

# Portuguese Nicknames as Surnames

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THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE STUDY on Portuguese personal names is José Leite de Vasconcellos' *Antroponimia portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1928). It is a mine of very useful and very interesting information with copious examples that date from the Middle Ages to the present time. In it a considerable portion of Parte III, capítulo I, "Especies de apelidos," pp. 190-278, is devoted to nicknames, but concerned primarily with *alcunhas* and only incidentally with *apelidos*, that is, *alcunhas* or sobriquets that have been transformed into surnames. With reference to modern surnames, the general repertoire that has supplied Leite with a certain number of appellations belonging to this type is the Ab<sup>e</sup> de Miragaia's *Diccionario de appellidos portugueses* (Porto, 1908). For names currently in circulation, Leite has relied heavily on the *Anuário da Universidade de Lisboa*, 1915-16, and the *Anuário comercial* for 1918. The dates of these directories rather pointedly reveal that the assembling of the bulk of his nickname surnames had been completed at about that time. There were obviously plenty of additional, extensive annual lists that were then available preceding and following them, but the fact that they are not cited conveys the impression that no real effort was made to utilize them systematically. One important list that might have been consulted is the telephone directory of Lisbon which in 1920 had a population of approximately half a million. Today, with its population almost doubled, the value of the directory has, of course, increased enormously as a source for the study of Portuguese surnames. It is logical, therefore, that I should have made it my mainstay. What I have found in it has far exceeded my expectations. It not only contains an unusually large number of nickname surnames not recorded in the *Antroponimia portuguesa*, but also reveals that scores of names known to Leite simply as *alcunhas* have actually made the important transition to *apelidos*. Consequently, his list can be accepted only as provisional, which is evidently what he intended it to be. It remains perforce sketchy and as such presents a rather hazy conception of the role and variety of

nicknames as cognomina. With a much larger supply of illustrations at my disposal, I have attempted to give a better perspective to the topic.<sup>1</sup>

My presentation, which parallels that of a companion study on "Spanish Nicknames as Surnames" (*Names*, 26:2 [June, 1978], 139ff.), will begin with kinship names and be followed by sections on anatomical, metaphorical, desirable and undesirable nickname surnames and end with a final section on miscellaneous nickname surnames.

## KINSHIP SURNAMES

Were we to look for the most likely spots where nickname surnames denoting kinship have taken root we should, I believe, have to turn to tiny isolated settlements. As a rule, it is one's neighbors rather than one's family or relatives that function as the imposers of nicknames, but in this case neighbors and family and/or relatives are usually the same individuals. Foremost among the reasons for their existence has been the need, temporarily or otherwise, to distinguish between different members of a family unit, often between those bearing the same first and the same family names. We can thus account for Noiva, bride,

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<sup>1</sup>In addition to the Lisbon telephone directory, I have made use of the Rio de Janeiro telephone directory, the *Revista genealógica latina*, the *Revista genealógica brasileira*, the *Grande enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira*, and a miscellaneous assortment of other lists. Names in Rio de Janeiro which I have not found in Lisbon and elsewhere are noted by the insertion of (Rio) next to them. Rosário Farani Mansur Guérios' *Dicionário etimológico de nomes e sobrenomes* (São Paulo, 2nd ed., 1973), leans heavily on Leite de Vasconcellos, especially for the etymologies of nickname surnames. It has been of no help to me in my study. However, as a work of reference, its coverage is extensive and the names listed by the compiler are attractively presented.

In *Names* 8:1 (March, 1960), 30-50, Gerald Moser has published an introductory survey, aimed primarily at English readers, entitled "Portuguese Family Names." In it he remarks *inter alia* that "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 for 1957 one finds one or two instances of such colorful names as Azeitona, olive, Arrenega, sloth, Anginho, little angel, Alface, lettuce, Alfinete, pin, Alecrim, rosemary, Abegão, tool keeper, herdsman, also lazy fellow, Abóbora, pumpkin, Abraços, hugs" (*op. cit.*, 41). These statements fail to hold together under scrutiny. In the first place, instead of drawing his examples from different letters of the alphabet, as would have been logical to do, he draws them from the letter A which, as compared with most of the others, is not only numerically weaker in this type of appellation but also weaker in the names that enjoy any considerable currency. He has relied too heavily, furthermore, on one list and, more importantly, on a single year. Other lists, even directories for other years, could be cited to alter his figures. For instance, with the exception of Alfinete, the Lisbonese directory for 1974-75 increases all these entries from one or two to from six to 11. The small flaw that has been noticed does not, of course, mar the reader's enjoyment of this well-informed survey which is enhanced by interesting information from hitherto untapped sources.

Noivo and Futuro (rare), bridegroom, Casado, Casadinho, husband and, adjectively, married, married man. The antithesis of *casado*, Solteiro, bachelor, is a rarity. Other kinship surnames are Filho, Filhote, son, Irmão, (Rio), brother, Mano and Mana, brother and sister, Gemelgo (rare), twin, Colaço, foster brother, Avô, Avó, grandfather and grandmother, *Neto*,<sup>2</sup> Neta, grandson and granddaughter, Primo, cousin, *Sobrinho*, nephew. Neto and Sobrinho, by the way, are two of the oldest names in Portugal, the first going back to the twelfth and the second to the thirteenth century. I have not encountered either *mãe* or *pai*, father and mother, but there are instances of the archaic Padre, nowadays denoting only priest. It has been odd to find an example of baby talk, Tatá, daddy. At the time these surnames started, they frequently must have referred to the relatives after whom a child was named, e.g., Diogo Fernando, *irmão*, *neto*, *sobrinho*, etc., *de Fernando*. This probably lasted for one generation so that when the second generation was reached the namesake tended to disappear, leaving the relationship term to function by itself as a fixed surname.

Often a father is indirectly designated as the senior member of the family by Velho, old, and Grande, Mayor, Moor, Mor, elder. Younger can be expressed by Filho, by Moço, Menor, and the Latinism Júnior, which is usually adopted as a sort of cognomen. Cf. Augusto Castro Júnior, Raimundo Magalhães Júnior. Some have discarded the family name and have assumed Júnior as a single surname. Cf. Alberto Júnior, Manuel Sebastião Júnior. Brothers placed in the order of their birth are recalled by Morgado, Morgadinho, heir (also place-names), Cadete, second son, and the youngest son by Pequeno, Chiquito, Nino. Order of birth is also indicated by the number names Primeiro, Segundo, Terceiro, Quartim, Quintino, Octávio and Décimo, first, second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth and tenth, all of which are font names that have become patronymics. Since outside of Portugal surnames for uncle, widow and widower are present, we can be sure that somewhere on Portuguese-speaking territory there are families surnamed \*Tio,

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<sup>2</sup>For most of my definitions I have relied upon the Nôvo Michaëlis, *Dicionário ilustrado* and António de Morais Silva, *Dicionário da língua portuguesa*. Since in any study on surnames it is highly important to know the family names of the nobility, I have indicated them in italics. My information on them has largely been drawn from the short genealogies in the *Grande enciclopédia*. For the place-names that are mentioned, I have utilized the *Gazetteer: Portugal and Cape Verde Islands* (Washington, D.C., 1960), vol. 50, one of the series put out by the United States Board of Geographic Names.

\*Viuvo and \*Viuva. The names of relatives by marriage survive as *Cunhado*, brother-in-law, *Genro*, provincial Noro, son-in-law, *Nora*, daughter-in-law. *Parente* is the general appellation for relative. Two designations that are rated on parity with kinship are *Afilhado*, godson and *Compadrinho*, godfather.

Incidentally, the diminutive ending *-inho* such as we have seen in *Casadinho* has values that are hard to define. It can denote age, size or affection. It can also and very often does function as a patronymic, a fact that should at all times be borne in mind in connection with the examples that will be cited later.

The infrequency of *Órfão*, orphan, and *Bastardo*, bastard, indicates that they are becoming obsolescent. On the other hand, *Exposto*, foundling, continues to be acceptable. A synonym, *Furtado* (*cf.* Eng. waif), has prospered, owing primarily to the fact that it is the name of one of the most celebrated Spanish families, the *Hurtado de Mendozas*, some of whom have settled in Portugal. It is also the name of a town.

## ANATOMICAL NICKNAME SURNAMES

Personal names taken from various members or parts of the body have a history that spans many centuries. They often appear in the cognomina borne by the Romans after 45 B.C. when a third name was imposed upon them by the *Lex Iulia Municipalis* in addition to the praenomen and gens name. The Roman tri-name system disappeared with the spread of Christianity and the Teutonic dominance over Western Europe both of which favored a single name. Despite this, they continued to circulate as nicknames. It thus became possible for them to join those from other categories when the trend towards the adoption of fixed surnames began to assert itself during the late Middle Ages.

As for their *raison d'être*, there is not a common consensus that the primitives of anatomical appellations are intensives that call attention to an abnormal or striking feature of a particular member or segment of the anatomy. Save for the hair names, when not employed figuratively, they invariably refer to size or shape. Portuguese surnames in this group are a part of a universally prevalent pattern: *Cabeça*, Testa, head, *Cachola*, head, skull, *Casco*, skull, *Cabelo*, hair, *Facha*, face, *Pestana*, eyelash, *Carrilho*, cheek, *Bochecha*, cheek, jowl, *Carrinho*, pop. jawbones, *Beijos*, lips, *Barba/s*, beard, *Bigode/s*, *Bigote/s*,

mustache, Dente/s, tooth, teeth, Garganta, throat, Peito, chest, breast, nipple, *Barriga*, Bucho, Pança, Tripa, paunch, belly, Lado, flank, Lombo, loin, Perna/s, leg, legs, Rodo, leg,<sup>3</sup> Pes, feet, Tacão, heel, and finally *Homem*, man, and its synonym *Pessoa*, person. Surnames derived from eye, *olho*, ear, *orelha*, nose, *nariz*, mouth, *boca*, tongue, *língua*, arm, *braço*, have proven to be elusive, but it is likely that examples will eventually be brought to light. There are, however, colloquial equivalents for the nose and mouth in Bico, lit. beak, for hand, in Garra, Gadanho, lit. claw, talon. A colloquialism for leg is Pata, lit. paw.

The designation for head, *cabeça*, needless to say, has always been employed metaphorically. Figurative meanings can likewise be supplied for other nickname surnames, *garganta* for a drinker, a glutton or a boaster, *peito* to denote courage, light-leggedness for *pernas*, *pés*, gluttony for the belly names. *Tacão*, possibly related to the stomping of the heels, is a regular term for stubborn. In addition to denoting wit or intelligence *casco* can signify hood or helmet. A surname from a hidden organ, the heart, is *Coração*, symbolizing courage. Most of the present Homems and the extremely prolific Pessoas can doubtlessly claim descent from two old and eminent noble families. The eponym of the first, Pedro Pires de Pereira, thirteenth century, was for some unspecified reason called Pedro Homem. He may have been a husky gentleman, brave and courageous, whether or not he was husky, or the only male heir in a family of girls. If he came from German ancestry the name might be a translation of Karl, Old High German Karal. The cognomen Homo of the Roman Marcus Domilius, modern German Mann, French Lhomme [*sic*] and Spanish Hombre reveal an international acceptance but furnish no clues as to its genesis.

The noble Barbas family, incidentally, has its own version on the origin of its name. It pertains to a hand-to-hand combat in 930 between a Martim Vasques and a Moor which the former won by tugging at the beard of his antagonist, a gesture of great defiance. As the result of his victory, Barbas became an adjunct of his name. Exactly the same version is preserved in the annals of the noble Sevillan Barbas. It is bizarre but possibly authentic in both cases.

Like individuals, many natural features have been endowed with names of different parts of the body and as place-names they function as

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<sup>3</sup>Noted by Pedro Martins Barata, "Apontamentos sobre a fala viva de Montalvão e de Póvoa e Meadas ao extremo norte do Alentejo," *Revista de Portugal*, XXXI, No. 241 (1966), 37.

alternative sources for the above, among them Barbas, Barriga, Cabeça, Casco, Facha, Garganta, Lombo, Pés, Pestana and Rodo.

Since in their single forms anatomical names are obviously lacking in definiteness, they have been complemented by others that are more specific, in a number of instances by the derivatives many of which are diminutives: Cabecinha (also a toponym), Carita, Carinha from *cara*, face, which is not represented surnominally, Barbado, Bigodinho, Dentinho, Manita, a more agreeable substitute than *garra* for *mão*, hand, Perninha, Pernica, Pernetá and Pezinho, from Pés. Some amends for the missing \*Olho/s is made by Olhinho/s. Names with augmentatives that have been picked up are Cabeçudo, Caraça, Barbaça, *Barbado*, Barbado, Barrigão, Garrudo, referring to the hand, arms or legs, Peitaço, chest, Bicudo, hooked nose (also a reference to a heavy drinker), and Narigão, long nose. We have reparation, too, for a dubiously extant \*Orelhas in Orelhão and Orelhudo. We cannot be certain how many of the Olhão clan have their eponym in a goggle-eyed individual or in Olhão, taken from a place-name. Garrano, from *garra* betokens a sharper or a scoundrel.

The Portuguese, like their Spanish neighbors, have avoided the use of compound surnominal names which are abundant throughout the rest of Europe. In the anatomical category two that are fairly common are Cabeça Negra and Caralinda. The existence of the odd Seisededos, six fingers, in Spain, Mexico and Portugal causes one to wonder whether their bearers stem from a single or from several polydactylic individuals. Leite, *op. cit.*, 198, has noted two other uniquely Portuguese surnames, Cara d'Anjo, angel face, current in Portalegre, and Tres Beiços, tri-lipped, a condition attributed to muscular hypertrophy, current in the Alentejo. Mão de Ferro, iron hand, that is, gauntlet, looks very much like a heraldic surname. Barbalonga, long beard, extant in the sixteenth century, may now be extinct.<sup>4</sup>

Attributes referring surnominally to the whole or any part of the human frame repeat in Portuguese those that are employed in other countries with a few minor variations. The stress laid on the use of diminutives to denote size, shape, appearance or endearment is considerably stronger than it is in Spanish and in the countries of

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<sup>4</sup>Cabeça de Vaca, lit. cow face, cited by Leite only as an *alcunha* (*op. cit.*, 234), is actually a surname probably stemming from one of the half dozen settlements so named, including a suburb of Orense in Galicia. We might recall here that it is the name of one of the most famous families in Spain, members of which may have moved to Portugal. On the family coat of arms are pictured six cow heads.

Western Europe, with the exception of Italy.

Belonging to a small group of aesthetic or unaesthetic designations are Formoso/a, *Formosinho* (also a place-name), Belo, Bel(l)o, beautiful, Beleza, beauty, Lindo, Lindinho, Bonito, pretty, all of which have been employed as forenames. Pirão is defined as a very beautiful girl or woman. Their lonely antonym is Feio, ugly.

Height designations are Alto, Altinho, Grande, Longo, Longuinho, tall, Grandão, prov. Pingão, huge, Gigante, giant, Pequeno, Baixo, Baixinho (both also place-names) little, short, Anão, dwarf, Bilro, lit. bobbin, also a dwarf. Fatness is expressed by Gordo, Gordinho, Gordete, Grosso, Grossinho, pudginess by Batoque, lit. bung, stopple, Pitorro/a, lit. little top, Pote, lit. water pitcher, Quadrado, lit. square, quadrate, Tarugo, lit. wooden pin, and Trolho, chubbiness by Rolho, *Redondo* (also a place-name), Redondinho, and dialectical Cartucho, lit. cornet of paper, chubby child,<sup>5</sup> leanness or slenderness by Magro, Magrinho, Delgado, Delgadinho and possibly Fino. Banha applies to fatness in men and animals. An Enxuto is an individual who is neither fat nor thin.

The appellations standing for old age are Velho, Velhudo, Velhuco, Relho, very old, Anciã, venerable, while those standing for youth are Menino, Muchacho, Moço, Mocito, Mocinho, Mancebo (Rio), Novo, Rapaz, Rapagão, Rapazote, Nené, babe, and Cachopo (also a place-name). Old age has an odd representative in Vida-Larga, long lived. Cf. also Longueiro, long, lasting a long time.

The hair has supplied a big cluster of anatomical attributives used as surnames. General designations for hairiness are Veloso, Veludo. A Crespo, Cachado and Cachadinha are curly heads. Kinky hair is Carapinha, Cacho, Guedelho, Gadelho, Maçaroca/s, lit. spindleful, curl, ringlet or tuft of hair. A bunch of other names is a little like attending a hair-styling show when we view such appellations as Penteado, one who sports an attractive hairdo, Marrofa, forelock, Poupá (also hoopoe) if from Alentejan territory, Topete, Topetinho, forelock or toupee, Coque, Monho, a knot or roll of hair. A Chamorro is a shorn-headed individual while the rare sight of a clipped-haired girl has started off the nickname Chamorrinha, which has led to its transmission to her offspring. A baldhead is a *Calvo*, Calvete, Calvinho, a bald or hairless fellow a Pelado, Peladinho, fig. poor. Escabelado is touselled, Grenho/s dishevelled.

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<sup>5</sup>Cited in P. Martins Barata, *op. cit.*, 38.

It is self-evident that color surnames relate preponderantly to the color of a person's complexion, that of his hair and eyes and, at times, to the color of his garb. Their rich variety reveals the keen awareness for chromatic shades on the part of the Portuguese people.

*Branco*, white, towers quantitatively above all the rest, owing in large measure to the nobility of its progeny. A synonym, *Alvura*, (rare) whiteness, referring either to the complexion or to the hair, is sparsely used, while *Cano* and occasionally *Nevado*, snowy, are restricted to the hair. *Moreno*, brown, dark brown, *Bruno* and *Mouro*, the term for Moor, dark brown, enjoy a moderate diffusion. Other gradations appear in *Castanho*, chestnut brown, *Bayo*, bay, *Ruão*, *Ruano*, roan, *Trigueiro*, wheat-colored and *Queimado*, *Torrado*, sunburnt, tanned.

The most popular among the reds is *Ruivo*, auburn, (*cf.* Spanish *Rubio*), and *Rosado*, *Roussado*, flushed, rosy. Other gradations are *Carmesim*, *Carmezin*, scarlet (rare), *Corado*, *Roxo*, *Rubro*, ruddy, *Morado*, mulberry, *Sanguino*, *Sanguinho*, blood-colored, *Vermelho*, deep red. *Rosa* can, of course, denote a color, the flower or a votive name. *Encarnação* recalls a child born on March 25, the day of the Incarnation, but if it stands for a color, flesh colored, the reference is to that of the apparel.

*Negro* and *Preto* point to either dark-haired, dark-eyed or dark-skinned individuals and, frequently, to negroes, descendants of emancipated slaves. *Tinto*, lit. dyed, and *Tiçã*, lit. firebrand, can be connected only with the complexion. Attributes of grey are *Pardo*, *Cinzento*, ashen, *Barrento*, clayish and *Terroso*, earth-colored.

*Amarelo* is yellow and, by extension, pale. Though there are many *Dourados*, golden, blond, they are outnumbered by *Louros* who, however, must share a place with appellations signifying *louro*, laurel and, on occasion, parrot. *Laranja*, orange, is very likely a color name and *Laranjo* a metonymic which derives from it.<sup>6</sup> Lemon and olive colors can be taken for granted in *Limão*, *Cidra* and some *Azeitonas* and *Olivas*.

When blue eyes are described, the adjective normally employed is *Zarco/s*. The rarely occurring *Azul* is more suitable to the color of the apparel. Green eyes have always been admired both in Spain and Portugal, hence we can accept *Verde* as an attributive. It, too, can plainly allude to the color of a habitually worn article of clothing.

There may be some *Leites* who have acquired their names from *leite*,

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<sup>6</sup>See Leite, *op. cit.*, 261.



milk, in the sense of milky white, but it is probable that more of them are traceable to a metonymical equivalent, milkman. Nevertheless, it is pretty certain that a majority of the Leites, many of them men of distinction, are descendants of a mediaeval nobleman called Leite Cocido, so dubbed because of his inordinate fondness for hot milk. Through ellipsis, Leite Cocido has been subsequently reduced to the first member of the compound.

We become aware of the intermingling of colors on the hair, complexion and apparel in the appellations denoting streaked or spotted: Riscado, Rayado and Bragado (also a place-name).

One of the most striking features in quite a number of color names is the diminutives added to their full forms—*inho*, *-ito*, etc. By alluding through them to size, age or appearance and by using them as expressions of endearment, these surnames are personalized so to speak, endowed with vividness and a phonetically pleasing ring as illustrated by Branquinho/a, Brunhete/a, Laranjinho/a, Lourinho, Morenito, Moreninho, Mourinho/a, Negrinho, Pardete, Ruivinho, Verdinho. Augmentatives appear in Brancão, Mourão and Negrão. Surnominal place-name competitors are Branco, Negro, Lourinho, Pardo, Roussado, Ruivo, and Tinto.

*Defects and Blemishes:* Surnames stemming from bodily defects or blemishes are, as we might expect, more concentrated in the head than in other parts of the human frame. Bicheira, defined as infestation by head lice, obviously connotes a lousy person. For deaf we have Mouco and its derivative Mouquinho, as well as its archaic synonym Sordo. A Pisco (also a bullfinch) is a blinkard, Sarda/s (also a fish name) is a term for freckles, Bexiga/a, lit. bladder, refers to pockmarks, Espinho/a, lit. thorn, alludes to pimples. Barros is an equivalent, but the large number that own this surname invite looking a bit further. Barro, it turns out, regularly means a reddish clay, but it can also signify a small clay peasant dwelling. In other words, Barros can also be a place-name surname. Cf. Casas. A derivative, Barroso, is quite possible as pimply, but here, too, there is competition on the part of a spot name. It is also the name of a color. Pintado, Pintadinho, Malhado appear to point to a skin discoloration. Mansalvo, in the sense of an animal spotted on its forelegs, is hardly satisfactory as a nickname surname, but it can be acceptable if transferred to a human being with the meaning of a discoloration on the arms or hands. A Fanha, cf. *fanhosa*, is a snuffler. A Belfo is a person with a hanging lip, Trabado, one who is tongue-tied,

a Gago and a Tártaro, var. of *tártaro*, stutterer. A Rouco, Rouquinho, has a husky voice, a Papudo is goiterous. Malfeito can be exactly translated into *missshapen*. So can *Camacho*, though most of the many so-called have probably gotten their names from the toponym on the Madeira Islands. Rachado, Rachadinho, from *rachar*, to split, is apparently a maimed individual. A minor infirmity is Curvo, stooped. A Corcobado, a Marreco, or a Marrana is a hunchback, a designation duplicated through synecdoche by Corcoba and Bossa. A one-armed person is a Maneta or, in the dialect of Vila-Real, a Canhoto.<sup>7</sup> Bow-legged eponyms can be recognized in Canhado, Canhete, lit. gusset, Cambeiro (Minho) and Carretas.<sup>8</sup> A Tem-Tem is a toddler, Coxo, Coxito, Pé-Curto, Pecurto are lame. The Morais dictionary defines Chinchinim as a sickly, rickety person. In the absence of a homograph I am disposed to accept Cadea as scab. *Cf. cobrir-se de cadeas*. There has been a Tinhoso, scurfy, i.e., Fernão Pires Tinhoso, head butler of D. Afonso Henriques. Frieria, Frierinha, which can denote a glutton are probably victims of *eczema*. A Matado and a Matadinho are persons afflicted with riding sores, galled. Persons chronically annoyed by common colds have been called Catarro, Catarrinho. In Maleita/s and Terça, there is a lingering memory of malaria, tertian fever, in Febre, lit. fever, of the ague. Frenezim, Frenesim denotes frenzy, madness. Garro signifies leper, or someone afflicted with the mange, while Rabia, points to hydrophobia, madness.

Unspecified physical or mental afflictions are suggested by Triste, sad, Agonia, agony, Chanto, Pranto, lament, mourning (also a place-name), Chorado, mourned, regretted, Tremura, anguish, Cansado, Cansadinho, fatigued, Fadiga/s, fatigue, hardship, Cajão, misfortune, disaster, Calvário, lit. Calvary, suffering (also a place-name), Carrapato, lit. tick, obstinate illness, Catatau, castigation or punishment. Faneco, Murcho and Mirrado mean withered, wasted away. Deitado, lying stretched out in bed.

We are not so much surprised by the existence of drunk as a surname (*cf.* Ital. *Ubbriachi*, its variants *Imbriaco*, *Briachi*, and *Beoni*) as by the variety of the names that recall drunkenness—*Broega* (rare), a colloquial designation for drunkenness, *Carrega*, load, a drunken

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<sup>7</sup>See A. Gomes Pereira, "Tradições populares a linguagem de Villa-Real." *Revista lusitana*, XI (1908), 300. The term is also current in Murça, see Gomes Pereira, "Costumes a linguagem popular de Murça." *Revista lusitana* XIV (1911), 153.

<sup>8</sup>In the Gomes Pereira list, *op. cit.*, 301.

spree, Bicuso, from *bica*, spout, a heavy drinker, Esponjinha, from *esponja*, sponge, a young drunkard. Piteira, brandy, is metaphorical for drunkenness, to which I should like to add Arrenega, a provincialism for another brandy, that I find more acceptable than the archaism for sloth. Quite a few terms for inebriation are listed by Heinz Kröll in his "Designações portuguesas para embriaguez," *Revista portuguesa de filologia*, V-VI (1952-53). Of these Cheio, full, slang for drunk, together with names of drinking receptacles, Cação, Chiquita, Caneco, are the only ones I should be inclined to accept as surnominal sources and these with strong reservations.

Covinhas, dimples, is a minor blemish which is generally considered an embellishment. Lefthandedness, once a defect but now accepted as an accidental deviation from the norm, is expressed in Canha, Canhoto, Canhete, Canhestro (also a place-name), and Esquerdo, Ezquerdo. It may be noted that *canhoto* is a popular term for devil.

## METAPHORICAL NICKNAME SURNAMES

Nicknamers have created quite a number of sobriquets based on real or fanciful resemblances with holders of offices or occupations suggested by garb, appearance, bearing and repute. Important also are roles habitually played by individuals in pageants, festivals and dramatic performances, particularly in the designations of rulers, clergymen, soldiers and saints. Since these mock names are indistinguishable from the legitimate ones, it would be idle to dwell upon them here.

### (A) FAUNA

We are on safer ground when we look at nickname surnames drawn from the animal world. Here the sources are the countless similes in which from time immemorial human beings have been likened to animals or have been equated with them in metaphors. We are dealing with a collective creation which has had a universal spread; hence in Portugal most of their figurative meanings closely tally with those prevalent in other countries. Those with which they have had daily contact, the domesticated quadrupeds and bipeds, are inevitably all represented.

*Domesticated quadrupeds*: Surnominal appellations that refer to this class are Ovelha, sheep, *Carneiro*, ram, *Coelho*, rabbit, Lebre, hare, *Gato/a*, cat, Perro,<sup>9</sup> dog. *Alão*, Rafeiro, mastiff, *Lebreiro*, hunting hare-dog. *Bode*, buck-goat, has the special meaning of a big-bearded individual.

The young of these animals and several others are *Cordeiro*, *Borreco*, *Borrego/a*, *Carneirinho*, lamb, *Cabrilha*, *Cabrinha*, *Cabrito/a*, kid, *Lebrão*, *Leitão*, suckling pig, an eminent noble family with a name that is widely diffused in Portugal and Brazil, *Marrão*, weaned hog, *Cochito*, piglet, *Becerra*, *Bezerra*, heifer, *Coelhinho* (Rio), *Tourinho*, bullock, prov. *Tenreiro*, young steer, *Burrica*, little burro, *Tarelho*, little mule, *Cachorro*, var. of *cacharro*, pup, *Galguinho*, young greyhound, *Gatinho*, kitten. Where these appellations are genuine nicknames, they generally indicate that their eponyms acquired them when they were children. For the bulk of them as well as for their primitives we can posit strong alternative metonymic sources that stand for their breeders, keepers or dealers.

The dozen names in this subdivision: *Alão*, *Becerra*, *Bode*, *Borreco*, *Carneiro*, *Coelho*, *Cordeiro*, *Gato*, *Lebrão*, *Leitão*, *Tourinho*—that are drawn from heraldry, highlight for the first time in this study the role played by the charges on the armorial devices in the history of Portuguese surnames. It is most visibly impressive in the appellations drawn from the entire area of fauna and flora. Most of them have been arbitrarily chosen without any direct relationship to their metaphorical meanings. With the possible exception of *Alão*, it happens that we do not have any of the domesticated quadruped names which cannot be duplicated by those that have different provenances. Together with the metonymic names, they must be considered strong alternative sources. Third alternatives of consequence are the homographs functioning as place-name surnames—*Borrego/a*, *Carneirinho*, *Cabrito/s*, *Coelho*, *Coelhinho* (Rio), *Gatinho*, *Leitão*, *Marrão*, *Tourinho*.

Because of their derogatory connotations, propriety has kept the names *asno*, ass, *mulo/a*, mule, *cabra*, goat, *porco*, pig, from being accepted as surnames. These are generic designations. The tabu does not extend, as we have seen, either to the young of these animals or to

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<sup>9</sup>Since this apparent Hispanism regularly appears in the Portuguese dictionaries, it must be considered a part of that language. There are, of course, many Hispanic surnames in Portugal borne by inhabitants of Spanish-speaking sections of the country, and individuals who have at one time or another settled in Portugal. I do not take them into account in this study.

specific breeds. Why there should be a reluctance to give \*Cavalo, horse, \*Vaca, cow, \*Touro, bull and \*Boi, ox, surnominal status is difficult to explain. It is interesting, however, to meet with Boialvo, white ox, which looks like one of the many inn signs. These as well as shop signs are virtually still untouched as possible sources for surnames.

*Domesticated bipeds:* The most frequently recurring of the domesticated biped names is Galo, rooster. Next in popularity is Pombo, pigeon. Others are Galinha, hen, Pato, duck, Ganso, goose, and *Cisne*, *Cirne*, swan. Aside from being traditionally figurative epithets, they can and do function as metonymical appellations. I should put Capão, capon, in this category; it also denotes a copse.

The young of these birds are Pinto, Pintão, Pintinho, Pitão and Polho (rare), chick, Frango, Frangão, cockerel, as well as Galinho, unless it be a masculinization of Galinha. A Galucho is a raw recruit. Patinho is from *pato* and Pombinho from *pombo*. Most of these terms refer metaphorically to youngsters or are employed as terms of endearment. The Pintos, one of the oldest of Portuguese families, have produced many notable personalities and a host of descendants. As far as I can ascertain from the atlases, only Pombo exists as a place-name.

*Wild animals:* The most popular surnames taken from wild animals are Gamo, *Gama*, deer, Lobo, *Lobão*, wolf, Raposo/a, fox and Rato, Ratão, mouse, rat. They convey familiar metaphorical meanings as do Furão, ferret, Leão, lion, Leirão, dormouse, Lynce, lynx, Lontra, otter, Onça, ounce, Pardo, leopard, Tourão and Gineto (rare), polecat, and Urso (rare), bear. Special figurative meanings are possessed by the badger, a well-fed person, by the marmot, Marmota, simpleton, by the bat, Morcego, night walker. An Espinho, if the term can be connected with porco-espinho, porcupine, describes an ill-tempered person. The infrequent variants of *toupeira*, Topa, Toupa, and Cava-Terra (rare), mole, are employed to refer to a person with small blinking eyes, a near-sighted individual or a booby. The sparsely diffused Zorro, a synonym of *raposo*, is used as a denotation for an illegitimate child. Reimão, which can be translated as black panther, is actually a variant of Reimundo, Raymond. Raposeiro, a derivative of *raposo* is a common designation for foxy.

The cubs of some of these beasts have supplied the nickname surnames Gaminho, Gamito, Lobito, Lobato, Raposinho, Ratinho and Zorrinho. Ratinho together with Rato, Ratão is a bit harsh in the sense of sneak-thief, but it may be that because of this reputation it has been

applied to migrants from Beira who have come to work in the Alentejo district.<sup>10</sup> A derivative of *lobo*, *Lobarinho*,<sup>11</sup> means a cruel person.

It is surprising to see the exotic camel, *Camelo*, established as a surname as early as the fourteenth century. The dromedary on the noble family's coat of arms may have been arbitrarily chosen. If not, it stands there and elsewhere for a hunchback. *Camelão*, large camel, is probably a recent adoption. *Leão* could be a variant of the Hispanism *León*, a forename, a heraldic name or a nickname. *Pardo*, the color, makes *pardo*, leopard, dubious as the source of a surname.

Around the lairs and haunts of animals, settlements have sprung up bearing their names—*Furão*, *Leirão*, *Lonça*, *Lontro*, *Pardo*, *Raposa*, *Rato/a*, *Urso*, *Zorro*. From these, in turn, an indeterminate number of individuals have acquired the last names that belong to them. The toponym *Camelo*, describing a camelback-like promontory, can probably claim a few by that cognomen.

*Wild birds*: We must seek the metaphorical explanations on the origins of wild bird nickname surnames chiefly in the size, shape, color, calls, screams and noises, attributes such as the swiftness, keen sightedness, voraciousness, the cunning of some and the supposed simplicity or stupidity of some others.

Like its Spanish and Italian cognates one of the connotations of the fairly diffused generic term for bird, *Pássaro*, is a cunning fellow. For convenience I have in a number of cases grouped individual birds under the families to which they belong. The crow family has furnished *Gralha*, crow, *Gralho*, jackdaw, *Corvo*, *Corvacho*, prov. *Corvelo*, *Charneco*, raven, the *Gaios* some of the jays, *Pega*, magpie, the finches *Chincho* (also a bed bug), *Pintassilgo*, goldfinch, *Pisco* (also a blinkard), *bullfinch*, *Tintilhão* (Rio) chaffinch, *Verdelhão*, greenfinch, and *Canário*, canary; the hawks *Falcão*, *Gavião*, *Milhano*, kite, and *Grifo*, vulture; the larks *Calhandra*, *Cochicho*, *Cotoiro*, *Cotovio*; the owls *Corujo* and *Mocho*, the partridges *Perdiz*, *Perdigão*, the seagulls, *Gaivota* and *Guincho*, the sparrows *Pardal* and *Carriça*, hedge sparrow, the thrushes *Tordo*, *Cardenho* and *Ruivo*, the wadingbirds *Borrelho*, ring plover, *Douradinha*, golden plover, *Carqueja*, coot, *Garça*, heron, *Grou*, crane, *Marreco/a*, teal, *Mergulho*, grebe. The

<sup>10</sup>See J. A. Capela e Silva, "A linguagem rústica no Concelho de Elvas," *Revista de Portugal*, XII, No. 60 (1947), 160-63.

<sup>11</sup>Found listed in the surname index of vol. XXXVI, 1914 of the *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional* (Rio).

cuckoo is represented by Cuco, the eagle by Águia, the grouse by Ganga, the hoopoe by Poupa, the kingfisher by Maçarico, the linnet by Milheiro, the nightingale by Rouxinol, the peacock by Pavão, the pelican by Pelicano, the pheasant by Faisão, the quail by Codorniz, the starling by Estorinha, the swallow by Andorinha, the swift by Gaivão, the titmouse by Pimpim, the turtle-dove by *Rol*, *Rolo/a*, the woodpecker by Picanço. A *Cartaxo* is a yellow-breasted bird. Botelho is the name of an unidentified bird mentioned by Bernardo Fernandes in his *Livro da marinharia* (Lisbon, 1940 [first published in 1548]), 116. Two exotic birds brought to Portugal from Brazil have yielded Periquito and Pequito, parrot, also called *louro* because of its color.

Appellations with augmentative or diminutive suffixes are Passarinho, Cagarrinha, from *cagarra*, greater shearwater, Mergulhão, Merulhão, Pardelhão, Pardelinho, Pavanito, Pegacha, Perdigoto, Perdiguinho and Poupinho.

Sometimes the blazons of noble families translate into pictures the real or fancied meaning of a surname, but just as often a charge is capriciously chosen and, as such, lacks any figurative significance. The plural *Pegas* is a clear case of a whimsical choice. I have already indicated in italics a number of noble ornithological names which have contributed to those in circulation.

There are also feathered creature toponyms harking back to bird haunts or rookeries. Where such toponyms (and this includes other fauna and flora) happen to be identical with the names of noble families, they may represent settlements on the feudal estates bearing these designations, or it may be, vice versa, that the nobles have taken their names from the settlements as have some of the commoners who have dwelt there. These are Águia, Carqueja, Cartaxo, Corvo, Corvacho, Falcão, Gaio, Marreco, Mergulhão, Milheiro, Mocho, Pardal, Pássaro, Pega/s, Perdigão, Picanço. Incidentally, with reference to names from the animal world the influence of inn signs surnominally should not go unnoticed (in the case of the birds, those that are easily recognizable like the eagle, crane, falcon, heron, owl, peacock and swan).

A further word may be said about several other appellations. Cuco is oddly ambivalent. It can mean crafty as well as stupid. The meaning of cuckold which derives from it should perhaps not be entirely ruled out. One wonders whether some of the Guinchos have not come by their names from the inarticulate cry of certain animals. We should be reminded that good swimmers or divers have been compared to

*mergulhos* and *mergulhões*. Rolo can also be the votive name of one born during the Pentecost festival. If a Rolo should be a native of Alenquer, the name can have come to him through participation in the Procissão do Rolo.

Homographs can take their places alongside several of the bird names—Carqueja, a plant of the daisy family, Gaio, lit. merry, bright, Milheiro, a kind of grape, Pisco, blinkard, Poupa, tuft of hair or toupee.

The alternative sources just cited merely diminish, they do not eliminate the figurative meanings of ornithological creatures as probable sources. The variety of the latter, as we have seen, is astonishingly large. It remains to be established whether the trend has been nationwide or concentrated in definite parts of the country. In general, we can take it for granted that most of them have originated in rural areas.

*Fishes:* In view of the fact that fishery has for centuries been one of the chief occupations of the Portuguese, we may expect to find ichthyological surnames well represented. Peixe, the general term for fish, is fairly common. In its place, Chicha is used in familiar conversation.

Specific fish names that are employed surnominally are Arrenque, herring, Arraia, Raia, skate, ray, Bacalhau, cod, Besuga, sea bream, Barbo, Tainho, mullet, Bodião, green fish, Boga, boce, Bonito, tunny, *Boto*, a fish similar to the tunny (also obtuse), Cabaço/a, swallow fish (also gourd), Cantarinha, pigfoot, Caranhola, schoolmaster, Cavaco, fish plentiful off the Azores, Carapau, mackerel, Charro, sorrel, Chorão, a fresh water fish (also whimperer, weeping willow), Dentilha, wrasse, Eiró, Enguição, Congro (Rio), eel, Escalho, shad, Faneca bib or pout, Farra, lavaret, Garoupa, grouper, Lamprea, Lampreão, lamprey, Lixa, Salema, dogfish, Patusca, fish from the waters around the Azores, Pescada, cod-like fish, Pescadinha, whiting, Petinga, minnow, Rodovalho, Robalo, turbot, Rolim, sunfish, Roubaço, fish caught off the Cape Verde Islands, Salmão, salmon, Salmonete, a fish similar to the salmon, Sarro (Rio), catfish, Solha, flounder, Truta, trout, Tubarão, shark. One of the oldest Portuguese families, the Melos, has probably taken its name from a species of fish which as flourished in the Póvoa de Varzim. The town of Melo itself, a fertile alternative source, has been founded by one of the Melos. The term is also a nickname for the residents of Olhão, another fishing port, hence it can be connected with fish in this instance. The fishes on the coat of arms of the Salema family should remove any doubt about the origin of



the name, which is very likely heraldic.

Diminutives of the above are Peixinho, Peixote, Peixoto, Pescadinho, Caçote, Robalinho (Rio), Sarda, a small mackerel, Sardinha, sardine, that is, the young of the pilchard, Tumilho, young tunny.

Peixoto is another heraldic name. Evidently, in order to dignify their modest cognomen, someone in the family has concocted a fantastic tale to explain its origin. It tells of a certain Gomes Viegas do Porto-Carreiro who supplied his prince, the future Afonso II, then count of Bolonha, with a trout which a cormorant let fall inside the fortress of Celorico de Beira where the count was being besieged. Because of that, first Peixão and later Peixoto was added to the nobleman's name.

Peixe is a clear metonym for a fisherman. Catchers or vendors were also known by the names of the specific fishes that they handled. As has happened in Grado, Istria (Italy)<sup>12</sup> it would not be implausible if fishermen in fishing communities in Portugal have not like them arbitrarily assumed as their surnames the names of various aquatic dwellers.

Figurative meanings that can be checked in the dictionaries are *peixe*, a stock term for a good swimmer and *Bacalhau*, *Carapau* and *enguição* denoting lean individuals. Three fish names similarly used are *petinga* and *sardinha*, to indicate small persons and *tubarão* to indicate a glutton.

Place-names that like Melo have indirectly supplied some fish surnames are Bordalo, Eiró, Lampreia, Salema, and Sardinha, which, more because of the toponym than for any other reason, has become widely diffused.

*Marine animals, mollusks and crustaceans:* From the marine mammals, the Portuguese have adopted Baleio, whale, denoting a fat or gluttonous individual. The coat of arms of the *Baleato* family, three swimming fishes, is intended to call attention to its name, *baleato*, young whale. Miragaia in his *Diccionario* registers Foca, seal. The myth about the dolphin, Delphim, Delphino, as a savior of seafarers from danger and as a harbinger of good weather has made the appellation attractive. It frequently appears on heraldic devices and is frequently used as a forename.

The mollusks have furnished Caracol, snail, fig. a slow mover and a sluggard. A Caramujo, periwinkle snail, symbolizes a queer, reticent fellow. Another member of the class, the land snail, slug, Lesma,

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<sup>12</sup>See R. M. Cossar, "Nomignoli gradesi," *Folklore italiano*, II (1927), 453-54.

figuratively refers to a small, lean fellow. Chôco, cuttlefish, and Lula (rare), squid, lack figurative meanings in the vocabularies. Lapa, limplet, seems weak as a nickname surname against the competition of *lapa*, cave, den and, especially Lapa, the toponym, which must certainly account for most of the Lapas.

Of the two crustacean surnames one, Camarão, shrimp, prawn, easily connotes an undersized person while Fradinho, lobster, points to a bungler.

The mollusks as well as the crustaceans that are marketable can logically qualify as metonyms. In addition to lobster a Fradinho can signify a longtailed titmouse or a locust.

*Lowest forms of life:*

*Amphibians:* The toad, Sapo, has the reputation of being uncouth and irascible. We can accept the same meaning for its derivatives Sapina and Sapinho. The latter, a common term for a tadpole, also seems to point to a diminutive individual and this may likewise apply to Ranito/a, little frog.

*Reptiles:* *Lagarto*, lizard, is a popular epithet for a sly person. *Lagarteira*, a sly woman, reenforces the figure. *Lagartixo* combines smallness with slyness. However, the surname *Lagarto* can have a nonfigurative heraldic origin as is made plain by the three lizards on its coat of arms. Leite, *op. cit.*, 218, lists *Camaleão*, chameleon, fig. fickle. A third lizard surname is *Sardão*. *Serpe*, serpent is like *lagarto* a sly or cunning creature. An apparent derivative, *Serpentino*, adds the connotation of a biting tongue. I have also found *Cobra* registered. The fabulous dragon, *Drago*, has traditionally always stood for violence. In contrast, *Dragão* appears to be still another innocuous heraldic name. A variant of *drago*, *adrago*, alludes to a person in the role of the monster who took part in Corpus Christi processions. *Adragão* is presumably a derivative. One of the figurative meanings for *Tartaruga*, turtle, is an old man, suggested by his slow gait and his stoop. Another member of the family is *Cágado*, fresh water turtle.

*Arachnids:* Persons who are niggardly have been compared to a spider, *Aranha*. In view of the three golden spiders on the coat of arms of the *Aranha* family, reputedly originally from France, it would seem clear that it has been interpreted as an arachnid, but it is very doubtful that it has any offensive connotation in this case. It can also be a fish name, weaver. *Lacrau* is a scorpion, fig. an annoyer. To the same category belong *Carraça* and *Carrapato*, ticks.

*Insects:* A habitually industrious individual has often been called an

Abelha, a bee. *Abelho* is a heraldic surname. Thriftiness is commonly associated with the ant, *Formigo/s*, but in Portuguese it can likewise refer to a person fond of sweets. Fidgets are nicknamed *Gril(1)0*, and *Saltão.*, lit. jump, grasshoppers. A *Gafanhão* is a meadow grasshopper. The only definitions carried in the dictionaries for *realista* are realist and royalist. The first cannot have supplied a nickname surname, while the second, which apparently came to be used early in the nineteenth century to denote a follower of Miguel I is, on account of the lateness of its introduction, a very dubious source. Hence, for the surname *Realista*, I propose instead the *Alentejo* designation *realista*, which refers to a variety of chirping crickets. One provincialism for cricket is *Farrapa*. More human pests are equated with *Mosca*, fly, *Tavão*, gadfly, *Muchão*, marshland mosquito and *Pulga*, flea.

*Beetles:* Other importunates are labelled after members of the beetle family—*Besouro*, *Carocha* (Rio), ground beetle, *Gorgulho*. *Barata* is defined as a black beetle or a cockroach. Most of the *Baratas*, however, are descendants of a noble eponym originally hailing from France. The surname, therefore, is a homograph and possibly the only source. *Chincho*, a variant of *chinche*, bedbug, figuratively denotes a small person.

*Moths:* A *Traça*, moth, appears to have supplied still another name for a human annoyer. A *Borboleta*, butterfly, is a flighty, frivolous fellow. One of the designations for a caterpillar is *Lagartixa*.

*Worms:* *Caruncho*, woodworm, with the extended meaning of worm-eaten, is used to designate an old man. It is puzzling to decide what to do about *Bicho*, literally, a grub, worm or an animal, especially a small one. Figuratively, it can denote an ugly or an unsociable individual, a slyboots, an insignificant person, a scullion, cf. *bicho de cozinha*, slang, jack-of-all-trades. A *Bichão* is a stout or brave fellow. Goodnatured applications of these epithets account without any doubt for their popularity as surnames.

In addition to *Lapa* place-names, surnominal alternatives are *Abelha*, *Carrapato*, *Caruncho*, *Farropa*, *Gafanhão*, *Pulga* and *Sardão*.

Nowhere is the great commonplaceness of metaphorical animal nicknames more graphically illustrated than in a prose passage by Giovanni Raiberti (1805-61). In translation it runs as follows:

From the epic similes to the proverbs of the common people comparisons between men and beasts appear in a steady stream. If we are slow-witted we are called oxen, if untidy and corpulent, pigs, if rude and unsociable,

bears, if ignorant, asses. He who imitates another is a monkey. Also, he who practices a little usury for the relief of the desperate a leech. If you are absentminded they call you an owl. If you are fickle they dub you chameleon. Are you cunning? Oh, what a fox! Are you voracious? Oh, what a wolf! Oh, what a mole, if you do not see things clearly! Oh, what a mule if you are stubborn! Oh, what a barn owl if you shun the truth! An irate and vindictive woman is a viper; a fickle one is a butterfly, a flirt, a screech owl, and those who fall victims to her wiles blackbirds. But only faults are dealt with here as someone will observe. Well, strength and generosity (and even without) has its eternal model in the lion. Faithfulness and friendship have their exemplar in the dog. . . . Tender lovers are called turtle-doves, sublime intellects, eagles, good poets swans. He whose mind's eye is acute is a lynx; a gentle fellow is honored with the title of lamb; he who saves for future needs is said to be as provident as an ant; even the eclectic person is a bee that sucks honey from every flower. In short, it is difficult to find a single individual who, good or bad, does not resemble three or four beasts at least.<sup>13</sup>

## (B) FLORA

*Flowers:* the exquisite beauty of the flowers, floral symbolism and the attitude of the Christian Church which has always regarded them as emblems of goodness has made them perennial favorites particularly as girls' names through which they have become metonymics. Favorites have been the general designation flower, Flor, Flores, the rose, Rosa, Rosinha, the lily, Lírio, the violet, Viola and Craveiro, Craveirinha, Cravo, Cravinho, carnation. Less diffused are the amaranth, Amaranto, jasmine, Jasmim, Bogarim, Arabian jasmine, Bonina, daisy, Goivinho, gilly flower. Another lily term Martegão may or may not be a genuine nickname surname. The infrequent Azucena, violet, is probably a Hispanism. The toponym Arrebenta is possibly the only source of this name which is a common designation for bluebell. But do we really have a reference to the flower or are we dealing with a homograph? Two of the floral names used for males are Jacinto, hyacinth, and Narciso, narcissus. In other countries their appearance on heraldic devices indicates that noble families have based their surnames on them, but I am unable to verify to what extent this has taken place in Portugal.

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<sup>13</sup>A translation from the original in *Tutte le opere* (Milano, 1964), 377-78.

*Other botanical names:* When other botanical names are figuratively applied to man, the variety of those that connote simplicity or stupidity is striking—Abóbora, pumpkin, Calabaça, Cabaça, gourd, (also a fish name), Laranja, Laranjinha, orange, Nabo, Nabinha, Nabão, turnip, Rabaça, water turnip, also signifying effeminate. A Beldroega, purslane, is a good-for-nothing. The pumpkin terms also refer to bigheaded persons. An Alho or Alhoinho, garlic, is a sly fox, a Batata, potato, a big nose, Carvalho, oak, at times a robust fellow. Cebola, onion, is a colloquial epithet for a sluggard, Pimento/a, Pimentão, a peppery person, Repolho, cabbage, plump, fat, *cf. repolhudo*. Curiously, the diminutive for lettuce, Alfacinha, has become a nickname for residents of Lisbon because of their fondness for the vegetable. Ginja, wild cherry, is employed to denominate an emaciated old man. Marmelo, quince, is popularly a rascal, nuisance. Some Maçãs may have gotten their surnames from the nickname for cheek, cheekbones. Leite, *op. cit.*, 254, cites the expressions *maçã do rosto* or *da cara*. *Cf. Ital. Pometta*. A Bugalho, lit. gallnut, oak apple, stands for eyeball in familiar conversation and may refer to a goggle-eyed person. *Cf. bugalhudo*. There are no doubt other plant names that can be linked with some kind of metaphorical meaning.

It happens that, among those just mentioned, Alfacinha, Cabaça, Calabaça, Cebola, Maças and Nabo are recorded place-names. They can be counted on as strong alternative sources. The fact that other flora names are unrecorded in the gazetteers and atlases does not, incidentally, exclude them as place-names or, more exactly, as spot names, and hence as good candidates for surnames. With respect to the produce of the soil that is grown or utilized privately or in the market place, we can expect to find metonymical forms playing the role of alternative sources quite as often as the place or spot names.

## DESIRABLE NICKNAME SURNAMES

We can get a better picture of desirable nickname surnames in Portuguese if we divide them into groups and within the groups arrange our illustrations in clusters of synonyms or appellations closely related in meaning wherever this is possible. My setup parallels the one adopted in my “Spanish Nicknames as Surnames.”

It is very likely that the majority of the names that form a part of the affective group have been given by parents to their offspring. As some

that are still in current use reveal, most of them are or could have been employed as first names at one time or another. Even if they have not been, it can be assumed that they have come into being for the most part during the childhood of their eponyms.

Those that denote love or affection are *Amado*, *Amador*, *Amante*, *Amor*, *Amores*, *Amoroso*, *Amavel*, *Caro*, *Carito*, *Querido*, *Queridinho*, *Bemquerença*, *Afecto*, *Afeito*, *Carinho*. Other analogous appellations are *Mimoso*, *darling*, *Gracioso*, *precious*, *Joia*, *jewel*, *Anjo*, *Anjinho*, *angel*, the intensive form *Arcanjo*, *archangel*, from the superior order of angels and *Querub*, *cherub*. We can include here *Feiticeiro*, *enchanting*, *charming*. If we checked on the meaning of *Nosso*, *Nossa*, we should find that besides signifying “ours” it can, by extension, also signify *beloved*, *worthy of esteem*. It is conceivable that the appellations represent a decompounding of *Nosso Pai*, the *Viaticum*, or *Nossa Senhora*, *Our Lady*, but perhaps they hide homographs that are yet to be identified.

The granting of a prayer or wish is implicit in *Rogado* and perhaps in *Graça* and *Saudade*. *Esperança*, *hope*, has in some instances curiously been masculinized into *Esperançaço*. The happiness of an infant's begetters is evident in *Alegría*, *Alegre*, *Alegro*, *Alegrete*, *Bemaventurança*, *Beato*, *Contente*, *Encantado* in the sense of *enchanted*, *Felicidade*, *delighted*, *Feliz*, *Ledo*, *Glória*, *Regalo*, *gift*, *Bemvindo*, *welcome*, *Festa/s*, *Festivo*, *Fortuna*, *Ventura*, *Boaventura*, *fortunate*, *Consolado*, *consoled*, *contented*, and *Aleluia*, *hallelujah*, unless it is the name given to a child born on the Saturday before Easter. As with *Aleluia*, possible religious provenance can be assumed for several other names in this series.

This extends to the benign names that follow, particularly to those depicting moral attributes. Many of the saints have, of course, gotten their names from sobriquets whose meanings are clearly recognizable, a fact that parents have often not overlooked when they have made their choices.

In this category, goodness is exemplified by *Bom*, *Boa*, *good-naturedness* by *Bonacho* and *Benigno*, *kindness* and *compassion* by *Brando*, *Clemente*, *Doce*, *Fagueiro*, *Manso*, *Manzinho*, *Mansidão*, *Prezado*, *esteemed*, *dear*, *Tenrinho*, *tender*, *Pio*, *pious*. *Caridade*, *charity*, can stand for *brotherly love*, one of the Christian virtues commonly used as a first name or it may even be a spot name, *Casa de Caridade*, *almshouse*. The patronymics *Sánchez*, *Sánchez*, and the variant *Sancho* have had some influence in stemming the propagation

of Santo, Santinho, saint. Its feminine, Santa, which fares better, is a good example of the important role that metonymics play as surnames. The combined tally of the two, however, is lower than that of the plural Santos, usually dos Santos, which recalls a birth date, the Festa de Todos os Santos, November 1. Since dos Santos is a last name that has commonly been given to foundlings who have come to the Lisbon Misericórdia (*cf. Leite, op. cit.*, 348), we can expect a certain number of names from this source (*cf. ibid.*, 314).

The righteous are represented by Direito, Reito, Recto, upright, Honrado, honored, honorable, Justo, just, and those whose conduct is morally pure by Virtuoso, Casto, Cândido, Limpo, Pureza, purity.

As epithets expressing nobility of the mind or heart we have Generoso and Rasgado. Nobre may denote one who is morally noble, but is more apt to refer to one who has this aristocratic title or is of aristocratic birth. The same surname sometimes given to foundlings in the Misericórdia would also have to be considered a source (*cf. Leite, op. cit.*, 347). Franco might mean liberal, frank or sincere, or possibly French. It has always denoted a freeman. In the case of many of the descendants of the noble Francos, the surname comes from a place-name, Vila-Franca. There are several other villages called Franco.

Trustworthiness is rewarded by Amigo, Amiguinho, friend, Fiel, Fiel, Fiuza, Constante, Leal, faithful, perhaps Seguro, assurance, and Verdade, truth.

Attributes which are not strictly moral but which have been admired sufficiently to be employed as nicknames and later as surnames are Calado, reserved, Cortez, courteous, Diligente, diligent, Grave, Gravete, dignified, Modesto, modest, Paciência, patience, forbearance, Plácido, quiet, undisturbed, Prudente, prudent, Sisudo, serious, sober. A Louvado and a Cabado are praiseworthy persons.

Persons elegantly attired have been complimented by epithets like *Adorno*, *Asseado*, *Bemposto*, *Catita*, *Flamante*, *Floreado*, *Florido*, *Gala*, *Galeado*, *Galante*, *Galantinho*, *Garrido* and *Loução*. Even more flattering to their original holders must have been nicknames which denoted mannerly elegance—*Arioso*, *Gentil*, *Patricio*, *Pulido*, *Polido*, genteel, *Gracioso*, gracious, *Corteção*, *Cortezão*, courtier, *Gentil Homem*, gentleman. *Brasão*, lit. armorial bearings, looks like a self-imposed name on the part of a family proud of its nobility and, perhaps, of the glory and distinction it had won for itself.

There are various names indicative of strength and vigor—*Duro*, *Ferro*, lit. iron (also a place-name), *Firme*, *Firmeza* (Rio), *Força*,

Forte, Pulso, from pulse, Rezio, Rijo, Teso, Tesinho. Possante means powerful, mighty. Originally some of these terms carried the connotation of bravery and daring. For Afoito, Foito, Foitinho, *Arriscado*, Arrojado, Bravo, Brio, Brioso, Coragem, courage, T(h)emudo, T(h)emido, fearsome, Valente, valiant, there is little doubt that the primary accent is on intrepidity. A Bizarro, a Galhardo and a Guapo formerly referred to individuals with a combination of qualities—bravery, comeliness, elegance, good manners, which epitomized the knight when knighthood was in flower and later the Renaissance gentleman. Still later the designations were narrowed down to denote comeliness or dapperness.

Public esteem for sagacious individuals is explicit in Cordo, Bargado, Sengo, Sabio, Sabido, Chapado, accomplished, perfect, Chumbo, Chumbinho, *cf.* Eng. aplomb, but these names have somehow failed to gain a wide following. In contrast, the sum total of the names that denote contrived types of mental acuteness, slyness, cunning or craftiness, is impressive, patently showing that these traits have been highly regarded despite the fact that most of their original possessors were very likely selfseekers. Among those that I have been able to assemble are Agudo, Agudinho, Alambre, lit. amber, Arteiro, Astuto, Beliz, from Arabic *iblic*, Cautela, Finuras (slang), Ladino, Manha and its derivative Manhoso, Precatado, Subtil, Sutil. Destro (Rio) dexterous, can also signify clever or cunning. Trinca, regularly mouthful, nibble, would perhaps be more acceptable as a nickname if we connected it with *trincado*, sly, foxy. Esperto, quick, clever, astute, should be distinguished from Experto, expert, experienced skillful. Vivo is used to denote dexterity of wits more often than dexterity of limbs, whereas Ligeiro and Lestro<sup>14</sup> tend to lay stress on physical ability.

## UNDESIRABLE NICKNAME SURNAMES

Portugal is well supplied with surnames that can be called objectionable. Among those with apparent repugnant acceptations are Bregante, bandit, Ladrão, robber, Mau, Ruim, wicked, Papão, hobgoblin, Taneco, prov. for devil, Selvagem, savage, Terrível, terrible, Tremendo, frightful. They represent only a few in this category that

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<sup>14</sup>See J. Martins Sequeira, "Apontamentos acerca do falar do Baixo Minho," *Revista de Portugal*, XXIII (1958), 153.



have not remained covert, but the fact that they do exist as surnames means that they have lost much of the obnoxiousness conveyed in their meanings. As everyone knows, in chiding someone for any kind of censurable behavior, it is commonplace to resort to hyperbole. Raillery also plays an important role. Either practice or a combination of both has resulted in the addition of connotations that make them palatable. It is for this reason that I have not placed Diabinho, little devil, on the list. Bregante, *cf.* English scamp, and Selvagem, frequently used in the past as a forename, might likewise have been omitted and most of the others could be similarly justified through their associative implications. This is not to deny that some of the eponyms of the bearers of these names were not what their literal meanings suggest.

In passing to other less objectional nickname surnames, I have found that they can best be presented by arranging them, wherever possible, either in groups of two or more synonyms, in groups that are closely related in meaning or in a conjunction of the two. Nuances will be apparent in some; other terms can be explained as attempts to differentiate between neighbors possessing the same frailties, while still others are expressions peculiar to specific localities.

*Boors:* Nicknames denoting boorishness or uncouthness in manners happen to be largely identified with peasants and, as such, are terms of contempt employed by urbanites who have labelled them as Charros, Charritos, Chulos, Churritos, Lapães and Pategas. A Saloio (also a boor), is a rustic living in the vicinity of Lisbon. Of course, these designations also imply slovenliness and simplicity.

*Braggarts:* A vivid and uniquely Portuguese epithet for a bully is Mil-Homens, lit. a thousand men. The Mata-Moros, Matamouros, who are perchance descendants of the noble Spanish Matamoros can claim as their eponym a hero of the Reconquista, a Moor-killer, but since the designation became established early as a nickname for a bully it can be that it has also come into being independently. Fanfa (Rio), is to be equated with *fanfarrão*, swaggerer. Common designations for a boaster are Farofias, Faropia/s, Gabão, also a flatterer, and Sabença, lit. learned, usually applied ironically. The noble surname *Barbata*, which is a metathesis of *bravata*, should be connected with bravado, a defiant or swaggering show of courage. We know that the traditional *miles gloriosus* has three fixed traits—bluster, foppishness and lust. A combination of the first two can be seen in Chibante and Pimpão.

*Chatterboxes:* Appellations for chatterboxes are Galrão, Galrinho, from *galrear*, to prattle, Badala, from *badalar*, to clang, Chilro, twitter,

Espalha, from *espalhar*, to spread, Gruhla from *grulhar*, to caw.

*Fops and dandies:* The designations for fops that are used as nickname surnames are Candeia, lit. candle, frequently restricted to an extremely elegant woman, Casquilho (Rio), based on *casco*, skull, Cupido, lit. Cupid, Dengue, Faceira, based on *face*, face. Manata, if not a dandy, can be a rogue or a magnate. The Peraltas are a noble family said to have come to Portugal from Navarra. As a common noun, *peralta* signifies a coxcomb. Has the dandyism of one of them had anything to do with the term as a nickname? The diminutive Peraltinho points in this direction.

*Gluttons:* In Goulão the term *gola*, gullet, is effectively used to describe a gourmandizer. For Papança the stress is laid on *papa*, pap. Guina, based on *guinar*, means both a ravenous appetite and fury, violence.

*The harsh and truculent:* Individuals known for their harshness ranging from brutality to sternness have acquired the nickname surnames Tirano, tyrant, Veneno, lit. poison, Brusco, Duro, Rigor, Rijo. A Negreiro is one who used to traffic in slaves.

*The haughty:* Epithets that graphically characterize persons who are disdainfully proud are Inchado, lit. bloated, Fumaça, lit. cloud of smoke, Proa, lit. prow, Rezinho, kinglet. Poeira, lit. dust raised by the wind, describing a presumptuous, self-conceited fellow, is closely related to *fumaça*. It is also a place-name. Conchado, *cf. concho*, Presumido, Penetra and Vão are more direct and unvarnished. For Fausto we are left to choose between the substantive meaning ostentation, pomp and the adjective meaning fortunate, happy, which has produced a first name.

*Idlers:* One of the human weaknesses most frequently jibed at by the Portuguese is laziness, as revealed by the variety of the designations referring to it. Virtually all of them are terms used in familiar conversation—Boavida, Calaçã, Manaça, Moquenco, Moroso, Preguiça, Tardio. While Folga and Folgado mean idleness, idle, they can also refer to persons in easy circumstances. A Tuna is a vagabond. *Cf. andar à tuna*. A Rascão, Cantante and Fadista are depreciative extensions of occupational names for a man servant, an itinerant singer, and a player or singer of folksongs.

*The ill-natured:* The strongest expression for irascibility is Sanha, fury. Bulha, Bulhão, from *bulhar*, to seethe, Fogo, fire, Fogoso, fiery, and perhaps Chama, flame, can mean either furious or impetuous. A Pólvora, lit. gunpowder, is a quick-tempered human. *Cf. está como uma*

*pólvora*. Fula can also signify irritated, infuriated. Serrabulho, uproar, tumult, should also be included in this group. Caranca draws upon *cara*, face, to indicate a scowler. A Ralha, from *ralhar*, is a scolder, a Ranheta, a curmudgeon. A Seringa, lit. syringe, is a colloquialism for a quarrelsome person.

*Laughing-stocks*: A Papafina and a Petisco are ridiculous fellows. A Malhadeiro, lit. wooden pestle, is a laughing stock, scapegoat.

*Misers*: A skinflint is an Escasso, a Curto, a Cainho, a Tacanho or a Piranga, lit. red clay, which can also mean a pauper. A Tranca/s, apparently from *trancar*, to make fast with a bar, denotes someone who is either stingy or ill-mannered. Pinguinhas, from *pingo*, dripping, is an unkempt, miserly individual. Calmão, miser, is in the Penamcor district a derisive reference to Jews, but it is also applied to non-Jews.<sup>15</sup> Ganancia, referring to any kind of greed, can logically be linked with avariciousness.

*Pigheads*: A person who is obstinate has been labelled Birra, Birrento, Casmurrinho, Caturra and Teimão.

*Rascals and scoundrels*: In Calainho, coll. Macango, in Magano, Maroto, Marau and Picarilho we have an assortment of knaves. Playfulness is at times implied in Maroto and almost always in Picarilho, a mischievous child.

*Simpletons*: While it is obvious that some dolt nickname surnames have been applied to mentally deficient individuals, the majority of them are very likely to have started with an act or acts of silly or foolish behavior on the part of perfectly normal human beings. Appellations that are or have been used are Simples, Bacoco, Curto, Sarilho, lit. reel, Tareco, Taroco. The patrician surname *Boto* is no doubt a heraldic ichthyological name, but since it is also a common term for a dullard it can be included in this series. Cf. *ingenio boto*, Don Quijote's well-known reference to Sancho.

*Tatterdemalions*: A Roto, lit. torn, is a ragged, shabby fellow. Cf. also the place-name Roto. In more contemptuous terms, he has been referred to as a Faroia, a worthless thing, beggarly, and a Farroupa/s, a heap of rags, Pingão, from *pingado*, bespattered, brings the designation close to Eng. ragamuffin. A loosely connected term, quite mild as compared with the others is Descalço, barefooted.

<sup>15</sup>Discussed by José Pedro Machado in "Os dicionários e os seus problemas," *Revista de Portugal*, XXIV, No. 173 (1958), 132-43.

*Miscellaneous undesirable nickname surnames:* A few names represented by a single designation are *Bandeirinha*, lit. little pennon, which may refer to someone who carried it in some sort of function, but it also means a political busybody, *Cachimbo*, lit. tobacco pipe, possibly the owner of one, but also fig. a deceiver, *cf. cachimbar*, *Chalreiro*, lit. kettle, a transfer by analogy to indicate a flatterer, *Chorão*, a whimperer (also a fish and weeping willow), *Estriga*, witch (also a braid of hair), *Falido*, ruined, bankrupt, *Forçado*, galley slave, convict, *Logrado*, duped, *Maranhão*, lit. tangled skein of silk, fig. big lie, liar (*cf.* also *Patranha*), *Mariquita*, silly, *Mirão*, prier, *Murraça*, a tremendous punch, blow, *Pecante*, peccant, sinner, *Perdido*, lit. lost, licentious, depraved, *Pirraça*, spite, roguish trick, *Repenicado*, lit. the act of chiming or pealing, fig. very likely loud-mouthed, *Taful*, gambler, *Trancadas*, cudglings, *Traquina*, prankish, mischievous child, *Uzурpador (Rio)*, usurper. Unless a homograph for *Franqueiro* can be pointed out, we are obliged to accept its dictionary meaning of cuckold.

## SURNAMES FROM ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA

From an unexpected sector, atmospheric phenomena, we have been able to muster a fair array of surnames—*Borriço*, *Névoa*, *Orvalho*, drizzle, mist, *Rocio*, dew, drizzle, *Bulcão*, thick fog, storm cloud, *Carujo*, thick fog that prevails in the Douro Valley, *Carregado*, cloudy, overcast, *Corisco*, *Raio*, *Relâmpago*, *Faisca*, lightning, *Pancada*, *Saraiva*, hail storm, *Freiza/s*, cold weather, *Nevado*, covered with snow, *Broega* (rare), *Chuva*, rain, downpour, *Tempestade*, *Tormenta*, storm, *Rêfega*, whirlwind, *Poeira*, dust storm, *Trovão*, thunder, thunder storm, *Lufinha*, from *lufa*, a high wind, *cf.* Eng. gust, *Fresco/a*, fresh breeze, *Terremoto*, earthquake, *Bonança*, fair weather, *Estrelado*, starry, *Alvorado*, dawn, *Sol-Posto*, sunset, the winds, *Norte*, *Nordeste*, *Leste*, *Poente*, west, *Sul* (rare), south. *Nortadas* recalls *nortada*, cold wind. Place-names, *Carregado*, *Lufinha*, *Orvalho*, *Poeira* and *Rêfega* need to be taken into consideration as sources.

We know that designations that denote stormy weather have regularly been used to refer to tempestuous behavior, but I find it difficult to provide the others with figurative meanings. On the other hand, it is possible to reconcile the divergence by considering all of them as primarily alluding to the atmospheric condition prevailing at or

near the time of a child's birth. The reference to time in meteorological terms can obviously be linked to the expressions of time in calendar names like Janeiro, Fevereiro, Abril, Maio, Agosto, January, February, April, May, August, season names like Primavera, Spring, and festival names like Natal, Natividade, Páscoa, Epifânio/a. The major source of this particular series is clear, forenames that have become patronymics, but for the major source of meteorological names we must look elsewhere. I believe that the answer can be found in foundling names. The traditional practice on the part of asylum authorities, at least in Catholic countries, has been to refrain from giving any of the waifs a surname current in the community in order to avoid scandal. In Portugal this injunction is made explicit in Article 49 of the 1911 *Código do Registo Civil* (cited by Leite, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-50). This means that exclusively new surnames must be selected for the infants. The ordinance proposes anatomical and color names as well as names pertinent to the *lugar e hora que* (it, the foundling) *foi encontrado*, "the place and time where (it, the foundling) has been found," in which the word "time" can conceivably be explained in terms of a surnominal choice drawn from atmospheric phenomena. Under these conditions they become surnames immediately without the mediation of nicknames.

If a thorough scrutiny of the birth records in the Misericórdia of Lisbon and asylums elsewhere in the country, as yet virtually untouched, is made, it should shed a good deal of light on this matter as well as on the genesis of many other surnames. Meanwhile, indirect support for my contention can be found in the only investigation made thus far, my "New Surnames in the Making in Italy," *Orbis*, XII (1963), 456-62. Here I have listed a profusion of weather names taken from the registers of the Istituto della Maternità e Infanzia in Vicenza.

With reference to Saraiva, the most abundantly represented of all the weather appellations, Leite (*op. cit.*, 275) assumes that the Galician place-name Sarabia, Saravia, means hail and he makes it derive from it. It is an alternative source, but in view of the meteorological surnames just cited, some of the bearers must have acquired their surnames directly from them.

#### NICKNAME SURNAMES FROM COINS

I should say that the most logical propagators of money appellations

have been the people of the poorer classes among whom currency has not freely circulated, particularly at a time when payment for services rendered was made in goods rather than in money-wages. Under these conditions, a person with coins in his possession, usually those in circulation, might attract sufficient attention to be given one of the coin names as his nickname. Some of them are Bilhau, Branca/s, Carinha/s, Florim, Grave, Leal, Mealha, Pataco/a, Patacas, Patacão, Real, Reis, Tostão, Vintem. That any of them could also be designations for money-lenders is made evident by the German Jewish name Heller. More commonly, however, these bankers are apt to be denominated Moeda/s, money, coins, Ouro, gold, or Prata, silver. The homographs Grave, grave, Leal, loyal, Real, regal and especially the plural of *rei*, king, Reis, tend to overshadow the source claims of the money surnames. Branca is a popular forename as well as the feminine term for white, but here its plural Brancas seems pretty clearly to be a reference to metallic currency. The same holds true for Carinhas, which in the singular signifies little face. The noble *Barbuda* family is said to have acquired its name from the coin *barbuda* minted in the fourteenth century by King Fernando. I believe that the small value of the copper coin, *pataco*, accounts for its meaning in the sense of simpleton, or a good-for-nothing. Cf. Eng. "it is not worth a farthing."

#### ODDS AND ENDS

A few unclassified surnames that may not be without interest are Abalada, hasty departure, Abraços, hugs, Boquinhas, kisses, Bem-Haja, an exclamation of approval or thanks, Caramba, Good Lord! Confound it!, Festa, Frescata, merriment, Passaporte, passport, Pouchachino, very little, Riso, laughter, mirth, Serodio, late, tardy, Trinca, bit, nibble, mouthful. Alcorofado, lit. camphorated, is the surname of an individual who used camphor on his eyelids. A Carreta, usually a grimace or a grin, also indicates a masked man. The genesis of it as a last name is probably one of the masked men posing as the devil who used to go from town to town collecting alms for certain saints. A Faz-Tudo is a jack-of-all-trades. Taumaturgo, magician, conjurer, is more apt to denote a profession than a nickname.

The bulk of Portuguese nickname surnames, as might be expected, repeat appellations that are to be found in every language. Neverthe-

less, there are many that are uniquely Lusitanian, and certain categories that appear to be more stressed than they are elsewhere, for instance, fish names and names drawn from atmospheric phenomena. There can be no doubt that most of the fish names have come out of the fishing villages that dot the geographical map of Portugal. I have already referred to the meteorological surnames that have very likely been given to foundlings by the directors of asylums or others authorized to give them.

From the formative period in the history of Portuguese surnames in the fifteenth century until well into the nineteenth century, thousands of slaves have lived in or have been brought to Portugal, Jews and Moors at first and later Goans and negroes. They generally took or were given the last names of their masters like the negro slaves in the United States. They, of course, had their own *mores* which tended to be preserved wherever they lived in groups, especially in the more isolated areas. The marks of some must have been reflected in nicknames which in due time have been transformed into surnames. Though we must await documentation to enlighten us, since the slaves constituted a heavy percentage of the farm, menial and manual labor in the country, the number of surnames they have contributed to the Portuguese onomasticon must be substantial.

We know that converted Jewish commoners were allowed to keep the noble Christian names they assumed from the 1520 decree issued by Manuel I (*cf.* Leite, *op. cit.*, 27). Other commoners, whether slaves or freemen, were forbidden from doing so, and this included the Mouriscos.

Name-changing, however, which had obviously been taking place for some time was only temporarily restrained by the decree. For instance, in the opening years of the seventeenth century, F. Mocquet observed that in Goa: "As soon as they [i.e., the Portuguese soldiers] get there no matter how ordinary and abject they may be they all consider themselves nobles, fidalgos, changing their obscure names to more illustrious ones."<sup>16</sup> A few years before Mocquet, the Italian traveller Filippo Sassetti reported from Portugal, "An Almeida, a Noronha, a Menezes, may be a noble as he may be a farmer or a craftsman; everybody takes the surname (they call it *alcunha* in their language) which he pleases."<sup>17</sup>

A much more compelling reason which has prompted surnominal replacements on a large scale has been the desire on the part of many to

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<sup>16</sup>Quoted by Moser from M. Collis, *The Land of the Great Image* (New York, 1943), 20.

<sup>17</sup>From the *Lettere*, Milano, 1874 ed., p. 133, also quoted by Moser.

avoid confusion of identity with numerous others bearing the same forenames and the same common patronymics. Leite has noted, *op. cit.*, 117, that the trend started in Portugal about the middle of the fifteenth century. He illustrates the confusion by citing one of many possible popular combinations, Afonso Fernandes. It is plain that in the example he includes both nobles and commoners who might be so named. Had he considered the change from the standpoint of motivation he might, as I see it, have pointed out a profound difference. Assuming that an Afonso Fernandes belongs to one of the branches of the noble Fernandes family, it is clear that he could run the risk of being indistinguishable from plebeian-born Afonso Fernandes. In such a case he could easily resolve the problem of identity simply by the addition of the name of his fief prefixed by the preposition *de* indicative of noble descent, e.g., Afonso Fernandes de Castanheda, a formula that has proven attractive and is extensively employed today. The next step was the preservation of the expression of nobility: de Castanheda, while omitting the use of the patronymic, Fernandes, shows that the former is definitely considered to be more important. Here, as far as the uninformed outsider is concerned, confusion of identity comes up once again since Castanheda as a place-name with a *de* might independently produce a surname. Identity becomes even more blurred when the particle of nobility is removed. As for the commoner Afonso Fernandes who was also plagued by the problem of establishing his identity, he, too, solved it by frequently replacing it by a place-name.

Another means of differentiating himself from his like-named compeers consists in labelling himself with a nickname or, more often to accept the nickname differentiation imposed upon him by his neighbors. This method of differentiation has seldom been used by the nobility. Though a large number of surnames can be credited to this kind of *quid pro quo*, from what we know about the nicknaming process it is certain that the bulk of them are autonomous creations rather than substitutes for patronymics.

The combined numerical presence of patronymics and place or spot names is so decisively dominant as almost completely to overshadow the two other types, that is, office-occupational names and nicknames. Nevertheless, when the huge repertory of cognomina is minutely combed and specimens from these two types are assembled, their copiousness makes them extremely impressive, contrary to the view



that is held in some quarters.<sup>18</sup> Since in my study of nickname surnames I have relied for my data on the Lisbon telephone directory and a few other scattered lists, it is clear that, however full it may be, it does not exhaust this fascinating topic. A comprehensive countrywide coverage should produce a rich supplement. At the same time, the Lisbon book needs to be re-examined by more well-informed Portuguese onomastic experts than I for possible nickname surnames whose meanings I have been unable to decipher.

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### **INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ONOMASTIC SCIENCES**

Preliminary arrangements for the meeting of the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences at Ann Arbor, Michigan, from August 23-29, 1981, are now being made, and will include, on the first day, a reception of delegates by the University of Michigan, panel discussions in the mornings and the reading of papers in the afternoons of the convention week, as well as a tour of the Ford Museum, a banquet, and the usual business meeting on the final day. Professor W.F.H. Nicolaisen has been placed in charge of the proceedings.

<sup>18</sup>A study on Portuguese office and occupational names is scheduled to appear in *Onoma*.