

Variation and changes in soccer players' names of Brazilian National soccer team

Variação e mudança em nomes de jogadores da Seleção Brasileira

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Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of official and unofficial anthroponyms of soccer players from the Brazilian National team from 1958 to 2018. The theoretical framework is based on both onomastic studies, such as Amaral (2011), Amaral e Seide (2020), Bajo Pérez (2002), Becker (2012), Fernández Leborans (1999), Urrutia and Sánchez (2009), Van Langendonck (2007), Fernández Leborans (1999) and on analyses about Brazilian soccer studies such as Rodrigues (2010) and Caetano and Rodrigues (2009). The data analyzed are the players' names on the lists selected to compete World Cup in that period. These names are classified in order to observe variation and change over time. The results indicate a predominance of official names in almost every year as well as a greater contemporary trend towards more formal name variants.

Keywords: Brazilian National soccer team, soccer players, anthroponyms.

Resumo

Este artigo apresenta uma análise de antropônimos oficiais e não oficiais de jogadores da Seleção Brasileira do período compreendido entre 1958 e 2018. O marco teórico se apoia tanto em estudos de Onomástica, como Amaral (2011), Amaral e Seide (2020), Bajo Pérez (2002), Becker (2018), Fernández Leborans (1999), Urrutia e Sánchez (2009), Van Langendonck (2007), quanto em estudos sobre o futebol brasileiro, como Rodrigues (2010) e Caetano e Rodrigues (2009). Os dados analisados são os nomes das listas de jogadores convocados nesse período para os jogos mundiais. Esses nomes são classificados com o objetivo de observar a variação e a mudança ao longo do tempo. Os resultados indicam um predomínio de nomes oficiais em quase todos os anos, bem como uma maior tendência contemporânea às variantes mais formais dos nomes.

Palavras-chave: Seleção Brasileira, jogadores de futebol, antropônimos.

Introduction

Playwright Nelson Rodrigues, in his chronicle book *A Patria de Chuteiras*, mentions a Brazilian national identity created by the joyful way of playing soccer and by consolidating itself as a sports power (RODRIGUES, 2013). Names like *Pelé*, *Garrincha* and others who have immortalized our players are emblematic of our history. If, on the one hand, these players contribute to the history of Brazilian soccer, on the other hand, their names, formed by nicknames, constitute important elements for the study of Brazilian anthroponym.

The players' name theme arouses curiosity in the soccer community, which is observed in the questioning about the possible disappearance of nicknames in athletes' names. Former São Paulo FC sports director, Marco Aurélio Cunha, for example, suggests a cultural soccer loss (NÓBREGA, 2018). However, in the period under analysis, many social factors may have contributed to these changes, from the intense discussion on bullying in the late 90s, cited by Perisse (2016), to sports mediatization. Regarding the latter, the logic would lie in the game broadcasts that provided exponential visibility of the player's image (CAETANO; RODRIGUES, 2009).

Considering the importance of players' names for the country's anthroponym, this article analyzes a sample of data from the Brazilian men's soccer team in their participation in World Cups between 1958 and 2018 based on the Brazilian national squad selection list. The choice of this period for this analysis is justified by the emergence of a national identity created by soccer in addition to the fact that this period marks the sports modernization process in the context of globalization, characterized by athletes' international transfers after the 1970s.

For the analysis, the paper is based on the theoretical contributions by Amaral (2011), Amaral and Seide (2020), Bajo Pérez (2002), Becker (2018), Fernández Leborans (1999), Urrutia and Sánchez (2009) and Van Langendonck (2007), who define and explain the functions of anthroponyms, relating them to their social use. The studies by Rodrigues (2010) and Caetano and Rodrigues (2009) on football, in addition to sport news related to the theme, are also considered. In the next section, the theoretical framework is presented.

2. Theoretical framework

Proper names of persons, also called *anthroponyms*, together with the names of places, called *toponyms*, and other entities, constitute the object of study of Onomastics. When observing the influence of social factors in the set of proper names, some authors call it Socio-onomastics¹. According to Ainiala (2016), the socio-onomastic research introduced the variation issue in Onomastics. It is assumed, therefore, in this variationist aspect that proper names are not static, constant or stable, but variable.

¹ Although it is very difficult to dissociate the study of proper names from social issues, Gary-Prieur (2016) defends an analysis that exclusively considers linguistic facts.

For example, McClure (1981) analyzes variant forms that are not part of official uses and states that, in some social contexts, named persons have a certain degree of choice of the name by which they wish to be addressed. For the author, the variation in naming people reflects a variation in social roles, attitudes and context since naming is a social act. In the field of the so-called situational variation, Ainiala (2016) highlights that the same individuals can have their names changed, according to the situational context. This is an assumption that is assumed in this paper upon considering that many players receive a different name from the civil name they bear.

When analyzing data mainly from Dutch and based on semantic-pragmatic criteria, Van Langendonck (2007) distinguishes between primary versus secondary and official versus unofficial use of proper names. His argument to distinguish them is based on the use of the primary term for those who fulfill the main functions of personal names: address, identification and a wide possibility of subcategorization regarding gender and expressivity. Among the primary official personal names, the author includes first and family names. In the set of secondary official personal names, there would be, for example, the family name used as an individual name. As unofficial names, we would have the nicknames (bynames). Still within the classification of Van Langendonck (2007: 187-189), the author observes that, at least in European standards, based on syntactic combination, the names appear in structures such as (first name + family name), (first name + byname) or (byname + first name) and so on.

The division proposed by Van Langendonck (2007) is taken up by Amaral (2011) and Amaral and Seide (2020), who analyze data from Brazilian Portuguese. However, these works include a series of anthroponyms that show the diversity of forms of denomination of people in Brazil.

Amaral and Seide (2020), for example, propose fourteen types of anthroponyms in their typological proposal (first name, surname, agnomen, nickname [or cognome], hypocoristic, pseudonym, codename, heteronym, artistic name [and stage name], nom de guerre, religious name, social name, ballot name, parliamentary name).

A relevant fact highlighted by the aforementioned studies corresponds to the inclusion of diminutive and augmentative derivatives in the set of anthroponyms. This can be exemplified in Brazil with the derivations of the name *Ronaldo*, in the augmentative format (*Ronaldão*) and in the diminutive format (*Ronaldinho*). Such forms constitute the so-called hypocoristic forms because they have a formal similarity to the civil name.

Contributing to this article is the division proposed by Amaral (2011) between orthonyms and allonyms. In this classification, the author explains that the former correspond, in Brazil, to the first and surnames that configure the civil names, whereas the latter “are those anthroponyms that do not correspond to the official names guaranteed by the legislation and attributed to the individual in the civil registry” (AMARAL, 2011: 71-72). In this last category, for example, there are hypocoristic forms and nicknames that will be later resumed from Urrutia and Sánchez (2009) and Bajo Pérez (2002). Regarding orthonyms (official names), Van Langendonck (2007) and Amaral (2011) are coincident in pointing out that they are registered in official institutions, being attributed through the act of notary registration. These names, which include the first name (simple

or compound)², the surname (s) and sometimes the agnomen (for example: *Júnior, Filho, Sobrinho, Neto*), are used to identify people in different formal and social contexts. Van Langendonck (2007: 190), in his pragmatic analysis, considers that the first name has an individual character, since he sees as a general rule that people are called by it and not by the surname, which, in reality, designates the bearer family. In other words, the first name mentions the individual as the only bearer of that name, while the surname, being patronymic or matronymic, does not have this same individualizing character, being seen as a more formal form of addressing people. In fragments from (1) to (4), extracted randomly from texts in the press, there are examples of orthonyms of Brazilian players.

- (1) Quando questionado sobre **Neymar**, o uruguaio foi bem sucinto. O atacante brasileiro é especulado para retornar ao Barcelona. (TERRA, 2019, grifo nosso)

‘When asked about **Neymar**, the Uruguayan was very succinct. The Brazilian striker is speculated to return to Barcelona.’ (TERRA, 2019, emphasis added)

- (2) O Paris Saint-Germain confirmou o desligamento do lateral **Daniel Alves**, que anunciou sua saída do clube francês em texto publicado em seu perfil no Instagram na madrugada de hoje. (UOL, 2019, grifo nosso)

‘Paris Saint-Germain confirmed the departure of full-back **Daniel Alves**, who announced his departure from the French club in a text published on his Instagram profile at dawn today.’ (UOL, 2019, emphasis added)

- (3) Quando chegou à Ferroviária, no início do mês de junho de 2018, para exercer a função de diretor executivo de futebol, **Roque Júnior** deixou claro que tinha como objetivo ajudar a organizar o clube, voltando a participar de competições nacionais. (GUIMARÃES, 2019, grifo nosso).

‘When he arrived at Ferroviária, at the beginning of June 2018, to exercise the function of executive soccer director, **Roque Júnior** made it clear that he aimed to help organize the club, going on to participate in national competitions.’ (GUIMARÃES, 2019, emphasis added).’

- (4) O fã de **Taffarel** de 33 anos é o retrato de uma equipe que se conhece muito bem. (UOL, 2019, grifo nosso).

‘The 33-year-old **Taffarel** fan is the portrait of a team that knows itself very well.’ (UOL, 2019, emphasis added).

It can be observed that there is a great variation between the civil anthroponyms used to name them. For Neymar, the first name is used; for Daniel Alves, first name and surname; for Roque Júnior, surname and agnomen; for Taffarel, surname, as shown in chart 1.

Chart 1- Full civil names of the players mentioned in examples (1) to (4)

² There are authors who distinguish the compound first name (forms consecrated by use and considered a single name) from the juxtaposed name (forms that constitute an unusual set) (cf. Amaral and Seide, 2020: 77).

	First name	Surname	Surname	Agnomen
(1) Neymar	<i>Neymar</i>	<i>da Silva</i>	<i>Santos</i>	<i>Júnior</i>
(2) Daniel Alves	<i>Daniel</i>	<i>Alves</i>	<i>da Silva</i>	
(3) Roque Júnior	<i>José Vítor</i>	<i>Roque</i>		<i>Júnior</i>
(4) Taffarel	<i>Cláudio André</i>	<i>Mergen</i>	<i>Taffarel</i>	

On the other hand, allonyms, as names that are not entered in civil registry repositories, comprise a very heterogeneous category. This research is restricted to hypocoristic forms and nicknames, common among Brazilian players. Both are considered subcategories of the first name and stand out for being informal treatment between people.

Bajo Pérez (2002: 32) treats hypocoristic forms, in the case of the Spanish language, as changes and abbreviations of personal names. In the author's analysis, they are forms with expressive values (affectionate, pejorative, ironic ...) that serve to facilitate the pronunciation or make the official anthroponym shorter, more fun, more intimate, etc. Due to this phonetic alteration, which is evaluated as a facilitator in child pronunciation, these names comprise diminutive (ex: *Ronaldinho*, *Zinho*) and augmentative forms (ex: *Ronaldão*, *Chicão*). Another important point highlighted by the author (2002: 34) is that there are always new hypocoristic forms that are supposed to be known to native speakers of the language at issue.

According to Fernández Leborans (1999: 81), these forms are given by language conventions and not necessarily by age factors. Urrutia and Sánchez (2009: 159-162) classify some types of structures of these hypocoristic forms in American Spanish, which consist of initial, intermediate and final deletions of names. However, although they present similarities with Brazilian Portuguese, at least in the sample names in this article, not all would be applicable to their classification. For this paper, the classifications of initial shortening (*José > Zé*, *Donizetti > Zetti*), final shortening (*Eduardo > Edu*, *Dorival > Doriva*) and initial-intermediate shortening (*Eduardo > Ado*) are accepted.³

With regard to nicknames, Urrutia and Sánchez (2009: 155-157) explain that they are names that meet biological and family characteristics in the affective sphere. They are different from hypocoristic forms, since they address motivations that emphasize physical or psychological characteristics in an ironic way by revealing negative aspects. It is also important to emphasize that they are names elected by the community; viz., names generally given by the individual's social circle. Becker (2018) and Van Langendonck (2007), in turn, agree to affirm that these characteristics, in the Middle Ages, had functions to supply shortages of proper names. In view of these shortcomings, which have to do with the identification of individuals, the nicknames also served for the formation of first and last names at that time.

³ For a contrasting study between hypocoristic forms of Brazilian Portuguese and Lithuanian, see Seide and Petrulioné (2020).

Van Langendonck (2007: 193), however, warns that this form of naming in modern times has declined both in large centers and in smaller communities. It is possible that this statement is correct, taking into account it is a current hypothesis in the soccer community; besides, it motivates this research.

Regarding the selection of the Brazilian team, nicknames such as *Garrincha*, *Dinamite*, *Branco*, *Chulapa* are good instances throughout the period under investigation. Even if their motivations are not precise, they can suggest physical characteristics and technical skills in the power to kick the ball. Also notable are gentiles such as *Paulista*, *Gaúcho* and *Baiano*, which allude to the regions of origin of the players. In many cases, there is only one anthroponomic element forming the player's name. Amaral and Seide (2020: 89) emphasize that the formation of anthroponyms of personalities by only one element seems to be common in sports, but they do not develop the theme. The authors point out that these names are often derived from nicknames or from hypocoristic forms and mentions, as examples, *Tande* (< Alexandre Ramos Samuel, former volleyball player) and *Kaká* (< Ricardo Izecson dos Santos Leite, soccer player). In the result analysis, we will comment on these names again.

3. Methodology and quantified results

The sample data for this article is based on the composition of the Brazilian team from 1958 to 2018 for participation in World Cups. The lists of names selected for the tournaments played were considered. As a source of data, we used the website *Imortais do Futebol*, which makes available names of the players of the national team that have been part of them since 1930 in the section *Curiosidades Históricas*, under the title *Todos os Convocados do Brasil nas Copas*.

The choice of this period is justified by the insertion of the Brazilian team among the greatest powers of soccer. In addition, it includes the names of Pelé and Garrincha, being unofficial names considered icons in national soccer, marked by technical characteristics and by winning the 1958 World Cup. Factors such as the modernization of the sport in the country, broadcasting of games and transfers of players in the globalized market are seen as possible influences on changing the name profile of current players. This hypothesis gained momentum in the 2018 World Cup, due to sporting comments about the absence of nicknames in the squad, as in the publication by Nóbrega (2018).

For the classification of names, this paper divides anthroponyms into official names, with first names, surnames and agnomens in this category, and unofficial names, restricted to surnames and hypocoristic forms, as explained in the previous section. Finally, it should be noted that the names of the players will be analyzed according to the registration of the game name⁴, i.e., according to what appears in the list of players published on the website informed.

4. Results and analyses

⁴ The expression *game name* is a choice of the authors for referencing the names that appear in lineups in television, radio, newspapers, magazines and specialized pages.

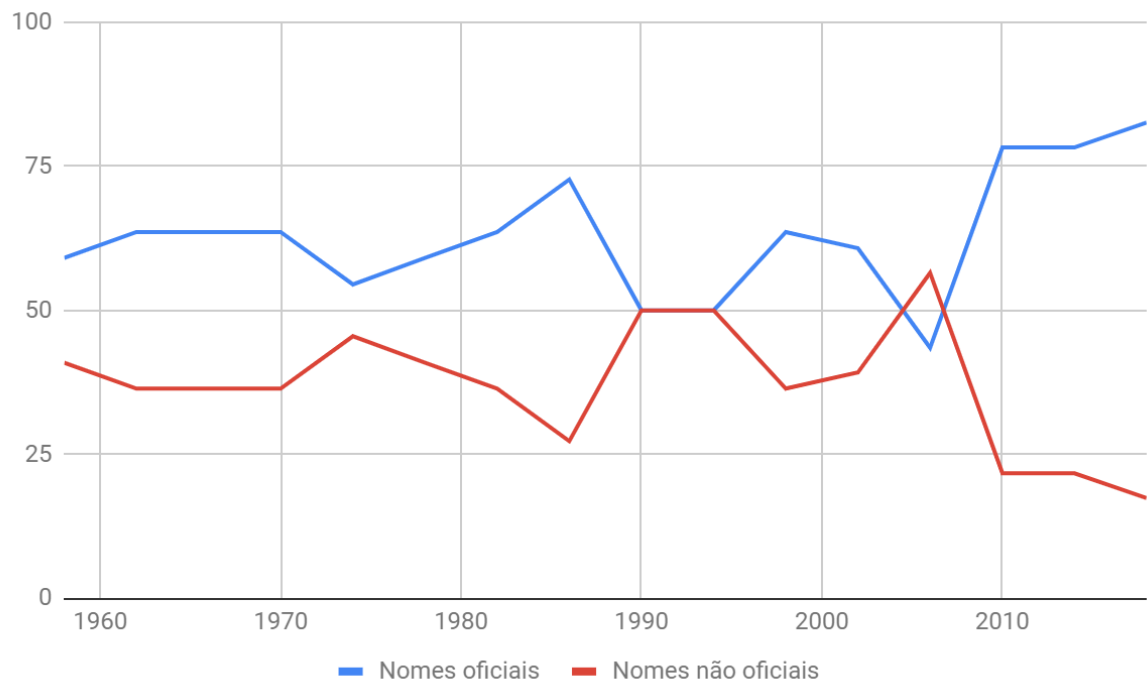
In this section, we present the results and analyses of the sample based on the names of the players, considering the criteria mentioned in our methodology. The table below shows the percentage of occurrences of official names and unofficial names by tournaments:

Chart 2 - Distribution of the official and unofficial names of the players of the Brazilian national team in the World Cups from 1958 to 2018 (%)

Year	Official	Unofficial
1958	59,1%	40,9%
1962	63,6%	36,4%
1966	63,6%	36,4%
1970	63,6%	36,4%
1974	54,5%	45,5%
1978	59,1%	40,9%
1982	63,6%	36,4%
1986	72,7%	27,3%
1990	50%	50%
1994	50%	50%
1998	63,6%	36,4%
2002	60,8%	39,2%
2006	43,5%	56,5%
2010	78,3%	21,7%
2014	78,3%	21,7%
2018	82,6%	17,4%

Graph 1, which allows a better view of the results above for decades, shows that in the period selected for this paper there is a predominance of official names over unofficial names. With the exception of the first two cups in the 90s, which signal an equal use of unofficial and official names, the use considered formal is usually preferred.

Graph 1 - Variation of the anthroponyms of the players of the Brazilian team between 1958 and 2018 (%)
(official vs unofficial)



According to the graph presented, there are some interesting phenomena of variations presented by the country's participation in the cups. To analyze them, we can divide the period into two phases, according to their respective participation in the world championships:

a) First phase (1958 to 1986)

Insertion and consolidation as a top ranked nation in soccer.

b) Second phase (1990 to 2018)

Modernization, mediatization and international transfers.

The first phase includes the first three conquests of Brazil (1958, 1962 and 1970) and the appearance of unofficial names, such as *Pelé*, *Tostão*, *Garrincha*, *Zico*, *Dinamite*, *Caju*, *Chulapa*, among others, who became referents for their offensive characteristics associated with the Brazilian style of play. Caetano and Rodrigues (2009: 5-6) analyze this stage as part of the modernization process of Brazilian soccer. According to the authors, the period of 1950 - 1970 marks the establishment of the national identity through soccer bias. In this regard, the names mentioned can highlight the Brazilian irreverent character in the practice of the game, which excels ingenuity and its technique.

In the post 1970s, according to the same authors, soccer opened up to financial growth through players' salaries, visibility, television broadcasts and club transfers. These factors probably corroborated the predominance of the use of official names in the total of those selected in the 1980s. Below is an example chart with the 1982 and 1986 lineups and their respective distinctions between official and unofficial names:

Chart 3- Official and unofficial names of players of the 1982 and 1986 squads⁵

Brazilian lineup year	Official names	Unofficial names
1982	Waldir Peres, Paulo Sérgio, Carlos, Oscar, Leandro, Júnior, Edevaldo, Sócrates, Falcão, Batista, Renato, Paulo Isidoro, Éder Aleixo, Dirceu.	Luisinho, Juninho Fonseca, Edinho, Pedrinho, Toninho Cerezo, Zico, Serginho Chulapa, Roberto Dinamite.
1986	Carlos, Paulo Victor, Emerson Leão, Oscar, Júlio César, Mauro Galvão, Édson, Josimar, Falcão, Júnior, Sócrates, Elzo, Silas, Valdo, Casagrande, Edivaldo.	Edinho, Branco, Alemão, Zico, Muller, Careca.

As they belong to a more formal category among personal names, this predominance possibly represents the soccer attempt, through proper names, to break with certain social prejudices in relation to professional sports practice. In addition, national representation at international events makes it possible to disseminate a certain image of the country and, perhaps, opts for a certain sobriety in these appearances.

On the other hand, in the second phase starting in 1990, a process of modernization of our soccer, in which globalization allows greater export of players to large foreign markets begins. Most of the players called up, since this season, have played for foreign clubs.

In this division, the cups of 1990 and 1994 have a more balanced result, with 50% of official names and 50% unofficial. Below is an example of these two selections, following the same name distinguishing criteria adopted in the previous chart:

Chart 4 - Official and unofficial names of the players of the 1990 and 1994 national teams

Brazilian lineup Year	Official names	Unofficial names
1990	Taffarel, Acácio, Ricardo Gomes, Mozer, Aldair, Ricardo Rocha, Mauro Galvão, Bismarck, Valdo, Silas, Romário.	Zé Carlos, Jorginho, Branco, Mazinho, Dunga, Alemão, Tita, Careca, Bebeto, Müller, Renato Gaúcho.
1994	Taffarel, Gilmar Rinaldi, Ricardo Rocha, Aldair, Márcio Santos, Leonardo, Mauro Silva, Raí, Paulo Sérgio, Romário, Ronaldo.	Zetti, Ronaldão, Jorginho, Branco, Cafu, Dunga, Zinho, Mazinho, Bebeto, Müller, Viola.

⁵ The choice of the names of the authors in charts 3, 4, 5 and 6 is due to the Brazilian tradition in the lineups according to their respective positions (goalkeepers, defenders, midfielders and strikers), as they appear in the media.

At first, this equality can portray, in terms of unofficial names, the use of the Brazilian player as an essential workforce for foreign clubs, mainly European ones, in the early 90s. This image is in contrast with the sudden change in profile from 2010 on. The year 2006 is interpreted as exceptional, as it was the only one of these teams to have a predominance of unofficial names, with approximately 56% of occurrences, as can be seen in the chart below.

Chart 5: Official and unofficial names of players of the 2006 Brazilian team

Year	Official names	Unofficial names
2006	Rogério Ceni, Júlio César, Lúcio, Juan, Roberto Carlos, Gilberto, Emerson, Gilberto Silva, Adriano, Ronaldo.	Dida, Cris, Cafu, Cicinho, Kaká, Ronaldinho Gaúcho, Zé Roberto, Mineiro, Juninho Pernambucano, Ricardinho, Fred, Robinho.

However, throughout this second part, the preference for the use of official names is confirmed and accentuated, above all, in the cups from 2010 to 2018, in which the indexes approach 80% of occurrences in this category. See chart 6:

Chart 6 - Official and unofficial names of players from the 2010 and 2018 national teams

Brazilian lineup year	Official names	Unofficial names
2010	Júlio César, Gomes, Lúcio, Juan, Thiago Silva, Maicon, Michel Bastos, Daniel Alves, Gilberto, Felipe Melo, Elano, Gilberto Silva, Josué, Ramires, Júlio Baptista, Kléberson, Luis Fabiano, Nilmar.	Doni, Luisão, Kaká, Robinho, Grafite.
2014	Jefferson, Júlio César, Victor, Thiago Silva, David Luiz, Dante, Henrique, Daniel Alves, Marcelo, Maicon, Maxwell, Oscar, Ramires, Willian, Luis Gustavo, Hernanes, Neymar, Bernard.	Fernandinho, Paulinho, Hulk, Fred, Jô.
	Alisson, Cassio, Ederson, Thiago Silva, Miranda, Pedro Geromel, Filipe Luís, Marcelo, Danilo, Fagner, Casemiro, Renato Augusto, Philippe Coutinho, Willian, Douglas Costa, Gabriel Jesus, Neymar, Roberto Firmino, Taison.	Marquinhos, Paulinho, Fernandinho, Fred.

It is likely that this change in name, exemplified in the chart above, has as a panorama its use in the countries that host these players, which possibly promote this adequacy. In an article published

in *O Globo*, about the possibility of winning the sixth championship, a British journalist observes this preference for the use of the players' official names:

This year, there is no Penny or Hulk, or any of the seven dwarfs, like Dunga. In their places are Fred (familiar form of Frederico), Douglas and Marcelo, names that would not sound strange in some British business center', wrote Downie (NÓBREGA, 2018).

In the same publication, chronicler Simas' speech about the historical process of Brazilian soccer from its popular origin to its modernization is also highlighted, recalling the work of the historian Joel Rufino dos Santos. In such publication, according to the chronicler, the popularization of soccer competing with capoeira is mentioned as a favorable environment for the creation of nicknames.

His observation clearly comes from the use of public spaces, as streets and squares, for its respective sports practices, which promote agglomerations of individuals as a form of leisure and sociability, in addition to the Portuguese and African traditions that are reflected in the given names.

Simas also comments that the context of globalization influences the change in the profile of names, causing young athletes to enter the foreign market. In addition, Caetano and Rodrigues (2009: 3) recall that factors such as the Pelé Law and the Bosman Case were decisive in changing soccer, as they simultaneously promoted the flexibility of international transfers from Brazilian players and the greater acceptance of foreign players on European continent. Thus, it is very likely that market adaptation will influence the profile of these players' names.

Two other factors highlighted by manager Marco Aurélio Cunha is soccer professionalization and bullying (NÓBREGA, 2018). According to the manager, "politically correct" is justified for not attributing the players' physical characteristics. In addition, "full names" create a more impersonal relationship, as they diminish the affective closeness that was established in another time through nicknames. It is plausible that this formality imposed by official names gives the impression of greater professionalism within the sports market.

5- Final considerations

The imaginary that Brazilian soccer has always been linked to unofficial names, which in this paper is associated with the players' nicknames and hypocoristic forms, is not confirmed by the results presented. Perhaps this impression, probably by the media, comes from the names that stood out the most in a given time and, consequently, attracted the attention of the speakers.

Thus, the impression of the absence or low occurrence of these names, currently in our soccer, generates this strangeness on the part of journalists and their audience. It is worth mentioning that this asseveration is based on the restricted environment of calling up players to represent the National Team in a certain period, not living up to the reality of thousands of Brazilian players.

The results obtained demonstrate a preference for greater formality as a form of national representation in these competitions. It also portrays, taking into account the data from 2010 onwards, that our soccer is increasingly aligned with the foreign market, with approximately 80% of athletes registered with official names and many of them acting abroad. These numbers, under this analysis, reflect possible ruptures with our soccer past, always assessed as ingenious and irreverent by their names and play style. This analysis backs up Rodrigues' (2010) critical observations and former player Paulo César Caju (RIBEIRO, [s. d]), concerning to our style of play today.

Bearing in mind that spaces for sports practice are progressively more institutionalized with training centers aiming at professional training (RODRIGUES, 2010: 342-343), focusing on commercial practice, these factors tend to favor the reduction of informal treatments. This argument on a smaller scale comes close to Van Langendonck's (2007) argument in relation to the tendency to reduce bynames (unofficial names), especially nicknames, in large urban centers. Considering that the convocation screen goes through the conception of big clubs and big football centers, his argument gains strength.

As for the affective memories of the soccer community about the absence of unofficial names in the current context, they are probably related to prominent players in a certain position or function in the Brazilian team. From this abstraction, the achievements obtained in the 90s and 2000s can also contribute. In this period the use of such achievements reached high occurrences in the players' records. However, this article is restricted only to the data chosen for the analysis and thereby not being able to answer all the questions. Future investigations need to be done.

Received on 30/08/2020

Accepted on 28/09/2020

Published on 17/12/2020

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