Male Names in X-Son in Brazilian Anthroponymy: a Morphological, Historical, and Constructional Approach

Nomes masculinos X-son na antroponímia brasileira: uma abordagem morfológica, histórica e construcional

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Resumo: Neste trabalho, pretendemos fazer uma análise de nomes masculinos terminados em -*son* na lista de aprovados dos vestibulares de 2016 e 2017 da Universidade do Estado da Bahia, como *Anderson, Jefferson, Emerson, Radson, Talison, Erickson* e *Esteferson*. Ao todo, foram registrados 96 nomes graficamente diferentes. Esses nomes, quando possível, foram analisados do ponto de vista etimológico, com base em consultas nos dicionários onomásticos de língua portuguesa de Nascentes (1952) e de Machado (1981), além de dicionários de língua inglesa, como os de Arthur (1857) e Reaney e Willson (2006). Foram também utilizados como materiais de análise a *Lista de nomes admitidos em Portugal*, encontrada no site do Instituto dos Registos e do Notariado, de Portugal, e a Plataforma *Nomes no Brasil*, disponível no site do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Quanto às análises morfológicas aqui empreendidas, utilizamos como aporte teórico-metodológico a Morfologia Construcional, da maneira proposta por Booij (2010), Soledade (2013), Gonçalves (2016a), Simões Neto (2016) e Rodrigues (2016). Em linhas gerais, o artigo vislumbra observar a trajetória do formativo –*son* na criação de antropônimos no Brasil. Para isso,

analisamos o seu estatuto de patronímico no inglês e a sua chegada ao português, como um dos elementos mais recorrentes entre nomes neológicos brasileiros.

Palavras-chave: antropônimos brasileiros; neologismos; mudança morfossemântica.

Abstract: In this paper, we intend to analyze the masculine names ending in -son in the approved list of 2016 and 2017 college entrance exams of the Universidade do Estado da Bahia, such as Anderson, Jefferson, Emerson, Radson, Talison, Erickson, and Esteferson. In all, 96 different graphic names were registered. These names, when possible, were analyzed from the etymological point of view, based on queries in the Portuguese-language onomastic dictionaries of Nascentes (1952) and Machado (1981), as well as English-language dictionaries such as Arthur (1857) and Reaney & Willson (2006). The List of names accepted in Portugal, found on the website of the *Instituto dos Registros e do Notariado*, in Portugal, and the Names Platform in Brazil, available on the website of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). For the morphological analyzes carried out here, the Constructional Morphology, as proposed by Booij (2010), Soledade (2013), Gonçalves (2016a), Simões Neto (2016), and Rodrigues (2016), was used as a theoretical-methodological approach. In general terms, the article aims to observe the trajectory of formative -son in the creation of anthroponyms in Brazil. For this, it analyzes its original patronymic status in English and its arrival in Portuguese, as one of the most recurrent elements among Brazilian neological names.

Keywords: Brazilian anthroponyms; neologisms; morphological change.

1 Initial considerations

Onomastics is the Linguistic area dedicated to the study of proper names, and it is divided into two large study areas: Toponymy (names of places) and Anthroponymy (names of people). In Brazil, Seide (2013) points out that, while toponymy studies are quite consolidated, especially from the theoretical-methodological standpoint, given that many fit in the project *Atlas Toponímico do Brasil*, (Brazilian Toponymy Atlas), initiated by professor Maria Vicentina do Amaral Dick, anthroponymy studies are rather incipient, both because there are no comprehensive

projects to describe and/or map the use of people's names in Brazil, and because there is no precise methodology for these investigations, as well as because these studies' results' conclusions are not yet known.

In this paper, we intend to analyze male names ending in -*son* present in the list of those approved in college entrance exams in 2016[1] and 2017[2] at the Universidade do Estado da Bahia, such as *Anderson, Jefferson, Emerson, Radson, Talison, Erickson,* and *Esteferson.* In total, 96 graphically different names have been recorded. Whenever possible, these names were analyzed from an etymological standpoint, based on Portuguese language onomastic dictionaries, such as Nascentes' (1952) and Machado's (1981), and on English language onomastic dictionaries, such as Arthur's (1857) and Reaney and Willson's (2006). Analytical material also included: (i) the site *The Internet Surname Database;*[3] (ii) the *Lista de nomes admitidos em Portugal (List of names allowed in Portugal),*[4] found at Portugal's *Instituto dos Registos e do Notariado* (IRN – Institute of Notary and Records); and (iii) the platform *Nomes no Brasil* (Names of Brazil),[5] based on the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística's* (IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) 2010 census. For the morphological analyzes carried out here, Constructional Morphology, as proposed by Booij (2010), Soledade (2013), Gonçalves (2016a), Simões Neto (2016), and Rodrigues (2016), was used as a theoretical-methodological approach.

In general terms, the study catches a glimpse of the path traveled by the formative -*son* in the recurrent creation of neologistic anthroponyms in Brazil, based on its original patronymic status in English. After this brief presentation (section 1), the work is divided as follows: (i) in section 2, we review onomastic studies regarding the meaning of proper names; (ii) in section 3, we discuss patronymics in Portuguese and the patronym -*son* in its path until it reaches the Portuguese language; (iii) in section 4, the analysis of names recorded in the corpus are presented; (iv) in section 5, we analyze the data based on charts; (v) in section 6, names ending in -*son* present on the *Lista de Nomes Admitidos e Não Admitidos*

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[1] List of those approved in college entrance exams in 2016.

[2] List of those approved in college entrance exams in 2017.

[3] Site The Internet Surname Database.

[4] *Lista de nomes admitidos em Portugal* (List of names allowed in Portugal).

[5] Platform *Nomes no Brasil* (Names of Brazil).

em Portugal (List of names allowed and not allowed in Portugal); (vi) section 7 provides the final considerations and is followed by the list of references.

2 Proper names and signification: some approaches

Among the existing approaches regarding proper names in linguistic studies, we point out Ullmann's 1964 book *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning.* In this work, the author, based on J. Stuart Mill's studies (1846), maps five criteria that may be used to establish the difference between proper names (appellative) and common nouns. They are: (i) uniqueness; (ii) identification; (iii) denotation versus connotation; (iv) phonetic distinctiveness; (iv) grammatical criteria. Among these five criteria, the author considers the second criterion, identification, to be useful.

> The essential difference between common nouns and proper names lies in their function: the former are meaningful units, the latter mere identification marks. This criterion can be supplemented by the important, but not very precise factor of phonetic distinctiveness. The other criteria are either limited in scope or are already implicit in the identifying functions of names (ULLMANN, 1964, p. 160)

The relation between Ullmann's stance and Mill's proposition towards this issue is clear, as expressed in the quotation below:

> Proper names are not connotative; they denote the individuals who are called by them; but they do not indicate or imply any attributes as belonging to those individuals. When we name a child by the name Mary, or a dog by the name Caesar, these names are simply marks used to enable those individuals to be made subject of discourse. It may be said, indeed, that we must have had some reason for giving them those names rather than any others: and this is true; but the name, once given, becomes independent of the reason. A man may have been named John because that was the name of his father; a town may have been named Dartmouth, because it is situated at the mouth of the Dart. (MILL, 1846, p.21)

In agreement with Mill, Ullmann (1964) points out again that proper names are characterized by their semantic opacity, which ratifies that its function is much more that of denotation/identification rather than connotation/signification. In the author's words,

> [w]hile it is fairly easy to distinguish between proper names and common nouns, the border-line between the two categories is by no means final. Many proper names derived from common nouns still show clear traces of their origin: place-names like *Blackpool* and *Newcastle*, surnames like *Smith* and *Carpenter*, Christian names like *Pearl* and *Heather*. Others, though less transparent, have at least some analysable elements like the various place-names ending in -*caster*, -*cester* and -*chester*, all derived, as everybody knows, from the Latin *castra* <<camp>>. Many other names have become entirely opaque, though the etymology may reconstruct or at least conjecture their derivation; thus, the name *Bordeaux*, Latin *Burdigala*, has been resolved into two pre-Indo-European elements: the Iberian *burdo <<mule>> (cf. Spanish *burro* <<donkey>> and the French *bourrique* <<donkey>>) and the Ligurian *cala, *gala, <<rock>> (ULLMANN, 1964, p. 160-161, *our emphasis*).

According to Ullmann (1964), when a common noun is converted into a proper name, it loses its motivation. That is to say, if someone is named *Brisa* (Breeze), in no aspect does this refer to "general name for winds that blow on the shore, weak to moderately, regular or frequent" (HOUAISS; VILLAR, 2009, entry for '*brisa'*). However, this motivation may be recovered in some contexts, as pointed out by Soledade (2012) in cases such as 'a rose for the teacher Rose' or 'I miss Missy'. In toponyms, it is possible to observe the recovery of meanings in humorous texts, such as "Things that only happen in Bahia" which deals with names of districts in the city of Salvador:

> *Ser preso na Liberdade* (Being arrested in Liberty);
> *Fumar no Campo da Pólvora* (Smoking at the Gunpowder Field);
> *Tomar banho de mar no Rio Vermelho* (Taking a sea bath at Red River);
> *Pastor evangélico morar na Capelinha de São Caetano* (An evangelical preacher living at the Saint Cajetan church);

> *Morar no Uruguai e trabalhar em Rom*a (Living in Uruguay and working in Rome);
> *Faltar água na Caixa d'água* (Water shortage at Water Reservoir);
> *Adulto tomar banho na Água de Meninos* (Adults taking baths at Boys' Water);
> *Candomblé no Terreiro de Jesus* (African religion at Jesus' place);
> *Morrer na sexta e ser enterrado nas Quinta dos Lázaros* (Dying on Friday and being buried on Lazaros' Thursday);
> *Confusão na Rua do Sossego* (Disorder at Quiet Street);
> *Brigas no Bairro da Paz* (Fights on the Peace Neighborhood);
> *Não encontrar apoio na Rua d'Ajuda* (Finding no support on Help Street) [...]
> (Unknown author, post, '*Coisas que só acontecem na Bahia*' (Things that only happen in Bahia), February 11, 2015).

About the opaqueness issue, Carvalhinhos and Antunes (2007) point out that this phenomenon occurs more often with anthroponyms, as well as the name fossilization and crystallization processes. According to the authors,

> opaqueness occurs for two main reasons: first and foremost, for lack of knowledge about the language in question, which leads to not decoding or not completing the decoding path for such a name. The second reason is time and the overlaying of linguistic layers resulting in a name's opaqueness: in the case of Europe, for instance, there are records of pre-Roman, or classified as such by specialists, toponyms. Morpheme characteristics, many times, are precious linguistic recovery elements [...]. It may be stated, therefore, that, under the significant's hollow shell, there are remains (semes) which, if duly treated, may complete the decoding path (CARVALHINHOS; ANTUNES, 2007, p. 4).

Linguistic recovery pointed out by these authors may be partially observed in toponymy and anthroponymy studies. Regarding toponymy, we may refer to Gonçalves' (2012) description of the formative *-lândia* (-land), meaning a place where to gather, as in *Disneyland* and *Cracolândia* (*Crackland). The same element is observed in Sousa's work (2007), when he mentions the toponym *Epitaciolândia* (*Epitacioland) in reference to former Brazilian president, Epitácio Pessoa. Other suffixes mentioned by Sousa (2007) refer to Bragança Jr.'s work (1992), which reveals that the

suffixes "*-iba*, *-uba*, *-tiba,* and *-tuba* come from different forms of the Tupi language: *-yba* and *-tyba*"[6] (SOUSA, 2007, p. 22).

The etymological recovery allows the Onomastics researcher to propose meanings for neologistic creations, certainly not yet included in the dictionary. Rodrigues (2016) does the same with some Brazilian neologistic anthroponyms that use formative of Germanic origin. Chart 1 provides the etyma and the meanings for traditional Germanic origin anthroponyms, included in the dictionary by Machado (1981). After that, the reconstruction possibilities, based on the formatives' etymologies.

CHART 1– Etymology of Germanic origin anthroponyms

ADALFREDO: athal, al. mod. edel, <noble> and frid, al. mod. Friede, <peace>, <noble peacemaker>
ADALBERTO: athal, al. mod. edel, <noble> and bertho, <brilliant>, <brilliant warrior>
ARNALDO: Aar, <eagle> and wald, <strong, powerful> <powerful, strong eagle>

Source: Rodrigues (2016, p. 27)

> *Ederaldo* (*Ede-* [from the Germanic Anglo-Saxon *ead* <riches, goods>] + *-r-* + *-aldo* [from the Germanic *walt/wald* <strong, powerful>]), *Ederval* (*Ede-* [from the Germanic Anglo-Saxon *ead* <riches, goods>] + *-r-* + *-val* [from the Germanic *walt/wald*; < powerful, ruler>]), *Valmiro* (*Val-* [from the Germanic w*alt/wald* <powerful, ruler>], + *-mir(o)* [from the Germanic *-mir* <famous, illustrious>]), *Gilsimar* (*Gil-* [prov. from the Germanic *gisil* <pawn>] + *-si-* + *-mar* [from the Germanic *-mar* <fame, glory>]), *Francinaldo* (*Franci-* [from the Germanic *frank* <frank>] + *-n-* +*aldo* [from the Germanic *hard/hart* <strong, pwerveol>]), among others (SIMÕES NETO; RODRIGUES, 2017, p. 124).

Other authors such as Teixeira (2007), Pinker (2008), Henriques (2011), as well as the aforementioned Rodrigues (2016) also discuss

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[6] Although Souza (2007) does not provide the meanings of *-yba* and *-tyba*, Barbosa (1951) provides both meanings: "tyba – abundandial suffix; (xe): to have; to abound; crowd: deposit" (p. 154); "yba – tree [plants]; rod, stalk: rhythm baton; handle [instrument]; sprig; beginning, origin; guide, support; conductor [singing, dancing, etc.]; ybá – fruit (from the tree)" (p. 160).

the issue of meanings. With different perspectives, these authors have viewpoints that differ from that proposed by Ullmann (1964).

Teixeira's work (2007), within Cognitive Linguistics theoretical paradigm, discusses the metonymical and metaphorical motivations for nicknames in North Portugal. The author points out, regarding the metonymical motivation examples, that there are two nickname assigning mechanisms: physical and behavioral. Teixeira (2007) explains that

> [t]wo types of specificities are evident in assigning metonymy-based nicknames: physical and behavioral. The former must be, as a norm, permanent, given that they refer to a cognitively prominent and constant specificity: the nickname "Barbas" (Beard) only makes sense if the recipient usually has a beard, rather than only once grew a beard. The same applies to "Coxo" (lame), "Narizinho" (nose), "Manco" (limp), "Malota" (hunchback), "Preto" (black), "Fininho" (thin) and other physical characteristics. Behavior-based metonymies are different: they may also rely on specificities considered as being permanent ("Mudo" (mute), "Cabeça-de-vento" (scatterbrain), "Gago" (stutter), "Pide" (police officer), "Poeta" (poet) and all professional nicknames), but, in many cases, they are based on specific events that operate as identification reference marks [...] (TEIXEIRA, 2007, p. 211-212).

Teixeira (2007) also points out that metaphorical motivations are far less productive, considering that the metaphor is a more complex cognitive process that metonymy, considering that the latter requires the understanding to occur within itself, whereas, in metaphors, a mapping of different experience domains is required. Metaphorical examples include: *Baleia* (Whale – motivation: being fat), *Rato* (Rat – motivation: being too active), *Burro* (Donkey – motivation: being stupid, stubborn), Porca (Pig – motivation: not being clean or neat), *Pisco* (Wink – motivation: being small), *Batata* (Potato – motivation: being big), *Tomate* (Tomato – motivation: being too big), Cenoura (Carrot – motivation: being red-haired), *Carvalha* (Oak – motivation: being too tall), and *Estaca* (Stake – motivation: being too tall and thin).

Teixeira's (2007) findings show that the opaqueness mentioned by Ullmann (1964), partially ratified by Carvalhinhos and Antunes (2007), must be modalized, considering that some proper name categories may exhibit significant motivation, going beyond mere denotation. In general,

for the nickname category, conversion of a common name into a proper name still preserves some clairvoyant relationship.

Metonymy and metaphor mechanisms are also observed in *antonomasia* and *eponymy* phenomena, explained by Henriques (2012). The author defines *antonomasia* as a "figure of speech"

> [...]which consists of employing a common noun or a substantive expression as the replacement for a proper name, whether for a person (ANTHROPONYM) or for a place (TOPONYM). A nickname is always created based on metaphorical or metonymical reasons, but such reasons are not always known (HENRIQUES, 2012, p. 106).

As examples of the *antonomasia* phenomenon, Henriques (2012) mentions:

> Rio de Janeiro is the "Wonderful city", and São Paulo is the "Rain land". Japan is the "Land of the rising sun", and Copacabana beach is the "Sea princess". However, what is the nickname for the stadium whose official name is Paulo Machado de Carválho? Because it is located in the Pacaembu neighborhood, in São Paulo, its nickname is Pacaembu. The stadium is named after the "Victory Marshall", head of the Brazilian soccer team commission that was twice world champion, in 1958 and 1962. This is a very peculiar case, given that both as an anthroponym and as a toponym, Paulo Machado de Carvalho is an example of antonomasia. I would not be odd to imagine that some day people could say they are going to watch a game at the "Marechal da Vitória Stadium" (HENRIQUES, 2012, p. 107).

Henriques (2012) defines *eponymy* as a

> [...] phenomenon resulting from a metonymy based on a contiguity relation between anthroponyms and meanings that cannot be expressed by a given word, or for which a new denomination is proposed. This change into a common noun does not characterize a change in class, but rather in subcategory (proper name > common noun).
> There are synchronous eponyms, the ones with very clear reference ties to the anthroponym that originated them (Amelia (for a perfect housewife), Barbie, Beelzebub, Camões (for a poet), Cupid, Dracula, He-Man, Quixote, Samson, Tarzan, etc.), and

there are diachronic eponyms, the ones that may only be identified as such based on historical information that contextualize their creation from an anthroponym (baderna (mess), carrasco (executioner), colt, gandula (ball boy), gari (street sweeper), gilete (razor), judas...) (HENRIQUES, 2012, p. 109-110).

The histories behind the diachronic eponyms are presented in Figure 1, extracted from Henriques (2012).

FIGURE 1 – Examples of eponyms

Marieta Baderna: Italian dancer who was in Rio de Janeiro in 1851, causing a certain mess, and whose admirers were called the "badernas".
["baderna" = mess, disorder, confusion]

Belchior Nunes Carrasco: Executioner who would have lived in Lisbon, before the 15th century.
[carrasco = cruel individual, tyrant]

Samuel Colt: inventor of this brand of revolver.
[colt = revolver used in western narratives]

Bernardo Gandulla: Argentine soccer player who played in a club in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 1930s and who had the habit of picking up balls out-of-bounds.
[gandula = ball boy]

Aleixo Gary: corporate owner of the company to whom the public street cleaning service in Rio de Janeiro provided services, in early 20th century:
[gari = street sweeper]

King Camp Gillette: inventor and first manufacturer of this razor and shaving device.
[gilete = razor, bad driver]

Judas Iscariote: disciple of Jesus Christ [judas = traitor]

Source: Henriques (2012, p. 110).

These explanations reveal the metonymical path traveled in building these words' meanings. *Eponyms* or *antonomasia* reveal that the limits between the common lexicon and the onomastic lexicon are not as precise as previously thought. The works of Henriques (2012) and Teixeira (2007), in general, ratify the idea that opaqueness must be questioned, as the notion of 'meaning' is altered. In cognitive linguistic theories, especially in Cognitive Linguistics, the meaning is not only the meaning built within the linguistic system, it is a meaning based on experience, on the forms of understanding and organizing the world in which one is engaged, based on a perspective mediated by history and culture.

Also in a cognitive approach, Pinker's text (2008) discusses where the meaning of words lies (in the external world or within the mind?). The author's reflections start as follows:

> For anyone interested in language as a window into the mind, the external world might seem to be an unpromising habitat. The word cat, for example, refers to the set of all the cats that have ever lived or will ever live. But no mortal can be acquainted with all cats, past, present and future. Also, many words don't have any referent in the world at all, such as unicorn, Eliza Doolittle, and the Easter Bunny, but the words are certainly meaningful to the person who knows them. Finally, people can use words with very different meanings to refer to the same thing in the world. The textbook example is the Evening Star and the Morning Star, which turned out to be two names for the planet Venus. But they certainly have different meanings to people who are innocent of astronomy and have no way of knowing they refer to the same heavenly body. There is another well-known example of two words that refer to the same thing in the world, but mean different things to a person. The words are Jocasta and Mom, and the person is Oedipus (PINKER, 2008, p. 323).

As the author sees it, there is no single answer for this question, "because the division of labor between sense and reference is very different for different kinds of words" (PINKER, 2008, p. 324). The author, therefore, presents three name categories:

> natural kinds, like cat, water and gold; artifacts, like pencil, oatmeal, and cyclotron, and proper names, like Aristotle, Paul McCartney, and Chicago. What are the roles of the world and the mind when it comes to these kinds of entities? (PINKER, 2008, p. 325).

Pinker (2008) contrasts the ideas that a word meaning may be, on the one hand, the set of things to which it refers, and, on the other hand, a kind of description, such as a dictionary entry or a logical-mathematical formula. Regarding proper names, the author conducts a series of mental experiments based on what is known about famous people, such as *Paul McCartney, Cicero, Aristotle, Shakespeare*, among others, concluding that

the name is not a brief description of anything, but a *rigid designator* – a term that designates the same individual in all possible worlds. In other words, a name refers to an individual in all imaginable circumstances in which we may talk rationally about such an individual, with no concern for biographical facts A name's reference is fixed when the person's parents, in effect, point to the little person whom they intend to bear the name, or at whatever later moment a name for the person sticks. It then continues to point to that person throughout his life and beyond, thanks to a chain of transmission in which a person who knows the name uses it in the presence of another person who intends to use it in the same way ("I'm going to tell you about a great philosopher. His name was Aristotle..."); Names are, in a sense, closer to indicators such as this or you than to descriptions like "the first president of the United States" or "a small domesticated mammal that has soft fur, sharp claws, and pointed ears". When we know a name, we are implicitly pointing to someone, regardless of what we, or anyone else, know about that person (PINKER, 2008, p. 328-329).

Pinker's proposition seems to be associated, somehow, with Fillmore's (1971) and Levinson's (2007) understanding of what social deixises, usually related to pronouns and forms of address, are. Deixis is a phenomenon that allows subjects to establish a reference point in the speech/text, based on time, space, social, and discourse relations. In language, it operates as a kind of dimensional anchor, which requires a certain cognitive "effort" from the recipient of the message in identifying and recognizing elements located outside the enunciation context. It may be stated that social deixises are constructions through which social identities emerge in discourse.

Pinker's point of view also allows us to assume that a name's meaning is linked both to its designation aspect and to a set of concepts and categories established based on such an aspect. Therefore, when we hear the sentence 'Alexander is coming for a visit', even if the listeners do not know who Alexander is specifically, they may assume that he is a male individual, and may infer other sociocultural information from the context.

Based on the understanding that these categorizations must be taken into account for the semantic approach to proper names, Rodrigues (2016) incorporated them as counterpart for the Brazilian anthroponymy

constructions with formatives of German origin. The author adopted the perspective of Constructional Morphology (CM) schemes, based on Booij's (2010), Soledade's (2013), and Gonçalves' (2016a) theoretical formulations.

In the CM field, a morphological scheme is a theoretical formulation that accounts for the pairing of form, meaning and function in word formation and interpretation. Rodrigues' (2016) work, therefore, presents schemes such as the following:

(1) [X-aldo/X-naldo/X-valdo]_{NP} ↔ [male name]_{NP} (RODRIGUES, 2016, p. 39)

(2) [X-mara(es)]_{NP} ↔ [female name]_{NP} (RODRIGUES, 2016, p. 53)

(3) [ED(i/e)-X]_{NP} ↔ [person's name]_{NP} (RODRIGUES, 2016, p. 44)

Based on Rodrigues' (2016) examples, the schematic formulation provided in (1) allows one to group and understand names, such as *Adroaldo, Aguinaldo, Arnaldo, Arquibaldo, Beraldo, Bernaldo, Clodoaldo, Euvaldo, Evaldo, Geraldo, Giraldo, Heraldo, Osvaldo, Reginaldo, Reinaldo, Teobaldo, Ubaldo, Vilibaldo, Vinebaldo,* and *Vivaldo*, all referring to male individuals. The scheme in (2) instantiates the names *Damares, Edmara, Gilmara, Josimara, Lucimara,* and *Nilmara*, all referring to females. Finally, in scheme (3), gender is not specified, given that the formative Ed-, primarily for being a formative that occupies the left end of forenames, integrates both male and female names. Examples include: *Edclea, Edeilice, Ediana, Edijane, Edileide, Edilene, Edilla, Edineia, Edirlainne, Edjane, Edmara, Edmildes, Edvania, Edemario, Edenildo, Edenilton, Ederaldo, Ederval, Edinaldo, Edmagno,* and *Edwardes.* Although Rodrigues (2016) does not specify gender in this final scheme, she places at the semantic counterpart the information that it instantiates people's names. This fact sets this scheme apart from schemes such as *X-briga*, *X-lândia,* and *X-ópolis*, which instantiate place-names.

This article adopts Rodrigues (2016) proposition regarding the relation between proper name and meaning, understanding that, although this category of names does not have a meaning (in its most canonical and structural sense), it displays motivation and referentiality aspects that allow speakers/conceptualizers, to make conjectures and categorizations, based on experience.

3. Patronymics in Portuguese and the patronymic *-son* from English to Portuguese

The word *patronymic* stems from the Greek form *patrónumikós, ê, ón* (HOUAISS; VILLAR, 2009, entry 'patronymic'), meaning 'extracted from the father's name'. Traditionally, they are understood as elements in the anthroponymic phrase that allude to the figure of the father or the ascendant. Patronymics have existed and exist in the history of many languages and, in some of them, the relation with the father is identified by using an affix (suffix or prefix). In this classic work *Antroponímia portuguesa*, Leite de Vasconcelos (1928) makes the following observations regarding these elements in Indo-European languages, highlighting Latin and Portuguese:

> Indo-European peoples, and among others, had the very old habit of mentioning an individual in a narrative, or having an individual sign a document, and, immediately after that, mentioning his father's name.
>
> (...) Filiation was expressed: (1) by a genitive in -i, which was common in other relationships, as well as in -e (and -ae), -is, -onis (and -oni), -anis (and -ani); (2) or by a genitive with its own suffix, that is, -az, -oz, -uz , and -iz (later changed into, -ez, -es, etc.), albeit at different frequency rates. Names formed as such, and added to their baptism names, as signifiers of paternal lineage, are usually called patronymics by grammarians. This is what they call especially those with their own suffixes. (VASCONCELOS, 1928, p. 101-102, our emphasis)

In his research about surnames in anthroponymy in archaic Portuguese, Silva (2012) analyzes names recorded in medieval notary documents, indicating a recurring structure with three elements in this period's anthroponymic phrases. One of these elements is the *patronymic*, as observed in Chart 2 below:

CHART 2 **–** Productivity analysis of the formation of Portuguese anthroponyms

Anthroponym	1ˢᵗ Designation (Forename)	2ⁿᵈ Designation (Patronymic)	3ʳᵈ Designation (Locative)	Century/ Region
Pedro Garzia de Uoado, resident in Uoado	Pedro	Garzia	de Uoado	(1269) Coruña
Thareygia Froyaz, daughter of Maria Petrez de Oza and Froya Suariz	Thareygia	Froyaz		(1262) Região Coruña
Berto Nuniz de Castelo father of Marina Nuniz	Berto	Nuniz	de Castelo	1255 Região Lugo
Johã Paez, great-grandfather of Pedro Paez d'Arregeyro	Pedro	Paez	d'Arregeyro	1281 Coruña
Afonsso Pelaez, son of Pay Fagũdez, notary of Santiago	Afonsso	Pelaez		(1351)
Afomso Aluarez, son of Aluaro Annes de Vjlarjnho	Afomso	Aluarez		(1484) Douro Litoral
Frey Bieyto de Pontevedra	Bieyto		de Pontevedra	(1506) Pontevedra

Source: Silva (2012, p. 37).

The name structures pointed out by Silva (2012) is identified in Portuguese-Galician troubadour names. They are reproduced in Chart 3 below. Patronymics must be highlighted.

CHART 3 – Examples of patronymics in *–es* in Galician-Portuguese

Full Name	Patronymic	Meaning
Estévão Fernandes d'Elvas	Fernandes	Son/Descentant of Fernão
Fernão Gonçalves de Seabra	Gonçalves	Son/Descentant of Gonçalo
Fernão Rodrigues de Calheiros	Rodrigues	Son/Descentant of Rodrigo
Fernão Soares de Quihones	Soares	Son/Descentant of Soeiro
Rui Martins de Ulveira	Martins	Son/Descentant of Martim
Airas Nunes	Nunes	Son/Descentant of Nuno
Pero Gomes Barroso	Gomes	Son/Descentant of Gome
Gil Sanches	Sanches	Son/Descentant of Sancho
João Lopes de Ulhoa	Lopes	Son/Descentant of Lobo
João Mendes de Briteiros	Mendes	Son/Descentant of Mem
João Vasques de Talaveira	Vasques	Son/Descentant of Vasco

Source: Prepared by the authors.

In archaic Portuguese, patronymics would operate as family and clan organization mechanisms, and the meaning of 'son or descendant' was still functional in that society. As a verifiable example, fleet secretary *Pero Vaz de Caminha's* letter indicates his father was named *Vasco Fernandes de Caminha*, which explains the patronymic *Vaz* (a variant of *Vasques*). It is also admissible that we assume *Pero Vaz de Caminha*'s grandfather was named *Fernão*, based on his father's name. Patronymics did not operate exactly as surnames, but they identified families and other organizations from a patriarchal perspective. However, throughout the centuries, this element was disseminated as a common surname, as it is understood nowadays, that is, with no semantic specificity. Therefore, someone who has the surname *Simões*, nowadays, does not necessarily have a father/ascendant named *Simão*. In this sense, Menon (2013) considers there has been a morphological loss, throughout the history of the Portuguese language, regarding the patronymic suffix *-es*.

Regarding the existence of patronymics in other languages, Viaro (2013) points out:

> [t]o these we add English and Nordic surnames ending in –*son* (*Anderson, Jefferson, Robinson*), Irish and Scottish names starting in *Mac* or *O'* (*McDonald, McLuhan, McIntosh, McCarthy, McAdam, O'Hara, O'Connor*), Slavic names ending in *-ov*, *-itch*, *-ovitch* (*Ivanov, Ivanovitch*), Romanian names ending in *-escu* (*Ionescu, Popescu, Ceauşcu*), and some Italian surnames ending in *-ato, -elli, -ella, -ini, -otti, -oni, -utti* (*Francescato, Antonelli, Paolini, Perotti, Zanoni, Stefanutti*) (VIARO, 2013, p. 178, author's emphasis)

Some of these examples in other languages display the same emptying and semantic opaqueness that may be identified in Portuguese patronymics. In *A dictionary of English surnames,* Reaney and Wilson (2006 [1958], p. 8-10) stated that, in old English, patronymics were formed by adding *-ing* to the theme or *-sunu* to the person's name genitive: *Dudding* 'son of Dudda', *Eadricessunu* 'son of Eadric'. The formative *-sunu* was also used as an adjunct patronymic form *Hering Hussan sunum* (603 A.D.); this type of formation was also found in the 8th and 9th centuries, and was not uncommon among female names: *Godwine Aelfrices Suna*. Furthermore, similarly, this formative was also common among Scandinavian anthroponyms *Purfero Rolfes Sune*. According o the authors, the significant frequency of names with the formative *-son* in northern United Kingdom is commonly attributed to the Nordic influence. Lexicographers point out that, up to the 8th century, descriptive forms such as *Hugo filius cleric*, *Willemus filius fabri* competed with the forms ending in *-son*. After the 14th century, formations, such as *Smythson* and *Clerksonne* became predominant, and remain even today.

The permanence of the formative *-son* and its allomorph *-sen*, in English and in Nordic languages reveals that it no longer maintains the association with the sense 'son of', even if the word son still exists as a free form in these languages.

If we analyze some names of English-speaking culture icons, we realize patronymics with this formative have remained, as well as the lack of a semantic correlation, given the surname is more of a family heritage than it is a strictly patronymic relationship, in the sense of 'son of', as shown in Chart 4.

CHART 4 – Examples of patronymics ending in *–son/-sen* in English

Full Name	Patronymic	Meaning
Emma Watson	Watson	Descentant of Watt
Samuel L. Jackson	Jackson	Descentant of Jack
Britt Robertson	Robertson	Descentant of Robert
Mara Wilson	Wilson	Descentant of William
Thomas Edison	Edison	Descentant of Eda
Flora Robson	Robson	Descentant of Robin
Horatio Nelson	Nelson	Descentant of Nell
Thomas Jefferson	Jefferson	Descentant of Jeffrey
Kelly Clarkson	Clarkson	Descentant of Clark
Pamela Denise Anderson	Anderson	Descentant of Andreas
Cristopher Scott Petersen	Petersen	Descentant of Peter
Scarlett Ingrid Johansson	Johansson	Descentant of Johan
Emil Fredericksen	Fredericksen	Descentant of Frederick
Marc Johnson	Johnson	Descentant of John
Latanya Richardson	Richardson	Descentant of Richard

Source: Prepared by the authors, based on information from the site *The Internet Surname Database*

Chart 4 foregrounds the lower frequency of X-*sen*, when compared to *X-son*. This is certainly due to the formations *X-sen* being more often associated with Nordic languages, such and Danish and Norwegian. Another important aspect to be considered is that, upon referring to some of these people's, we establish that, also in English, the anthroponyms X-*son* have spread as common surnames, having lost their patronymic status, similarly to what occurred in Portuguese with the patronymics *X-es*. For example, actress *Scarlett Johansson's* father is not named *Johan*, but *Kartsen Johansson*. Actor *Samuel L. Jackson's* is named *Ron*, not *Jack*. Finally, football coach *Chris Petersen's* father is *Ron Petersen*, not Peter.

In Brazilian Portuguese, the adoption of the formative -son reveals an interesting change in category, considering that, instead of being applied to the surname category, it has been used in forenames (first names). According to Mexias-Simon (2004), this occurs because, in Brazil, people do not usually address each other by their surnames, as they do in the United States: *Mr. Jackson, Mrs. Wilson.*

In her work about tradition and creativity in naming Brazilians, Mexias-Simon (2004) analyzed the lists of those present in parishes in three cities in the state of Rio de Janeiro, in the years 1928, 1938, 1948, 1958, 1968, and 1972. The author highlighted some *X-son* names included in the 1928 list, as were the cases of *Welson and Nelson,* and pointed out that these names differed from the Brazilian orthographical and phonological systems. Throughout the years, the lists reviewed by Mexias-Simon (2004) exhibited the following *X-son* formations: (i) *Adirçon, Delço, Uilson* (1948 list); (ii) *Danilson, Edimilso* (1968 list); and (iii) *Anderson, Robson, Vanderson, Adeilson, Adnilson, Arilson, Ivanilson and Maiélson* (1972 list).

To complete this section, we must notice that, in semantic and constructional terms, both patronymics in *X-es,* from the Portuguese, and patronymics in *X-son*, from the English, underwent schematic changes, if their original meaning is compared to the status they have in contemporary language. Regarding the *X-es* constructions, we present the following formulation:

(4) (A) $[[X_i]_{NP}$ -es$]_{NP} \leftrightarrow$ ['son of' $X_i]_{NP}$

(B) $[[X_i]_{NP}$ -es$]_{NP} \leftrightarrow$ [common surname originally related to Xi$]_{NP}$

In the scheme in scheme (4), (A) indicates the original meaning/function of patronymics *X-es* names, whereas (B) shows their function as surname in contemporary Portuguese. There has been, therefore, a metonymical extension of a specific function of the anthroponymic phrase to a somewhat less specific function, given that it no longer indicates filiation or dynasty.

An equivalent phenomenon may be observed for English and Nordic origin names, as shown in scheme (5) below:

(5) (A) [[X$_i$] $_{NP}$ -son/sen]$_{NP}$ ↔ ['son of' X$_i$]]$_{NP}$

(B) [[X$_i$] $_{NP}$ -son/sen]$_{NP}$ ↔ [common surname originally related to X$_i$]$_{NP}$

Nevertheless, when it is incorporated into the Brazilian anthroponymic system, it exhibits a new semantic-functional displacement, considering that the formative *-son* is taken in Portuguese, to form neologistic forenames, from English surnames, devoid their patronymic sense.

(6) (B) [[X$_i$] $_{NP}$ -son/sen]$_{NP}$ ↔ [common surname originally related to X$_i$]]$_{NP}$

(C) [[X-son]$_{NP}$ ↔ [male name associated with an anthroponymic formative X]]$_{NP}$

Therefore, the scheme in (5) reveals that the original patronymic sense, in (A), refers to the language of origin, given that, in Brazil, this functionality did not even exist, let alone by means of this formative. Scheme (B) shows these elements' statuses as common surnames in English,[7] similar to what happened with the *X-es* constructions, in Portuguese. Finally, scheme (6) reveals the formative for proper male names in Brazil stems from the English surname scheme. This derivation is not a direct process. Apparently, some of the English language surnames had already migrated to the forename position, such as, for instance, *Alyson, Edson, Emerson,* and *Nelson*. Nevertheless, even those employed as surnames in English-speaking countries were introduced in Brazil as forenames: *Anderson, Erickson, Jamerson, Jakson, Jeferson, Johnson, Robson*.

It is important to notice that, when the patronym was converted into a common surname in English, its morphological aspect was preserved, therefore the base category is always a proper male name.

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[7] At this point, we will no longer refer to other languages, given that this formative comes to and spreads among Brazilian names through the English language.

However, when it became a forename in Brazil, this was lost, considering that, in names such as *Nadson, Mailson, Joedson,* and *Jadson*, there is the apparent impossibility of proposing a paraphrase as son of *Nad, Mail, Joed,* and *Jad*.

4 *X-son* constructions in Brazilian Portuguese[8]

4.1 English origin *X-son* constructions

An important part of this work is our understanding of lexicon and morphology being structured based on what is known as *Full entry theory* as proposed by Booij (2010), in the field of Constructional Morphology. This theory admits that the lexicon of languages has a hierarchically organized structure, in which complex words stored in the speaker's memory are source/models for abstracting schemes that enable the construction of new complex words according to the same mold. Therefore, abstract word formation schemes are acquired based on knowledge and mental storage of a set of complex words that instantiate the construction patterns that enable generating new lexical items.

Thus, we realize the Brazilian anthroponymic system, at first, incorporated some surnames of English origin with the formative *-son*, using them as forenames, and later used these forenames as models to create new names.

Corresponding to surnames recorded in the *Dictionary of surnames* (REANEY; WILLSON, 2006), in *An etymological dictionary of family and Christian names* (ARTHUR, 1857) and on the site, *Surname Database*, sixteen forenames were identified in our databases, which may or may not exhibit graphical variations. These forenames are quite widespread among the Brazilian population, as shown by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) data on the platform *Nomes no Brasil*.[9] This set has been organized in Table 1 below:

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[8] Although we are based on a *corpus* that is dated and located in Bahia, when we investigate the use of these names on the platform *Nomes no Brasil*, the studies about the name use is no longer located in a single state and provides a glimpse of its use at a national level.

[9] On the site *Nomes no Brasil*, IBGE provides a set of approximately 130 thousand names that have been recorded in Brazil, dated between a few decades before 1930 and 2010.

TABLE 1 – Anglicisms ending in -*son* used in Brazil

Names	Surname	Etymon	First records documented in the languages of origin	Frequency / popularity (IBGE)	First records in Brazil
Abisson ~ Abson	Abson	Ab (possible corruption of names such as *Abel* or *Abraham*) +-son (DS)[10]	William *Abson* (1379) (DS)	226 / 23.892nd	1970
Adson	Addison	*Addie/Adie* + -son; variant of *Allanson* (*Allan* + son) (DE)[11]	John *Addisone* (1308); Robert *Addeson* (1498) (DS)	12.453 / 1.439th	1930
Alisson ~ Allisson	Alison	*Alice/Aleis* (used both as a name and as a corruption of names such as *Adam*)+ -son (DS)	William *Alisun* (circa 1248); John *Allison* (1332) (DS)	95.080 / 405th	1930
Anderson ~ Andeson	Anderson	*Andrew* + -son (DE)	Henry *Androsoun* (circa 1443); John *Andrewson* (1444); Robert *Androwson*, *Androson* (1455, 1482); Thomas *Anderson* (1471) (DS)	473.250 / 42nd	1930

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[10] The acronym 'DS' indicates the *Dictionary of surnames* (REANEY; WILLSON, 2006) was the source of information.

[11] The acronym 'DE' indicates that *An etymological dictionary of family and Christian names* (ARTHUR, 1857) was the source of information.

Edson	Edson	Variant of *Edeson. Ead/Edd* + -son (DS)	William *Eddesone* (1314); Geoffrey *Edessone* (1328); William *Edison* (1394) (DS)	431.543/ 55th	Before 1930
Emerson	Emerson	*Emar* (from *Ethelmar*) + -son (DE) *Emery* + -son (DS)	William *Emeryson* (1411); Cuthbert *Emerson* (1498) (DS)	177.935/ 176th	Before 1930
Erickson ~ Herycksson	Erickson	*Erick* + -son (SDB)[12]	Lawrence *Erickson* (1613); John *Ericsson* (1803-1889) (SDB)	4.818 / 2.814[th]	1960
Harrison	Harrison	*Henry* + -son (DS)	Henry *Hennerissone* (1354); Robert *Harriesone* (1355); John *Herryson* (1372); William *Henryson* (1376); John *Herryson*, *Harryson* (1445) (DS)	438 / 14.871[st]	1970
Hudson ~ Rudson	Hudson	Hudd + -son (DS); *Hod/Roger* + -son (DE)	John *Hudsone*, *Hutson* (1323) (DS)	23.087/ 937th	Before 1930
Jackson ~ Jacson	Jackson ~ Jakson ~ Jacson	*Jack* (a nickname for *John*) + -son (DE)	Adam *Jackessone* (1327); Adam *Jakson* (1353); John *Jakeson* (1438) (DS)	58.806 / 474th	Before 1930

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[12] The acronym SDB indicates the site *Surname Database* was the source of information.

Jefferson	Jefferson	Geoffrey + -son (DS)	Robert *Geffreysone* (1344); Alice *Geffrason* (1488); John *Jeffrason* (1528)	253.819 / 114th	Before 1930
Madson	Madison	*Matt* (corruption of *Mathew* or *Matilda*) + -son (DE) Variant of *Mathieson* (*Matthew* + -son); or *Maddy* (nickname for Maud) + -son (DS)	Thomas *Madyson* (1425); William *Maddison* (1430); Lancelot *Madyson* (1532) (DS)	9.168/ 1.791st	1940
Nelson	Nelson	*Nell* + -son (DS) Variant of *Neilson*, which could be *Nell* or *Neil* +-son (DE)	Robert *Nelleson* (1324) (DS)	200.581 / 158th	Before 1930
Neilson	Neilson	Variant of *Nelson*, which could be *Nell* ou *Neil* +-son (DE) *Neil* + -son (DS)	John *Neylsone* (1510); John *Nilsoune* (1654) (DS)	5.714 / 2.477th	1940
Nilson	Nilson	Variant of Neilson, therefore originating from *Neil* + -son (DS)	John *Neylsone* (1510); John *Nilsoune* (1654) (DS)	101.796 / 303rd	Before 1930
Robson	Robson	*Rob* (used both as and as a corruption of *Robert*) + -son (DS)	Richard *Robson* (1379) (DS)	236.282 / 125th	Before 1930

Source: Prepared by the authors.

This set of names, usually formed in the English language between the 18th and the 19th centuries, may be considered to be loanwords in Brazilian Portuguese, especially if we consider how often they are used in Brazil and the dates for their first records. The majority of such records are dated as of the 1930s, with the exception of the names *Abson* and *Harrison*,[13] whose first record dates as of the 1970s.

These names are most frequently used in Brazil as male names. However, the names, *Adison*,[14] *Alisson*,[15] and *Madson*[16] (and their variants) may have been infrequent in Brazil, with records of females having these names, as it also occurs in English.

From the morphological construction standpoint, we will demonstrate that these names, loanwords, were appropriated by Brazilian Portuguese as models for extracting patterns/schemes that have enabled (and still do) creating new names (anthroponymic neologisms) based on concatenation processes, borrowing the suffix -son, and on non-concatenation processes,[17] performing cutouts on the loanwords to create new formatives, called *splinters*.

4.2 New *X-son* formations in Brazilian anthroponymy

We verified, based on our data and on the dictionaries used as reference, that names formed in English have a morphic structure with two formatives (name + suffix -*son*). Neologistic names in Portuguese seem to adopt a similar pattern, that is, the suffix -*son* is incorporated

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[13] The popularity of the name *Harrison* after the 1970's is believed to be associated with North-American actor *Harrison Ford's* success, as he played the role of *Han Solo* in the *Star Wars* franchise.

[14] Examples of use of the name *Alison* for both genders in English anthroponymy include the character *Addison Montgomery*, played by actress Kate Walsh in the series *Grey's Anatomy* and *Private Practice*, and NASA scientist *Addison Bain*.

[15] Examples of use of the name *Alison* for both genders in English anthroponymy include North-American screenwriter *Allison Burnett*, and North-American actress-singer *Alison Sudol*.

[16] Examples of use of the name *Madison* for both genders in English anthroponymy include North-American actress *Madison de la Garza*, actress-singer Demi Lovato's sister, and North-American rugby player *Madison Hughes*.

[17] Concatenation processes are those that use recognizedly morphemic nature elements in the language, whereas non-concatenation processes create words or formatives based on parts of words that are not recognized as morphemes.

to the right end of the name, having as a base a set of phonemes that, articulated, are structured as a nominal base (*Jad-, Jed-, Nad-* etc.), in some cases the base is actually a free form existing in the language (*Gil*) or a bound form recurring in anthroponyms (*Deiv-, Gleid-, Mart-* etc.). The set of forenames is provided in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2 – Brazilianisms [[X] -son]

Names	Etymon	Formatio	Frequency / popularity (IBGE)	First records
ACKSON	Brazilianism	Ack + son	167/ 29.529th	1990
AGENSON	Brazilianism	Agen + son	-	-
ALECSON	Brazilianism	Alec + son	192 / 26.853rd	1970
ALESSON	Brazilianism	Ale + son	2.449 / 4.480th	1970
DEIVISON ~ DEYVSON	Brazilianism	Dei(y)vi + son	17.299 / 1.144th 744 / 10.233rd	1950 1970
FRENISSON	Brazilianism	Freni + son	-	-
ERISSON	Brazilianism	Eri + son	2.581 / 4.310th	1950
EVISSON	Brazilianism	Evi + son	85/47.124th	1990
GEDSON	Brazilianism	Ged + son	1.822/5.463rd	1950
GILSON[18]	Brazilianism	Gil + son	144.757/210th	Before 1930
GLEDSON	Brazilianism	Gled + son	8.273/1920th	1950
GLEISON	Brazilianism	Glei + son	22.022/977th	1950
GLEYDSON	Brazilianism	Gleyd + son	2.454/4.472nd	1960
INGRISSON	Brazilianism	Ingri + son	41/78.117th	1990
IVISON	Brazilianism	Ivi + son	2.050/5.045th	1950
JADSON	Brazilianism	Jad + son	28.147/840th	1940
JANDESSON	Brazilianism	Jande + son	125/ 36.063rd	1980

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[18] The name *Gilson* was a problem for our analysis, given that the form *Gilson* may be found in the English origin, originating from *Gilles* > *Gilleson (Scottish)*. However, the initial phoneme in the case of English/Scottish will be [g], whereas in Brazil the name is performed with a [ʒ]. The question we should ask is: has the name been borrowed through the written modality, thereby resulting in an alteration of the phonic nature of the name? Or is *Gilson* in fact a formation based on the elements *Gil-* and *-son*, combined in a biformative structure?

JILDSON	Brazilianism	Jild + son	48/70.377th	-
MARTSON	Brazilianism	Mart + son	20/130.043rd	-
NADSON	Brazilianism	Nad + son	7.305/2.097th	1950
NAISSON	Brazilianism	Nai + son	89/45.798th	1990
RADSON	Brazilianism	Rad + son	641/ 11.392nd	1970
TALISSON ~ THALYSSON	Brazilianism	Tali + son	11.057 / 1.571st 612 / 11.796th	1970 1980
WADSON	Brazilianism	Wad + son	3.620/3.401st	1950
WALISSON	Brazilianism	Wali + son	14.559 / 1.280th	1960
WALESSON	Brazilianism	Wale + son	351/ 17.495th	1980
WANDESSON	Brazilianism	Wande + son	309/ 19.183rd	1980
WELBSON	Brazilianism	Welb + son	73/52.737th	1990
WELISON	Brazilianism	Weli+ son	8.646/1.858th	1960

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Thirty-two occurrences of new constructions with the formative *-son* were identified in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Unlike loanwords, which revealed the possibility of also being used as female names, those names formed in accordance with our anthroponymic system revealed themselves as being basically applicable to male individuals, confirming our theory that there a construction scheme for such instantiations in organizing our personal onomastic lexicon:

[[X-son]$_{NP}$ ↔ [male name associated with anthroponymic formative X]]$_{NP}$

Therefore, to form new proper names in Brazil, the speaker is provided with the possibility of combining the suffix *-son* with a set of phonemes that configure a nominal base (preserving the biformative construction model that is the closest to the original: names + suff. *-son)*. The semantic counterpart, however, will ensure that it is a proper name and that such a name has, according to our data, the gender mark for male names. The possibility, nevertheless, is not excluded that a corpus expansion allows us to find new female name formations, having as models loanwords such as *Adison, Alison, Madison*.

Most of these records are dated as of after the 1950s, with the exception of *Gilson* (before 1930s, cf. note 22) and *Jadson* (1940s).

This means that the construction scheme *X-son*, becomes, according to the data analyzed here,[19] more productive in Brazilian Portuguese during the last century.

4.3 Formations of splinters based on *X-son* names

In its broader sense, the word 'splinter' means 'parts/chips of a given material that has been broken into large pieces'. Application of this word to the field of morphology is clearly a metaphorical extension of the meaning, considering that words are understood as materials that may be broken. Therefore, the word 'splinter' refers to the phenomenon consisting of taking parts of words (not identified as morphemes), to form new words based on them. As Lehrer (1998) defines it, a splinter is a piece, not necessarily morphemic, taken from a model form, which appears in new lexical constructions, for example: *-gate* (*Watergate*, *Irangate* etc.) and *-thon* (*marathon, bikeathon* etc.).

Gonçalves (2016b, p. 85-92) views splinters as being new formatives that appear in language, categorizing them, based on Szymanek (2005), as affixes that establish themselves in languages on their own, given that speakers start to perceive them as such, based on a group of existing words (native or foreign).

A series of examples for this phenomenon exists in common lexicon, and Gonçalves (2016b) divides them into two groups: the non-native (xeno-constituents), such as *ciber- (from cybernetics > ciberataque (cyberattack), ciber café...); wiki- (from Wikipédia > wikinovela (wikisoap), wikimapia...); -tube (de youtube > pornôtube (porntube), brasilierãotube (soccer championship on Youtube)...); -burguer* (from hamburger> *X-búrguer* (cheeseburger), *franburguer* (chickenburger)...) etc., and the native, such as *-drasta (from madrasta (stepmother) > sogradastra (step mother-in-law), tiadrasta (stepaunt)...) -trocínio (from patrocínio (funding) > paitrocínio (funded by the parents), autotrocínio (funded by onself)...); caipi- (from caipirinha (drink prepared with cachaça) > caipirosca (drink prepared with vodca), caipifruta (drink prepared with fruit)...); info- (de informática (computers) > infopeças (parts for computers), infoprofessor (computer instructor)...)* etc. Based on these examples, it is clear that the word's 'broken piece' to become

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[19] A *corpus* expansion will be essential for studies about date issues.

a new formative does not correspond to a morphemic element in the language. However, as it takes on the formative role, it becomes part of constructional schemes in which both their formal and their semantic behavior becomes predictable. See, for example, the constructional scheme proposed for the forms in -*nejo*, as analyzed by Oliveira (2017), (from *sertanejo (a style of country music) > pagonejo, funknejo, forronejo, lambanejo* etc.):

[[X-nejo]ₛ ↔ [musical genre '*sertanejo*' related to the musical gender X]]ₛ

Regarding this type of scheme, the forms that occupy the position in X (musical genders) may be free forms in the language, such as *forró* and *funk*, but may also be truncations (reductions) of free forms, such as *pago-* (from *pagode*) and *lamba-* (from *lambada*).

The formation of splinters is, therefore, a recurring phenomenon in the common lexicon of the Portuguese language, and there are no reasons to imagine that it may not happen in the onomastic lexicon.

Regarding *X-son* instantiations, we identified that, in the set of borrowed names, some names allowed the speakers to make cutouts/ morpheme breaks, resulting in anthroponymic splinters (new formatives). They will be discussed in the following sections.

4.3.1 The formations *X-elson* and *X-ilson* in BP

From the names borrowed from surnames in English, the forenames Nelson and Nilson standout in Brazil, given their frequent and early occurrences (before 1930), (cf. Table 1).

As seen regarding common nouns, the splinter may be cut out from a single word, for instance, the word '*piriguete*' (meaning a 'party girl') originated a series of formations in Portuguese with the element -*guete* (*vovóguete* (meaning an old floozy), *coroguete* (meaning an older floozy), *amiguete* (meaning a friend who is a party girl), etc.). The frequency of use of name/model will be very relevant in this process.

For the forenames created in Brazil, the models *Nelson*, *Nilson*, and *Neilson* (the latter having been recorded in 1940 and being less frequent) seem to have operated as stimuli for the generation of the splinters -*elson* and -*ilson*, quite recurrent among innovative names, as shown on the table below:

TABLE 3 – Brazilianisms using splinters *X-elson* and *X-ilson*

Names	Etymon	Formation	Frequency / popularity (IBGE)	First records
ADELSON	Brazilianism	Ad + elson	30.498/793rd	Before 1930
ADEMILSON	Brazilianism	Adem + ilson	21.675/988th	1930
ADILSON	Brazilianism	Ad + ilson	155.430/200th	Before 1930
ALAILSON	Brazilianism	Ala + ilson	2.391/4.550th	1950
AMAILSON	Brazilianism	Ama + ilson	236/23.206th	1970
DEILSON	Brazilianism	De + ilson	3.479/3.495th	1940
DENILSON	Brazilianism	Den + ilson	74.473/395th	1930
DIELSON	Brazilianism	Di + elson	2.704/4.174th	1940
DUILSON	Brazilianism	Du + ilson	55/63.598th	-
EDIELSON	Brazilianism	Edi + elson	6.546/2.243rd	1940
EDIMILSON	Brazilianism	Edim + ilson	46.382/572nd	Before 1930
ELIELSON	Brazilianism	Elil + elson	14.175/1.313rd	1940
GENILSON	Brazilianism	Gen + ilson	32.977/747th	1930
GIDAELSON	Brazilianism	Gida + elson	-	-
JOELSON	Brazilianism	Jo + elson	37.977/666th	1930
JOILSON	Brazilianism	Jo + ilson	21.080/1.003rd	1930
NAILSON	Brazilianism	Na + ilson	8.063/1.952nd	1940
NATAILSON	Brazilianism	Nata + ilson	112/39.048th	1980
NERILSON	Brazilianism	Ner + ilson	220/24.414th	1960
RENILSON	Brazilianism	Ren + ilson	11.297/1.543rd	1940
RONIELSON	Brazilianism	Roni + elson	1.982/5.165th	1970
RONILSON	Brazilianism	Roni + ilson	15.598/1.225th	1940

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Although our corpus is quite limited in terms of number of forenames, in it alone we detected 22 occurrences of records in which the new formatives are present, 7 of which were *X-elson*, while the remaining 15 were *X-ilson*.

This table includes names that maintain their formal organization, that is, there is a phonological set playing the role of base, and a second

formative, playing the role of affix.[20] If the term 'base' may be applied to proper names, we have identified, among elements on the left end playing the role of base, the presence of free forms (albeit hypocoristic), such as *Jo* and *Roni*, as well as the presence of recurring formatives from proper names, always occupying the left end, such as *Ad(i)-, Den(i)-, Ed(i)-* etc.

Again, as it was the case of names in *X-son*, the masculine gender prevails, and these data do not include any forenames that are also used for females. Therefore, the constructional scheme for these names is quite similar to the previous one, regarding names forenames in *X-son*, and the alteration will take place basically at the affix form:

$$[[\text{X-e/ilson}]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [\text{male name}]]_{NP}$$

The decision not to define two separate schemes, one for *X-elson* and another one for *X-ilson*, is related to the observation that e/i usually make up formatives in which they promote allomorphic opposition. Furthermore, there is no difference in their distributional or semantic behavior among the splinters.

The last aspect to be brought up is that, unlike the *X-son* and *X-erson/X-irson* constructions, which we will address next, the splinters described above carry the words' stress.[21]

It is also important to notice that five of these names had first been recorded during the 1930s, and three of them before the 1930s, which brings up interesting data about the birth of anthroponymy neology in Brazil, demonstrating, for instance, that names formed by these splinters have been productive for longer in Brazilian neology than names with the formative *X-son*.

4.3.2 *X-erson* formations in BP

Among the names borrowed from the English language, the names *Anderson, Emerson,* and *Jeferson*, stand out, given that they are quite widespread in the country, since before the 1930s, and are among

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[20] New formatives play the role of an affix, of suffixal nature, and they behave as the word's lexical head, considering that they carrying information of categorical nature: proper name, masculine gender.

[21] This statement is related to our knowledge about Brazilian anthroponymy, considering that IBGE does not provide data as to the pronunciation of names.

the 200 most popular names, especially the name *Anderson*, which ranks as the 42nd most popular name in the general table of names in Brazil, including female and male names.

These names constitute, therefore, ideal models to form the anthroponymic splinter *-erson*, in Brazilian Portuguese. This formative, according to our data, seems to have been first recorded around the 1940s,[22] as shown in Table 4 below:

TABLE 4 – Brazilianisms created with the splinters *X-erson* and *X-irson*

Names	Etymon	Formation	Frequency / popularity (IBGE)	First records
CLEVERSON ~ KLEVERSON	Brazilianism	Clev + erson	19.073/1.074th ~ 1.709/5.722nd	1940 ~1960
DEIVERSON	Brazilianism	Deiv + erson	1.192/7.332nd	1970
DEMERSON	Brazilianism	Dem+ erson	1.567/6.070th	1960
DEVERSON	Brazilianism	Dev + erson	744/10.256th	1970
DJANDERSON	Brazilianism	Djand + erson	-	-
ENDERSON	Brazilianism	End + erson	4.570/2.918th	1950
ESTEFERSON	Brazilianism	Estef + erson	454/14.496th	1970
JAMERSON	Brazilianism	Jam + -erson	8.794 / 1.839th	1940
JEANDERSON	Brazilianism	Jeand + erson	4.190/3.079th	1970
JENERSON	Brazilianism	Jen + erson	244/22.716th	1980
UEVERSON	Brazilianism	Uev + erson	460/14.346th	1970
VANDERSON ~ WANDERSON	Brazilianism	Vand + erson	32.539/759th ~ 76.026/386th	1940 ~ 1940
WEBERSON	Brazilianism	Web + erson	2.893/3.993rd	1960
WILKERSON	Brazilianism	Wilk + erson	412/15.531st	1970
WIVIRSON	Brazilianism	Wiv + irson	-	-

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Sixteen records were found with instantiations of the *X-erson* scheme, and one instantiation was found with the variant *-irson*. As discussed about the variants *-elson/-ilson*, the speaker does not seem

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[22] An extended *corpus* may confirm or reject this dates.

to create a new constructional scheme, but imposes upon the scheme a phonic variation quite common in Brazil, especially in pre-stressed contexts. Although the forename *Wivirson* is not yet widespread in Brazil, according to IBGE data, this does not mean we do not have records of other names ending in *-irson*, considering that we could find, on the platform *Nomes no Brasil*, names such as: *Alirson* (64, since 1990s), *Ivirson* (58 records, since 1990s), *Elirson* (29 records), *Leirson* (132, since 1980s). Among the formatives originating from the name *X-son*, the latter seems to be the most recent.

Once again, in this analysis, we believe the biformative structure prevails, that is, the splinter is placed on the right edge of the forename, whereas the left margin will be occupied by a combination of phonemes that are free forms in Brazilian anthroponymy, such as *Jam* (195 records, variant of *Jan*, 2503 records), or that are recurring bound forms in other anthroponymic formations, such as *Deiv-, Estef-, Vand-*, etc.

The masculine gender prevails, as it was the case with names ending in *X-son* and with names ending in *X-e/ilson*. There are no data, as verified on the site *Nomes no Brasil*, indicating any forenames as such being used for females.

The constructional scheme for these names will be similar to the previous ones and, again, the alteration will affect the formal aspect of the affix:

$$[[\text{X-i/erson}]\text{NP} \leftrightarrow [\text{male name associated to anthroponymic formative X}]] \text{ NP}$$

Although the IBGE site does not provide information about the pronunciation of names, our knowledge about the Portuguese language anthroponymy and phonological system allows us to state, with some degree of certainty, that the stress of the 17 forenames listed on the table falls on the antepenultimate syllable, making them proparoxytone names. This also seems to be the case in *Alirson, Ivirson,* and *Elirson* (found in IBGE data). Only for the name *Leirson* does it seem possible to assume the stress would fall either on the penultimate syllable [le'ihsõ] or on the antepenultimate syllable ['leihsõ]. Therefore, it is more likely we will assume the splinters *X-erson/X-irson* do not carry the word stress, generating a group of proparoxytone forenames in Portuguese. This phenomenon certainly causes some strangeness, considering that

this stress undergoes, quite often, a reduction process, in popular norm (*véspera (eve) > vespra, abóbora (pumpkin) > abobra* etc.), in which the forenames studied here have been created.

4.3.3 Other formations stemming from the *X-son* scheme in Brazilian anthroponymy

In addition to the formations presented above, seven occurrences stand out in which the construction process does not seem to be as regular, or, at least, not as apparent, as the maintenance of the biformative nature of neologistic anthroponyms in Brazil. If we divide the name *Adinailson*, for instance, into recurring formatives in innovative Brazilian names, we have *Adi- + -na- + -ilson*. However, we strongly believe in the hypothesis that creative names are generated based on the combination of two themes, two names or two formatives, being, therefore, preferably a binary structure. Therefore, we propose that the analysis of the names in Table 5, maintains this logic, considering that recurring anthroponymic formatives in our name system, previously constructed by biformative processes, will be added to the left end. This is our proposition:

TABLE 5 – Brazilianisms in – son via other formative schemes

Names	Etymon	Formation	Frequency / popularity (IBGE)	First records
ADINAILSON	Brazilianism	Adi+ nailson (na+ ilson)	138/33.699th	1970
DIOANDSON	Brazilianism	Dio+ andson (and + son)	-	-
EDJAMILSON	Brazilianism	Ed+ jamilson (jam + ilson)	-	-
ELIANDSON	Brazilianism	Eli + andson (and + son)	29/ 98.692nd	-[23]
GILMEIKSON	Brazilianism	Gil + meikson (meik + son)	-	-
JOADISSON[24]	Brazilianism	Jo + adison (adi+ son)	1.673 / 5.809th	1970
JOEDSON	Brazilianism	Jo + edson (ed + son)	4.595/2.909th	1950

Source: Prepared by the authors.

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[23] There is no information regarding the records throughout the decades, given that IBGE does not provide charts and information for names whose number of records is low, regarding their distribution by Brazilian state.

[24] IBGE data only exhibits the record for the variant Joadson (not spelling the epenthetic i).

Our hypothesis may be reinforced by the argument that it is possible to find, in IBGE data, all second formatives as free forms, that is, forenames with records in Brazil: *Nailson*, 8.063; *Andson,* 1265; *Meikson*, 47; *Jamilson*, 5261, *Adisson*, 562, and *Edson,* 431543. Formatives on the left end, nevertheless, are highly recurring elements in Brazilian personal onomastic: *Adi-, Dio-, Ed-, Eli-, Gil-, Jo-.*

Therefore, it is evident that there is no system in the formation of neologistic anthroponyms, but there seems to be a set of well-structured schemes that organize around a general pattern, which is the use of two formatives that are available in the anthroponymic lexical system.

In this case, rather than forming a formative of suffixal nature with the ending -*son* or a right-end splinter, such as -*e/ilson* or -*i/ erson,* the speaker takes a name previously formed with one of these elements and adds, on the left end, another anthroponymic formative, maintaining the biformative pattern, as stated above.

This process is less regular than the previous ones, and this fact seems to be ratified by the absence of high recurrence of these names in Brazil, according to IBGE data. Within this group, the names *Joadisson* and *Joedson* stand out, as they seem to reflect in a more evident manner the compositional nature of these names.

5. *X-son* constructions in Brazilian anthroponymy: real time observations

In this section, we will comment on the data analyzed in this work, to understand the diachronic process of adopting and implementing *X-son* constructions in the Brazilian anthroponymic lexicon. For such, we will use the classification provided in section 4, organized as graphs and tables. Let us start with the sixteen names stemming from patronymics from the English language, provided in Graph 1.

GRAPH 1 – [[X]son] stemming from the English language
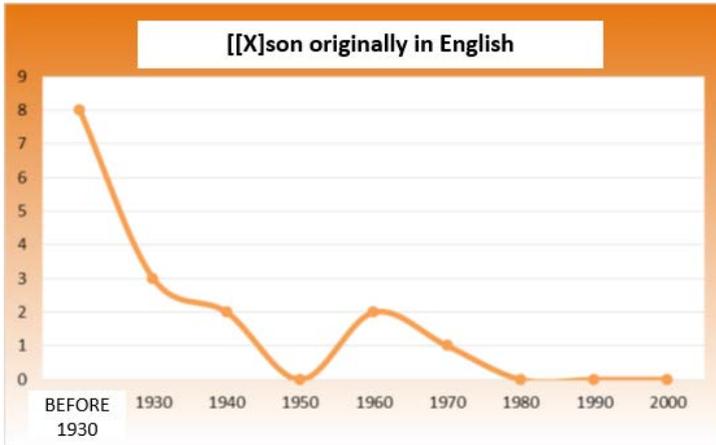
Source: Prepared by the authors

Graph 1 shows that, prior to the 1930s, eight of the sixteen names had already been recorded among Brazilian forenames. They are: *Edson, Emerson, Hudson, Jackson, Jefferson, Nelson, Nilson,* and *Robson.* Based on IBGE data, the name *Emerson*, for instance, had been recorded 56 times, for people born before the 1930s. Throughout the decades, considering the populational growth, the highest percentage variation in frequency rate for the name Emerson takes place at the turn of the 1960s (2,862 people recorded) to the 1970s (44,890 people recorded). In the 1990s, the name reaches its peak number of records, at 50,072 people.

For *X-son* coming directly from the English language, after the 1930s, the graph exhibits a decrease in the number of imported elements. In the 1930s, 3 of the 16 names found in the corpus are seen for the first time; in the 1940s, 2; in the 1950s, none, in the 1960s, 1; in the 1970s, 2. After the 1980s, no new names have been recorded for the first time. Table 6 below provides a scheme containing all of these names, considering their frequency when they first appeared, the time when the frequency rate increases exponentially, and the decade when the numbers peak.
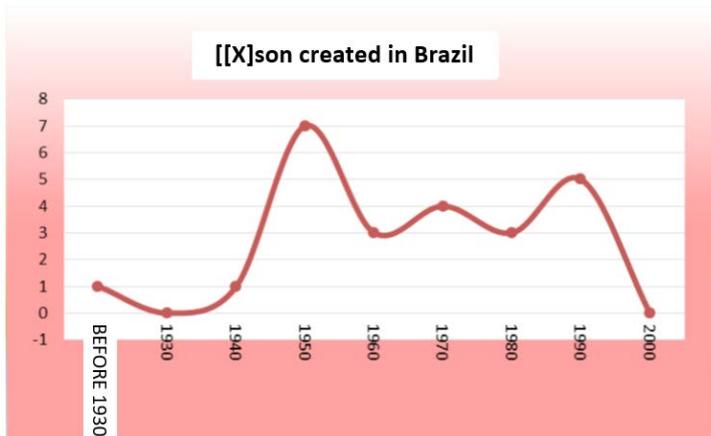
TABLE 6 – Anglicisms in *–son*: frequency issues

Date first recorded	Name	Frequency when first recorded	Period with greater frequency percentage variation	Frequency peak
Before 1930	Edson	908	Before 1930 (908) > 1930 (5.012)	1970 (111.469)
	Emerson	56	1960 (2.852) > 1970 (44.890)	1990 (50.072)
	Hudson	23	1950 (384) > 1960 (1.503)	1990 (7.366)
	Jackson	37	1960 (2.426) > 1970 (7.145)	1990 (20.855)
	Jefferson	21	1950 (451) > 1960 (1.995)	1990 (22.016)
	Nelson	4.024	Before 1930 (4.024) > 1930 (15.412)	1950 (45.405)
	Nilson	403	Before 1930 (403) > 1930 (2.090)	1970 (27.385)
	Robson	55	1940 (489) > 1950 (4.445)	1980 (85.165)
1930	Adson	30	1930 (30) > 1940 (109)	1990 (3.327)
	Alisson	20	1960 (283) > 1970 (4.191)	1990 (41.453)
	Anderson	63	1960 (7.146) > 1970 (75.569)	1980 (180.330)
1940	Madson	22	1960 (204) > 1970 (834)	1990 (3.334)
	Neilson	35	1950 (166) > 1960 (578)	1980 (1.675)
1960	Erickson	46	1960 (46) > 1970 (189)	1990 (735)
	Harrison	52	1960 (52) > 1970 (163)	1990 (539)
1970	Abson	27	1970 (27) > 1980 (66)	1980 (66)

Source: Prepared by the authors

Graph 2 presents trends in Brazilianisms formed with the formative *-son*, those formed by the splinters *-e/ (i)lson* and *-e/(i)rson*. Considering 24 names for this group, the 1950s are the decade when the highest number of Brazilian creations appear, in a total of seven names. They are: *Deivison, Erisson, Gledson, Gleison, Ivison, Nadson,* and *Wadson*.

GRAPHS 2 – [[X]son] created in Brazil

Source: Prepared by the authors

IBGE data show that, in the 1950s, there were 24 records of people with the name Deivison, included in this first group of Brazilianisms. The highest percentage variation occurs in the turn of the 1960s to the 1970s, with an increase from 85 to 648 records. This name occurrence rate peaks in the 1990s, with a total of 6,449 records. The situation of other names in this group may be seen in Table 7, below.

TABLE 7 – Brazilianisms in *–son*: frequency issues

Date first recorded	Name	Frequency when first recorded	Period with greater frequency percentage variation	Frequency peak
Before 1930	Gilson	127	1930 (817) > 1940 (3.793)	1970 (40.780)
1940	Jadson	42	1950 (124) > 1960 (629)	1990 (10.533)
1950	Deivison	24	1960 (85) > 1970 (648)	1990 (6.449)
	Erisson	24	1960 (69) > 1970 (196)	1990 (1.037)
	Gledson	31	1960 (115) > 1970 (1.296)	1980 (3.215)
	Gleison	37	1960 (261) > 1970 (2.418)	1990 (8.256)
	Ivison	66	1970 (140) > 1980 (453)	2000 (651)
	Nadson	31	1970 (450) > 1980 (1.352)	2000 (3.027)
	Wadson	40	1950 (40) > 1960 (147)	1990 (1.171)

| 1960 | Gleydson | 23 | 1960 (23) > 1970 (257) | 1980 (807) |
	Walisson	37	1960 (37) > 1970 (344)	1990 (6.507)
	Welison	46	1960 (46) > 1970 (288)	1990 (3.710)
1970	Alecson	37	1970 (37) > 1980 (69)	1980 (69)
	Alesson	55	1970 (55) > 1980 (309)	1990 (1.254)
	Radson	69	1970 (69) > 1980 (146)	1990 (207)
	Talisson	30	1970 (30) > 1980 (370)	2000 (6.696)
1980	Jandesson	26	1980 (26) > 1990 (61)	1990 (61)
	Walesson	46	1980 (46) > 1990 (178)	1990 (178)
	Wandesson	40	1980 (40) > 1990 (129)	2000 (132)
1990	Ackson	91	1990 (91) > 2000 (43)[25]	1990 (91)
	Evisson	24	1990 (24) > 2000 (36)	2000 (36)
	Ingrisson	32	-[26]	1990 (32)
	Naisson	36	1990 (36) > 2000 (39)	2000 (39)
	Welbson	35	-[27]	1990 (35)

Source: Prepared by the authors

In Graph 3, we selected Brazilian creations based on the splinters *X-elson* and *X-ilson*, such as *Ronielson* and *Natailson*. Within this group of eighteen names, *Adelson, Adilson,* and *Edimilson* are the only ones with significant records before the 1930s. The 1940s, with a total of 7 names recorded for the first time, is the most productive decade, differently from what is shown in Graph 2, in which the 1950s were the most prominent decade in this regard.

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[25] Note that, in this context, there was a decline in frequency.
[26] The IBGE only points out significant records in the 1990s, thus being the apex of the name. In this sense, there is no way to measure the time period in which the quantity variation was greater.
[27] See note 26.

GRAPH 3 – [[X]elson] and [[X]ilson] created in Brazil
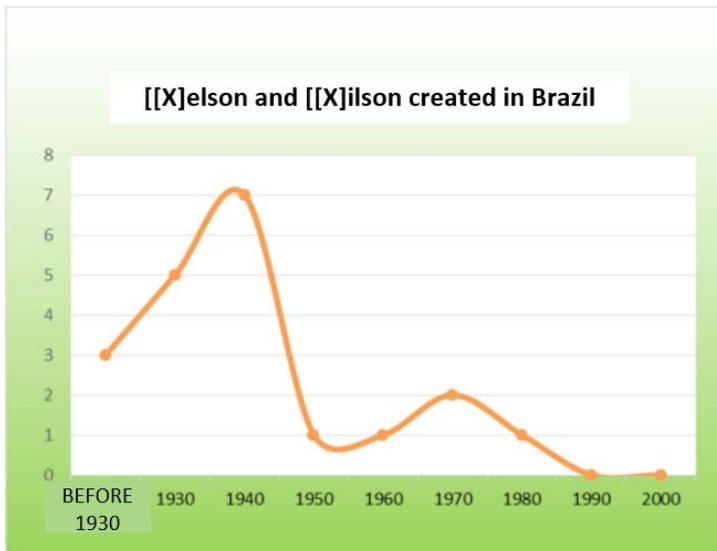
Source: Prepared by the authors

      Graph 3 also deals with names such as *Denilson*. This name has significant occurrences in the 1930s, with a total of 40 records. In the 1940s, there are 183 records. In the 1950s, 587. The highest percentage variation takes place in the turn of the 1960s, with an increase from 587 to 7,675 in the 1960s. This name occurrence rate peaks in the 1990s, with a total of 21,018 records. Let us analyze Table 8 below:

TABLE 8 – Brazilianisms in *–elson* and *-ilson*: frequency issues

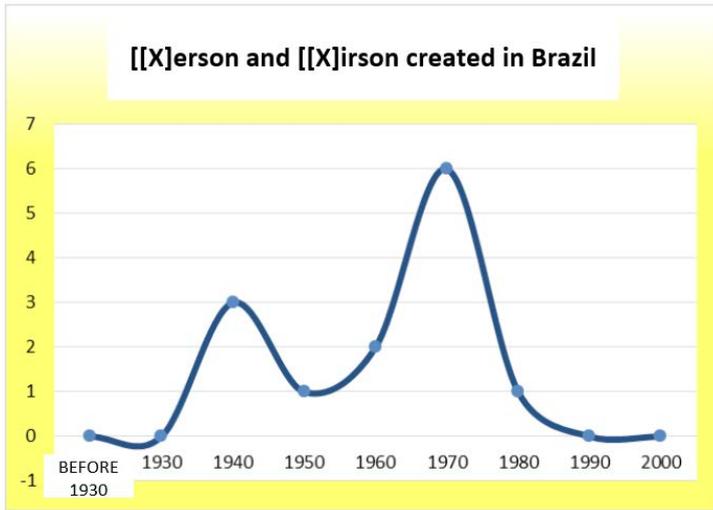| Date first recorded	Name	Frequency when first recorded	Period with greater frequency percentage variation	Frequency peak
Before1930	Adelson	98	Before 1930 (98) > 1930 (456)	1980 (7.898)
	Adilson	49	Before 1930 (49) > 1930 (858)	1970 (50.215)
	Edimilson	51	1930 (51) > 1940 (290)	1970 (14.201)
1930	Ademilson	29	1930 (29) > 1940 (218)	1970 (7.437)
	Denilson	40	1950 (587) > 1960 (7.675)	1990 (21.018)
	Genilson	47	1930 (47) > 1940 (193)	1980 (10.627)
	Joelson	38	1930 (38) > 1940 (240)	1980 (11.577)
1940	Deilson	21	1940 (21) > 1950 (86)	1990 (926)
	Dielson	46	1940 (46) > 1950 (112)	1990 (862)
	Edielson	30	1950 (77) > 1960 (375)	1990 (1.890)
	Elielson	27	1950 (105) > 1960 (565)	1980 (4.579)
	Nailson	26	1940 (26) > 1950 (109)	1990 (2.878)
	Ronilson	58	1950 (160) > 1960 (931)	1990 (4.652)
1950	Alailson	36	1950 (36) > 1960 (124)	1990 (767)
1960	Nerilson	34	1990 (43) > 2000 (22)	1970 (53)
1970	Amailson	23	1990 (89) > 2000 (38)	1990 (89)
	Ronielson	86	1970 (86) > 1980 (354)	1990 (874)
1980	Natailson	27	1990 (48) > 2000 (24)	1990 (48)

Source: Prepared by the authors

Graph 4 deals with the formations based on the splinters *X-erson* and *X-irson*, such as *Cleverson*, *Jamerson,* and *Wivirson*.[28] Search on the IBGE site produced results for 13 names. It should be mentioned that,

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[28] Significant records for this name were not detected in the IBGE site. However, because we consider it to have its origin in this morphological scheme, we mentioned it in this graph.

unlike the previous schemes, instantiations in this scheme only appear in the 1940s, as shown below.

GRAPH 4 – [[X]erson] and [[X]irson] created in Brazil

Source: Prepared by the authors

Our data show us that, during the 1970s, the splinter *X-erson* becomes more productive, and the first records of names such as *Deverson*, *Esteferson*, *Jeanderson,* and *Wilkerson* are identified. As shown in Table 9 below, all names created during the 1970s have their peak frequency in the 1990s, a decade when no records were identified of names created based on this scheme.

TABLE 9 – Brazilianisms in -*elson* and -*ilson*: frequency issues

Date first recorded	Name	Frequency when first recorded	Period with greater frequency percentage variation	Frequency peak
1940	Cleverson	33	1960 (421) > 1970 (3.444)	1980 (7.032)
	Jamerson	22	1960 (193) > 1970 (792)	1990 (3.396)
	Wanderson	33	1960 (677) > 1970 (7.675)	1990 (30.041)
1950	Enderson	32	1960 (81) > 1970 (421)	2000 (1.923)

1960	Weberson	32	1990 (952) > 2000 (415)	1980 (1.067)
	Demerson	20	1990 (643) > 2000 (288)	1990 (643)
1970	Deiverson	57	1970 (57) > 1980 (339)	1990 (546)
	Deverson	62	1970 (66) > 1980 (222)	1990 (306)
	Esteferson	40	1970 (40) > 1980 (105)	1990 (207)
	Jeanderson	148	1970 (148) > 1980 (818)	1990 (1.803)
	Ueverson	36	1970 (36) > 1990 (92)	1990 (205)
	Wilkerson	70	1990 (161) > 2000 (68)	1990 (161)
1980	Jenerson	45	1980 (45) > 1990 (124)	1990 (124)

Source: Prepared by the authors

Graph 5 addresses the formations we understand as being created based on other schemes, different from the schemes above. These names may have been created by composition of affixation of names that have been previously recorded in Brazilian anthroponymy. Of the seven names classified as having 'other creation mechanisms', three produced results when searched on the IBGE site: *Joedson*, *Adinailson,* and *Joadisson*. The first name recorded is Joedson, in the 1950s. In the 1970s, the other two names appear significantly for the first time. Information of this nature may be seen in Graph 5 and in Table 10 below:

GRAPH 5 – Brazilianisms in -son based on other schemes

Source: Prepared by the authors

TABLE 10 – Brazilianisms in -*son* based on other schemes: frequency issues

Date first recorded	Name	Frequency when first recorded	Period with greater frequency percentage variation	Frequency peak
1950	Joedson	32	1960 (119) > 1970 (477)	1990 (1.585)
1970	Adinailson	24	1990 (49) > 2000 (24)	1990 (49)
	Joadisson (Joadson)	61	1970 (61) > 1980 (377)	1990 (629)

Source: Prepared by the authors

　　　To prepare Graph 6, we collected the data about Brazilianisms considered in this section, but we disregarded the different formative configurations considered. We concluded that, in terms of frequency, there are two increase flows in the production of neologisms stemming from models borrowed in Brazil. The first milestone is observed in the 1940s, and the second one, in the 1970s, the most creative time, so to speak. There are no records of creations during the 2000s in our data. This may be explained by the fact that it is a list of people approved in

the entrance exams in the years 2016 and 2017. Because the average high school graduation age for Brazilian students is 19 years old, we may consider that a large part of those approved were born, at least in 1997 and 1998 (or before that), and are included in the 1990s, in accordance with the IBGE site.

GRAPH 6 – General chart of Brazilian X-son names

Source: Prepared by the authors

Finally, we present Graph 7, in which we compare Brazilianisms and names considered to have been borrowed from the English language, based on our data. We noticed that, before the 1930s, names borrowed from the English language are more frequent than Brazilianisms. In the 1930s, the difference in favor of Brazilianisms is still little. In the 1940s, Brazilianisms start to stand out: there are 11 Brazilianisms against 2 Anglicisms. During the 1970s, once again, Brazilianisms stand out, with 14 items against 2 Anglicisms. After the 1980s there are no longer records of Anglicisms being imported, while new names ending in -*son* are still created in Brazil.

GRAPH 7 – Comparative chart with Brazilian names and English names X-son

Source: Prepared by the authors

6 *X-son* constructions in Portuguese anthroponymy: comparison results

Comparative studies about anthroponymy in Portugal and Brazil, such as the ones developed by Castro (2004, 2005), based on phone books for the cities of Lisbon, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, indicate that, in terms of frequency, both countries have very similar surname and forename rankings. This means that the forenames that are widespread in the Portuguese anthroponymic tradition are still those with the highest frequency in Brazilian anthroponymy.

Despite acknowledging the striking Brazilian creativity for name creation, Castro (2004) points out that this factor did not stand out among the most recurrent data. Castro also points out that, considering that the Brazilian anthroponymic lexicon inherited Portuguese tradition elements, the opposite is not noticeable in a solid manner: characteristic Brazilian anthroponymy elements very seldom find their way into Portuguese anthroponymy. These incorporations, in general are due to technological and cultural products, such as the soap operas Brazil exports to Portugal, and do not emphasize such creativity.

To review this issue, we listed in Table 11, the *X–son* names present in the *Lista de Nomes Admitidos e Não Admitidos em Portugal* (List of names allowed and not allowed in Portugal) Other information present include: the permission status in Portugal, frequency, popularity, first record in Brazil, and information extracted from the IBGE site.

TABLE 11 – *X–son* names in the *Lista de Nomes Admitidos e Não Admitidos em Portugal* (List of names allowed and not allowed in Portugal)

Names	Admitted in Portugal?	Frequency / popularity in Brazil (IBGE)	First records in Brazil
ADILSON	NO	155.430/200th	Before 1930
ALISON	NO	72.950/405th	1940
ÁLISON	YES	72.950/405th	1940
ANDERSON	NO	473.250/42nd	Before 1930
DELSON	NO	7.024/2.150th	Before 1930
DENILSON	NO	74.473/395th	1930
DILSON	NO	18.462/1.098th	Before 1930
DOLSON	NO	-	-
EDILSON	NO	124.272/252nd	Before 1930
EDISON	NO	34.927/715th	Before 1930
EDMILSON	NO	93.514/322nd	Before 1930
EDSON	NO	431.543/55th	Before 1930
ÉLSON	YES	33.252/740th	Before 1930
EMERSON	NO	177.935/176th	Before 1930
GERSON	YES	86.856/338th	Before 1930
GILESSON	NO	-	-
GILSON	NO	144.757/210th	Before 1930
HÉDISON	NO	41/78.072nd	-
ILSON	NO	14.078/1.321th	Before 1930

JAILSON	NO	75.353/389th	1930
JASSON	NO	1.039/8.095th	1930
JEFERSON	NO	253.819/114th	Before 1930
JERSON	NO	17.667/1.127th	Before 1930
JILSON	NO	6.584/2.234th	1930
JOELSON	NO	37.977/666th	1930
KELSON	NO	4.840/2.804th	1950
LENILSON	NO	11.825/1.479th	1930
LENISON	NO	332/18.206th	1960
LIEDSON	NO	2.792/4.080th	1970
MISSON	NO	-	-
NELSON	YES	200.581/158th	Before 1930
NÉLSON	YES	200.581/158th	Before 1930
NILSON	YES	101.796/303rd	1930
ROBINSON	NO	3.479/3.496th	1940
ROBSON	NO	236.282/125th	Before 1930
VÍLSON	YES	43.319/605th	Before 1930
WILSON	YES	188.800/169th	Before 1930

Source: Prepared by the authors

Table 11 shows that, of the 37 names present in the list, 8 are allowed in Portugal: *Álison, Élson, Gerson, Nelson, Nélson, Nilson, Vílson,* and *Wilson.* It should be noted that, among the 29 names not allowed, some names are spelling variants that are not allowed, such as *Alison* and *Jerson*. Another important fact is that only the names *Dolson*, *Gilesson,* and *Misson* do not have significant frequency rates in Brazil, according to the IBGE site. Among the names whose search on the site yield results, only the form *Hédison* (spelling variant for *Edson*) has low popularity, certainly because there is a preferred form. The refusal to accept the name *Edson* as well as *Anderson*, *Edmilson*, *Emerson*, *Gilson*, *Jeferson*, *Joelson*, *Robson*, easily found names in Brazil, upholds

Portugal traditionalism and conservativeness. This strictness, it seems, goes beyond naming practices, and are quite associated with the feeling of a language (a pure language, in fact) Portugal has, and is not as noticeable in Brazil.

7 Final considerations

We believe the Brazilian anthroponymy neologistic phenomenon began to become generalized in the second quarter of the 20th century. This belief is based on knowledge of some important data: 1) firstly, the study of corpora with dates earlier than this period does not reveal a significant number of neologistic names that warrants considering the relevance of the phenomenon during these periods; 2) secondly, when we checked some innovative names in IBGE database, such as those names analyzed in this study, we identify they were first recorded, in general, after the 1930s.

Motivations for the accentuated increase in anthroponymic neologisms throughout the 20th century have yet to be properly investigated, but our hypothesis is that it is strongly linked to some important sociocultural aspects. First, we consider that, after the end of slavery, a populational mass is generated in search of their own identity construction, because they do not recognize themselves in the white oppressor matrix that had always named them, and that was responsible for expropriating their original names, their culture, and their languages. Thus, motivated by the search for their new own identity, these Brazilian Afro-descendants seek new naming forms that disassociated them from their past of submission to the white, Christian tradition.[29] The mandatory birth certificate was instituted during the same period, in January 1889, by Ordinance No. 10044, and, from then on, all cities in the country were supposed to be provided with at least one civil registrar office, removing from the Catholic Church's hands the prerogative to baptize and influence the choice of names. This certainly allowed citizens to have greater freedom in choosing the names to be used to register their descendants. Nevertheless, the popularity of neologistic names

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[29] A similar phenomenon seems to affect the African-American population, as demonstrated by Lieberson and Mikelson, in their article *"*Distinctive African American Names: An Experimental, Historical, and Linguistic Analysis of Innovation" (1995).

in Brazil cannot be disassociated from media phenomena such as the emergence and expansion of the radio, between the 1920s and 1950s, of the movies, between the 1930s and 1960s and, after that, the emergence and popularization of television between 1950s and 1970s.

In analyzing names borrowed from English, the relations between Brazil and the United States, in a social, historical, and cultural context, must be understood. According to Galdioli (2008, p. 76-117), although Brazil was the first country in Latin America to have a North-American diplomat, and although the United States was the first country to acknowledge the Brazilian independence in 1824, the relationship between the two countries, during most of the 19th century was not very significant. This is a consequence not only of the Brazilian political alignment with Europe in the period, as well as of the North-American isolationism. The two countries became closer after Brazil became a Republic, in 1889, and adopted a posture is closer alignment with America, as an alternative to the country's international insertion from the American continent, and as a way to distance from the Empire and all it represented. However, during the 1930s this relationship becomes a closer one, because the Good Neighbor Policy, launched during President Roosevelt's term (1933-1945), indicates a new orientation of the North-American foreign policy for Latin America, designed to disseminate the 'American way of life', reconstructing the USA image with a friendly approach and using culture[30] as an instrument of soft power.

Therefore, the North-American cultural expansion, strengthened during the 30s, is certainly the primary reason why *X-son* formatives were introduced to us and admired to the point they were integrated to our anthroponymic system. North-American cultural influence in Brazil takes place mostly by means of the musical production, disseminated by the radio industry, in expansion in the country since the 1920s, and the movie industry.

During the 1930s, the North-American movie production established itself as large-scale industrial production, and this process affected Brazilian culture significantly. According to Bernardet (1979), the movie exhibition industry had been structured, in the country, between the years 1907 and 1910. However, after the 1930s, several commercial

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[30] For our purposes here, 'culture' must be understood, as proposed by Sodré (1981, p. 3), as "the set of material and spiritual values created by mankind, in the course of its history."

agreements define that North-American movies enter Brazil free of duties and, since then, magazines specialized in movies were created and distributed throughout the country, popularizing Hollywood stars and legends. This means that access to information about North-American movies was not limited to those who could be in movie theaters, but also that news about movie characters and the actors who played them were also conveyed by our press. Therefore, we understand that, from that moment on, movie production and its advertisement aroused the admiration of Brazilian people for American heroes, romantic characters, and Hollywood stars, who set trends here.

Thus, some anthroponymic Anglicisms become accepted by the Brazilian population. An important aspect in this process is the English tradition to refer to an individual, in relative formality situations, by the surname. Therefore, characters or actors identified as *Mr. Anderson, Mr. Jefferson,* or *Mr. Robson* may have motivated the use of these surnames as forenames.

In short, we believe we have presented, in this study, an interweaving of highly important questions for understanding the neologistic phenomenon in Brazil. Our point of departure is the discussion about the meaning of proper names, followed by the understanding of the historical formation of patronymics in Portuguese and patronymics with the suffix -son, addressing its semantic displacement from 'son of', in its origin, to 'male name', in Brazilian Portuguese, providing analyses based on statistic data for its use in Brazil, and inferring morphological patterns from them. Finally, we observed the phenomenon from a chronological standpoint. Understanding the individual naming process as an extremely relevant cultural aspect, we proposed an analysis of *X-son* name that are or are not allowed in Portugal, promoting an inferred comparison between two cultures with the same language. Finally, we attempted to baste all this interweaving by proposing a consideration about anthroponymic neology in Brazil, and about how anthroponymic Anglicisms in *X-son* ended part being part of our personal onomastic system.

We concluded, thus, that formatives stemming from loanwords in *X-son* from the English language will play a relevant role in organizing the anthroponymic system in Brazil, pointing out that, in this process, the splinter *X-(e)ilson* seems to have been the first one to be incorporated to our personal onomastic scenario, as shown by the data analyzed here. Finally, we point out that analysis of dates referring to the names analyzed

here strengthens the hypothesis that the anthroponymic neology, in Brazil, is a phenomenon that became widespread during the first quarter of the 20th century.

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