deserve a more detailed story. Thus, Vicente Francisco Soca Barreto (1856-1922), after whom the city of *Dr. Francisco Soca* is named, was a Uruguayan physician and politician. His parents came to Uruguay from the Canary Islands. After graduating from elementary and high school, Soca began studying medicine, graduating in Montevideo. He expanded his knowledge at the University of Paris, where he wrote an outstanding scientific paper that has been published in the most prestigious journals on the topic. After returning to his homeland in Montevideo Soca became a member of the Chamber of Deputies, then the Senate (chairman), the National Administrative Council and a member of the Colorado party. His scientific fame crossed the borders of Uruguay: Soca was considered a world-famous figure; various publishers have collected his magnificent works as works of a true researcher. The politician died surrounded by the gratitude and admiration of his people. He rests in the National Pantheon in the central cemetery of Montevideo, along with prominent figures from Uruguay for their services to their scientific activities.

Not only the city in the Canelones department bears his name, but also the hospital of the city of Canelones, the large avenue and the square in Montevideo

(SINDICATO MÉDICO DEL URUGUAY. Biography of Francisco Soca), (GENI CATALOGUE. Public profile of Dr. Francisco Soca Barreto).

Modern names from this group are also of interest. Thus, we believe that the Osimani y Llerena are named after the Uruguayan Paralempsian Jorge Llerena (runner, bronze medal winner in 1996) and Uruguayan basketball player Martín Osimani (winner of the silver and bronze medals of the international championships).

3) Named after artists:

Velázquez (Spanish artist), *Javier de Viana* (Uruguayan writer), *Juan José Castro* (Argentinean composer and conductor).

We also have found a town with a name of a famous literary character: *El Quijote*.

4) Named after seafarers and pioneers:

Maldonado – bay, department and city in honor of Lieutenant Francisco Maldonado, assistant head of the flotilla of Sebastian Cabot, whom he left in 1530 in place of himself on Uruguayan land, returning to Spain.

Solís, Estación Solís, Pueblo Solís – in honor of Juan Díaz de Solís (1470-1516), navigator of the 16th century. He was the first European to land on the territory of modern Uruguay, being from 1512 the main pilot of Castile. Solis landed on the coast of Uruguay in mid-February 1516 and was killed there by the Indians. Two ships of his flotilla returned to Spain in September of the same year. Later Magellan named the common mouth of the two rivers *Río de Solís* (from the middle of the 16th century - La Plata) (MAGIDOVICH, 1983, p. 126).

Colón – in honor of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of the New World.

The first two described subgroups of anthropotoponyms are the most numerous, they contain approximately equal numbers of units. It is also noteworthy

that a large number of units of all four subgroups are characterized by the 'First Name + Last Name' structure.

According to the imitative tradition introduced by the Spaniards in the New World and Oceania (MARTYNENKO, 2018, p. 30; MARTYNENKO, 2019a, p. 163; MARTYNENKO, 2019b, p. 162), most of the so-called *religious toponyms* of Uruguay bear the names of saints, martyrs and canonized missionaries. Such units contain the element San or Santo(a). Examples include the oikonyms *Cerro San Eugenio, Santa Lucia, Villa Crespo y San Andrés, San José de Carrasco, San Ramón, San Jacinto, Santa Rosa, San Bautista, San Luis, San Bernardo, Fortín de Santa Rosa, Santa Lucía del Este, Santa Ana, Villa San Felipe, Villa San Cono, Santa Ana, San Pedro, Los Cerros de San Juan, Santa Regina, Santa Bernardina, San Jorge, San Gabriel, San Francisco de las Sierras, San Rafael, Santa Mónica, San Vicente, San Félix, Santa Teresa, San Javier, San Luis al Medio, San Antonio'2, San José de Mayo, Santa Monica, San Gregorio, Santa Catalina, San Gregorio de Polanco, Santa Clara de Olimar, Arrocera San Fernando, Arrocera Santa Fe,* as well as hydronyms *Río San Luis, Santa Lucía, Santa Lucía Chico, San Salvador, San José, San Juan.*

However, the structure of the religious oikonyms of Uruguay is not limited to the construction of San + name. Many units reflect the ecclesiastical terminology that is familiar in toponymic terms: *Barrio Asunción* (asunción – Spanish for 'assumption'), *Trinidad* (Trinidad – Spanish for 'Holy Trinity'), *El Edén, Edén Rock* (Edén – Spanish for 'Eden'), *Belén, Chacras de Belén* (Belén – Spanish for Bethlehem'), *La Cruz, Cruz de los Caminos* (cruz – Spanish for 'cross'), *Colonia del Sacramento* (sacramento – Spanish for 'sacrament'), *Playa Pascual* (pascua – Spanish for 'Easter'), *Cerro de las Iglesias* (iglesia – Spanish for 'church').

Some units are abbreviations from more complete names:

Castillos – after the Chapel of San Vicente Mártir de Castillos;

Salto – after the San Antonio del Salto Chico barracks;

Mercedes – after the name of the chapel Capilla Nueva de las Mercedes;

Dolores is an abbreviation for the first name San Salvador o Dolores (1624);

Villa Soriano is an abbreviation of the first name Santo Domingo de Soriano (1624).

Several religious oikonyms bear names in honor of the Jesuit priests who lived in Uruguay and who, according to C. Curbelo and R. Bracco, created the 'missionary cultural landscape' (CURBELO; BRACCO, 2004, p. 407):

Colonia Valdense – Spanish oikonymic unit in honor of the French missionary Pierre Valdo / Pierre Valdo, the founder of the religious movement 'Waldens'.

G. Fraile Muerto (Spanish for 'dead monk') has its name since 1908 (TOPONIMIA Y CATEGORIZACIÓN JURÍDICA OFICIAL DE LAS LOCALIDADES URBANAS DE URUGUAY, 2010, p. 26). We can assume that it was given to the settlement by the old name of the river Arroyo de Fraile Muerto. In 1801, Viceroy Sobremonte ordered Don Francisco Javier de Viana to suppress the looting and murder of the Charrua and Minuano Indians. At the head of a detachment of cavalry and two units of artillery, he was determined to carry out his mission, but unexpectedly he was ordered to retreat towards the square due to the threat of the British. Following orders, he immediately set off for Montevideo, covering 80 leagues in three or four days with 2,000 horses, 400 men and two howitzers. While he was carrying out the order in the capital, the chaplain (confessor) of the detachment he commanded died at the river Arroyo de Fraile Muerto, where he was buried. The place of his humble burial at the foot of a tree was marked with a marble stone, on which was roughly engraved with an inscription with his name, and which was later discovered. This is the reason for the name of the area Fraile Muerto. The priest's name was Father Juan Alonso Martínez.

G. Fray Marcos and *Fray Bentos* – cities in honor of famous local monks (fray – Spanish for 'brother' (about a monk)).

G. Cerros de Vera – in honor of the local bishop Jacinto Vera, who died in Pan de Azúcar in 1888.

Cerro Catedral is a mountain the name of which comes from the curious forms of rocky hills at its summit, they are generally found in southern Uruguay and are very reminiscent of the slender building of the cathedral.

Many ***descriptive place names*** of the region reflect natural landscapes that impressed the Spanish conquerors, and poetic images inspired by nature: *Costa Azul* ('blue coast'), *Bello Horizonte* ('beautiful horizon'), *Blanca Arena* ('white sand'), *Playa Azul* ('blue beach'), *Playa Hermosa* ('beautiful beach'), *Aguas Buenas* ('good waters'), *Aguas Dulces* ('sweet waters'), *Bella Vista* ('beautiful view'), *Piedras Coloradas* ('colored stones'*)*, *Punta Colorada* ('colored cape'), *Laguna Blanca* ('white lagoon'), *Las Piedras* ('stones'), *Piedra Sola* ('lonely stone'), *Piedras de Afilar* ('sharpening stones'), *Pintado*, *Pintadito* ('painted'), *Agraciada* ('graceful´, ´lucky'), *Monte Grande* ('big mountain'), *Cerro Pelado* ('bald mountain'), *Playa Verde* ('green beach'), *Playa Grande* ('big beach'), *Arroyo Pantanoso* ('swampy river'), *Cerro Coronado* ('crowned mountain'), *Paso Hospital* ('hospitable passage'), *Aguas Corrientes* ('stormy waters'), *Cuchilla Alta* ('high mountain'), *Punta del Diablo* ('devil's cape'), *Cerros Azules* ('blue mountains'), *Punta Negra* ('black cape'), *Cuchilla de Peralta* ('high mountain'), *Celeste* ('heavenly'), *Arroyo Grande* ('big creek'), *Río Negro* ('black river'), *Cañada Grande* ('great gorge'), *Cerro Negro* ('black mountain'), *Cerro Blanco* ('white mountain'), *Cerro Alto* ('high mountain'), *Cerro Chico* ('small mountain'), *Cerro Chato* ('flat mountain'), *Cerro Grande* ('big mountain'), *Cerro de las Espinas Negras* ('mountain with black thorns'), *Cerro Cuevas Malas* ('mountain with bad caves'), *Arenitas Blancas* ('white sands'), *Valentines* (due to the presence of iron ore in the form of a Valentine's card), *La Aguada y Costa Azul* ('watering hole and the blue coast'), Blanquillo ('white'), *Puntas de Arroyo Negro* ('black river braids'), *Cuchilla de Fuego* ('fiery mountain').

The name of the oikonym and oronym *Pan de Azúcar* is literally translated from Spanish as 'sugar bread', but it is associated with the sandy slopes of a mountain that resembles 'pan dulce', a type of bread sprinkled with sugar. In this regard, we note

that the recipe for sweet bread was imported to Central and South America by the Spaniards. This inspired the local people of the mainland to create various types of pastries such as besos, konchas, cuernos, etc. Bread is considered one of the most inexpensive treats in Latin America and is eaten daily as breakfast or late dinner known as *merienda*.

Regarding the toponym, we managed to find out that this name is extremely popular in South America, mainly in oronymy:

Pan de Azúcar or Wak'a Wallamarka – an archaeological site in Peru,

Pan de Azúcar – a mountain in Peru,

Pan de Azúcar National Park – a park in Chile,

Club Deportivo Pan de Azúcar – a football club in Panama,

Pico Pan de Azúcar – a mountain in Venezuela,

Pan de Azúcar – volcano in Colombia,

Pan de Azúcar – a domed volcano in Argentina.

It is noteworthy that one of the Philippine Islands is also called *Pan de Azucar*. We drew attention to the absence of an accent mark in this unit, in contrast to its Latin American namesakes.

A special place in the group of descriptive toponyms of Uruguay is occupied by units containing the lexeme *plata* (Spanish for 'silver'). We associate this with the reflection of the silver findings so desired by Spaniards in the New World, in particular in the territory we study: *Ciudad del Plata* ('silver city'), *Parque del Plata* ('silver park'), *Brisas del Plata* ('silver breezes'), *Río de la Plata* ('silver river'). Noteworthy in this case is the more frequent misuse of the article: more often *del Plata* instead of the correct *de la Plata* from a grammatical point of view.

However, a large number of oikonyms, hydronyms and oronyms are a statement of the factual picture, either already presented to the eyes of the conquerors at the time of arrival, or created by them themselves: *Ciudad de la Costa* ('city on the

coast'), *Barros Blancos* ('white clay'), *Cerillos* ('hills'), *Montes* ('mountains'), *Salinas* ('salt mines'), *La Montañesa* ('mountain woman'), *Cerro Ejido* ('pasture in the foothills'), *Parada Cabrera* ('shepherd's stop'), *Estación Tapia* ('station at an adobe wall, fence'), *Pueblo Nuevo* ('new settlement') , *Estación Pedrera* ('station at the quarry'), *La Pedrera* ('quarry'), *Estación Rincón* ('corner station'), *Cerrillada* ('a series of hills'), *La Loma* ('hill'), *Lagos del Norte* ('northern lakes'), *Punta del Este* ('western cape'), *Paso del Cerro* ('mountain pass'), *Pueblo de Arriba* ('upper settlement'), *Arrocera Rincón* ('corner rice plantation'), *Arroyo de la India Muerta* ('the river where the Indian woman died'), *Palo Solo* ('lonely pillar, trunk (of a tree)'), *Mangrullo* ('watchtower on a tree', 'sentinel'), *Conchillas* ('small shell soil'), *La Horqueta* ('fork'), *Colonia Cosmopolita* ('cosmopolitan settlement'), *El Faro* ('lighthouse'), *Minas* ('mines'), *El Chorro* ('fountain'), *Las Cumbres* ('tops'), *Pajas Blancas* ('white straws'), *Cañada del Pueblo* ('folk gorge'), *Barrio Torres* ('area with towers'), *Puerto de los Botes* ('port for boats'), *Tajamares de la Pedrera* ('water cutter at the quarry'), *Campo de Todos* ('common for all field'), *Radial* ('radial'), *Punta de Carretera* ('railway point') , *Cerros de la Calera* ('mountains near the quarry').

Pictures of the life of the Spanish conquerors captured such geographical units as *El Tala*, Tala ('deforestation'), *Carreta Quemada* ('burnt cart'), *El Semillero* ('granary'), *La Casilla* ('house'), *Chamizo* (Spanish colloquial for 'hut'), *La Barra* ('iron beam'), *Tranqueras* (Spanish-American for 'wickets'), *Capacho* ('wicker basket for fruit'), *Mal Abrigo* ('bad coat'), *Lares* ('hearths'), *Cuchillo del Perdido* ('knife of the lost' or 'mountain of the lost'), *Tambores* ('drums').

The struggle as part of the history of Uruguay in general and the War of Independence in particular was reflected in the Hispanic ***military toponymy*** with a pronounced corresponding meaning: *Bella Union* ('beautiful union'), *La Paz* ('peace'), *Progreso* ('progress'), *Barrio La Lucha* ('are of fight'), *Campo Militar* ('military field'), *El Galeón* ('galleon'), *Fraccionamiento* ('division'), *Centurión* ('centurion'), *Campana* ('bell'), *Artilleros* ('artillery'), *Centenario* ('century', honor of the century since the entry into

force of the first constitution of Uruguay), *Independencia* ('independence'), *Caserío la Fundación* ('estate in honor of the founding'), *Pueblo Federación* ('settlement of the federation'), *Paso Ataques* ('pass of attacks'), *Constitución* ('constitution'), *Libertad* ('freedom'), *La Concordia*, *Colonia Concordia* ('consent'), *Sierra del Soldado* ('soldier's mountain range').

Emotionally colored Uruguayan toponyms have mainly ameliorative connotations: *Esperanza* ('hope'), *El Ensueño* ('dream'), *La Sonrisa* ('smile'), *El Tesoro* ('treasure'), *Constancia* ('constancy'), *La Tentación* ('temptation'), *Porvenir*, *Estación Porvenir*, *Villa Porvenir* ('future'), *Arrocera Querencia* (arrocera – 'rice trader'; querencia – 'love'). However, in some units one can see also notes of dissatisfaction with the emerging reality: *Barrio Remanso* ('slow area'), *La Macana* ('false').

Numerals in Hispanic place names of Uruguay are shown both in letters and numbers: *Seis Hermanos*, *Tres Islas*, *Ruta 37 y 9*, *Tres Quintas*, *Puntas de Cinco Sauces*. Half of them celebrate the historic days of independence:

Veinticinco de Agosto – in honor of the announcement on the Independence Day. August 25 in Uruguay is a public holiday, a day off.

Pueblo 19 de Junio – in honor of the birthday of national hero José Artigas (June 19, 1764). At the end of 2006, President T. Vasquez, who came to power from the coalition of leftist forces of the 'Broad Front', signed a decree that the national holiday dedicated to the birthday of 'Father of the Nation' Jose Artigas, June 19, will be called the Day 'Never again' ('El Día del nunca más') and will be dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Uruguayan junta that ruled the country in the 70s - 80s of the XX century (IVANOV, 2011, p. 97).

18 de Julio, *Colonia 18 de Julio*, *Avenida 18 de Julio* (Montevideo) – in honor of the day the first constitution of Uruguay came into force (July 18, 1830). On this day in Uruguay the holiday Jura de la Constitución is celebrated ('Oath to the constitution'). Jura de la Constitución is the main public holiday in the country. It is celebrated every 18 July

and refers to the act that took place on 18 July 1830, when the first national constitution was sworn in. Thus, a unitary republican and confessional state was created; the official religion is proclaimed Catholic. The main ceremony took place in the afternoon at the current Plaza Matriz, which was then called Plaza Mayor. On one side of the square, military forces were lined up under the command of Colonels Manuel Oribe and Eugenio Garson, dressed in bright ceremonial uniforms. Each member of the detachment took the oath to the Constitution in front of the cross held by the officer, consisting of a rifle and a saber. Immediately after that, all civilians gathered in the square were asked to consistently climb to the platform in front of the Cabildo building, on the balconies of which there were representatives of government bodies standing, to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, passing in front of the mayor of Montevideo. A similar ceremony was also held in all major and important cities of the country. At the end of the act of general oath, the cannon of the old Fort of San José fired a volley of 21 rounds, announcing to the people that the Constitution of the Republic had been solemnly sworn in.

19 de Abril, *Treinta y Tres*, *Ejido de Treinta y Tres*, *Arrozal Treinta y Tres* – in honor of the landing of thirty-three Orientales, a rebel group whose actions eventually led to the formation of the independent state of Uruguay. Los Treinta y Tres Orientales is the name by which the people led by Juan Antonio Lavalleja and Manuel Oribe are known, who revolted in 1825 with the aim of bringing Banda Oriental into the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. Given the lack of a definition of war between the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata and the Brazilian Empire, both sides agreed to found a new country, present-day Uruguay.

Veinticinco de Mayo – objects named after the start of the May Revolution – May 25. May Revolution (Revolución de Mayo) is a series of political and social events that took place in Buenos Aires during the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata in May 1810 and led to the removal of Viceroy Cisneros and the beginning of the process that led to

independence of Argentina, which was officially proclaimed on July 9, 1816. Due to the fact that the territory of Uruguay at that time was part of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, the region accepted this historical and geographical heritage and carefully disposed of it. In Uruguay we find the city of *Veinticinco de Mayo*, the central street of Montevideo, *25 de Mayo*, the theater *25 de Mayo* in Rocha. It is noteworthy that in Argentina, the center of Buenos Aires is also marked by *Calle 25 de Mayo*, there, just like in Uruguay, one can find the city of *25 de Mayo*, and in addition, the municipality of *Partido de Veinticinco de Mayo* and 3 departments of *25 de Mayo*. In addition, the Argentines in their own way call the island of King George (Waterloo) in Antarctica *Isla 25 de Mayo*. Even the aircraft carrier and heavy cruiser of the Argentine Navy are named *25 de Mayo*.

Zootoponyms and *phytotoponyms*, in the bulk, contain components that are denotations of common names of plants and animals ('pine', 'rose', 'elm', 'myrtle', 'bull', 'dove', 'tiger', etc.), as well as reflecting the concepts of 'forest', 'tree', 'flower': *El Bosque, Quintas del Bosque, Arbolito, Estación Las Flores, Las Flores, La Floresta, El Pinar, Departamento Durazno, Rincón del Pino, Pinares, Piñera, Rosario, Villa del Rosario, Canelones, Paso de Carrasco, Barra de Carrasco, Empalme Olmos, Olmos, La Tuna, Caserío Las Cañas, Las Cañas, La Paloma, Palomas, Punta Ballena, Sauze de Portezuelo, Gallinal, Merinos, El Eucaliptus, Los Arrayanes, La Coronilla, Laureles, Raigón, Arrocera Los Cerro de la Burra*.

At the same time, of the plants, special attention is paid to the palm tree: *Colonia Palma, Palmitas, Palmar, Las Palmas, Palmares de la Coronilla, Arrocera Las Palmas*. And from animals – a bull and a tiger: *La Boyada, Piedra del Toro, Paso de los Toros, Cerro del Toro, Cerro Cueva del Tigre, Arrocera el Tigre, Delta de Tigre* and Villas.

However, there are a number of units that glorify the flora of South America: Oikonym *Quebracho* derives from the collective name for three subtropical species of trees from South America, their wood and bark. Quebracho is a concatenation of the

Spanish lexemes 'quebrar' and 'hacha' ('to break the ax') and is explained by the high hardness of the wood of these trees.

Arrocera los Ceibos – in honor of the South American ceiba tree.

Lakonos dioecious (*ombú* in Spanish) is an evergreen tree, reaching a height of 6-8 m and having a thick trunk and a dense umbrella-shaped crown. The sap of the tree is poisonous, so its leaves are not eaten by livestock. *Ombú* is a lexeme borrowed from autochthonous languages and sung in poetry[6]. However, put in the plural according to the rules of the Spanish language, it is of interest to us in the course of this study: the names of the cities *Ombúes de Oribe* and *Ombúes de Lavalle* glorify not only the outstanding political figures of the country, but also the local plant, thus falling immediately into 2 groups of toponyms of the ones we are describing.

Many Uruguayan toponyms have undergone changes through renaming, most often more than once. This is due to the political and toponymic approach of the authorities to the nomenclature in different periods of the region's history. Examples include the following units:

Dr. Francisco Soca was founded in 1877 under the name *Mosquitos*. But it was also popularly called *Santo Tomás de Aquino*. In 1928, the settlement was renamed Soca, and in 1971, Dr. Francisco Soca.

G. Fraile Muerto: Fructuoso Mazziotta – Wenceslao Silveira – Fraile Muerto.

Metonymy

Metonymic chains are not frequent, but present in the Uruguayan toponymic corpus. Examples are: *San Luis* (river, town, cape), *Pan de Azúcar* (mountain, town), *Bella Vista* (locality, mountain range, mountain, small river), etc.

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[6] See the poem "El Ombú" by Argentine politician and poet Luis Lorenzo Domínguez (https://historianatural.wordpress.com/2008/11/17/luis-l-dominguez-1819-1839-su-poesia-el-ombu/).

A number of place names in Uruguay are characterized by *spelling errors*. Most often, this is the absence of a space, fixed in the letter: *Lapuente*, *Lomas de Solymar*, *Solymar*, *Colinas de Solymar*, *Lagomar*, *Casablanca*.

However, one can also observe erroneous substitutions in the letter 'b' by 'v' and vice versa:

La Ribiera (= La Riviera), *Barra de Valizas* (= Barra de Balizas), *Puente Valizas* (= Puente Balizas).

We associate this with the phonetic rules of the Spanish language, for which the pronunciation of the fricative sound 'b' in the closed syllable, which both these letters give, is typical.

Folk etymology

As with any study, a careful and thorough approach is also required when studying Uruguayan place names. Many units of the region etymologically are revealed in different ways in comparison with the initial assumptions:

Estanque de Pando is not about a valley between two mountains ('pando' is Spanish for 'valley'), but about a local resident named Pando.

Paso Espinosa is not about a thorny path ('paso espinoso' is Spanish for 'thorny path'), but about the Colombian lawyer and politician Augusto Espinosa Valderrama (1919-1986).

Cerros de Vera is not about the hills on the coast ('cerros de vera' is Spanish for 'hills on the coast'), but about Bishop Jacinto Vera.

San Carlos is not a religious oikonym, as its name might suggest. It was founded in October 1763 by the Spanish Governor Pedro Antonio de Sevallos to discourage the establishment of Portuguese settlements in the region. Its name comes from the name of the then King of Spain Charles III. Sevallos, judging by the prefix 'san', elevated the

king to the rank of saints, but this only speaks of his subjective assessment of the personality of the monarch and immense devotion to the Spanish crown.

The oikonyms *Solís de Mataojo* could be mistakenly considered as phytotoponym. After all, *mataojo* (lat. Pouteria) is a tree of the sapot family, *sapodilla*. It grows up to 5 meters, the wood is strong and very durable, and the thickness of 0.705 cm indicates a rich and deep root system; it has beautiful foliage, and in December it is covered with fragrant greenish-white flowers; the fruit is ovoid green, inedible. Branches are often used at festivals to decorate the streets. It is a fuel that gives off a lot of heat, but the smoke of which is harmful to the eyes. But the settlements *Mataojo*, *Solís de Mataojo*, and the river *Arroyo de Mataojo Grande* are anthropotoponyms named after Ramón Mataojo. On August 17, 1831, in the *Mataojo* area, one of the last charrua massacres committed by the Bernabe Rivera squad took place. Ramon Mataojo is the name of a warrior from the Charrua Indian tribe, at the age of 18-20 years, captured by the river *Arroyo Mataojo Grande* in 1831. In January 1832, he was sent across the Atlantic as a living model for the Paris Academy of Sciences. However, due to disagreements between various officials, he had to remain aboard L'Emulatión, the ship he was on, until his death in October of that year. He is considered to be the first Charrua to cross the Atlantic. Nowadays, many of the facts about Charrua take on a new color (NELIN, 2020), but the above data has not yet been denied.

The rivers *Arroyo Solís Grande* and *Arroyo Solís Chico*, contrary to popular belief, are named not for the Spanish explorer of Portuguese origin Juan Díaz de Solís, but for a local resident named Solis, whose lands were located between the two rivers.

Some Hispanic toponymic **shiftnames** in Uruguay are represented by the presence of the component nuevo (Spanish for 'new'): *Nueva Helvecia* (Helvetia is the ancient name of Switzerland used in allegories and poetry), *Nueva Palmira*, *Nuevo Berlín*. However, we find other examples on the map: *Toledo*, *Villa Argentina*, *Florida*, *Balneario Buenos Aires*, *Gerona*.

Among the Hispanic *repeated toponyms* of Uruguay, double nominations prevail. Thus, we can observe 2 oikonyms each *Cruz de los Caminos*, *Cerro Negro*, *Cerro Pelado*, *Piedra Sola*, *Toledo*, *Agraciada*, *La Paz*, *Esperanza*, *Progreso*, *Quebracho*, *La Paloma*, *Las Flores*, *Laureles*, *Arbolito*, *Merinos*, *Rosario*, *18 de Julio*. Not many names are repeated 3 times: *Cerro Chato*, *La Pedrera*, *Las Flores*, *San Luís*.

4 Conclusions

Hispanic place names, forming the basis of the Uruguayan toponymicon, reflect the history, culture and identity of the Uruguayan people, the natural features of the region and the connection with Spain as a linguistic starting point. Today it is premature to talk about a thorough study of the Hispanic toponymic layer of the state. A more detailed study of the nomenclature by means of a critical toponymic and political toponymic approach, a more scrupulous analysis of the etymology of Hispanic toponymic units and universal access to the data of research carried out in this direction is required.

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El nombre no es sólo un referente. Entrevista a Yolanda Guillermina López Franco[1]

A name is not only a referent. An interview with Yolanda Guillermina López Franco

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Según los mitos hebreos, la creación del mundo es lingüística: "…Nombrar llena vacíos, la palabra genera y ordena el cosmos" (WONG, 2008, p. 4). Así, asignar un nombre a un elemento es asegurar su permanencia en la memoria. La elección de un nombre representa mucho de la relación entre los que lo asignan y su entorno sociocultural… Pablo Neruda lo dice de manera más eficaz: "en Isla Negra, las bordadoras se llaman Mercedes, se llaman Eufemia, se llaman Edulia, Pura, Adela, Adelaida. Se llaman como se llama el pueblo; como deben llamarse. Tienen nombres de flores, si las flores escogieron sus nombres…" (NERUDA, 1979, p. 98).

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Tibón (2005, p. 7) afirma que estudiar los nombres es importante puesto que "compendian la historia de la civilización", además, estudiarlos "no sólo es deleitoso y rico en sorpresas, sino que se impone por sus alcances filológicos, históricos y sociológicos". Al estudio de los nombres se le conoce como Onomástica u Onomatología, interdisciplina que combina la historia, la filología, la lingüística, entre otras áreas de conocimiento para investigar la historia, evolución y uso de los nombres propios de persona, lugares, objetos y nombres de carácter literario.

Hay muchos académicos en el mundo que han abordado el tema desde diversas perspectivas. Por ejemplo, el trabajo de Peter Boyd-Bowman (1970) es pionero en los estudios del nombre de pila en México y Yolanda Guillermina López Franco aborda el tema del nombre desde la Sócio-Onomástica, disciplina que observa el comportamiento y el uso de los nombres en un contexto social. En esta entrevista vía correo electrónico, la Doctora López nos aclara la importancia de este tipo de estudios y su aportación a los estudios en lingüística.

1 En México, el estudio del nombre es escaso en trabajos académicos ¿Qué la motivó a iniciarse en el estudio de este tema, hay alguna razón o anécdota en especial que la inclinara a ello?

Desde que estaba en la licenciatura me interesó el tema pues observé que había muchos nombres que eran préstamos a otras lenguas. A partir de ahí empecé a indagar sobre el asunto, de tal manera que mi tesis de grado y las dos de posgrado versaron sobre los nombres de pila. Ahora sé que la subdisciplina onomástica a la que pertenecen mis trabajos es la socioantroponimia, pero entonces no lo sabía, dado que en México no abundan los estudios serios sobre el tema. Lo descubrí hasta que asistí por primera vez al *International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS)* en 2005.

2 Después de estudiar tanto el nombre propio, ¿se puede ver la realidad de la misma forma, es decir, sólo ve al nombre como un nombre o le es inevitable pensar en sus características?

Un nombre de pila es mucho más que una simple etiqueta "pegada" al referente: es un clasificador sociolingüístico, que indica al hablante con cierta competencia onomástica, la probable pertenencia del portador a una determinada comunidad lingüística, a un determinado sexo, a una determinada franja etaria, al nivel sociocultural de quienes le impusieron el nombre, etc. También puede vislumbrar si éste fue otorgado siguiendo el modelo de atribución tradicional o el de la moda. E incluso, ambos.

3 Alguien que no es especialista en el área se pregunta sobre la utilidad de este tipo de estudios ¿Qué le comentaría al respecto?

El léxico de los nombres de pila forma parte del vocabulario más amplio de una determinada lengua-cultura. Por ello es importante conocer el patrimonio vivo de los nombres en uso, de los que salieron ya de él, de los que regresan, de los nuevos que están entrando cuya permanencia o desaparición se desconoce aún.

Por otro lado —no es mi centro de interés propio— actualmente se estudian los nombres de pila incluso desde la perspectiva del *marketing* o mercadeo, por ejemplo, para saber a qué tipo de clientes potenciales se dirige una empresa y ofrecerles bienes o servicios susceptibles de interesarles.

La onomástica es una inter, incluso una transdisciplina, por lo que los nombres propios son analizados desde ópticas muy distintas y complementarias: lingüística, histórica, antropológica, sociológica, psicológica, de la complejidad, del derecho, de los estudios de género, de los de identidad, etc., dado que la denominación es un objeto de observación complejo.

4 ¿Cuál es la aportación a la sociedad el estudio del nombre propio?

Es el conocimiento de esa parte del léxico de una lengua que permaneció durante mucho tiempo al margen de los estudios lingüísticos. Los nombres propios están íntimamente ligados a la cultura de la que forman parte y del tiempo-espacio en que circulan. Los nombres de pila que se emplean en España no son exactamente los mismos que se emplean en Cuba, en Guinea Ecuatorial, en Argentina o en México, a pesar de que todos sean países hispanohablantes. Ni son los mismos ahora que los que llevaban nuestros compatriotas del siglo XIX, por ejemplo. Hay nombres que permanecen en el tiempo, que se vuelven "pilares" de la denominación y otros que llegan y se van. Hay nombres que reflejan cierta ideología y un proyecto parental específico. Piénsese, por ejemplo, en la elección de nombres en lengua indígena, que pueden sustentar una reivindicación de identidad lingüístico-cultural, aun dentro de la sociedad mestiza, pluriétnica y "global" contemporánea. Para citar algunos ejemplos de los nombres tradicionales en español, podemos mencionar a *María* o a *Juan*, como formantes de compuestos o como nombres simples, que pueden volver a la moda bajo la forma de préstamos a otras lenguas-culturas, como *Miriam* y *Mayra* o como *Ian* y *Giovanni*.

5 ¿Cómo contribuye a la lingüística el estudio de este tema? ¿Aporta también a otras áreas del conocimiento?

Aunque ya toqué un poco estos aspectos en mis respuestas anteriores, agregaré que, por ejemplo, en mis trabajos suelo estudiar factores como el género al que pertenecen los nombres de pila (masculino, femenino o epiceno), la estructura que poseen (simples, compuestos o múltiples), los fenómenos de derivación y composición, la forma gráfica en que son registrados. También los modelos de atribución: tradicional por transmisión familiar o por el calendario, o el del fenómeno social y cíclico de la moda. Pensemos en las *Guadalupe* que siguen naciendo en el siglo

XXI, el día 12 de diciembre o el uso en los años 1960 y 1970 de llamar a los hijos, sobre todo primogénitos, como el padre, como la madre o con los dos nombres. Recuerdo ahora un caso poco usual, al menos en México, en que los dos nombres dieron origen a un neologismo: un niño registrado en los años 1980 como *Pávic* porque sus padres se llamaban *Patricia* y *Víctor*. Las subdisciplinas lingüísticas principales a las que pertenece este tipo de estudios son la lexicología y la sociolingüística.

6. Se sabe que a nivel internacional hay mucho interés en el tema, hay revistas especializadas como *ONOMA* o *NRO* ¿Cómo se toma el estudio de este tema a nivel nacional?

Y no hay que olvidar el nacimiento reciente de *Onomástica desde América Latina*. En México carecemos de una escuela onomástica establecida. Es muy reciente la conformación del Seminario Interinstitucional de Onomástica (2018), fundado por algunos académicos interesados en la disciplina, que participaron en las "Primeras Jornadas Antroponomásticas" en la FES Acatlán, de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. En la antroponimia mexicana, aunque hubo estudios pioneros como el de Peter Boyd-Bowman en 1970 o el de Gutierre Tibón en 1986, los nombres propios de persona no se han explorado de manera sistemática con el rigor que se desearía. La toponimia está un poco más trabajada, pero todavía es minoritaria. Otros tipos de nombres son todavía menos estudiados. *Lingmex*, el sitio del Colegio de México dedicado a inventariar los trabajos de lingüística en México desde 1970, apenas si enlista 142 trabajos al día de hoy[2]. Sería necesario que, desde la formación inicial de lingüistas, historiadores y sociólogos, por lo menos, se abordara la onomástica.

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[2] Cf. http://lingmex.colmex.mx/UI/Public/Indices/areas.aspx actualizado al 24 de junio de 2020.

7 ¿A qué problemas se enfrenta con frecuencia alguien que estudia onomástica?

Mencionaré sólo un ejemplo. En muchos otros países, incluyendo Brasil y Argentina, el organismo de las estadísticas nacionales equivalente del INEGI posee un buscador que produce datos en torno a los nombres de pila: curvas de frecuencia, edad promedio de los portadores, nivel sociocultural o socioprofesional de los padres que otorgan los nombres, mapas de atribución en todo el territorio nacional, etc. Eso no existe en México. Escribí hace un tiempo a esa institución con el fin de preguntar si se podía obtener de algún modo esa información para realizar trabajo de investigación y la respuesta fue negativa. Ahora es todavía más difícil debido a la *Ley de protección de datos personales en posesión de sujetos obligados*, que no permite acceder a la información en torno al nombre. Leyes similares existen actualmente en muchos países, sin embargo, las entidades gubernamentales de información estadística sí la proporcionan, pues basta con crear aplicativos que desvinculen los nombres y apellidos de los individuos portadores.

8 ¿Hay especialistas en el tema en México?

Muy pocos, con formaciones e intereses diversos. Pero el interés y la visibilidad de las publicaciones van en aumento.

9 ¿Cuál cree que sea el futuro de los estudios sobre onomástica en el país?

Dependerá de si los académicos interesados en la investigación onomástica logramos o no hacer escuela. No hay un interés institucional evidente, al menos, no hasta ahora.

10 Para quienes quisieran iniciarse en este tema ¿cuáles serían algunos temas fundamentales para empezar el estudio de los nombres de pila en México?

La ventaja de que no se haya indagado mucho en México a ese respecto es que todo está por hacer. Lo primero sería abogar por que se creara un sitio web gubernamental desde el que se pudiera obtener información estadística confiable y actualizada acerca de los nombres y apellidos, que se pudiera consultar por municipio, estado y a nivel nacional. Eso daría pauta a la realización de un sinfín de estudios tanto cualitativos como cuantitativos, que más adelante se podrían extender hacia la socioantroponimia comparada, es decir, donde los grandes cuerpos de datos antroponímicos de diversos países de una misma lengua o de lenguas distintas, emparentadas o no, se pueden contrastar para estudiar las tendencias convergentes y divergentes en la atribución de los nombres de persona. También se necesitaría mucho trabajo de encuesta sociolingüística para estudiar las motivaciones de quienes eligen los nombres de pila, cuidando el análisis de factores o "variables", como la edad, el sexo y el nivel de estudios de los participantes. En fin, el campo es amplísimo.

11 ¿Hay algo que quiera agregar a lo que ya comentado?

Que ojalá en los distintos foros académicos la presencia de los estudios antroponímicos, toponímicos y, en general, onomásticos en México, fuera más constante para que podamos consolidar esta disciplina en nuestro país. Apenas se realizarán este año las "Terceras Jornadas Antroponomásticas", que ojalá se vuelvan una tradición, como encuentro académico pluridisciplinario internacional. Sería deseable que hubiera también una mayor participación mexicana en otros foros internacionales dedicados a este tipo de trabajos.

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La Obras clave de Yolanda Guillermina López Franco

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