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PARLIAMENTARY NAMES AS A STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL POSITIONING AND MANIFESTING IDENTITY TRAITS*

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present study is to present an analysis of parliamentary names drawing on the theoretical framework of onomastics — a field of research whose object of study are proper names. As per *parliamentary names*, one may understand the anthroponym chosen by individuals elected for parliamentary positions to be used in official acts and documents of a given legislative house, be it the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, the Assembly, the Federal District Legislative Chamber, or the City Council.

Onomastic studies in Brazil began in the 20th century with a focus on etymology. However, semantic, morphological, sociolinguistic, and discursive aspects of proper names have recently attracted the interest of researchers in the field, as shown by the results of Seide (2023) and Seide and Saporas (2020). Similarly, both the names that belong to the civil registry and those that are used in specific social, political, or professional contexts instead, as is the case with the parliamentary

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names, are researched. Although there are several recent onomastic studies that have been dedicated to this second set of names, such as those on ballot names (Amaral & Machado, 2015; Amaral & Coutinho, 2022; Camargo, 2022), studies on parliamentary names are still under researched. This category of names deserves more in-depth research, as it constitutes an important source of data for onomastics (Amaral, 2022).

Firstly, it is important to point out some relevant definitions in Brazilian anthropology. In this country, civil names are composed of first names and one or more surnames. The first name can be composed by one (e.g., *Maria*, *João*) or more elements (e.g., *Maria Clara*, *João Carlos*). The surname, also known as *family name* (or *apelido*, a more traditional use, of Portuguese origin) — is generally passed on by parents to their children (e.g., *Silva*, *Santos*, *Pereira*). In some cases, a kind of name suffix such as *Júnior*, *Filho*, *Neto*, *Sobrinho* and *Segundo*, called *agnome*, can be added to the anthroponyms, one which establishes a relationship between the person and a relative. This is especially common for male names but is not restricted to them. For instance, *João Carlos Pereira Júnior* is the son of *João Carlos Pereira*.

In Brazil, when citizens decide to pursue a parliamentary position, they are allowed to subscribe with a name that is different from that found in the civil registration and which constitutes their *ballot name*. Respecting the provisions of the electoral legislation, this name can be composed of one or more elements of the civil name, by hypocoristics, nicknames, and be accompanied by military, religious, professional titles, among other possibilities (Amaral, 2022; Amaral & Coutinho, 2022). Upon taking office, the politician must inform the legislative house of his or her parliamentary name, within the rules that will be discussed below. This name may or may not coincide with their civil name or their ballot name. Considering the relative freedom that candidates have in choosing their ballot names and the flexibility of the rules for defining parliamentary names, the hypothesis of this paper is that the parliamentary name can be used as a strategy to position oneself socially and, above all, to manifest identity traits linked to some political or personal aspects.

For this study, a corpus was organised, consisting of parliamentary names of state and district deputies elected to the 2019–2023 legislature in the 27 units of the Brazilian federation. In the analysis, these names are compared with the civil names and the ballot names of the respective parliamentarians, collected in the Electoral Data Repository of the Brazilian Supreme Electoral Court (TSE). The data obtained was also complemented with information provided in consultations with the legislative assemblies and the Legislative Chamber of the Federal District. The amount of anthroponyms analysed totals 1,157 parliamentary names.

The text is organised as follows: initially, the legal and theoretical framework is presented, in which the rules related to the parliamentary name in state and district legislative houses are presented, as well as the theoretical foundation of anthroponymy studies, especially those dealing with the relationship between anthroponymy and identity. Next, the methodological procedures used for data selection and analysis are demonstrated. Subsequently, the results obtained are displayed, as well as a discussion regarding these results. Lastly, our final remarks are reported.

2. LEGAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Parliamentary name: concept and regulation

The parliamentary name, as an anthroponymic category, can be understood as the name chosen by the individual elected to a legislative office to be used in the official acts and documents of the respective house. Its choice is of personal, public, and political interest, since it is a name related to the identity of the parliamentarian, to his or her identification in parliament, and sometimes to his or her political position. As for political interest, it is worth remembering that after the arrest of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, some politicians from the Workers' Party (PT) made the collective move of changing their parliamentary names to include the anthroponym *Lula*. On April 11, 2018, then-Senator Gleisi Hoffmann forwarded a request to the Senate Presidency in which she requested that her parliamentary name be changed, in the House records and on the plenary panel, to *Gleisi Lula Hoffmann* (Hoffmann, 2018a).¹ Similar requests were made at that time by several parliamentarians of the same party, which had more of a political effect rather than the real intent to change the names by which they were and are known, as argued by Amaral (2021).

Not all legislative houses have specific rules about the choice of parliamentary names (Barbosa, 2021). In the case of federal deputies, Article 3 of the Internal Rules (Chamber of Deputies, 1989) provides that the candidate who is graduated as a federal deputy must present to the Bureau the diploma issued by the Electoral Court, along with the communication of his or her parliamentary name. In addition, according to § 1 of the same normative device: "The parliamentary name shall be composed, except when, in the judgement of the President, confusion must be avoided, of only two elements: a first name and the surname; two

¹ See also a discussion on this topic in parliamentary speeches in Farias (2018, p. 98) and Hoffman (2018b, p. 48).

surnames; or two first names” (Chamber of Deputies, 1989). In the same vein, the internal regulation of the Senate states in § 1 of art. 7 that: “The parliamentary name shall not have more than two words, not counting prepositions in this number” (Federal Senate, 1970).

Amaral and Machado (2015), when analysing parliamentary names in the City Council of Ouro Preto (CMOP), observe that, due to the fact that there is no norm regulating their selection by councilmen elected to the CMOP, there is a great variation in the forms that are chosen, leading some to even keep the different nicknames they received in pre-electoral moments, such as *Paquinha* < *Maurício Moreira* and *Kuruzu* < *Wanderley Rossi Júnior* (Amaral & Machado, 2015, p. 64).

When it comes to the rules on the parliamentary name of state and district deputies, the situation is quite heterogeneous, as demonstrated by a survey of the existing rules in the internal regulations of the state and district legislative houses.² In almost half of the regiments, a maximum limit of two elements is stipulated for the composition of the parliamentary name. This is what can be observed in the texts from the states of Acre, Amapá, Ceará, Goiás, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraíba, Piauí, Paraná, Rio Grande do Norte, Rondônia, Santa Catarina, and Sergipe. However, although they stipulate up to two elements, with the exception of the states of Amapá, Mato Grosso do Sul, Rondônia, and Sergipe, the others make explicit the possibility of altering this rule, a decision that is at the discretion of the president or the Bureau, as we read in § 1 of art. 6 of the internal regulation of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Grande do Norte, according to which “the parliamentary name shall be composed, except when, in the judgement of the President, confusions should be avoided, of only two elements: a first name and the name; two surnames; or two first names” (Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Grande do Norte, 2021) and in § 1 of art. 2 of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Goiás, which reads that “the parliamentary name shall consist, except at the discretion of the Bureau and to avoid confusion, of two elements: a first name and the surname, or two surnames” (Legislative Assembly of the State of Goiás, 2007).

In the assemblies of the states of Bahia, Mato Grosso, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, and Tocantins, up to three elements are provided for in the parliamentary name. In the first of these states, there is even a chapter solely devoted to parliamentary names, which includes a prohibition on divergent forms of names and first names, that is, of basic elements of the civil name. This is what we read in § 1 of art. 8 of the internal regulations of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Bahia: “the parliamentary name will be composed of up to three (3) elements

² This survey was conducted by reading the bylaws in effect in June 2021.

and may not include more than a name or first name” (Legislative Assembly of the State of Bahia, 1985).

On the other hand, there is no mention of the number of elements in the regiments of the assemblies of the states of Espírito Santo and Pará. In the first case, § 1 of art. 5 states that “the parliamentary name will be of the free choice of each Member, and the President may, to avoid confusion, provide differently” (Legislative Assembly of the State of Espírito Santo, 2009) and, in the second case, one finds, in § 1 of art. 85, the following guideline: “the parliamentary name will be composed in a way to avoid confusion, facilitating the identification of each Member” (Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará, 1994).

Finally, it is noteworthy that no specific norms for the composition of the parliamentary name have been identified in the regiments of the assemblies of the states of Alagoas, Amazonas, Maranhão, Rio de Janeiro, Roraima, São Paulo, and in the Legislative Chamber of the Federal District. There is only one resolution calling for the politician’s communication of their parliamentary name to the legislative house, as seen in item I of Article 2 of the rules of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Amazonas: “the Deputies forward to the General Directory the Diploma issued by the Electoral Court, with the communication of their parliamentary name and their party affiliation, until the twenty-sixth day of January of the year of installation of the respective legislature” (Legislative Assembly of the State of Amazonas, 2010).

Table 1 summarises the data regarding the rules on the composition of the parliamentary name according to the provisions of the internal regulations of the assemblies of all the federative units:

Table 1. Rules on the formation of parliamentary names in the bylaws of legislative houses

Preview of the parliamentary name	Federative Unit
Two elements (maximum)	Acre, Amapá, Ceará, Goiás, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraíba, Piauí, Paraná, Rio Grande do Norte, Rondônia, Santa Catarina, Sergipe
Three elements (maximum)	Bahia, Mato Grosso, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, Tocantins
No mention of the number of elements	Espírito Santo, Pará
Lack of a specific rule on the composition of the parliamentary name	Alagoas, Amazonas, Distrito Federal, Maranhão, Rio de Janeiro, Roraima, São Paulo

It should be noted that some regiments have more specific rules, related, for example, to the dissolution of homonymy, the exclusion of name suffixes

from the element count, or the possibility of changing the parliamentary name. To resolve cases of homonymy, the regulations of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rondônia give preference to the deputy with the longest number of terms in office, and in the event of a tie, to the oldest. When it comes to a candidate using a name suffix (e.g., *Júnior*, *Filho*, *Sobrinho* or *Neto*), the internal regulations of the assemblies of the states of Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul state that this element will not be counted in the rule on the composition of the name. See what is found in § 1 of Art. 66 of the Assembly's regulations of the first of these states: "The parliamentary name shall not consist of more than three words, not counting in this number the prepositions or conjunctions, as well as the terms *Filho* ('Son'), *Júnior* ('Junior'), *Neto* ('Grandson'), *Sobrinho* ('Nephew') or similar" (Legislative Assembly of the State of Mato Grosso, 2006). Finally, with respect to changing the parliamentary name, some regulations include permission for the deputy to do so, by simply submitting a communication to the President or the Executive Bureau. In the case of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Bahia, a communication to the presidency of the house is sufficient, as provided in § 4 of art. 8: "the Deputy may at any time change his parliamentary name, directing communication to the Presidency" (Legislative Assembly of the State of Bahia, 1985).

2.2. Anthroponym, variation, and identity

This work revolves around the field of socio-onomastics, which seeks to relate names to social factors and considers that proper names are not static, constant, or stable, but variable (Ainiala, 2016; Ainiala & Östman, 2017). When considering the social aspect of anthroponyms, the results reported here are in line with the second proposal of Guérios (1981), for whom the proper names of people can be studied under the etymological or the social (or psychosocial) bias and, in the latter case, their choice or the reasons why they are used are investigated.

Among the different proposals for classifying anthroponyms, it is common to distinguish official proper names from unofficial names (McClure, 1981; Van Langendonck, 2007). In this paper, we adopt the proposal by Amaral and Seide (2022), which distinguishes names in civil registration from those that are not in that system. Although parliamentarians may use the same forms found in civil registration when performing their legislative activity, due to the characteristics of the parliamentary name, which will be described below, it is regarded as a specific anthroponymic category.

When it comes to the choice of a newborn's civil registration name, it is always the choice of their parents or guardians. In this sense, it is possible to study this

choice in order to know some social aspects of the name-givers. For example, Aldrin (2017) argues that parents' choices should be seen as *social positioning*, i.e., ways in which parents want to be perceived or for their children to be perceived, which does not necessarily hold a relationship with the characteristics of the names themselves. The author, who analysed data collected from interviews with Swedish parents, considers that naming a child is an act of identity, which expresses how parents, as name-givers, wish to be perceived (Aldrin, 2017, p. 51).

When it comes to the parliamentary name, the act of designation is distinct, but one may also note the expression of a social position. As presented above, upon taking office, an elected politician will choose his or her parliamentary name. This choice has certain limitations, as one does not see a completely new creation, but in general a selection of elements that make up either the civil name or the ballot name used for the election. If the ballot name has matched the registered name, the parliamentarian's choice will simply tend to respect the rules of the legislative house. However, if there is a divergence between the civil name and the ballot name, the parliamentarian can decide which name to use to perform their activities. Although this choice may be related to different factors, it is, above all, a renaming of individuals by themselves, which is narrowly related to their identity and has, as will be demonstrated, personal, public, and political interests involved.

In this sense, it is worth pointing out that the first name has also been recognized as an element of an individual's identity in the decisions of international courts. This was highlighted by Varennes and Kuzborska (2015), who analyse norms from different countries, as well as decisions from international courts, upholding the right to a name as integral to human rights. According to the authors, "the name of a person is perhaps one of the most central aspects of identity, an identity that brings together the strands of ancestry, community, culture, language, and history" (Varennes & Kuzborska, 2015, p. 1022). In addition, they claim that the right to a name is intrinsically linked to the recognition of personal identity, which implies belonging to a family and a community. This idea of belonging to a group is what underlies certain choices of parliamentary names, as we discuss below.

Against this background, it can be hypothesised that in the selection of a parliamentary name, the choice of removing or keeping a professional, military, or religious qualifier, or adding an element that pays tribute to another person, for example, could be seen as a way of positioning oneself socially, but above all to manifest certain aspects/attributes/characteristics pertaining to their identity that the civil name alone would not be able to convey. In the analysis presented in this paper, we attempt to observe to what extent this choice can be linked to

the expression of the identity of the given parliamentarian. First, however, the methodological procedures for data collection and analysis will be explained.

3. METHODS

To achieve the proposed aim, certain procedures were performed, which resulted in a quantitative and qualitative study. Initially, the civil registration names and ballot names of all 1,059 state and district deputies elected in all 27 federative units in 2018 were collected from a spreadsheet made available at TSE's Electoral Data Repository. Then the parliamentary names adopted by the inductees were recorded, as they appear on the web pages of their respective legislative houses.³ In cases where the name of the parliamentarian was not found on the respective page, due to resignation, removal from office, death or leave of absence, a search was made in documents (bills, requests, etc.) authored by the parliamentarian in question, also available on the web pages of the houses, and the name with which they were signed was obtained. The names of substitute deputies that appeared on the websites of the houses were also included in the sample, and their respective civil register names and ballot names were consulted on the TSE spreadsheet mentioned above. In order to obtain greater fidelity of the names researched, all legislative houses were requested, based on Law No. 12.527/2011, the Access to Information Law (Presidency of the Republic, 2011), the complete lists of the names of all deputies who took office in the legislature under study (2019–2023), including the names of substitutes, and their respective parliamentary names. These requests were issued from June to October 2021. Even though certain houses did not reply, the responses obtained served to clear up doubts and correct any discrepancies with the data available on the web pages.

The final sample, consisting of the names of elected deputies and substitutes who have taken office, totals 1,157 names. The amount differs from the legally established number of state and district deputies, which is 1,059, since it includes both the deputies initially sworn in, even if they left office later, and the substitutes who assumed vacancies in the houses and whose names were on the respective pages at the time of the survey. The obtained parliamentary names were then classified according to whether or not a change occurred when compared to the respective ballot name.⁴ Those names where changes occurred

³ This search was conducted during the period 10/5/21 to 30/5/21. Later changes, therefore, were not considered. Deputy Erick Lessa (PE), for example, who had been sworn in on 1/2/2019 as Delegado Lessa (Police Chief Lessa), changed his parliamentary name to Erick Lessa, according to letter 47/2021 published on 10/6/2021 (Lessa, 2021, p. 8).

⁴ Minimal graphical differences between the parliamentary name and the ballot name (e.g. Gerlen > Gehlen) were not considered changes.

were also divided into subclasses, which will be defined and exemplified in the next section. The number of elements in the parliamentary names present in the sample was also considered to assess compliance with the rules of the houses regarding parliamentary names as well as the general trend in the choice of those names.

In some cases, it was necessary to search news and reports published on the internet for more information about the politicians. The sources of these data are indicated throughout the analysis. This was a solution found due to the difficulty of personally interviewing the bearers of the names, which would require other methodological procedures and would result in very different research. The sources of the data found are indicated throughout the analysis.

4. RESULTS

When considering the regulations on the choice of the parliamentary names, 18 out of the 27 legislative houses have rules that limit the number of elements allowed. However, only in nine of them do all the parliamentary names follow the established limit: Acre, Amapá, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Rio Grande do Norte, Rondônia, Rio Grande do Sul, Sergipe, and Tocantins. Among those with names that diverge the most from the regulations are the states of Minas Gerais and Paraná, both with norms that limit names to two elements (Table 1). In the first case, names such as *Dalmo Ribeiro Silva*, *Delegado Heli Grilo* ('Police Chief' Heli Grilo), *Doutor Jean Freire* ('Doctor' Jean Freire), and *Professor Wendel Mesquita* ('Teacher' Wendel Mesquita) were found; the second case includes examples such as *Delegado Nilton Neves* ('Police Chief' Nilton Neves), *Dirceu Ten Caten*, and *Dr. Daniel Santos*. In the case of parliamentarians from Bahia, where the rule limits the parliamentary name to three elements, there are even examples of names with four elements, such as those to which the anthroponym *Lula da Silva* was added: *Osni Cardoso Lula da Silva* and *Paulo Rangel Lula da Silva*. It is possible to argue that *Lula da Silva* is perceived as a unit, but we do not support this hypothesis. Although in many countries that combination is used to refer to Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in Brazil only the name *Lula* or the full name are commonly used.

Regardless of the existence or nonexistence of rules on the number of elements allowed in parliamentary names, the percentage of those, in the collected corpus, that have up to two elements is higher than 75% in all houses, being 89.3% overall. When it comes to the composition of the name, one tends to find a first name and a last name.

Next, the processes of name changes are exposed, taking, as a starting point, aspects such as: a) the ballot name that the politician used to register as a candidate;

b) the inclusion, maintenance, or exclusion of qualifiers in the name;⁵ c) the changes observed throughout the mandate.

First, we see that of the total 1,157 parliamentary names analysed, 166 names (14.4%) change from their respective ballot names. Among those ones, 72 (43.4%) have the ballot name converging with the civil registration name, while 94 (56.6%) have a ballot name with an element diverging from the civil registration name. The types of change that occurred are described in Table 2:

Table 2. Types of change in parliamentary names in relation to ballot names

	Type of change	Examples	Percentage (among names that changed)
A	Adding elements from the civil registration name	<i>Luciana</i> > <i>Luciana Gurgel</i> (adding a surname)	40.36%
B	Deletion of elements from the civil registration name	<i>Dr. Victor Amoras</i> > <i>Dr. Victor</i> (deletion of the last name)	6.63%
C	Return to the civil registration name	<i>Tadeuzinho</i> > <i>Tadeu Martins Leite</i> (abandonment of the hypocoristics in favour of first and last names) <i>Coronel Carlos Augusto</i> > <i>Carlos Augusto</i> (deletion of the military qualifier, keeping only the first name and the middle name)	28.92%
D	Adding elements outside the scope of the civil registration name	<i>Jacó</i> > <i>Jacó Lula da Silva</i> (adding in a tribute to another individual)	13.25%
E	Other types of change	<i>Pastor Tom</i> > <i>Tom É Meu Amigo</i> (<i>Tom Is My Friend</i>) (deletion of the religious qualifier, retention of the hypocoristic <i>Tom</i> and inclusion of the phrase “ <i>Is My Friend</i> ”)	10.84%

The frequency of occurrence of each of the types of change can be seen in Figure 1. Changes of the types (A) *adding elements from the civil registration name* and (C) *return to the civil registration name*, which may represent a preference

⁵ The term qualifier, taken from Mendes (2000, p. 86), has been used to encompass a heterogeneous set of elements that occur to the left of the name, be they military ranks or degrees, religious titles, or a number of occupation-related names. In this article, this term will be adopted, since the meaning of title, used in many linguistic studies, does not cover the diversity of elements that are found at the beginning of parliamentary names.

for elements belonging to the civil register in the composition of the parliamentary name, add up to 115 cases, corresponding to 69.3% of the names changed.



Figure 1. Occurrence of each type of parliamentary name change

Second, it is noted that among the 1,157 deputies in the sample, 159 used professional, military, or religious qualifiers in their ballot names. Out of this total, 44 were changed when the parliamentary name was chosen. The most frequent type of change among them was (C) *return to the civil registration name*, with 28 occurrences (see Figure 2).

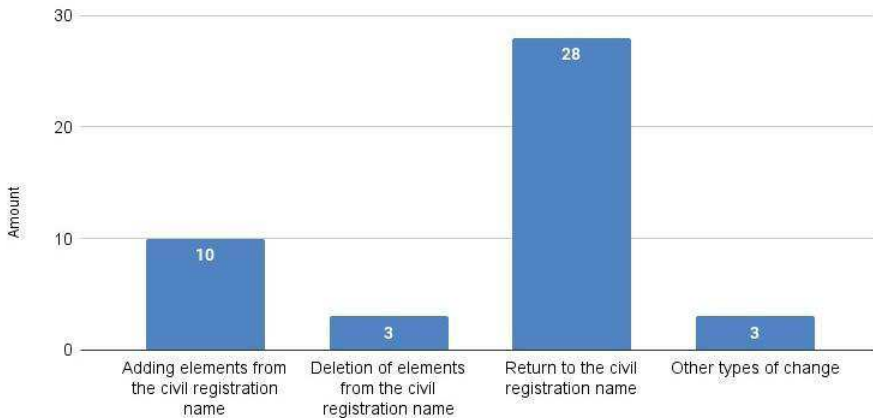


Figure 2. Occurrence of each type of change in parliamentary names whose respective ballot names contained qualifiers

Among the three names in category (E) *other types of change*, besides the above-mentioned case of *Pastor Tom > Tom É Meu Amigo* (*Pastor Tom > Tom Is My Friend*), are the following:

- (1) *Capitão Macedo* — *Professor* > *Capitão Macedo* (*Captain Macedo* — ‘*Teacher*’ > *Captain Macedo*) (deletion of one of the qualifiers and maintenance of the other)
- (2) *Pastor Alex Silva* > *Alex Silva* (deletion of the qualifier, despite maintenance of the hypocoristic *Alex*).

Furthermore, considering the lists of parliamentary names sent by some of the legislative houses, it was possible to observe the occurrence of several cases of parliamentary name changes during the mandate. In the state of Pernambuco, for example, the findings showed that Congressman *Romero* changed his name to *Romero Albuquerque*, then to *Romero da Fonte*, and finally again to *Romero Albuquerque*. The choice of the name *Romero da Fonte* was a tribute to the federal deputy and state president of the Progressive Party (PP), Eduardo da Fonte, who was being accused of corruption and money laundering. Another case of change, in the state of Bahia, involved congressman *Osni Cardoso*, who changed his parliamentary name to *Osni Cardoso Lula da Silva*, joining a group of ten other representatives of the same house who had honoured the former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in their parliamentary names, during a campaign against his conviction and imprisonment, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

From the results obtained, it is possible to highlight some trends among the parliamentary names. First, the fact that most of the modifications consist of adding an element of the civil registration name or returning to the civil registration name — in the case of ballot names that contained unofficial elements — indicates an interest in the officiality and/or formality of the civil name in the exercise of the legislative office, in contrast to the strategic use of the name during election processes. In that sense, these changes reinforce the hypothesis that the ballot name, often created for electoral purposes, fulfils a role of great relevance at a specific time and space, i.e., during the campaign period and in the establishment of a politician’s candidacy, but after the election, it may lose its primary purpose.

The registration of a ballot name diverging from the civil name may reveal itself in several ways, such as: a) the use of only one or two elements of the civil name, intended to facilitate the use of the name in campaign materials and memorisation by voters, or to establish a more informal image and closeness to the electorate; b) the use of professional, military, and/or religious qualifiers, seeking

to associate themselves with certain qualities appreciated by the electorate in general or to indicate membership to certain social groups, as suggested in the study carried out by Boas (2014); c) the use of nicknames, tributes to other individuals, and other forms, such as company names, for example, in order to aid in their identification by the electorate. Once the election is over and the elected candidates are certified, such electoral *gimmicks* would no longer be necessary, and the incumbents would then seek to establish a new identity through their name, which they believe is more congruent with their parliamentary activity.

The fact that the vast majority (85.6%) of the 1,157 parliamentary names analysed do not change from the corresponding ballot names seems to support the idea that, rather than merely reflecting a general trend or conforming to the rules of the legislative houses, the change in parliamentary name is used by a portion of legislators as a creative resource in establishing an identity. This creativity is, therefore, a strategy that some parliamentarians use to express identity in their work as state or district deputies. In view of the particularity of each nomination act, an analysis of some specific cases is quite pertinent, which will be done below.

As already mentioned, there are cases of names in the corpus with qualifiers where there is exclusion of an element of the civil name, namely: *Dr. Alberto Negrão* > *Dr. Negrão* (state of Amapá (AP)); *Dr. Victor Amoras* > *Dr. Victor* (AP); *Dr. Samuel Carvalho* > *Doutor Samuel* (state of Sergipe (SE)). It is worth mentioning that the three parliamentarians mentioned are from states whose legislative houses follow their rules regarding name choice fully, setting a limit of two elements. Bearing this in mind, we have reasons to believe that these individuals chose to remove their own first or last name in favour of keeping their professional qualifier, which reveals the relevance of this in shaping their personal and/or political identities. This result, besides proving the personal, public, and political interests of name choice, corroborates the importance of professional qualifiers in anthroponyms in Brazilian politics, as already highlighted in studies about the ballot name (Amaral, 2021, 2022; Amaral & Coutinho, 2022).

The only case in which an individual removed his last name, leaving only his first name in his parliamentary name is that of Representative *Adriano* (state of Maranhão (MA)), who ran as *Adriano Sarney*. He is the grandson of former president José Sarney, whose surname is well-known in national politics, especially in the state of Maranhão. The deputy sent a letter to the presidency of the assembly requesting that the parliamentary name be changed to *Adriano*. In an interview published on the internet, he stated: “I don’t fear rejection. I use only my first name to **leave my mark**. I am an economist, an administrator, I have never needed a public job or been part of governments. I have thoughts of my own” (Lirio, 2019; emphasis added).

Although the congressman tried to leave his “own mark” by deleting the anthroponym *Sarney* from his parliamentary name, the official surname of his civil registration name (José Adriano Cordeiro Sarney), the political weight of this name cannot be ignored. Incidentally, Aragão (2017) recalls that it is common for politicians to conceal worn-out family names during the campaign, and he adds:

The name *Sarney* ends up being a double-edged sword for the then candidate [Adriano Sarney]: on the one hand, it triggers the political capital of his family, still strong in the state context, on the other, he needs to work with the high rejection of his surname, especially in the capital and big cities. (p. 300)

Other deputies decide to include a professional/military/religious qualifier in their parliamentary names, namely: *João Isidório* > *Pastor Isidório Filho* (state of Bahia (BA)), *Hudson Leal* > *Doutor Hudson Leal* (state of Espírito Santo (ES)) (*Doctor Hudson Leal*), *José Esmeraldo* > *Engenheiro José Esmeraldo* (ES) (*Engineer José Esmeraldo*), *Cleiton Oliveira* > *Professor Cleiton* (state of Minas Gerais (MG)) and *Wallber Virgolino* > *Del. (Police Chief) Wallber Virgolino* (PB). Other unofficial forms are also included: *Marcell Moraes* > *Marcell dos Animais* (BA) and *Chiquinho* > *Chiquinho da Emater* (state of Rondônia (RO)). There were also examples where an unofficial element was removed, but without a return to the civil register name — this is the case of *Bebeto Tetra* > *Bebeto* (state of Rio de Janeiro — (RJ)) and *Bartô do Novo* > *Bartô* (MG). Such choices support the idea that certain anthroponymic forms can be used as a resource for identification in election periods, with such forms later abandoned in favour of names by which individuals wish to be known.

A peculiar case is that of the parliamentary name *Monica da Mandata Ativista* (‘Monica from the Activist Mandate’) (state of São Paulo (SP)), which is derived from the ballot name *Monica da Bancada Ativista* (‘Monica from the Activist Caucus’). The Activist Caucus was a candidacy that presented itself in the 2018 elections as a platform formed by nine co-candidates running for the Socialism and Freedom Party (PSOL), as “an attempt to foster new forms of political organisation with a more participatory and inclusive nature” (Segurado, Chicarino & Chaia, 2019, p. 61). In turn, the name *Activist Mandate* arises from the proposal to form the “first collective mandate in the state of São Paulo” (Mandata Ativista, 2022). The replacement of the name *Bancada* (‘Caucus’) for *Mandata* (‘Mandate’) seems to have been done to differentiate the situation of candidacy from that of full exercise of the mandate, and in a way to indicate the independence of the latter from the former, and vice versa. It should be considered that, in both cases, we are not dealing with anthroponyms typical of the Brazilian anthroponym system. Regardless of the issue concerning the need for greater social participation

in politics, ballot names like these have generated relevant discussions in the Electoral Justice and, precisely because of the risk of non-individualisation of the politician, the Superior Electoral Court has recently changed the rules for registration of candidacies of social groups or collectives.⁶

Another example that stands out is that of the congressman who ran for office, took office under the name *Pastor Tom* (BA) and later requested that his parliamentary name be changed to *Tom É Meu Amigo* (*Tom Is My Friend*). The deputy himself said in an interview published on the internet: “It’s something I decided to take out. No big deal. It’s nonsense. All my life it was like this ‘Tom is my friend’. It was no big deal at all” (Bahia.ba, 2020). The parliamentarian’s speech contrasts with the more formal nature of the name given by most parliamentarians who, when they are sworn in, choose elements from the civil registration.

Finally, it is pertinent to comment on the case of the deputy whose ballot name was *Dr. Mayara* (state of Amazonas (AM)), for whom three different forms of parliamentary name were recorded in the research: a) *Dr. Mayara*, in the deputy’s profile on the main page of the Legislative Assembly of Amazonas (Legislative Assembly of the State of Amazonas, n.d.-a); b) *Dra. Mayara Pinheiro*, on the page of the Legislative Process Support System (Legislative Assembly of the State of Amazonas, n.d.-b), as well as in the list of names sent by the house via email; c) *Dr. Mayara Pinheiro Reis*, in legislative matters of the house (Pinheiro Reis, 2021). Such a finding reveals how the parliamentary name itself is not always in a fixed form but can be subject to variation. Considering the postulates of socio-onomastics addressed at the beginning of this paper, the situational variation of anthroponyms occurs both in the comparison between acts of the candidate’s civil life (in which the registered name is used) and acts of public life, as well as in different situations of the political performance of the parliamentarian.

6. FINAL REMARKS

This paper aimed to present an analysis of parliamentary names of state and district deputies elected for the 2019–2023 term. Initially, when observing the relationship between the parliamentary names and the regimental rules for their composition, the analysis showed that, among the legislative houses that have rules on the subject (two thirds of the total), in only half of them the chosen anthroponyms follow the established limit. Based on the existing variation, it was possible

⁶ In the 2022 elections, the registration of a ballot box name containing only the designation of the respective social group or collective is prohibited, as stated in § 3 recently added to art. 25 of TSE Resolution No. 23,609: “The registration of a ballot box name containing only the designation of the respective social group or collective is prohibited” (Superior Electoral Court, 2019.)

to contrast the parliamentary names with the respective civil names and ballot names of their bearers.

We started from the hypothesis that the parliamentary name can be used as a strategy to position oneself socially and, in this sense, to manifest identity traits linked to some political or personal aspects. Although the results indicated a certain interest of politicians in the officiality and/or formality of the civil name in the exercise of the legislative office, the data analysis allows us to prove that hypothesis. In other words, although most of the politicians keep their parliamentary names linked to elements from their civil name, a considerable number of politicians deploy creative resources in order to hold variant forms of their names, enabling them to display identity features of group membership or those associated with the political realm.

A clear example of political positioning is the case of the deputies who have included *Lula* or *Lula da Silva* in their parliamentary names. In the Legislative Assembly of the State of Bahia, for example, eleven members of parliament made that change (*Bira Coróia Lula, Fátima Nunes Lula, Jacó Lula da Silva, Marcelino Galo Lula, Maria del Carmen Lula, Neusa Lula Cadore, Osni Cardoso Lula da Silva, Paulo Rangel Lula da Silva, Robinson Almeida Lula, Rosemberg Lula Pinto, Zé Raimundo Lula*). This act of anthroponymic alteration demonstrates how the chosen name signals membership to a group, as commented earlier from what Varennes and Kuzborska (2015) expounded, in addition to manifesting identity traits of this group (supporters of the former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva).

Just as Aldrin (2017) argues that the parental choice of children's names expresses how parents wish to be perceived as name-givers, the analysis of parliamentary names also allows us to demonstrate how politicians, when they make choices divergent from their civil names, wish to be perceived. This was very clear in the discussed examples of adding and maintaining qualifiers. Of equal merit is the opposite situation, that is, the parliamentarian excluding an element of the civil name from his or her parliamentary name because he or she does not wish to have his or her identity associated with such a name, as is the case with the surname *Sarney*.

The analysis revealed therefore that there is a portion of parliamentarians who use a creative resource that may allow them to present themselves not so much as with a name by which they are known but with a name by which they wish to be known. The parliamentary name, in this case, diverges from the typical characteristics of anthroponyms that are chosen by others and comes closer to those chosen by the name-bearer himself. The question remains, in each case, to what extent this choice, made by a politician, would represent a form of enjoyment of personality rights or serve as an artificial strategy aiming at some personal benefit.

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SUMMARY

Drawing on the theoretical presuppositions of socio-onomastics, the present study provides an analysis of the parliamentary names adopted by state and district legislators elected in Brazil. A Brazilian parliamentary name is an anthroponym chosen by individuals elected for a legislative position to be used in official acts and documents of their respective legislative houses. The corpus is comprised of 1,157 names of representatives from the 27 federative units elected for the 2019–2023 term. When observing the relationship between the parliamentary names and the rules of the house for their composition, the analysis shows that, among the legislative houses that have norms on the issue, the chosen anthroponyms abide by the rules in only half of them. When the parliamentary names are compared to their respective civil names and ballot names, the results show that, although most of the politicians retain parliamentary names linked to elements from their civil name, a considerable number of them employ creative resources in order to hold variant forms, enabling them to have identity features of group membership or associated with the political realm.