

Portuguese Family Names

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His name was *Pedro de Mendez*; he was a very courteous and generous person.

Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV, Chapter 11.

IF YOU HAVE EVER BEEN PUZZLED by the names of Judge *Cardozo*, of writer John *Dos Passos*, or of tennis star Victor *Seixas*, you have come upon the enigma of the Portuguese family names and their migration to the United States. Such names have also left their mark on the map of our country here and there, as in the cases of Point *Cabrillo*, California;¹ *Tavares*, Florida; *Rego* Park, Long Island, New York; and *Castroville*, Texas.²

The names have a peculiar ring in Portuguese ears and minds, as many of them, apart from their rich vowel sounds or their references to cities or castles in Portugal and Spain, evoke the noblemen among their early bearers who made Portugal an independent country in the Middle Ages when they reconquered the territory from the Moors, or who gained an empire overseas in the sixteenth century in Africa, Asia and America. The music of their names has appealed to the imagination of the Portuguese, as it did to my own, ever since Luís de Camões consigned them in the thundering lines of his epic poem:

¹ Point Cabrillo reflects the Spanish spelling of the nickname of João *Rodrigues Cabrilho* — “the Kid,” perhaps a play on words, if the Viscount De Lagoa was correct in assuming that this Portuguese navigator was born in one of the many villages in Portugal called *Cabril* (João *Rodrigues Cabrilho*, A Biographical Sketch, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1957, p. 19).

² *Castroville*, Texas, — there is another town of the same name in California — was named after its founder, Henry *Castro*, a Portuguese Jew from France, who came to Providence, R. I., in 1827. From there he went to Texas in 1842, launching a colonization scheme, mainly on land near San Antonio. I came upon the story in the Genealogy Department of the Dallas Public Library, on the eve of reading to the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese a paper on “Cultural Linguistics: The Case of the Portuguese Family Names” (December 28, 1957). The present article is an enlarged version of that paper.

Um *Pacheco* fortíssimo, e os temidos
Almeidas, por quem sempre o Tejo chora;
 Albuquerque terrível, *Castro* forte...
 E outros em quem poder não teve a morte.
 (*Pacheco* strong, the dread *Almeidas* twain,
 For whom yet Tagus grieves with sad lament,
 And *Albuquerque* stern and *Castro* brave,
 And all who scaped dominion of the grave.)³

I became more conscious than ever of their poetic spell during a visit to the royal palace at Sintra near Lisbon, in the company of Portuguese colleagues. As we were raising our eyes to the ceiling of the Hall of the Deer, one of the Portuguese present explained the significance of the seventy-two escutcheons minus one (that of the ill-fated *Távoras*) which are painted there. He rolled off his tongue the names of some noble families represented, then exclaimed in rapture: "Que nomes tão clangorosos!" — How clangorous!

It is obvious then that a study of family names, even of modest scope, can introduce us to the mentality of a people. Family names especially, since they are given us, not by ourselves, but usually by others, reflect folk ways in a given place during a given period. Proceeding from the most ancient to the most recent, one might reconstruct a people's cultural history in a new way.

³ *Os Lusíadas*, Canto I, st. 14, ll. 5–8, English translation by Leonard Bacon, New York, 1950.

A recent Brazilian imitator of Camões enumerates in a similar fashion the proudest names in the history of the westward movement of the pioneers of S. Paulo in the seventeenth century. An Indian companion asks *Raposo*, the leader of a new westward expedition, to remember the misfortunes of his predecessors:

Contempla êstes destroços desfalcados / dos nomes mais soberbos. Onde os braços / que a Pátria conformaram, que nos Pampas, / por todo o Litoral e rumo aos Andes / invencíveis em glórias se estenderam? / Os *Prados* onde e os *Lemes* e os *Camargos* / e os dois *Domingos* feros e a postura / de *Pedroso de Barros* que nos Andes / repousa enaltecida? onde os *Andradas*, / *Junqueiras*, *Azevedos* e os *Carvalhos* / de *Cajurú*? . . .

Carlos Alberto Nunes, *Os Brasileidas*, S. Paulo, 1938, Canto I, ll. 130–140.
 ("Consider these cheated, ruined bearers of the proudest names. Where are the hands that shaped our country and reached out in the Pampas, along the entire coast and toward the Andes, invincible and glorious? Where are the *Prados* now, the *Lemes* and *Camargos*, the two savage *Domingos*, and where *Pedroso de Barros* who rested his tall frame on the Andes? Where the *Andradas*, *Junqueiras*, *Azevedos* and the *Carvalhos de Cajurú*?").

In order to arrive at a few general ideas with the required caution in the case of the Portuguese family names, I have sought to answer four simple questions: What kinds of names do the Portuguese have? What do the names mean? Where may they be found? And, how does one recognize them as Portuguese?

1. *The different types of Portuguese family names*

On looking at Portuguese family names one realizes soon that they fall into roughly the same few categories as the personal names of all other peoples that speak Indo-European languages. They can be reduced to the four types defined for English by Ernest Weekley, among others: a) baptismal or first names and their derivations, such as *Jack* and *Jackson*; b) place names and their derivations, such as *Hill* and *Lee*; c) nicknames derived from physical or mental peculiarities, such as *Black* and *Short*; and finally, d) names derived from occupations and social positions, such as *Taylor* and *Ward*.

A) Some of the best known Portuguese writers have names which fall into the first category: Gil *Vicente*, Francisco *Manuel* de Melo, or, among contemporaries, Afonso *Duarte*, João *Gaspar Simões*, Agostina Bessa *Luis*. Baptismal names, even feminine ones, such as [*da*] *Rosa*, have frequently been changed to family names, without any alteration, originally because they were the father's first name, and in some cases, the mother's. Some ancient, now obsolete baptismal names are thus preserved as family names, for example *Godinho*, which is perhaps a short form of the Gothic name *Godzuindo*.⁴ To call an individual by two names is one of the oldest ways of identifying him. The second name is usually his father's. Father's names, designated as "patronymics," may, but need not be, specified by the addition of certain endings, such as *-son* or simple *-s* in English, or such as *-es* and *-az* in Portuguese. Portuguese names with such endings show their age, for the ending is one of the few survivals of the Latin genitive case. *Simões* thus used to mean "son of *Simão*," *Enes* "son of *Ennes*," (earlier *Eannes*, and still earlier *Joannes*, the modern *João*), *Pires*, "son of *Pero*," *Pero* being the older, popular form of the name *Pedro*, a patronymic once so common that it has given rise to

⁴ The first nobleman who seems to have taken the surname of *Azevedo* in the eleventh century was a D. *Godinho* Viegas, a descendant on his mother's side of a D. *Goduzindo*, Count of Lugo. The same short form *Goda* has given the modern German name of *Goethe*.

the saying "é muito pires," when someone does something very ordinary. Most of the original baptismal names from which many of the Portuguese patronymics are derived are, like the similar Castilian patronymics, so ancient in fact that few parents would want to use them for their children at present. *Vaz*, and *Garcia*, *Nunes*, *Moniz*, *Dias*, *Alves* and perhaps also *Pais* go back to the Basque names *Velasco* (from *belex-co*, "son of the raven, of the black one") and *Garcia* (from *hartz*, "bear"), and to names of various dark origins: *Nonnio*, *Monnio* (?), *Didaco*, *Alvaro* and *Pelágio* (through the stages of *Pelágici*, *Peláez*, and *Páez*). Even *Lopes* may go back to an Iberian or a Germanic name, meaning "wolf," and translated into Latin as *Lupus*.⁵ Other names look very Germanic and must have been introduced by the Visigothic nobility, but they went out of fashion by the end of the middle ages already. Such were *Aria*, which has given *Arias*, then *Aires*, *Ermengildo*, transformed into *Menendo*, then *Mendo*, which has given *Mendes*, *Sueiro*, which originated *Soares*, *Gueda*, now in *Guedes*, *Gund-salo*, preserved in *Gonçalves*, *Froila*, preserved in *Forjaz*, *Ruod-ric* in *Rodrigues*, and a puzzling short form *Gomo*, which may have been preserved in *Gomes*.

Due to the influence of the Christian Church and the cult of the popular saints, the Greek and Latin baptismal names which had given rise to *patronymics* have remained in favor. Some have already been mentioned, such as *Enes* and *Pires*. *Antunes*, from *António*, or rather *Antom*, should be added; it reflects the devotion for St. Anthony of Padua, a native of Lisbon. Fashion has left its mark here, too; the commonness of the family name *Martins*, compared with the rarity of *Martim* as a first name in present day Portugal,

⁵ The genitive case forms ("of so-and-so") of names had many different endings originally. However, as J. Leite de Vasconcelos pointed out in his *Antroponímia portuguesa* (p. 111 ff.), "the patronymics in *-az*, *-oz*, *-uz* did not remain alive with a function of their own beyond the thirteenth or fourteenth century. . . The *-es* form [Latinized *-ici* > *-izi* > *-iz* > *-ez* > *-es*] is the most common of all and the one which lived on longest, completely replacing those that gradually died off from the thirteenth or fourteenth century on." The process of forming names in *-es* is neatly illustrated by Carnoy (*Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, 2d ed., Brussels, 1906, p. 235): "The grandfather is *Lupus*, the father *Lupicus*, the son is *Lupici* and from then on all the descendents are *Lupici* and this patronymic can be transmitted in this fixed form as a family name until we get the *Lopez* [Portuguese *Lopes*] of today." The only trouble is that names such as *Lupicus*, *Pelagicus*, etc. do not occur in the medieval Latin documents, so that some mystery persists about the origins of *-ici* on the Iberian Peninsula.

clearly shows that the cult of the sainted French Bishop must have been popular in medieval Portugal where French influence was strongly felt. *Marques*, from *Marcus*, *Domingues*, from *Dominicus* via *Domingo*, and *Esteve(n)s*, from *Stephanos*, point to similar fluctuations in devotion.

Even the Moorish rule has left a faint trace among the patronymics; for the name *Viegas* goes back to *iben Egas*, i. e. "son (or daughter) of Egas." In modern times further semitic forms, such as *Bensaúde* and *Bensabat* and *Abecas(s)is* have been brought to Lisbon by Jewish families, probably arrivals from Morocco.

Though patronymics already appear in the ancient *Upanishads* of the Hindu Brahmins and in Homer's *Iliad*, they are not found in the oldest documents of the Iberian Peninsula. In these, single baptismal names identify the individual, a custom surviving into modern times in the single names of monarchs, such as *D. Manuel III*, and of very popular writers, such as *Camilo*, whose full name was Camilo Castelo Branco; "...first names — for you adore first names in your nation where only five family names exist," as the French writer Jean Giraudoux observed, with some exaggeration (*La journée portugaise*, Paris, 1920, p. 199). Patronymics begin to appear in Portugal as in other regions of the Peninsula from the early years of the tenth century on. We read, for example, of a certain *Odario Dauiz*, son of *David Abba* ("the Abbot"), in a document dated 907. Both men and women followed the custom so that husband and wife would always keep different names. The first King of Portugal, son of *Henrique*, Count of Burgundy, is known to this day as *D. Afonso Henriques*, the same as in the twelfth century, his own time. In her day, the famous *Inês de Castro*, illegitimate daughter of *Don Pedro de Castro*, was also called *Enes Perez* (Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, ed. A. Sérgio, Oporto, n. d., vol. I, 403). By the early part of the fifteenth century, patronymics were current among the common citizenry of Lisbon.⁶ Even now the common country people frequently form patronymics, though not by means of an ending but by linking them to the individuals' name with the combined preposition-article word *do*, e. g. *o Zé do António*. In other instances the mother's name is added by means of *da*, e. g. *António da Alice*.⁷

⁶ In the *Livro dos milagros do Bom Jesus de S. Domingos de Lisboa*, begun in 1432. See Appendix 2.

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The process of transforming patronymics into hereditary family names began during the second half of the fifteenth century, however, and seems to have been completed in the sixteenth, according to Leite de Vasconcelos (*Antroponímia portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1928, pp. 115, 117). What led to the fixation of family names then? The number of available and appealing names had shrunk as the Catholic Church frowned on many of the heathenish Iberian and Germanic names, yet the population kept growing and gathering in cities. Here, merchants and royal officials must have felt that family names had to be adopted in order to avoid utter confusion in the records. As elsewhere in Europe, beginning in Venice and other North Italian cities of the tenth century, not only patronymics solidified into hereditary family names, but placenames and nicknames as well.

B) At first, family names were surnames, given only to those who had made a name for themselves, i.e. the nobility. Thus, place names were adopted by the nobles in Portugal as early as the eleventh century. One of the earliest was *Da Maia*, made famous later on by the title of Eça de Queiroz' novel *Os Maias*. Evidently such surnames defined a man by his property; the use of the particle *de* indicated the possession and its importance. Yet the usage became general among the Portuguese nobility in the fifteenth century only.⁸

Not all placenames indicated property. Some designated a person's origin, as in the case of a *Pero Portugal* in the fourteenth century. Others indicated a person's dwelling, regardless of his rank in society, and this is still a common way of naming in the Portuguese countryside. An example is *Maria da Fonte*, (Mary of the Well), who gave her name to a popular uprising in Northern Portugal in the past century.

Fed by so many sources, place names abound among the family names. Anyone who has read Fernão Lopes' chronicle of King John I knows of the eagerness with which the upper middle classes in Lis-

⁷ The combination *do (da)* may also link a woman's name to that of her husband and *vice versa* in the Portuguese villages: "Whenever she was addressed as 'Madame' or as 'Senhora Dona Joana' her eyes became bright with joy. In the village of Sardoal she had always been 'Aunt Joana' when people spoke to her, and when they talked about her they said 'Joana of the Main Street' or 'a Joana do Ti Tonho Silva' (Uncle Tony Silva's Johanna), as António Silva was her dead husband's name." Castro Soromenho, *Viragem*, Lisbon, 1957, pp. 36-37.

⁸ Leite de Vasconcelos, *Antroponímia portuguesa*, 164.

bon particularly strove to acquire the same privileges as the nobility. Running through the list of "fidalgos and citizens" who, according to Lopes, helped the Master of Aviz gain the Portuguese throne at the end of the fourteenth century, he will not be surprised to find the same type of place names appear as the surnames of the vast majority of city dwellers, whether they were noble or not: *Nogueira, de Lemos, do Casal*, etc.⁹ The list also contains a considerable number of patronymics, such as *Lourenço* and *Vaasquez*.

C) The third type, nicknames, occurs much less in Fernão Lopes' medieval list, though one finds *Valente*, ("Valiant"), *Fariseu*, ("Pharisee"), *Furtado*, ("Changeling"). Actually, nicknames, or *alcunhas*, are exceedingly common in Portuguese territories, as in every closely-knit community. What Maria de Lourdes de Oliveira Monteiro reported from Porto Santo in the Madeira Arquipelago represents the rule, I feel: "It is curious to note the extremely frequent use of nicknames, given in general without malice or any intention of debasement, but often originating from amusing circumstances which occurred while people were working together. Yet those nicknames stick to the individual throughout his lifetime and are transmitted to his children.

I may state that there is not a single householder in Porto Santo without a more or less ingenious and friendly nickname.

For example, we have José the Scrivener, an eloquent and bold fellow; Luís the Trap, who has prominent jaws; João Fathead, who has a somewhat deformed head; José Peck (actually, Gallon), who had been a miller." ("É curioso notar o emprego frequentíssimo de alcunhas, postas em geral sem maldade nem intenção de depreciar, nascidas muitas vezes de circunstâncias engraçadas ocorridas no trabalho em conjunto, mas que ficam a marcar o indivíduo para toda a vida e se transmitem à sua descendência.

Posso afirmar que não há um único *casal* no Porto Santo que não tenha o seu *apelido*, mais ou menos engenhoso, mais ou menos benévolo.

Temos, por exemplo: *José, o Escrivão*, homem bem falante e nada acanhado; *Luís o Cachada*, de rosto de maxilares salientes; *João, o Cabeçudo*, de cabeça um tanto deformada; o *JoséMaquia*, que foi moleiro;" etc. "Porto Santo," *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia*, II, 1948, pp. 59-60).

⁹ See Appendix 1.

D) Going back once more to the list given by Fernão Lopes, to look for family names derived from occupations, we find only two, *Barateiro* ("peddler") and *Carregueiro* ("driver"). Considering the rarity of occupational family names in modern Portugal, it may be suspected that even these names do not indicate actual professions but were nicknames. How is one to explain the reluctance of the Portuguese to the use of occupational names? In this respect, Portugal contrasts sharply with countries like Germany, replete with *Schmidts* and *Muellers*, England, with its *Millers* and *Smiths*, or France with its *Lefèvres* and *Meuniers*. Is it due to the ancient inferiority attaching to crafts or manual labor in general? When names became fixed in Portugal, much of the labor was, it is true, performed by despised outsiders — Jews, Moors, and the numerous African slaves. But the desire to adopt the names of the noble families must have been a more powerful reason, for the sake of the protection which the noble houses could afford the commoner who was their client.¹⁰ Besides, the occupation of an individual is even today considered so personal a characteristic in Portugal that a man named Gomes who is a tailor will be referred to condescendingly in con-

¹⁰ Because of the privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese nobles, the eagerness of Portuguese commoners, especially when they were far from their places of birth, to adopt noble names became so pronounced that foreigners remarked about it. An Italian, F. Sasseti, wrote from Portugal in the sixteenth century: "An *Almeida*, a *Noronha*, a *Menezes* may be a nobleman, as he may be a farmer or a craftsman; everybody takes the surname (they call it *Alcunha* in their language) which he pleases." (*Biblioteca economica*, Milan, 1874, p. 133.) Similarly, the Frenchman Mocquet observed in Goa, Portuguese India, in 1608: "As soon as they (i.e. the Portuguese soldiers) get there, no matter how ordinary and abject they may be, they all consider themselves noble fidalgos, changing their obscure names to more illustrious ones." (Quoted by Maurice Collis in *The Land of the Great Image*, New York, 1943, p. 20.) The same trait, not exclusive of the Portuguese, could be observed in the early nineteenth century, when the foremost writer, wishing to shine in aristocratic Lisbon society changed his plebeian name of *Silva Leitão* to that of *Almeida Garrett* and was made a viscount. However, he did not hide his middle class origin as did a prime minister some years later: "António José da *Villa* is the real name of the illustrious minister. His father, an honest plebeian, called himself simply Master José da *Villa*. *Avila* is merely the aristocratic mask of the parvenu." (Antero de Quental, "Carta as Exmo Sr. Antonio José d'Avila, Marquez d'Avila, Presidente do Conselho de Ministros," 1871, in *Prosas*, II, Lisbon, n.d., p. 145.)

On March 31, 1520, King Manuel I of Portugal issued a decree prohibiting the adoption of noble names by commoners. Converted Jewish families were exempted, however. Leite de Vasconcelos quotes the decree in *Antropontimia portuguesa*, p. 327.

versational style as *o Gomes alfaiate*, ("that Tailor Gomes"), same manner in which tradesmen and officials were identified in the Lisbon of the fifteenth century (see Appendix 2).

E) A fifth type of family name exists in Portugal, which has not yet been mentioned. It includes names due to religious devotion, similar to but not identical with the cult of the saints which has furnished so many baptismal names. These peculiar devotional names are not used as first names in Portugal, although some of them are commonly used thus in Spain.

According to Leite de Vasconcelos, such names as *Gonçalo de Christo*, which are recorded for the twelfth century, were rare in medieval Portugal but spread from the sixteenth century on.¹¹ At that time a return to a purer Christianity was attempted. Monks and nuns were the first to substitute new religious names for their worldly ones. Students of literature are familiar with such sixteenth century names as *D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*, or seventeenth century names, of which there are many more, such as *Soror Violante do Céu* and *Frei António das Chagas*. The laymen followed suit, expressing their devotion to Christ or certain images of him in the family names *Cristo, do Nascimento, das Chagas* and *dos Passos*. Similar invocations of the Virgin Mary resulted in the names *da Santa Maria, do Carmo, da Conceição, da Graça, dos Anjos, da Luz, das Neves, das Dores*, etc. Lisbon is unique in having a Bank of the Holy Ghost; this bank is named *Espirito Santo* after the family that owns it. The telephone directory of Lisbon reveals other weird combinations when devotional names are wedded to others: *Homem Cristo, Pena das Dores, A. Alegria Nogueira das Dores*, and the firm of *Alegria dos Anjos, Limitada*. Devotion need not always be the origin of devotional names. People with the names *dos Santos* or *da Trindade* may also owe them to the name of a church or a convent in their parish, while an individual who played the part of one of the wise men from the Orient in a *reisada* on January 6 might have earned the nickname *dos Reis*. At any rate, the devotional type furnishes some of the most common and typical Portuguese names of our day, faithfully reflecting the conservative, religious feelings of a large part of the population. However, *Ramos* and *Cruz*, two names which seem devotional, are not so, for *Ramos* has nothing to

¹¹ *Antroponímia portuguesa*, pp. 137-139.

do with Palm Sunday (*Domingo de Ramos*), being derived from the name of many places in the Minho and Beira provinces, while *da Cruz* refers to people who used to live near a wayside cross.

2. *The Meaning of Portuguese Names*

With *da Cruz* we have entered the domain of etymology. In fact, devotional names are easy to explain, or so it seems. Thus the name of the Brazilian poet *Augusto dos Anjos* can be derived from *Nossa Senhora dos Anjos*, "Our Lady of the Angels," the patron virgin of the church near Assisi which Saint Francis caused to be rebuilt. Machado de Assis, another well-known Brazilian, owes the second part of his name to the same popular devotion to the Franciscan order. Knowledge of the religious orders will help to explain *Neri*, *Padua*, *Sales* and *Sena* as due to invocations of St. Filippo Neri, St. Anthony of Padua, St. François de Salles and St. Bernardino or St. Catherine of Siena.

Compared with the family names in other countries farther north, or even with the place names in their own country, the Portuguese render the interpretation of their family names relatively easy by the uniformity with which they spell them. The form of all types of names has changed little since Fernão Lopes wrote his chronicles in the fifteenth century, apart from simplifications.¹² Consequently, they do not lend themselves to studies of regional and dialectal variations or of the evolution of the language. I suspect that the official fixation of the written forms occurred too late in Portugal to reflect regional pronunciation.

Etymologists concentrate therefore on Portuguese place names. Their derivation will also take care of a large number of family names. Although many of them refer to particular places, they are so general in meaning and yet so widespread that they lend a rural charm to Portuguese names as a whole. Thus, more people are named after trees in Portugal than anywhere else. In England, names like *Oaks*, and *Pomeroy* are infrequent, whereas in Portugal even the Prime Minister bears the name of the olive tree (*Oliveira Salazar*) and the Cardinal Archbishop that of the cherry (*Gonçalves*

¹² Insignificant variants have appeared in the train of contemporary spelling reforms, which some have resisted. Thus one finds *Souza* and *Sousa*; *Cardoso* and *Cardoso*; *Queiroz* and *Queirós*; *Vasconcellos* and *Vasconcelos*; *Rebello* and *Rebello*; *Mello* and *Melo*; *Ennes* and *Enes*; *Athayde* and *Ataide*; *Freyre* and *Freire*; *Motta* and *Mota*; *Moraes* and *Morais*; *Corrêa* and *Correia*.

Cerejeira). Another common name of this sort is *Pereira*, "pear tree," ever popular since *Nun' Alvares Pereira*, the great Marshal, bore it in the fourteenth century. Though it may be that a few people are named thus for some fine tree which once stood near their farm house a glance at a good map of Portugal reveals the existence of countless places with those very names. Once a noble proprietor identified himself with a village thus named, as in the case of the *Pereiras*, the name would spread among the commoners. The same could be said about *Oliveira*, *Figueiredo* ("grove of fig trees"), *Silva* ("Briar"), *Teixeira* ("Boxwoods"), *Moreira* and *Amoreira* ("Mulberry tree"). Tree names like *Carvalho* ("Oak") branched out further in half a dozen related forms. It is a puzzle why *Azinheiro* ("live oak") and *Sobreiro* ("corktree"), trees commonly found in the countryside, scarcely appear as family names.¹³

The names of rustic properties can be recognized in the names of people who may have lived in cities for generations: *do Rego* ("of the irrigation ditch"), *Ribeiro* ("brook"), *do Canto* and *da Rocha* ("of the rock"), *da Serra* ("of the mountain ridge"), *de Barros* ("of the farms"), *do Couto* ("of the enclosure"), *da Costa* ("of the hillside"), *de Matos* ("of the bushes"), *do Vale* ("of the valley") and *da Veiga* ("of the river bottom"). Some of these earthy names were first borne by the oldest nobility, as the genealogies of the medieval *Livros de Linhagens* tell us of the *Costas* and *Ribeiros*.

Some names derive from villages though they don't look like it. *Barbosa* and *Cunha* are in that category.¹⁴ On the other hand, no one can mistake the origin of families bearing such names as *Lisboa*,

¹³ Aside from the very common *Carvalho*, the telephone directory of Lisbon lists *Carvalhais*, *Carvalhal*, *Carvalheda*, *Carvalheira*, *Carvalheiro*, *Carvalhinho*, *Carvalhinhos* and *Carvalhosa*. Other family names derived from trees are *Pinho*, ("Pine"), *Pinheiro*, (same), *Palma*, *Palmeira*, ("Palmtree"), *Faia*, ("Beech"), *Loureiro*, ("Laurel"), *Figueira*, ("Fig tree"), *Nogueira*, ("Walnut tree"), *Salgueiro* ("Willow").

¹⁴ Especially near Penafiel in the middle Douro valley many places bear the name *Barbosa*. The ancient manor of the *Barboza* family, whose main line is extinct, stands in the same region. (Américo Costa, *Diccionario chorographico de Portugal* . . . , Oporto, 1929-1947. Vol. III, p. 174.)

Cunha is an old village in the northern district of Viana do Castelo, where the *Pereira da Cunha* family has its manor. The name may derive from Santa Maria da *Colina* ("Hill"). Not quite so old is *Cunha*, a village in the district of Braga, where the *Cunha* family has its seat which traces its origin to a Dom Guterre from Gascony (*Gascunha* in Portuguese), who came to Portugal with Count Henry of Burgundy in the XIth century. (*Idem*, vol. V, pp. 1010 and 1012.) Take your choice.

Porto, Coimbra, Guimarães, Viana, Castelo Branco, Miranda, Gouveia, Alencar (modern Alenquer) etc. Being town names, they clearly imply origin or residence and not possession, identifying their early bearers as people of the middle classes. The custom of using river names to designate families seems particularly Portuguese. Among these are *Lima, Basto* and *Sousa* (earlier *Soisa*, from *Sosia*).

The few occupational names and the fairly widespread nicknames may also be easily understood. A few examples will prove it. *Monteiro* indicated the office of a forester or gamekeeper. *Azenha* and *Ferreira* come close to the ideas of "miller" and "smith" respectively, but designate the place — "watermill" and "blacksmith's shop" — rather than the profession. Moreover, *Ferreira* is the name of many small towns. *Caldeira* ("kettle") and *Machado* ("axe") name their men after common utensils and might well be nicknames. *Freire* ("friar") and *Guerreiro* ("warrior") surely derive from nicknames, not from professions. *Nobre* ("noble") and *Leal* ("loyal") can be proud of their surnames, but *Furtado* ("changeling, bastard") and *Feio* ("ugly") are such ancient names that their bearers don't mind them. *Leite* ("milk," "white as milk") has been preserved, while *Negro* and *Preto* ("black") have been resented and are rarely found now. Finally, a small number of animal names enjoy popularity. The most common of these are *Coelho* ("rabbit"), which occurs as early as 1174 as a personal name, *Cordeiro* ("lamb"), *Pinto* ("chick", but also meaning "spotted," as in Spanish), *Lobo* ("wolf") and *Raposo* ("fox"). *Leitão* ("piglet," "naked babe") was resented as vulgar by a young poet so that he discarded it (cf. note 10). Printed sources give too pale an idea of the actual wealth of Portuguese nicknames, because too few individuals have kept them as family names. Thus, in the Lisbon telephone directory one finds only one or two instances of such colorful names as *Azeitona* ("olive"), *Arrenega* ("sloth"), *Anjinho* ("little angel"), *Alface* ("lettuce"), *Alfinete* ("pin"), *Alecrim* ("rosemary"), *Abegão* ("tool keeper," "herdsman," but also "lazy fellow"), *Abóbora* ("pumpkin"), *Abrços* ("hugs").

3. Where Portuguese Names Are Found

Portuguese names have traveled around the world for two reasons. One was conversion under Portuguese auspices, with godparents who usually gave their Portuguese names to the converts.

Because spreading the faith was considered by the Portuguese colonizers as one of their duties, Portuguese names are still found in India even outside Goa along the west coast mainly and also on the island of Ceylon. *Alva* is the name of a family from Travancore, Frank *Moraes* the name of the editor of the *Times of India* in Bombay. *Dom Moraes* is a poet from India who now lives in England, *Peter Alvares* a socialist politician from Bombay who not long ago ran against Krishna Menon as a candidate for the Parliament in New Delhi. When the nationalists came into power in 1956 in Ceylon, some of their leaders, beginning with the new Prime Minister, Solomon Bandaranaike, hid their Portuguese middle names behind initials. *Fernando, de Souza, de Zoysa, Perera, de Silva* and *Mendis* will be found among the upper classes of Ceylon. Excepting few peculiarities in spelling, these names match the common names of Portugal to this day. Further proof of the arrested development of Portuguese family names may be readily had by examining the names carried almost everywhere by the descendants of other converts, unwilling ones, who fled from Portugal between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to embrace Judaism publicly. Today we find them particularly in Great Britain, where *da Costa Andrade, Henriques, de Sola Pinto, Pereira* and *de Freitas* are honored names, and in France as *Mendes, Souza, Pereyre*, while their once flourishing communities in Amsterdam and Hamburg have practically been wiped out during the Nazi regime. We also discover them on this side of the Atlantic where they first appeared among the earliest European settlers of Brazil. Dutch Guiana and the Dutch Antilles have their *Bueno de Mesquita, da Costa Gomez, Madura, Chumaceiro* and *Riko*, Trinidad its *Albert Gomes*, Jamaica its *DeSouza* and *Melhado*. Families of similar names founded the earliest Jewish communities in the United States. From the one in New York has sprung Judge Benjamin *Cardozo*, from that in Philadelphia Victor *Seixas*, the tennis champion, to name two wellknown public figures.¹⁵

¹⁵ The index of Henry Samuel Morais' book *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, shows the following names of Portuguese origin, with those underlined being the most frequent: Azevedo, Cardozo, Carvalho, (da) Costa, Lobo, Lopez, Mendes de Morais, Nones, Nunes, Peixotto, Pereyra, Pereira, Pesoa, Pinheiro, Seicas, Silva, Touro, Vecinho.

There is nothing specifically Jewish about any of these names. While some are spelled in a quaint way (e.g. *Nones*), all are still commonly used in Portugal proper, perhaps with the one exception of *Touro*, representing the name of the Spanish town of Toro.

If anything, the Portuguese names have been kept more faithfully by Jewish families; they were among the very first Jews in Europe to adopt family names, and they have clung without a change to what had often been the names of the highest nobility in Portugal.

A second reason for the spread of Portuguese names has been the more or less voluntary emigration of vast numbers of impoverished Portuguese men and women from Portugal proper but also from the Portuguese speaking islands in the Atlantic, i. e. the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands. They brought with them their Portuguese names, mostly the same few common ones, to Brazil, the United States, Hawaii, and more recently Venezuela and Canada. However, for various good reasons, many of the Portuguese who settled in this country now bear English names, either because they were given to them or because they anglicized their Portuguese names, which "could not be pronounced." Different from the Portuguese Jews, they had no reason to be particularly attached to those family names, since they hardly ever used them during their lifetime, being known among each other by their Christian names or their nicknames. The process has been well described by Leo Pap in the fifth chapter of his book on *Portuguese-American Speech*. Given names meant so much more than family names that Brazilian and Portuguese standard bibliographies of the nineteenth century, such as Inocência da Silva's, listed authors by their first name.

So much for the extensive distribution of Portuguese names. A more difficult problem arises if one wants to verify their intensive, i. e. local, distribution. No doubt some names are found more commonly in some towns or regions than in others. Thus, it appears that the name *Soares* is especially common in the town of Braga, that *Guedes* is widespread in the Douro Valley and *Júdice* in the Algarve province.¹⁶ Likewise, one finds relatively more people named *Sousa*, *Pinto*, *Teixeira*, *Moreira* and *Barbosa* in Oporto than in Lisbon. The island origin of so many Luso-Americans in the United States can be detected by the frequency of the name *Medeiros* in New Bedford and of *Bettencourt* in Oakland, California. Similarly, the continuing mass migration from the north of Portugal to Brazil has made *Lima*,

¹⁶ My authority for *Soares* is Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo in Lisbon. Leite de Vasconcelos alludes to the distribution of *Guedes* and *Júdice* in his *Antroponímia portuguesa*, p. 335.

Guimarães and *Viana* common names in Brazil. Certain originally foreign names have been associated with Brazil since colonial times; one expects to find *Cavalcanti*, *Lins* and *Vanderlei* in Northeastern Brazil, but not in Portugal, not to mention the American Indian names which Brazilian nationalism has sometimes added to Portuguese names since the times of *Diogo Alvares Correia, o Caramuru*.

A frequency study would be the first approach to this problem. Statistical by nature, it would require nothing more than directories to determine which names are the most common and where. Such a study remains to be undertaken. The counts on a small scale which Leo Pap undertook for two communities in the United States and I for Lisbon and Oporto (see Appendix 3) permit two conclusions: 1. Relatively few family names dominate, and 2. They are almost the same wherever one finds the Portuguese. For example, the frequency tables for Lisbon and Oporto indicate that *Silva* is by far the most common Portuguese family name, followed by *Santos*, *Ferreira*, *Costa*, *Oliveira*, *Pereira*, *Sousa* and *Almeida*. It is interesting to note that all of them represent place names, with the perhaps only apparent exception of *Santos*. As striking is the secondary role now played by patronymics. The small number of nicknames and the almost total absence of occupational names among the most common surnames cannot surprise after what has been found previously.

4. *How to Recognize Portuguese Names*

Considering the fairly small number of common Portuguese names it may seem easy to tell them from others. Thus, we may suspect that the famous bandmaster *John Philip Sousa* bears a Portuguese name. As a matter of fact, the *Dictionary of American Biography* tells us that he bears the name of his grandfather *António Sousa*, who left Portugal in 1822 for political reasons. It is also clear that the name of the novelist *John Dos Passos* belongs to the Portuguese devotional type, furthermore characterized as Portuguese by the combination of preposition and article to *dos*, just as different combinations show that *Dupont* and *Deschamps* are French and *Della Casa* Italian. By the same token, *do Canto*, *da Costa* and *das Neves*, cannot be other than Portuguese. If only there had not been a century-old tendency to drop the particles! A simple *Costa* might not

be of Portuguese or even Spanish origin at all. A look into the Philadelphia directory, for example, tells one, that it is an Italian name as well. The same is true of *Pinto*.

The task of distinguishing between Portuguese and Spanish names has been facilitated in modern times because the patronymic ending is now spelled *-es* in Portuguese, (as in Lopes) and no longer *-ez* as in Castilian. Other slight differences in pronunciation and therefore in spelling serve as a guide to distinguish for example Portuguese *Gusmão* from Spanish *Guzmán*, or *Mendonça* from *Mendoza*.¹⁷ However, many Portuguese families originated in the Spanish regions bordering on Portugal, especially Galicia. As a result, many Portuguese bear partly Spanish names. The poet Luís Vaz de *Camões* did so in the past, and three politicians, Getúlio *Vargas*, General *Carmona* and Oliveira *Salazar* have had such names in recent years. Since there are identical words in the two languages, there are also some very common identical names, such as *Cruz*, *Franco*, *Garcia*, *Lemos*, *Machado* and *Torres*.

The most difficult problem of all is posed by names which have been adapted or translated to another language, such as English. Translated names exist in all countries; they will occur naturally. A good Portuguese example is furnished by the name of the Californian lawyer and writer Alfred *Lewis*. None could recognize this as a Portuguese name if Lewis had not told us in his book *Home Is an Island* (New York, 1952) that he was born on a farm in the district of Fajãzinha on the island of Flores in 1903 and was given the name *Alfredo Machado Luis*. His father had already lived in California. The son went there in 1922.

One has to be acquainted with the history of a particular family to be really sure of the interpretation of its name. Like *Lewis*, many descendants of Portuguese immigrants bear names unheard of in Portugal: *Sylvia*, *Francis*, *Lawrence*, *Anthony*, *Perry*, etc.¹⁸

¹⁷ Other easily distinguished Portuguese-Spanish doublets are: *Alves—Alvarez*; *Branco—Blanco*; *Castro—Castillo*; *Fernandes—Fernández*; *Ferreira—Herrera* or *Hernández*; *Furtado—Hurtado*; *Gonçalves—González*; *Neto—Nieto*; *Mendes—Menéndez* or *Meléndez*; *Morais—Morales*; *Pires—Pérez*; *Ribeiro—Ribera* or *Rivera*; *Rodrigues—Rodríguez*, *Ruiz*; *Ruívo—Rubio*; *Vaz—Velázquez*; *da Veiga—de la Vega*.

¹⁸ For a long list of anglicized names, see Leo Pap, *Portuguese-American Speech*, New York, 1949, pp. 133–135.

Conclusions

In conclusion, certain conservative traits seem to characterize most clearly the system of Portuguese family names of today. They are:

1. their relatively small number with the result again of considerable confusion. In Lisbon, there are literally dozens and dozens of people all of whom are called *José Costa* or *Manuel Ferreira* or *Antônio da Silva*. Even using two family names does not always help. The use of three is becoming quite common.¹⁹

2. the remarkable number of family names of devotional origin.

3. the very small number of occupational names, an indication that Portuguese society and its name system were fixed largely before the rise of cities.

and

4. the relative unimportance of family names derived from personal names, coupled with the large number of those derived from place names, another trait of a predominantly rural society with strong ties to the soil. Luís da Câmara Cascudo, the Brazilian folklorist, described the same fact as true of his native Northeastern Brazil, a notoriously conservative region, in his youth, about 1910: "Os fazendeiros," he writes, "perdiam o nome da família. Todos eram conhecidos pelo nome próprio acrescido do topônimo. Coronel Zé Bras dos Inhamuns, Chico Pedro da Serra Branca, Manoel Bázio do Arvoredo. Nomes dos homens e da terra, como na Idade-Média. Tempo bonito." (*Vaqueiros e cantadores*, Porto Alegre, 1939, p. 6.)

¹⁹ The common occurrence of certain names leads to news items such as the following, translated from *O Primeiro de Janeiro* (Oporto), August 30, 1957:

"The most numerous family of the Beira Alta province will celebrate another reunion soon.

VISEU — During the morning of September 12 another reunion of the numerous *Martins* family of Drave, perhaps the most numerous of the Beira Alta, will take place next to Our Lady of Guidance, at São Pedro do Sul.

Already some 150 years ago Francisco Martins, called Martins II, called together his relatives, who were quite a few even then. Since then the Martins have multiplied and scattered across the Seven Seas. Those who stayed closest and are most able to do so, meet annually, at the call of Father João Nepomuceno, parish priest of Carvalhais de São Pedro.

No fewer than some 2,000 Martins of Drave are alive at present."

“The Landowners used to lose their family names. All were known by their first names to which the name of their property was added. Colonel Zé Bras *dos Inhamuns*, Chico Pedro *da Serra Branca*, Manoel Bázio do *Arvoredo*. Names of men and their lands, as in the Middle Ages. Those were the times!”

Such property names of Portuguese families have been scattered over the seas by Portuguese mariners, so that we now have islands named *Mascarenhas*, *Tristão da Cunha*, *Fernão de Noronha*, and associate the Straits between the tip of South America and Fireland with *Magellan*, the name of the “quinta” of *Magalhães*, a property in the Minho province.

Many puzzles remain to be solved, many points to be clarified. The example of the Portuguese family names shows that names offer a rich harvest for cultural linguistics, the field where cultural history and linguistics meet.

Those who would like to venture further will find a few guides to methods and materials. The best guide, though it does not take into account the method of linguistic geography, remains José Leite de Vasconcelos' *Antroponímia portuguesa* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1928). It is out of print unfortunately. The same author's *Opúsculos* contain further studies of particular names. Additional smaller works on Portuguese place names and personal names will be found listed in Manuel de Paiva Boléo's “Bibliographie onomastique du Portugal” which appeared in the review *Onoma* of Louvain, vol. VI (1955/56), no. 3. It does not try to cover works dealing with the names of Galicia or Brazil.

The first part of chapter five in Leo Pap's book on *Portuguese-American Speech* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1949, pp. 124-138) is devoted to Portuguese-American personal names. It contains much useful material.

Charles F. Gosnell's *Spanish Personal Names* (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1938), a guide for cataloguers and bibliographers, has a short and rather useless appendix on Portuguese names. He does point out the difference in the arrangement of a person's family names between Spanish and Portuguese.

*Appendix I**Two lists of names of the late fourteenth century*

drawn from F. Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, ed. A. Sérgio, Oporto, Civilização, n. d., and arranged according to types.

A) Names of Portuguese officials and members of Parliament (*Cortes*) at the beginning of the reign of King John I (vol. II, chap. 1).

1) Baptismal or first names and their derivations

Dr. Martim Afonso	Ruy Louremço
Gonçalo Estevês	Afonso Martinz
Estevã Vasquẽz Felipe	Louremço Martinz
Alvaro Fernandez	Dioguo Lopez Pachequo
Vasco Fernandez Ferras	Johaõ Fernandez Pachequo
João Gill	Guomçallo Pirez
Lois Gonçalvez	Pero Sanchez
Dom Joaõ (Bishop of Évora)	Nuno Vieguas o Moço

2) Place names and their derivations

Fernã dAlvarez dAllmeida	Vasco Martinz da Cunha
Fernã Guomçalvês dArca	Dominguos Pirez das Eiras
Afonso Domynguês dAveiro	Martii da Maia
João Afonso (dAzambuja)	Vasco Martinz de Mello
Gill Vasquez da Cunha	Joham Roiz Pereira
Martim Vasquez da Cunha	Nuno Alvarez (Pereira)
Alvaro Pereira	Guomçalo Guomez da Sylva
Dr. João das Regras	Johaõ Guomez da Sylva
Johaõ Rõiz de Saa	Fernaõ Rõiz de Syqueira
Dr. Gill Dosem	Pero Louremço de Tavora
Martim Afonso de Sousa	Gonçalo Mendez de Vascomçelos
Vasco Martinz de Sousa	Mem Roiz (de Vascomçellos)

3) Nicknames derived from physical or mental peculiarities

Martim Abade
Louremçe Anes Fogaça
Afonso Furtado

4) Names derived from occupations and social positions

None

Note

All the noblemen have triple names — a given name, a patronymic, and a place name. Some patricians have likewise, but most of the latter have only two names — a given name and a patronymic. One bishop is designated by his personal name alone.

B) Names of citizens of Lisbon — noblemen and commoners — who helped the Master of Aviz, the future King John I, to defend Portugal against the Castilians (vol. I, chap. 161).

1) Baptismal or first names and their derivations

Dieg <i>Allvarez</i>	Dr. Rui <i>Fernamdez</i>
(son of Alvaro Paaez)	Affomsso <i>Louremço</i>
Fernamd <i>Allvarez</i> (father of Dr. Rui Fernamdez)	Martim <i>Louremço</i> (father of Dr. Gill Martiinz)
Martim <i>Allvarnaz</i>	Gill <i>Martiinz</i>
Dieg Affomsso <i>Alvernaz</i>	Alvaro <i>Paaez</i>
Joham Affomsso (<i>Alvernaz</i>)	Gôçallo <i>Perez</i>
Gonçallo Gomçallvez <i>Borges</i>	Stevam Vaasquez <i>Phillipe</i>
Affomsso <i>Esteevêz</i>	Antom <i>Vaasquez</i>
Sillvestre <i>Esteevêz</i>	

2) Place names and their derivatives

Airas Vaasquez d <i>Allvallade</i>	Affomsso Martiiz de <i>Gorizo</i>
Dieg Allvarez de Samto	Stev Eannes da <i>Grã</i>
<i>Antonio</i>	Girall Martiiz de <i>Lemos</i>
Affomsso Esteevêz da	Gomez <i>Martiiz</i>
<i>Azambuja</i>	(son of the preceding)
Joham Affomsso (da <i>Azam-</i> <i>buja</i> , son of the preceding)	Martim da <i>Maya</i>
Stev Eannes de <i>Barvuda</i>	Fernam Gonçallvez da <i>Moxoeira</i>
Françisco Dominguez de <i>Beja</i>	Affomss Eannes <i>Nogueira</i>
Joham Perez <i>Canellas</i>	Affomsso Dominguez do <i>Paao</i>
Pedr Affomsso do <i>Casall</i>	Alvoro Gill de <i>Pedroso</i>
Nuno Fernamdez de <i>Chaves</i>	Rui <i>Portella</i>
Lopo Affomsso do <i>Quimtall</i>	Gomçall Eannes do <i>Valle</i>
Lopo das <i>Regas</i>	Alvoro Vaasquez da <i>Veiga</i>
Lopo <i>Taveyra</i>	Diego Louremço da <i>Veiga</i>
Martim <i>Taveyra</i>	Joham Perez da <i>Veiga</i>
(father of the preceding)	Joham da <i>Veiga</i> o velho

3) Nicknames derived from physical or mental peculiarities

Rodrig Affomssso <i>Barateiro</i>	Affomssso <i>Furtado</i>
Gomçallo Dominguez <i>Barruffo</i>	Steve Annes <i>Lobato</i>
Gomçallo Vaasquez <i>Carregueiro</i>	Lourenço Martiiz <i>Pratas</i> Vaasco <i>Queimado</i>
Rui <i>Cravo</i>	Martí Gomçallvez <i>Rombo</i>
Lopo Affomssso <i>Domzell</i>	Joham Dominguez <i>Torrado</i>
Gill Esteevêz <i>Fariseu</i>	Martim Affomssso <i>Vallemte</i>

Appendix II

Names of common people living in Lisbon in the fifteenth century, in passages translated from the *Miracle Book of the Good Jesus of St. Dominic in Lisbon* begun ca. 1432 (in Mário Martins, ed., *Laudes & cantigas espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, Lisbon, 1951)

1. "a woman who has the name Constança *Dominguez*" (p. 285)
2. "a man whom they called *Estaçe Annes*" (p. 286)
3. "a woman called by name *Beatriz Eanes*, wife of *Antom Eannes*, roper, living at the Gate of S. Catherine" (p. 287)
4. "a man called by name *Pedr Affonssso*, servant of *Afonssso Perez*, formerly customs collector" (p. 287)
5. "A woman whom they called *Maria Fernandez Arangoesa*, who dwelt with *Lourenço Dominguez*, saddler, outside the Gate of S. Vincent" (p. 288)
6. "A woman called by name *Catalina Rodriguez*, wife of *Alvaro dAlmeyda*, dwelling in Val Verde" (p. 288)
7. "A woman called by name *Beatriz Afonssso*" (p. 289)
8. "A man called by name *Johã do Couto*, a toll gatherer" (p. 289)
9. "A man called by name *Gonçalo Vaasquez* who lived with *Rodrigo Stevenz*, overseer of Prince Edward's kitchen" (p. 289)
10. "A man called by name *Johã Lourenço*, son in law of *Gonçalo Gonçallvez*, bookkeeper of the King" (p. 290)

11. "A man called by name Luys *Afonso*, gate keeper" (p. 290)
12. "A woman called by name Enes *Perez*, who had been a house-keeper for Roy *Nogueira*, dwelling near S. Lawrence" (p. 290)
13. "A man called by name Vaasco *Lourenço*, carpenter" (p. 291)
14. "A man called by name Meendo *Afonso*, tailor" (p. 291)
15. "A priest called by name Gonçalo *Lourenço*, chaplain of the chapel of King Alfons" (p. 292)
16. "a friend of his whom they called Lopo *Rodriguez*, who dwelt near S. Justa" (p. 292)
17. "A young man servant of Lopo *Estevenz*, sheath maker to King Edward" (p. 292)
18. "Moor *Eanes*, wife of Lopo *Rodriguez*, tailor" (p. 293)
19. "A butcher called by name Vaasco *Lourenço* ... This same Vaasco *Lourenço*, butcher" (p. 293)
20. "His wife Lyonor *Afonso*" (p. 293)
21. "A man called by name o *Çaquoto*, dwelling in the parish of S. Justa" (p. 294)
22. "A young man who went on a ship belonging to Johã *Martinz Vogado*, dwelling in the city of Oporto" (p. 294)
23. "Alvaro *Gonçallvez*, shoemaker, dwelling on Morraz Street, parish of S. Giaão" (p. 294)
24. "A man called by name Johanne *Meendez*, shoemaker, dwelling at the Gate of S. Anthony" (p. 295)
25. "Vaasco *Viçente*, dwelling in Vyla Franca" (p. 296)
26. "A man called by name Afonso *Viçente*, dwelling above the Gate of S. Vincent" (p. 296)
27. "A woman called by name Branca *Afonso*, dwelling on Gold Street" (p. 297)
28. "A man called by name Joha *Rodriguez Çaquoto*, dwelling at the Gate of S. Vincent" (p. 297)
29. "A squire of Pero *Gonçalvez Mala Alfaya*" (p. 297)

*Appendix III*Portuguese Family Names Most Commonly Found
at the Present Time

Order of Frequency	City of Lisbon (Portugal)	City of Oporto (Portugal)	New Bedford Mass. U.S.A.	Greater Oakland Calif. U.S.A.
1.	Silva	Silva	Silva, Sylvia	Silva
2.	Santos	Santos	Sousa, Souza	Pereira, Perry
3.	Ferreira	Ferreira	Pereira, Perry	Lawrence
4.	Costa	Oliveira	Melo, Mello	Sousa
5.	Pereira	Costa	Medeiros	Freitas
6.	Oliveira	Sousa	Santos	Costa
7.	Almeida	Pereira	Rodrigues, Rogers	Oliveira
8.	Rodrigues	Almeida	Pacheco	Bettencourt
9.	Carvalho	Pinto	Gonçalves	Gomes
10.	Martins	Carvalho	Gomes	Cabral
11.	Sousa	Ribeiro	Correia	Correia
12.	Marques	Teixeira	Carreiro	Mello
13.	Fernandes	Moreira	Raposo	Enos (Enes ?)
14.	Gonçalves	Barbosa	Ponte	Vieira
15.	Ribeiro	Rodrigues		
16.	Pinto	Marques		

Note

The data for Lisbon and Oporto were gathered personally in 1957 from the telephone directories of the two cities. The data for New Bedford and Greater Oakland were found in Leo Pap, *Portuguese-American Speech* (p. 137). Pap used the 1941 city directory for New Bedford and the 1938 telephone directory for Greater Oakland. The absence of the name *Costa* from his New Bedford list must be due to an oversight. In the 1947/48 telephone directory for that city *Costa* ranks in frequency immediately after *Silva*, *Mello* and *Sousa*, 145 people being listed under it. The data for Greater Oakland are based on relatively small numbers of individuals, in contrast with the other data.

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