

# Changing Names on Peruvian Trucks

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Peruvian trucks often carry a distinctive name, usually painted on the front of the vehicle. These names show distinctive regional patterns, particularly between more "conservative" (rural and Andean) and more "progressive" (urban) parts of the country. Ten years of personal observations and interviews with truck owners and drivers provided names and information on the reasons individual truck names may have been chosen or changed.

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## Introduction

Since the early 1970s, Peru has been undergoing rapid culture change as part of its modernization process. Among the factors contributing to this change are sustained migration from rural to urban areas, the spread of literacy (as part of the educational reforms begun after 1968 by the Velasco military government), and the tremendous growth of access to radio and television. Although the broad results of this modernization can be seen throughout Peru, the more subtle effects are often difficult to identify. I will focus here on several aspects of one item of popular culture — the names painted on trucks — and how changes in truck naming patterns may reflect other changes occurring in Peru. For example, as a result of biases or tastes brought by the modernization process, names that were once very popular may be less popular today and types of names that were rare in the past may now be more common. Analysis of individual decisions to rename vehicles, and of the new names selected, also can provide insight into the changes that are taking place in Peru today.

Vehicle names, primarily those of trucks and busses, have been the focus of research in many parts of Latin America. Grant La

Farge summarized the practice in his 1985 book *Faith in God and Full Speed Ahead*. Various editions of *Picardia Mexicana* have included truck inscriptions, and at least three detailed studies have been published on Mexican truck names (Edmonson, Giffords, Jaquith).<sup>1</sup> Names painted on vehicles have also been studied in Costa Rica, Panama, and Ecuador.<sup>2</sup> The country for which we have the most research on truck names is probably Peru. Following the pioneering work of José Farfán Ayerbe, and in addition to the work presented here, significant studies have been conducted by Bolton, Carlson, and Rojas Samanez.

For more than ten years I collected and organized the names painted on Peruvian trucks. My observation of names was often avocational, a pleasant pastime while doing other work in Peru. On other occasions I was able to spend days or even weeks focusing on this topic.<sup>3</sup> For each named truck that I saw, I recorded its make, age, size, type, and colors as well as the name painted on it. The date and the location of each observation were also noted. Most important, I used license numbers to differentiate between similar vehicles. The ability to recognize vehicles over a long period of time (Peruvian license numbers are not changed when vehicles are re-registered or retitled) regardless of name, color, or style alterations, allowed me to analyze changes in truck naming patterns in a way which was impossible before.

### Methods

When I began this study, I selected a simple system of data collection on index cards as the easiest way to gather information on Peruvian trucks and truck names. As the work progressed and the sample size increased, this methodology worked admirably well without modification. Beginning in 1980, I carried a printout of all recorded names with me so that I could note repeat sightings of vehicles that were already part of the sample. When a truck was seen for a second time, I entered the date and location at the end of the original observation, presuming that the name was unchanged. Trucks with new names were treated the same as those observed for the first time (that is, a new data entry was prepared for the new name).

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I recorded most of the names as casual observations while traveling the streets and highways of Peru.<sup>4</sup> Whenever possible, I made special efforts to collect names — by visiting parking lots near large wholesale markets, by observing passing trucks while I was parked along highways on the outskirts of major cities, or by interviewing drivers and recording names at large gas stations or truck stops. Often I noted as many as fifty or sixty new names per hour in such situations. Returning to a particular site was seldom productive, however, since most named vehicles that traveled on a given route were identified and recorded within the first day or two. In subsequent years, though, it was often useful to return to productive locations for additional observations.

I collected truck names, although not continuously, from February 1977 through July 1987. During these ten years the number of new trucks encountered varied from time to time:

February to December 1977	(2223 new trucks observed)
May to August 1980	(2112 new trucks observed)
July 1981 to August 1982	(2750 new trucks observed)
June to August 1983	(576 new trucks observed)
June 1984 to November 1985	(1615 new trucks observed)
June and July 1987	(796 new trucks observed)

In addition to the 10,072 different trucks observed, many trucks were observed several times. As the sample became larger, it became more and more difficult to locate vehicles whose names had not already been recorded. In 1984-85, for example, 745 named trucks were seen for a second time in addition to the 1615 new names recorded during that period.

More than 300 truck owners, drivers, or helpers were interviewed in 1980 and 1982 in order to gather additional information about Peruvian truck naming patterns. About half of these interviews were conducted by a Peruvian assistant. We asked questions about the interviewee's age, educational background, hometown, current place of residence and experience in the trucking industry, as well as questions about who had selected the name painted on the truck and the reason(s) for the selection. An important aspect of the interviews

concerned changing names, both as a philosophical topic and in terms of the particular truck in question. Prior to several interviews, our computer printout had told us that the truck we were approaching had had a different name some time in the past. With that information, we were able to direct the interview towards the topic of changing names (in one case, we were able to elicit information on the reasons why a truck had had three different names in the past seven years). We also talked with Peruvian government officials in charge of the registration and regulation of trucks and with several Peruvian scholars who had become interested in this topic after the publication of a brief note in a local journal.<sup>5</sup>

### The Sample

The sample of Peruvian truck names contains 10,072 lines of data. Each line consists of a name, a coded description of a truck, and the location and date of the first observation (as well as the most recent "second sighting" if the vehicle was seen more than once). It must be emphasized that the number of data lines is not the same as the number of trucks or names. Many individual trucks changed names during the course of this study (two had four different names). The sample actually includes about 9,550 trucks. The number of names is considerably less because many popular (or fleet) names appear repeatedly in the sample — some more than 100 times. Also, minor variations of many of the names add to the difficulty of determining the actual number of names.<sup>6</sup> Elimination of duplicates and derivatives would probably result in a total of no more than 5,000 distinct names. However, it is much easier to treat each line of data as a unique bit of information — one name painted on one truck. Each truck with the same name as well as each new name painted on a previously-observed truck, then, is considered as a discrete case.

The trucks on which the names were painted represent a wide range of vehicle sizes, types, and makes. Most typical (41% of the sample) were medium-sized wooden stakebed trucks — usually of from 5 to 10 tons capacity. Smaller trucks of this same body type made up 21% of the vehicles seen. Large trucks, including semi-trailers, made up an increasing part of the study (21% of the trucks seen in 1977 and 30% of those seen in 1987). Although more than

a dozen different makes of truck were recorded, almost three-quarters of the vehicles were built by only two manufacturers: Dodge (46%) and Volvo (29%). This is not surprising since these were the only two companies assembling trucks in Peru during the course of the study. Fords, representing 17% of the sample, were the only other make seen in large numbers. Virtually all of the Fords, though, were old trucks built prior to 1969 when the Ford plant in Lima closed. The information on make, size, type, and color of truck was very useful in aiding in the identification of individual trucks but not particularly helpful in terms of the actual names painted on them. Whether a truck was a Ford or a Dodge, new or old, big or small, or red, blue, or green did not play a major role in its naming.<sup>7</sup>

A key item recorded for each vehicle was the license plate number. In Peru this consists of two letters followed by four numbers, placed on a metal tag located at the front and rear of the vehicle. For data collection purposes, it was helpful that all commercial vehicles in Peru must have their license information painted in large letters and numbers on the sides and back of the truck. This made it possible to accurately record license numbers from passing vehicles, when it was frequently impossible to read the bumper-mounted license plates.

The letters and numbers of the license plate provided several useful bits of information. The first letter of each plate varies with the type of vehicle — *O* and *P* for pickups, *W* and *X* for most other large trucks, and *Y* for the tractor unit of semi-trailers (code letters used for other types of vehicles, e.g., station wagons, vans, or panel trucks, were ignored in this study). The second letter on a plate refers to the department (Peruvian equivalent of state) where the vehicle was first registered. Peru had 23 departments at the beginning of this study, and although one was split during the course of the work, this change was not carried over to the vehicle registration system. Thus it is possible to identify only the original 23 departments, rather than the present 24. However, since the divided department represented only 0.5% of the trucks in the sample, this is a very minor problem. Finally, the numbers on the plates give some sense of the order of vehicle registration. This licensing system was begun in Peru in 1974-75. Because trucks of a variety of ages were re-registered at that time, vehicles with license plates in the

1000 and 2000 series in most departments tend to be of a variety of ages (usually built prior to 1975). Newer vehicles (post-1975) were assigned numbers in the sequence in which they were registered. Depending on the total number of trucks registered in any given department, the newest vehicles might have licenses in the 3000, 4000, or even the 5000 series. Finally, more than 20,000 trucks are licensed in Lima, necessitating the use there of three different letters for the department code (since a maximum of 9999 vehicles can be licensed under a single code letter).

Using license plate coding to determine the department of registration, it is possible to do cross-tabulations within the sample (for example, type of name by department of registration) and therefore to examine naming patterns characteristic of particular regions of Peru. But there are some limitations to the data. For example, some departments have very few registered trucks and sample sizes in these areas are thus often too small for meaningful analysis.

### The Truck Names

Not every truck in Peru has a name. Vehicle counts that I made throughout Peru indicate that approximately one-third of all Peruvian trucks are named.<sup>8</sup> Evidence from interviews suggests that vehicles that are owned by large companies are less likely to be named than those owned by individuals. Trucks used strictly within urban areas tend not to be named and older trucks are more likely to be named than newer ones.

Most named trucks in Peru have the name painted on that portion of the cargo bed that extends over the top of the truck cab. Latin American truckers refer to this structure as the *canasta* 'basket'. Other typical locations for a name include the front bumper, the hood, and above or below the windshield.<sup>9</sup> In this study, only names visible from the front of the truck were recorded. A few trucks have their names — or second names — on the back, but these were not noted. Likewise, names are sometimes painted on the reverse side of the bumper or on the inside of the cab, but such "invisible" or non-public names were also ignored.

After the first year of data collection, the sample of names was divided into 20 categories based on a typology of Peruvian truck names first proposed by Farfán in the 1950s. Several of Farfán's types were combined in this study (for example, his categories "botanical" and "zoological" were combined into a single type) so that no category (in the 1977 sample) contained less than 1% of the names observed.<sup>10</sup> Also, two new categories were added: "Company Names" and "Miscellaneous and Unknown." The categories used in this study and the number of truck names in each category are shown in Table 1. It should be pointed out that the frequencies and percentages given here (and in Table 2) are for comparative purposes only and they do not provide the basis for determining "significance" in any statistical sense.

### Regional Patterns of Names

The regional naming patterns of Peruvian trucks are most easily presented in terms of two dimensions: "Traditional" versus "Contemporary" names, and "Conservative" versus "Progressive" regions of Peru. "Traditional" names are those most often found in such categories as "Indian Names and Terms," "Religious Names," "Male Saints," "Female Saints," and "Maxims." The two categories that are "Contemporary" (that is, those which most clearly represent the new types of names being used on Peruvian trucks) are "Foreign Names" and "Company Names," although some names from "Popular Culture" may be included as well. Not all names taken from popular culture can be considered "Contemporary," however. It is quite possible to find a name of the popular culture type that reflects a very traditional pattern (a truck using a name from an old Indian song title, for example). Most names from popular culture, though, are foreign-influenced and thus are of the "Contemporary" type.

The departments that are identified here as "Conservative" are located mainly in the Andes Mountains, although some areas in coastal regions and most of the zones east of the Andes are also included in this category. The only regions that are clearly "Progressive" are the departments of Lima and La Libertad — each influenced by a large metropolitan area.

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Table 1: Categories of Names	N	%
<b>Traditional Types</b>		
Indian Names/Terms	101	1.0
Religious Names	2023	20.1
Male Saints	677	6.7
Female Saints	250	2.5
Maxims	73	0.7
<b>Contemporary Types</b>		
Foreign Names	346	3.4
Company Names/Slogans	1135	11.3
<b>Unclassified Types</b>		
Personal/Place Names	545	5.4
National History	98	1.0
Luck/Goodwill	330	3.3
Machismo/Wit	260	2.6
Popular Culture	224	2.2
Capricious Names	89	0.9
Men's Names	2110	20.9
Women's Names	602	6.0
Professions/Occupations	144	1.4
Astronomical/Weather	162	1.6
Botanical/Zoological	410	4.1
Romantic/Sentimental	149	1.5
Miscellaneous/Unknown	344	3.4

Many of the names in the "Unclassified" section could be considered "Traditional" or "Contemporary," but each of these categories included names of both types and thus defied easy classification. Clearly, however, most "macho" and "capricious" names were of the "Traditional" type, and most of the names from popular culture would fit into the "Contemporary" type.



Names in "Traditional" categories comprised 31% of the total. Considering only the eight departments that had at least one hundred trucks in this study, the percentage of "Traditional" types of names ranged from a low of 22.7 to a high of 41.2. The Andean region had the highest percentages, with Cajamarca, a department in the northern Andes, having the highest percentage. Arequipa, a department in southern Peru that includes both a desolate coastal region as well as high Altiplano country, also had a large proportion of "Traditional" names: 37.8%. This is somewhat surprising because the city of Arequipa, the department's capital, is the second largest urban center in Peru. However, this department (and the city of Arequipa) has a sizable Indian population and the department's economy is dependent upon such traditional activities as mining, herding, tanning, and weaving. On the northern coast of Peru, the departments of Piura and Lambayeque each had many trucks with "Traditional" names (39.0% and 37.3%, respectively). Finally, Ica, located just south of Lima, also had a high percentage (39.2) of these names.

"Contemporary" names were observed on 14.7% of the trucks in this study. Vehicles registered in the Department of Lima had a higher percentage (16.8) than did the sample as a whole, and it should be noted that, since Lima registered almost 40% of the total trucks in the sample, this tended to raise the overall percentage of trucks with "Contemporary" names. Excluding Lima, only about 12% of the trucks included in this study had "Contemporary" names. Another department with a large number of trucks with "Contemporary" names was La Libertad, in northern coastal Peru. Trujillo, Peru's third largest city, is the capital of this department. In contrast to Arequipa, Peru's second largest city, the economy of the Trujillo area is oriented toward exports. It is based upon commercial plantations of sugar cane and has a substantial industrial infrastructure. The high percentage of trucks in the "Contemporary" category that were registered in La Libertad (21.1) may also reflect the large number of transportation companies that are based in Trujillo, which is the transportation hub for the entire northern region of Peru.

"Traditional" and "Contemporary" names may be difficult to generalize in some areas. In Cusco, for instance, only 154 trucks were

seen during the course of this research, even though I spent about six weeks in various parts of that department. Of these, 25 (16.2%) had company names and eight (5.2%) had foreign names, for a total of 21.4% in the two categories that have been identified as fitting the "Contemporary" type. This percentage is higher than that of either Lima or La Libertad, although by other measures Cusco would appear to be a "traditional" part of the country — a conservative highland region, with an economy based on subsistence agriculture and grazing of native livestock. The explanation for this anomaly appears to lie in the unusually large number of trucks with company names that were observed with Cusco license plates. I recorded many vehicles with the names of a Cusco soft drink bottling plant and a Cusco brewery painted on them; they were obviously involved with the distribution of those beverages over a wide area in the southern part of Peru. The two names *Cerveza Cuzqueña*<sup>11</sup> and *Agua Mineral Socosani*, dominant in this area and proudly advertized on company trucks, explain the presence of a "Contemporary" naming pattern in this more traditional region of the country.

### Changing Naming Patterns

An analysis of the categories of names recorded during this study — particularly as discrete data subsets classified by the year of observation — provides some clues to the changes taking place in Peruvian trucking and also in truck naming. Table 2 shows the patterns of names for each period of data collection, with emphasis on the percentage of names recorded in each category each year. Several types of names (for example, those related to luck/goodwill, botanical/zoological, and romantic/sentimental themes) decreased in popularity over the course of the study. Other categories, such as miscellaneous/unknown and especially company names and slogans, increased greatly in their frequency of observation. Within many categories there were only minor fluctuations in frequency from one time to another.

The single most dramatic change in naming patterns was the large increase in the number of trucks with company names or slogans painted on them. This category included many types of names — some that were simply the name of the company (*Coca Cola*, *Inka Cola*, *Purina*, *Transliquidido*), some that were the name of the owner

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Table 2. Categories of Truck Names and Years Observed

		1977	1980	1981-2	1983	1984-5	1987
Indian Names/Terms	N	20	28	32	3	20	8
	%	.9	1.2	1.0	.4	.8	1.2
Religious Names		477	427	595	144	508	211
		21.5	19.1	18.8	9.0	21.5	20.0
Male Saints		204	145	225	37	140	60
		9.2	6.5	7.1	4.9	5.9	5.7
Female Saints		52	61	91	15	65	21
		2.3	2.7	2.9	2.0	2.8	2.0
Maxims		11	14	26	6	14	7
		.5	.6	.8	.8	.6	.7
Foreign Names		92	69	119	23	85	28
		4.1	3.1	3.8	3.0	3.6	2.6
Company Names/Slogans		138	292	271	118	295	168
		6.2	13.0	8.6	15.6	12.5	15.9
Personal/Place Names		123	120	173	48	105	51
		5.5	5.4	5.5	6.3	4.4	4.8
National History		18	30	27	10	23	8
		.8	1.3	.9	1.3	1.0	.8
Luck/Goodwill		106	82	96	21	65	27
		4.8	3.7	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.6
Machismo/Wit		59	68	75	19	71	17
		2.7	3.0	2.4	2.5	3.0	1.6
Popular Culture		65	50	77	13	52	10
		2.9	2.2	2.4	1.7	2.2	.9
Capricious Names		29	24	28	4	21	9
		1.3	1.1	.9	.5	.9	.9
Men's Names		433	459	748	162	475	230
		19.5	20.5	23.7	21.4	20.1	21.8
Women's Names		119	123	203	42	148	66
		5.4	5.5	6.4	5.5	6.3	6.2
Professions/Occupations		45	37	36	10	36	12
		2.0	1.7	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.1
Astronomical/Weather		45	40	54	11	19	17
		2.0	1.8	1.7	1.5	.8	1.6
Botanical/Zoological		11	85	140	29	80	35
		5.0	3.8	4.4	3.8	3.4	3.3
Romantic/Sentimental		44	43	38	4	23	9
		2.0	1.9	1.2	.5	1.0	.9
Miscellaneous/Unknown		32	44	104	38	115	58
		1.4	2.0	3.3	5.0	4.9	5.5
Truck Totals		2223	2241	3158	757	2360	1057

of the company (*Chang Hermanos 19* 'Chang Brothers 19,' *Trans Baca*, *Transportes Vidal*), and some were names that are difficult to explain (*Bala Perdida* 'lost bullet'). These names could all be classified as company names, however, because they were clearly recognized as fleets of trucks — with these same names used on company buildings and in company advertising. Also these names or slogans were painted on the company trucks in a style and manner similar to those found on other named trucks (in fact, trucks with names that were printed or the result of the use of a decal were excluded from the sample). In the 1950s Farfán recorded no trucks with this type of name. It is unclear, however, whether this is due to the actual lack of such names at that time or simply to the fact that Farfán may have ignored this type of name. About 6% of the names recorded during the first year of this study were company names. Ten years later, the percentage had almost tripled, with about 16% of the names in this category in 1987.

The rapid increase in the number of company names recorded on trucks during this time can be explained by two factors. First, prior to the 1970s, relatively few companies owned their own trucks, preferring to contract with independent truckers to transport cargo throughout the country. This practice changed during the 1970s and 1980s when more and more companies bought trucks and clearly marked them as company vehicles. Second, Peruvian society was changing rapidly during this period. There was an increasing importance placed on national and international brands of goods as compared to local products or handicrafts. The most common company names recorded were those of soft drink bottlers and breweries, followed closely by bread and cracker manufacturers. Finally, among the most common company names were those of several large fleets of tractor-trailer trucks, which ran almost exclusively on the Pan-American Highway in coastal Peru. These fleets (and tractor-trailer trucks) were almost non-existent in Peru in the mid-1970s, but by the mid-1980s they dominated transport in the coastal sections of the country.

The decline in the popularity of certain types of names seems to be related to the fact that they are associated with rural (especially Indian) patterns or what are perceived to be backward, traditional or old-time beliefs. Truck drivers and owners have often been identified

as a highly upwardly mobile group, and perhaps the use of names that belie this effort to advance socially might be seen negatively. It is clear that being perceived as Indian is socially disadvantageous in many parts of Peru. It is not surprising, then, that truckers have tended to decrease the use of names associated with native culture. This may also explain the relative unimportance of names tied to national history and names associated with specific professions or occupations (both categories were identified in interviews as "old-fashioned" types).

Names with "macho" or sexual connotations are included in several categories and these, too, declined in importance in Peru during the course of this study. A good example comes from the "botanical/zoological" category, where many of the names clearly have double meanings and convey strong macho images (*El Tigre Andino* 'the Andean Tiger,' *El Toro De Amazonas* 'the Amazon Bull,' and *Puma De Oro* 'Golden Puma') or suggest some aspect of strength or wisdom that the owner/driver may wish to pass on to observers of the truck (*Corazon De León* 'Lion Heart'). Another subset in this category consists of names that provide viewers with a strong sexual image. Typical of these are the more than 30 names in the sample which include the word *picaflor* "hummingbird" (*El Picaflor Del Norte* 'the Hummingbird of the North,' *Picaflor Norteño* 'Northern Hummingbird,' and *Picaflor Carhuasiño* 'Hummingbird from Carhuas'). Here the owner or driver (or whoever selected the name) is implying that he is able to go from woman to woman, just as a hummingbird flits from flower to flower, fertilizing along the way. Other examples are more blatantly sexual: *Playboy*, *El León De Las Frazadas* 'the Lion of the Bedcovers' and *El Doctor De Solteras* 'the Doctor of Single Women.' In modern Peru, however, such names are often seen as crude or old-fashioned and are therefore less popular than they once were.

### Changing Names on Individual Trucks

Farfán began his 1957 paper on Peruvian truck names with the sentence "los vehiculos viven y mueren generalmente con sus nombres" 'vehicles generally live and die with their names' (140). Farfán was suggesting that once a name was painted on a truck it was

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not changed. While this may be an exaggeration, clearly many trucks do carry the same name for long periods of time. In 1987, 45 trucks were observed with the same name that they had when they were first seen in 1977.

During the course of this study about 5% of the trucks in the sample were seen with new names. A total of 466 trucks had two different names, 25 had three different names and two had four different names during the ten-year period. Since many parts of Peru were visited only occasionally during the course of this study and since only about 17% of the trucks were seen more than once, it is difficult to estimate how often truck names are changed in the total universe of Peruvian trucking. However, I would estimate that perhaps one-third of the Peruvian trucks with names might have a name change in any given decade.

Interviews with drivers and owners provided six possible reasons why a new name might be given to a truck: 1) a change of ownership, 2) a change of vehicle type (putting a different body on the truck chassis), 3) a desire to change to a "luckier" name, particularly after an accident, 4) a desire to honor a parent, child, lover, or friend, 5) an expression of thanks after the fulfillment of a prayer or wish, and 6) a desire to be perceived as more "modern" or more in step with contemporary life in Peru. During the course of this study a seventh possibility appeared: changing slogans or advertising campaigns of some of the major companies operating in Peru. Also within this seventh type could be placed names that were changed to reflect a timely event — a political campaign or a soccer tournament, for example. Each of these seven reasons for changing names merits a brief explanation.

### **Ownership Change.**

Because Peruvian license numbers are assigned to a vehicle and not to an owner, changes in ownership are not obvious. Drivers and owners, however, reported that this is a fairly common occurrence. They said, too, that this is one of the most common reasons for changing a truck's name. Carlson also reported this practice (84). Two company names (*Milgusher* and *Trans Calderon S.A.*), for example, disappeared from the Peruvian highways when the compa-

nies were sold, and a new name (*Trans Baca*) became common late in the study when this firm was organized and began to buy up many old trucks. On the other hand, several interviewees pointed out that new owners often do not have the money needed to repaint a truck, and therefore may continue to use a name, even though it is not entirely to their liking, at least until they are able to afford to repaint the vehicle. Almost three-quarters of the trucks on which name changes were observed also had color changes, suggesting that the new name accompanied a repainting or refurbishing of the truck. Although the data are inconclusive, it does seem likely that a change of ownership is one of the more common reasons for renaming Peruvian trucks.

#### Change of Vehicle Type.

The body styles of the vehicles in this study were classified into eleven types. The most common were wooden stakebeds, usually fabricated in small-scale workshops found throughout Peru. Almost 77% of the trucks in the sample had this type of body. The second most common were tractor-trailers, representing 9% of the sample. Also found were enclosed vans (6%), tanker trucks (3%), and pickup trucks (2%). The remaining six types made up about 3% of the trucks in this study. It is important to note that several of these body types are interchangeable on the same truck chassis. Thus the owner of a truck might have both stake and tanker bodies and engage in several types of hauling depending on which body was mounted on the truck at any given time. In many cases bodies can be switched by simply removing a dozen bolts; the time and effort involved is minimal. However, each body usually has its own name, painted on the canasta or body area above the truck cab. The name of a particular body type might depend upon the route where it is utilized, the type of cargo carried, the "padrino" or patron of each body, or whatever other basis was used by the owner/driver to select the name. Of the 522 name changes recorded during this study, 27 involved a change in the style of body mounted on the truck. For example, a stakebed truck observed with the name *Miguel Oscar* in 1981 was later observed as a tanker with the name *El Halcón II* 'the Falcon II.'

### **Luckier Names.**

During interviews, several drivers mentioned that a very common reason for changing the name of a truck was to find a name that was "luckier" or one that is not as unlucky as the old name. Most observers of Latin American trucking have noted how dangerous this occupation can be. Major risks include mechanical breakdowns, accidents, natural disasters (in Peru, landslides frequently block major highways), political unrest/banditry, as well as the economic problems that are caused by operating a business under highly inflationary conditions with little access to credit. Although not readily apparent, most truck names are selected with an eye towards improving the luck of the driver/owner. One of the first things that is changed on an unlucky truck, for instance, after an accident, is the name painted on it.

### **Honoring a Relative.**

In almost one-third of all instances, new names on trucks had been drawn from the categories of Male Names or Female Names (163 of 522). Owners and drivers suggested that this is a very common situation, with the new name honoring a new girlfriend, wife, or child. In fact, the birth of a child (particularly the first son) seems to be a typical moment at which a new truck name is chosen. For example, in 1980 I saw a truck named *Mi Rosita* 'My Rosita.' The same truck was observed again in 1984, this time bearing the name *Llego Me Faustino* 'My Faustino Arrived,' with the new name probably painted on after the birth of a son named *Faustino*. Another truck had the name *Don Lalo* replaced by *Llego Jaimito* 'Little Jaime Arrived.' In a third example, a truck went through a series of names. In 1977, it was *Mi Patty* 'My Patty,' in 1982, *Patty y Ceci* 'Patty and Ceci,' and in 1985, *Pat y Ceci* 'Pat and Ceci,' suggesting several family transitions. The desire to recognize specific friends and family members is among the most common reasons for renaming a truck.

### **Religious Commitment.**

About one-third of the renamed trucks had a religious name as the new name (151 out of 522 instances). For 59 of these trucks the



old name also had a religious theme. Sometimes the new name was nothing more than a modification of the old one, applied when the truck was repainted or rebodied: *Jesus De Nazaret* 'Jesus of Nazareth' became *Jesus Nazareno* 'Jesus the Nazarene,' and *San Martín De Porres* was renamed *San Martincito*. In other cases, however, the new name clearly showed a major change in the naming process: *El Loco Rico* 'the Crazy Rich One' was renamed *El Milagro De La Cristo Morado* (a reference to the Lord of the Miracles, an image that is the subject of great pilgrimages every October in the city of Lima). Similarly, *El Doctor De Solteras* 'the Doctor of Single Women' was renamed *Guiame Señor De Luren* 'Guide me Lord of Luren,' an image of Christ important in Ica, south of Lima. Finally, a change to a name associated with fundamental or Pentecostal religious groups also appears to be fairly common, with such new names as *Cristo Viene Preparate* 'Christ is Coming, be Ready' and *Dios Tarde Pero No Me Olvide* 'God is Late but He Won't Forget Me' representative of this process. It seems likely that the change to a religious name from a secular one (and often from one which was clearly "macho" or aggressive) is, in Peru, often the result of an act of faith associated with some problems or difficulties. Several drivers reported, for example, that such name changes were most common after an accident or highway breakdown — renaming the vehicle in honor of the saint or religious image that helped them through their times of trouble. Also, a major religious transformation, such as joining a protestant church, might be cause to rename a truck.

#### More "Modern" Names.

Some names clearly show that the owner/drivers of the truck are part of contemporary Peruvian life. Truck names derived from popular culture, such as *Batman*, *Tarzan*, *Superman*, *Charles Bronson*, *Starky y Hutch* [sic], and *Kiss* (with stylized letter S's), graphically show the world that the truckers are international in outlook, at least in their taste for radio, television, or movie heroes. In another example, several trucks were observed in 1982 with new names associated with Peru's participation in the World Cup soccer matches in Spain. Two trucks were called *España 82* (one of these

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was quickly repainted with the religious name *Virgen de la Puerta*, a reference to an image of the Virgin Mary in the town of Otuzco in the north Peruvian Andes, after Peru was eliminated from the competition). Although many owner/drivers suggested that changing to a more modern name was an important reason for renaming a truck, only ten examples of this type of change were seen in the course of this study.

### Advertising Slogans.

One final reason for changing the names on Peruvian trucks became obvious only during the course of this study. Often a change in the advertising slogan of a company would result in a new name being painted on the trucks which the company owned. This reason was not mentioned in any of the interviews with Peruvian truckers and had not been mentioned by previous researchers. Many vehicles were seen, however, that clearly showed this pattern. The various vehicles owned by the Coca Cola bottling plants throughout Peru provide appropriate examples. At the beginning of this study in 1977, many company trucks carried the name simply as *Coca Cola*. (Many Coca Cola trucks, however, particularly those from areas away from Lima, bore names other than those related to the company, or second names in addition to the company name). By 1980, however, many of these trucks had been renamed *Tome Coca Cola* 'Drink Coca Cola.' This was followed in 1982-83 by *Pide Sprite* 'Ask for Sprite.' (This was at the time of the introduction of Sprite to Peru). In 1985-87, the most common slogan seen was *Disfrute Coca Cola* 'Enjoy Coca Cola.' Other examples of this pattern include many trucks named *Pepsi* that were repainted *Lider Del Sabor* 'Flavor Leader,' or trucks named *Te Sabu* 'Sabu Tea' renamed *Te Sabu Para Toda Peru* 'Sabu Tea for all of Peru,' or *Dunlop* (the tire company) repainting its trucks with *Calzado Duramil* (thereby advertising a local brand of shoes). In all, 44 trucks were given new names that were associated with companies or advertising slogans, and almost half of these (20) were simply changes of name that were part of a new promotional campaign for the firm that owned the truck.

### Conclusion

Carlson made an important contribution to the study of Peruvian truck names when he remarked

The truck names are of interest as they demonstrate the operation of this resource as an activity of daily life. That the trucks are named is not remarkable. At first, it appears even trivial. The remarkable observation is that the names display patterns. (239)

The painting of names on trucks can be viewed as an attempt to individualize one element of Peru's increasingly complex and sophisticated transportation system. The selection of a name for a Peruvian truck (and even the decision to display a name or not) is a very personal and a very important process in Peru. Our interviews with drivers and owners clearly showed that this was a matter of great concern and not to be taken lightly. Each name for a truck is carefully chosen and the actual painting of the name is usually done by a professional painter and often at considerable cost. Also, it is clear that choosing a name for a truck is not a random decision, but rather is the result of cultural practices typical of a trucking sub-culture, which is common to many parts of the world. As such, the data collected in this study and the analysis presented here is relevant to a wide variety of theoretical concerns, including research in semantics, folklore, and ethnography, as well as to issues of regional development and transportation development. This study should also provide reference points from which to compare similar studies conducted elsewhere in Latin America, or indeed elsewhere in the world.

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## Notes

1. I also noted some 2000 names on Mexican trucks during 1980 and 1981. These have been discussed in several unpublished papers.

2. Golly, Harris, "Artistic License," and Wilkenson, all writing about Central American bus names, and Bolton and Ameral, writing on the names painted on trucks in Ecuador. Harris has also written a general review of the subject, *Art on the Road*, in which she discusses vehicle murals and decorations in addition to names.

3. More than a dozen people assisted me at one time or another and I express my gratitude to all those who worked with me during the course of this study. The School of Social Sciences Research Committee at California State University, Fresno, provided funds on several occasions to help with data collection and analysis.

4. I was engaged in archaeological and geographical fieldwork unrelated to the study of truck names during much of my time in Peru. In 1981-82 and 1984-85 I served as Resident Director of the Intercollegiate Study Center in Lima and as a visiting professor in archaeology at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

5. Kus, "Onomastica." Publication of this paper sparked interest in this topic on the part of several Peruvian journalists who wrote short articles based on it for the popular Lima press.

6. For example, trucks bearing the names *San Martín de Porres*, *Sn Martín de Porres*, and *San Martincito* all clearly refer to the same Peruvian saint, but each can be considered a separate name.

7. There were a few exceptions to this general rule. A few names did reflect some of the characteristics of the truck. For example, a red truck was named *Diamante Rojo* 'Red Diamond,' a green truck was called *Avispon Verde* 'Green Hornet,' and an old Ford bore the name *Mister Ford*.

8. Carlson claims that "every privately owned truck in commercial service is named" (84). His sample of 397 names, however, came almost exclusively from a single season of fieldwork in the Cusco area. My data call into question several of Carlson's claims, including this one.

9. A good description of Peruvian truck nomenclature and name positions can be found in Carlson.

10. As the sample size increased with further fieldwork several categories fell slightly below the 1% threshold that had been established in 1977.

11. The names were painted on the trucks in a variety of forms, some in script, some in capital letters and others in various combinations. For consistency, I have given the names here as though they were titles, with appropriate capitalization.

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## APPENDIX

## Examples of Peruvian Truck Names

1. **INDIAN NAMES AND TERMS:** Amauta ('the Elders' of ancient Peru), Apu Huari (the Quechua name 'Lord Huari,' referring to a pre-Inca culture in central Peru. In some dialects of Quechua this name could be glossed 'Rich Huari' or 'Powerful Huari'), Chasqui Norteño 'Incan Messenger from the North,' El Dios Wiracocha 'the (Incan) God Viracocha,' Inka Wirachocha, El Kaña Rebelde 'the Kaña Rebel,' referring to a person from the pre-Inca province of Cañas, El Navajo 'the Navajo,' El Tumi (a reference to a sacrificial knife in pre-Incan Peru), Flecha Veloz 'Swift Arrow,' Gran Chimú (a reference to a North Coast pre-Incan culture), Huáscar (one of the last of the Inca rulers), Inca Garcilazo (the writer of an important book on Inca culture), Indio 'Indian,' La India (feminine form), Jibaro Soy 'I am a Jivaro' (a tropical forest tribe), Mi Cholita (the diminutive and feminine form of a pejorative term for Indians in Peru), Mi Cholo Lindo 'My Beautiful Cholo,' Mi Chulla Chaqui (unknown Quechua, possibly misspelled), Mochica (a reference to a North Coast pre-Incan culture), Naloc (a mythical Indian hero), Rosita Pachacuti (the diminutive form of the female name *Rose*, along with the name of an Inca king), Super Cholo, Tahuantinsuyo (the Quechua name of the Inca empire).

2. **RELIGIOUS NAMES:** Abel y Cain 'Abel and Cain,' Anda con Cristo 'Go With Christ,' Ángel Divino 'Divine Angel,' Ángel Moroni (an important angel in Mormonism), Arca de Noé 'Noah's Ark,' Armagedon, Ayudame Dios Mio 'Help Me, God,' Ayudame Señor de Muruhuay 'Help me, Lord of Muruhuay' (a reference to an image of Christ in a church near Tarma in the Central Andes), A la Voluntad de Dios 'at the Disposition of God,' Beatita Cruz de Chalpón 'Blessed Cross of Chalpon' (a reference to a highly venerated cross near the town of Motupe in northern coastal Peru), Beatita Melchorita 'Blessed Little Melchor' (a reference to a revered brother of the order of La Merced), Camino de Dios

'God's Road,' Con Dios y la Virgen 'With God and the Virgin,' Corazón de Jesús 'Heart of Jesus,' Cristo Divino 'Divine Christ,' Cristo es mi Guía 'Christ is my Guide,' Cristo la Luz del Mundo 'Christ the Light of the World,' Cristo muy Pronto Viene 'Christ Comes Soon,' Cruz de Mayo 'the Cross of May' (a reference to 3 May, the day of the Holy Cross), Devoto del Señor de Soledad 'Devotee of the Lord of Solitude' (the patron of Huaraz in the northern highlands), Dios Es Amor 'God is Love,' Dios Es Mi Guía 'God is my Guide,' Dios Tarde Pero no me Olvide 'God is Late but He will not Forget me,' Divino Maestro 'Divine Master,' Dulce Nombre de Jesús 'Sweet Name of Jesus,' El Buen Pastor 'The Good Shepherd,' El Mejor Amigo de Virgen de Cocharcas 'The best Friend of the Virgin of Cocharcas' (a reference to the patron of Ayacucho in the central highlands), El Milagro de la Cruz de Motupe 'The Miracle of the Cross of Motupe' (a reference to the Cross of Chalpon), El Milagro Nazareno 'The Nazareth Miracle,' El Rey de Reyes 'The King of Kings,' En Dios Confio 'I Confide in God,' Encomienda a Dios tu Viaje 'Entrust Your Trip to God,' Fe al Señor de Muruhuay 'Faith in the Lord of Muruhuay' (an image of Christ in Tarma, east of Lima), Fe en Dios 'Faith in God,' Gloria Dios 'Glory of God,' Guiame Cristo Salvador 'Guide me Christ the Savior,' Guiame Señor de los Milagros 'Guide me Lord of the Miracles,' Inmaculada Concepción 'Immaculate Conception,' Jehova es mi Pastor 'God is my Shepherd,' Jesús de Nazaret 'Jesus of Nazareth,' Jesús es mi Salvador 'Jesus is my Savior,' La Fe Siempre Lucha 'The Faith Always Fights,' Luz Divina 'Divine Light,' Me Voy con Dios y la Virgen 'I go with God and the Virgin' Mi Chalponcito 'My Little Cross of Chalpon,' Mi Fe en Ti Stma Cruz de Motupe 'My Faith is in you, Cross of Motupe' (also known as the Cross of Chalpon), Milagritos 'Little Miracles,' Nazareno 'Nazarene,' Niño Jesús 'Child Jesus,' Nuestra Sra de Guadalupe 'Our Virgin of Guadalupe,' Padre Eterno 'Eternal Father,' Poderoso Jesús el Galileo 'Mighty Jesus of Galilee,' Que Dios nos Bendiga 'That God will Bless us,' Sagrado Corazón de Jesús 'Sacred Heart of Jesus,' Santa Cruz 'Holy Cross,' Santísima Trinidad 'Holy Trinity,' Santo Domingo 'Holy (Easter) Sunday,' Sarita Colonia (a reference to a girl from Callao, Lima's port, who is said to have had saintly quali-

ties. Her cult — and this name — gained considerable popularity during the course of this study), Señor de Huanca 'Lord of Huanca' (the patron of Huancayo in central Peru), Señor de la Misericordia 'Lord of Mercy,' Señor de los Milagros 'Lord of the Miracles' (a painted image of Christ in the Las Nazarenas church in Lima and the object of Peru's greatest religious celebration each October), Siempre con Dios 'Always with God,' Solo Dios con su Poder 'Only God with His Power,' Sr Patrón Santiago 'Lord Patron Saint James,' Todo se Puedo Cuando Dios Quiere 'Everything is Possible when God Loves You,' Triunfito de Cristo 'Triumph of Christ,' Vaya con Dios 'Go with God,' Vendra mi Salvador 'My Savior will Come,' Virgen del Carmen 'Virgin of Carmen,' (a popular image of the Virgin Mary), Virgen de la Puerta 'Virgin of the Door,' (a reference to an image of Mary in Otuzco in the northern highlands), Virgencita de Chapi 'Little Virgin of Chapi' (an image of Mary in Arequipa in southern Peru).

3. **MALE SAINTS:** Apostal Santiago 'Apostle Saint James,' El Milagro de un St Morena 'The Miracle of a Dark Saint' (a reference to San Martín de Porres, Peru's most celebrated male saint), Fray Martincito 'Little Friar Martin' (another name for San Martín de Porres), Guiame San Antonio 'Guide Me, Saint Anthony,' Martir San Lorenzo 'Martyr Saint Lorenzo,' Milagroso San Juan 'Miraculous Saint John,' Mi Fray Escoba (another reference to San Martín de Porres, who is often depicted with an *escoba* 'broom'), Mi San Pablo 'My Saint Paul,' Poderoso San Pedro 'Powerful Saint Peter,' Santiago el Mayor 'Saint James the Great,' Santo Tomás 'Saint Thomas,' San Antonio 'Saint Anthony,' San Carlos de Bambamarca 'Saint Charles of Bambamarca' (a town in the northern Andes), San Francisco 'Saint Francis' (probably a reference to San Francisco de Solano, canonized in 1726 and one of Peru's four saints), San Isidro Labrador 'Saint Isidro the Laborer,' San Juan Bautista 'Saint John the Baptist,' San Martín de Porres (canonized in 1962, San Martín is the most popular male saint in Peru), San Pablo es mi Guía 'Saint Paul is my Guide,' Siempre mi Fray Martín 'Always my Friar Martin' (another reference to San Martín de Porres).



4. **FEMALE SAINTS:** El Milagro de Santa Rosa 'The Miracle of Saint Rose' (a reference to Saint Rose of Lima, the first American-born Saint and patron of South America), Milagrosa Santa Isabel 'Miraculous Saint Isabel,' Santa Aurora, Santa Barbara, Santa Beatriz, Santa Catalina, Santa Clara, Santa Delfina, Santa Eulalia, Santa Filomena, Santa Isabel, Santa Lucia, Santa María, Santa Rosa de Lima, Santa Victoria, Santa Ynez, Siempre Santa Rosa 'Always Saint Rose,' Sta Fatima, Sta Rosa de Lima, Virgen de Santa Rosa 'Virgin of Saint Rose.'

5. **MAXIMS:** Así es la Vida 'Such is Life,' Cómo te Gusta mi Plata 'How do you Like my Money,' Conversa que te Conversa 'Say What you will Say,' Digan lo que Digan 'They Say What they Say,' El Camino es Largo y Vida es Breve 'The Road is Long and Life is Short,' El Chisme es la Venganza de Cobard 'Gossip is the Vengeance of a Coward,' Hay Golpes en la Vida 'In Life there are Hurts,' La Envidia es mi Venganza 'Envy is my Vengeance,' La Vida es Así 'Life is Thus,' Luchar es mi Destino 'To Struggle is my Destiny,' Mi Mires y Sufres 'See me and Suffer,' No se Gana Pero se Gosa 'You Don't Win but you have Fun,' Paz es Amor 'Peace is Love,' Poco a Poco 'Little by Little,' Qué Importa mi Vida 'Of What Importance is my Life,' Quien soy yo — Papa 'Who am I, Father,' Se Sufre Pero se Aprende 'You Suffer but you Learn,' Trabaja y no Envides 'Work and Don't Envy me,' Vencer o Morir 'Conquer or Die.'

6. **FOREIGN NAMES:** Aeroflot, Alibaba, Apolo 11, Arafat, Atila, Bismarck, Blitz, Bogota, California, Changkaysek, Che Guevara, Closo de Rodas 'Colossus of Rhodes,' Dionisio, Dog's Life, El Arabe, El Espartano 'The Spartan,' El Sultan, Fittipaldi, Grand Canyon, Hindu, Kaiser, Kamasutra, Lenin, Luftwaffe, Lusitania, Maosetung, Marco Polo, Ma Mau, Mister Ford, Napoleon, Palestino, Patton, Polaco, Rasputin, Rommel el Zorro del Desierto 'Rommel the Desert Fox,' Shangryla, Soyuz 13, Sparta, Super Jet, Texas, Titanic, Vikingo, Washington, Zeus.

7. **COMPANY NAMES/SLOGANS:** Aciete Capri 'Capri Oil,' Agua de Mesa San Carlos 'San Carlos Mineral Water,' Almacen Central 'Central Storehouse,' Asseradero Valle Saron 'Sawmill Valley Saron,' Avicola Los Alamos 'Los Alamos Chicken Farm,' Avivet (a company specializing in veterinary products for chicken farms), Bala Perdida 90 'Lost Bullet 90' (truck number 90 of the Lost Bullet company), Benson Polyester (a textile company), Bimbo (a bakery), Bingo Club (a soft drink company), Cafe Lazo (Lazo coffee company), Calzado Duramil (a shoe manufacturer), Carsa (a retail store), Cassinelli (a soft drink bottler), Cerveza Cuzqueña (a Cuzco brewery), Circo Veracruz 'Veracruz Circus,' Commercial Libertad (a retail store), Cooperativa de Servicio Junín (a gasoline station in Junin), Cristal es Mejor 'Cristal (beer) is better,' C.A.P. Humaya (an agricultural cooperative in coastal Peru), Dunlop (tire company), Empresa Comunal Catac (an agricultural cooperative in northern highland Peru), Enapu Peru (the national port company), Es Nuestra Inca Kola 'Its Ours, Inca Kola,' Expresso Huancapón (a transport company), Galletas Royal (a cracker company), Garza Blanca 'White Heron' (a brewery), Grifo San Felipe (San Felipe Gas Station), Inca Kola (a soft drink company), La Chispa de la Vida 'The Spark of Life' (Coca Cola), La Gran Cerveza del Norte 'The Great Beer of the North,' Lider del Sabor 'Flavor Leader' (Sprite), Nicolini (a pasta company), Panificador Vargas (a bakery), Pan Pyc (a bakery), Pida Pasteurina (a soft drink), Pilsen Callao (a brewery), Productos Chippy (packaged snacks), Refrescos Bimbo (a soft drink company), Sais Chavin Ltda (an agricultural cooperative in northern highland Peru), Solgas (a bottled gas company), Te Sabu 'Sabu Tea,' Tome Inca Kola 'Drink Inca Cola,' Transliquido (a bottled gas company), Transportes Mendoza (a transportation company), Trans Baca (a transportation company), Trans el Progreso del Peru (a transportation company), Trujillo Express (a transportation company), Yo Tomo Cristal 'I Drink Cristal (beer),' Zapatillas Sinfin (a shoe company).

8. **PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES:** Amazonas (a political department in eastern Peru), Amor Celendino 'Celendin Love' (a reference to a town in northern Peru), Ancon Querido 'Beloved Ancon' (a beach resort just north of Lima), Arequipa (the second

largest city in Peru), Bambamarca (a town in northern Peru), Callao Querido 'Beloved Callao' (Lima's port), Caraz Ducera 'Sweet Caraz' (a town in the northern Andes), Casmeñito (someone from *Casma*, in northern coastal Peru), Chavin (a town in northeastern Peru), Chepen (a town in northern coastal Peru), Chiclayo (a city in northern coastal Peru), Chosicano (a person from Chosica, a town east of Lima), Cielo Usquilmasino 'Usquil Heaven' (refers to a town in the Andes east of Trujillo), Comunidad Campesino de Amotape 'Farmworker Community of Amotape' (a north coast town), Costa Sierra Selva 'Coast, Highland, Jungle,' Cusco Patrimonio Cultural del Mundo 'Cusco, World Cultural Patrimony,' El Cañetano (person from Cañete, south of Lima), El Chotañito (person from Chota, east of Chiclayo), Gomez (surname), Hermanos Palacios 'Palacios Brothers,' Hualgayoc (town east of Chiclayo), Huancayo Lima Cusco, Lima Huanuco Pucallpa, Mi Trujillañito (My little Person from Trujillo), Moralitos (surname), Ocucajaco (person from Ocucaje, south of Lima), Patron Niepaño (refers to a person from Niepa, southeast of Chiclayo), Pisco Perú (town south of Lima), Río Apurímac (a major river in northeastern Peru), Santos Vera (surname), Simbal (town east of Trujillo), Soy Pauranguino y Qué 'It's True that I am from Pauranga,' Tarma Perla de los Andes 'Tarma, Pearl of the Andes' (a town in the highlands east of Lima), Trujillo Capital de la Primavera 'Trujillo, Capital of Springtime), Valle Chicama 'Chicama Valley' (in northern coastal Peru), Varon Bolivariño 'young man from (the province of) Bolívar.'

9. **NATIONAL HISTORY:** Arriba Alianza (cheer for the Lima soccer club Alianza), Arriba Perú (typical national slogan), Bolognesi (general and martyr of the War of the Pacific against Chile in 1879-83), Carlos Maritegue (misspelled name of the Peruvian politician and writer José Carlos Mariátegui), Contigo Peru 'With you, Peru,' Diez de Mayo (holiday), El Liberador (refers to Simon Bolívar), El Morro de Arica (the cliff above the city of Arica where Bolognesi committed suicide), España 82 (refers to Peru's participation in the 1982 World Cup in Spain), Hija Peruana 'Peruvian Daughter,' Peruanito 'Little Peruvian,' Perú al España 82 (Peru to the 1982 World Cup), Primero de Mayo (holiday), Tacna Heroica (refers to

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the heroic defense of the city of Tacna during and after the War of the Pacific), Tupac Amaru de Tinta (leader of the first rebellion against the Spanish in colonial Peru), Vamos Boys (cheer for the Sport Boys soccer club), Victor Raul (refers to Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, Peru's leading politician of the first half of the twentieth century), Viva el Perú 'Long Live Peru.'

10. **LUCK, GOODWILL:** Amigo 'Friend,' Camarada 'Comrade,' Campanero 'Bellman,' Corazón Gitano 'Gypsy Heart,' Dos Amigos 'Two Friends,' Dos Hermanos 'Two Brothers,' El Amable 'The Amiable One,' El Amigo de Siempre 'The Friend for Always,' El Amigo del Pobre 'The Friend of the Poor,' El Bueno Amigo 'The Good Friend,' El Caballero de Fina Estampa 'The Gentleman of Lasting Impression,' El Familiar (literally 'The Familiar One' or 'The Plain One,' but could also refer to an officer of the Inquisition), El Inolvidable 'The Unforgettable One,' El Noble, 'The Noble One,' El Valiente 'The Valiant One,' Felicitas 'Congratulations,' Fiel Amigo 'Faithful Friend,' Frente al Destino 'Forward to Destiny,' Gitanito 2 'Little Gypsy 2,' Hermanos Unidos 'Brothers United,' Hola Primo 'Hi, Cousin,' Hola Soledad 2 'Hello Loneliness 2,' La Vida me Sonrie 'Life Smiles on Me,' Llego tu Negro 'Your Black Arrives,' Los Cinco Hermanos 'The Five Brothers,' Maestro con Carino 'Master (or teacher or driver) with Love (or heart),' Mi Fiel Amigo 2 'My Faithful Friend 2,' Mi Retorno 'My Return,' Siempre el Amable 'Always the Amiable One,' Siempre Sere tu Amigo 'I Will Always be Your Friend,' Tu Amigo de Siempre 'Your Friend for Always,' Uno Para Todos 'One for All,' Yo Va ni Ramon 'I go, not Ramon.'

11. **MACHISMO AND WIT:** Aeropollo 2 'Flying Chicken 2,' Aventurero 'the Adventurer,' Bandido 'the Bandit,' Capricho del Destino 'Whim of Destiny,' Casanova, Corazon Salvaje 'Savage Heart,' Diablito 2 'Little Devil 2,' Dime Si 'Tell me Yes,' El Borrachito 2 'The Little Drunk 2,' El Chico Loco 'The Crazy Boy,' El Doctor de Solteras 'The Doctor of Single Women,' El Galan del Norte 'The Lover of the North,' El Gran Jefe 'The Great Chief,' El Guapo del Pueblo 'The Beau of the People,' El

León de las Frazadas 'The Lion of the Bedcovers,' El Machito del Sur 'The Little Man from the South,' El Macho de America 'The Macho Person of America,' Feo pero Saborosa 'Ugly but Tasty,' Guapito 'Little Lover,' Hombre Hasta el Fin 'Man Until the Last,' Mano a Mano 'Hand to Hand,' Mirame como Soy 'See me as I am,' No Cuentas a Nadie 'Don't Tell Anyone,' Qué Culpa Tengo? 'What Blame do I Have?,' Qué Digas? 'What do you Say?,' Soy Solterito 'I am a Bachelor,' Una Adventura Mas 'One More Adventure,' Victorioso 'Triumphant,' Vida Salvaje 'Savage Life,' Ya Llego tu Rival 'Your Rival Just Arrived.'

12. **POPULAR CULTURE:** Avispon Verde 'Green Hornet,' Batman 2, Ben Hur, Black Shadow, Charles Bronson, Condor Pasa (song title), Django (movie hero), Duelo al Sol (movie title), El Conde de Montecristo 'The Count of Montecristo,' El Exorcista 'The Exorcist,' El Fugitivo 'The Fugitive,' El Halcon Negro 'The Black Falcon,' El Hombre Nuclear (Peruvian television name for "The Six Million Dollar Man"), El Llanero Solitario 'The Lone Ranger,' El Padrino 'The Godfather,' El Vengador Chino (Kung-Fu movie hero), Excaliber, Flipper (dolphin movie star), Gran Chapparel, Hombre Araña 'Spiderman,' Jaws, Jota R. (refers to the character J.R. on the television program "Dallas"), Kemo Sabe, Kiss (refers to the rock music group, written with backward s's), Los Intocables 'The Untouchables,' Maciste (movie hero), Mandingo (movie title), Menudo (the Puerto Rican rock group), Naranja Mechanic (movie title was "Mechanic Orange"), Pato de Goma 'Rubber Duck' (movie and song title), Pepe el Toro (children's book and movie title), Peter Pan, Popeye, Ringo (movie hero), Robinhood, Shane, Superman, Tarzan, Vuelve Django 'Return of Django' (a movie hero).

13. **CAPRICIOUS NAMES:** Chico Malo 'Bad Boy,' Cholo Malo 'Bad Cholo' (a pejorative term for Indians in Peru), El Ahijado de la Muerte 'The Godchild of Death,' El Cholo Vengador 'The Avenging Cholo,' El Diablo Maldito 'The Damned Devil,' El Hijo del Diablo 'The Son of the Devil,' El Malcriado 'The rude (spoiled) one,' El Malo 'The Evil One,' Envidia 'Envy,' Mala Noche 'Bad Night,' Mi Cholo Malo 'My Bad Cholo,' Venenoso 'Venemous.'

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14. **MEN'S NAMES:** Augusto Segundo, Alberto II, Aldo Raul, Alex, Andres, Antonio Martin, Armando, Bernardo, Beto, Carlos Alberto, Carlos Willey, Cesar Jesús, Cholo Freddy, Danielito, David Jorge, Don Armando, Don Lalo, Don Octavio el Misma 1, Edgar Edwin, Erick y Harold, Freddy Alberto, George Charles, Hector, Jaimito y Elmercito, Jhonny Danny No. 4, Jorge Luis, Jose Antonio, Juancito y Hnos. 'Little John and Brothers,' Kike, Lalito, Llego Pedrito 'Arrival of Little Pedro,' Luis Alberto, Manuel Angel, Max Freddy, Mi David, Mi Jorguito, Mi Panchito, Nestor Wilbert, Omarcito, Oscar Ivan, Papi Luis, Pedro Augusto, Pequeno Jaime, Raulito, Roberto Ronald, Ruben, Saul Edmundo, Siempre mi Faustino 'Always my Faustino,' Tito, Victor Humberto.

15. **WOMEN'S NAMES:** Adela y María, Anita, Blanca Elena, Carmencita, Celia Patricia, Debby, Deisy, Diana, Doty Paty 3, Esmeralda Marisol, Estercita 6, Fanny, Hilda Luz, Ingrid Janett, Jaqueline, Jenny, Jessica, Juana Irene, Juanita, Katty Patty, Laura Jhanny, Linda Rosa, Luz Mercedes, Mama Rosa, María Rosa, Mariluz, Mercedes, Mi Betty, Mi Juanita, Mi Panchita, Nelly Marleny, Patty y Ceci, Rosa María, Rosita, Maribel, Sarita Haydee 3, Siempre mi Tomasita, Vanessa, Veronica, Vicky, Yaquelina, Yohanna, Yoseppy.

16. **PROFESSIONS/OCCUPATIONS:** Brujo 'Witch,' Campesino 'Farmworker,' Diplomático, Doctor, El Agricultor 'The Farmer,' El Bucanero 'The Buccaneer,' El Ejecutivo 1 'The Executive 1,' El Maderero 'The Woodsman,' El Minero 'The Miner,' El Pionero 'The Pioneer,' El Socio 'The Partner,' El Varon Norteño 'The Northern Man' (connotes youth and respectability), El Viajero 'The Traveller,' Emigrante 'Immigrant,' Ganadero 'Herdsman,' Guerrecito 'Warrior,' Luchador Campesino 'Farmworker Fighter,' Mensajero del Norte 'Messenger of the North,' Molinero 'Miller,' Obrero 'Laborer,' Profesor, Varon 'Young Man.'

17. **ASTRONOMICAL/WEATHER:** Ciclón del Norte 'Cyclone of the North,' Cielito Lindo 'Beautiful Sky,' Cielo Azul 'Blue Sky,'

Eclipse, El Astro 'The Star,' El Ciclón de Centro 'The Cyclone of the Center,' El Cosmos, El Rey del Viento 'The King of the Wind,' El Viento 'The Wind,' Estrella Polar 'the North Star,' Estrellita 'Little Star,' Felez Amanecer 'Happy Sunrise,' Huracancito 'Little Hurricane,' La Estrella del Vista Alegre 'The Star of the Beautiful View,' La Nube Gris 'The Gray Cloud,' Luz del Cielo 'Light of the Sky,' Luz de Luna 'Moonlight,' Mar y Sol 'Sea and Sun,' Meteorito 'Little Meteor,' Mi Cielito Lindo 'My Beautiful Sky,' Mi Nuevo Amanecer 'My New Dawn,' Neblina Blanca 'White Fog,' Olas del Mar 'Waves of the Sea,' Rayito de Luna 2 'Little Ray of the Moon 2,' Tres Estrellas del Sur 'Three Stars of the South,' Viento 'Wind,' Volcan 'Volcano.'

18. **BOTANICAL/ZOOLOGICAL:** Aguila 'Eagle,' Avispon 'Wasp' or 'Hornet,' Bronco, Cana Brava (a species of cane or reed), Chacal 'Jackel,' Cisne 'Swan,' Cobra, Condor de Chavin 'Condor from Chavin' (in the northern highlands), Corazon de León 'Lion Heart,' El Bufalo, El Burro, El Caiman 'The Alligator,' El Canario 'The Canary,' El Condor de la Selva 'The Condor from the Selva,' El Escorpion Rojo 'The Red Scorpion,' El Gavilan del Norte 'The Hawk from the North,' El Halcón 'The Falcon,' El León 'The Lion,' El Lobo del Mar 'The Sealion,' El Oso 'The Bear,' El Picaflor 'The Hummingbird,' El Puma, El Tigre Andino 'The Andean Tiger,' Flor Andino 'Andean Flower,' Gato de Oro 'Golden Cat,' Gavilan Pollero 'Chicken Hawk,' Halcón de los Andes 'Falcon of the Andes,' La Flor del Café 'The Flower of the Coffee,' La Polla 'The Chicken,' León del Valle 'Lion of the Valley,' León de Huánuco 'Lion of Huanuco' (a Peruvian political department and also the name of a soccer team), Llego el Pinto 'Arrival of the Pinto,' Lobito Feroz 'Fierce Little Wolf,' Mi Flor de Naranja 'My Orange Flower,' Mi Torito 'My Little Bull,' Picaflor Carhuasiño 'Hummingbird from Carhuas,' Pinta Brava 2 'Brave Little Horse 2,' Potro Pinto 'Pinto Colt,' Pulpo 'Octopus,' Puma de Oro 'Golden Puma,' Tiburon 'Shark,' Tigre 'Tiger,' Trebol 'Cloverleaf,' Vibora Junta al Camino 'Viper Along the Road,' Vicunita 'Little Vicuna,' Zorro 'Wolf.'

19. **ROMANTIC/SENTIMENTAL:** Alma Corazon y Vida 'Soul, Heart and Life,' Amarte es mi Delirio 'To Love You is my Frenzied Rapture,' Amorcito 'Little Love,' Amor de mi Madre 'Love of my Mother,' Amor Gitano 'Gypsy Love,' Amor Sublime 'Sublime Love,' Asi era Ella 'So She Was,' Cariñoso 'Affectionate,' Corazón Mío 'My Heart,' Demonio Enamorado 'Demon Lover,' Demenstralo si mi Quieres 'Show Me if You Love Me,' Doctor en Amor 'Doctor in Love,' Dulce Amor 'Sweet Love,' El Amor Nunca Muere 'Love Never Dies,' El Dos Amores 'The Two Loves,' Esfuerzo de Dos Vidas 'Effort of Two Lives,' Fuistes mi una Verano 'You Were Mine One Summer,' Historia del Amor 'History of Love,' La Amor de Medianoche 'Midnight Love,' Llego mi Amor 'My Love Comes,' Mil Amores 'Thousand Loves,' Mi Cariñito 'My Sweetheart,' Mi Ser Querido 'My Dear One,' Mi Tesoro 'My Treasure,' Nunca me Olvide 'Never Forget Me,' Pensando en ti 'Thinking of You,' Quiereme Mucho 'Love Me a Great Deal,' Recuerdo de mis Padres 'Memory of my Parents,' Siempre Contigo 'Always With You,' Soy un mas en tu Vida 'I'm Once More in your Life,' Te Juro Volver 'I Promise to Return,' Tres Amores 'Three Loves,' Tú no me Puedes Olvidar 'You Can't Forget Me,' Tú y Yo 'You and I,' Una Cita en el Oriente 'A Rendezvous in the East,' Viviras en mi Recuerdo 'You Will Live in My Memory.'

20. **MISCELLANEOUS/UNKNOWN:** Alpisa, Bug Bug, Casser, Cayto, Chaguita, Chamu, Chobi, Chopipo, Ci Gui, Clohim, Copas Llenas, Cospere 2, De Colores, Dinivil, El Benel, El Chamo, El Fertilito, El Maki, El Sarco, El Tukapel, El 41, Espumita, Ferba, Gumi, Ilansa, Isacota, Jenner, Jovica, Ka II a tu, Loopafsi 323, Mas Siel, Occuruo, Pabur, Poquito Sed, Regedi, Rey Lit, Rojo Esperanza 'Red Hope,' Rumbo al Oeste, Saeta, Sechu 1, Shen, Sorel, Sune Sune, Toma la Mano 'Take the Hand,' Tovensa, Tudito, Una Mas, Vamos, Vicu, Yalgu, Zozimo, Zully.





